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REPORT ON THE FEASIBILITY  
OF A NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROJECT IN AFGHANISTAN

(Minority Report)

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by

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Preface

From the day we arrived in Kabul, all the members of the team experienced a great deal of pressure--both Afghan and American--to produce a project design document. It is not unfair to say that this pressure rendered moot the issues of general feasibility. Instead of undertaking the research--field and other--necessary to address the general feasibility questions raised in the Scope of Work, the team devoted nearly all of its common time in Kabul to the development of a project design outline. The team did not address itself to feasibility issues until the virtual eve of the first departure of a team member.

I believe that the report being submitted by the other members of the team reflects the above turn of events in Kabul. I know that this, my own, report does not adequately deal with the issue of feasibility.

When I say "adequately" I mean that I do not have enough solid, objective information to go on. (This is understandable, given the proportions of time devoted to project design work and to research on feasibility respectively.) Yet our task was to address those issues of feasibility. Rather than sidestep them, I address them in this report, acknowledging that in many instances I have relied upon impressions and inferences. I have attempted to make explicit the assumptions I have relied on in doing so.

In the last analysis, most decisions concerning the implementation of a program bottom out on one of two assumptions:

(1) Any program is better than none. The underlying argument is that a more desirable program can be developed in the process of operating on less than desirable grounds. (2) Sometimes no program is better than some. The underlying argument is that the conditions under which a program is to operate preclude, or severely limit, the possibility of achieving desirable outcomes within a reasonable amount of time.

(A third position comes to mind--No program is ever better than any program. However, for those of us who hold onto that spark of hope that one can intervene in the normal course of events to improve conditions, this assumption is hardly applicable. I definitely do not subscribe to it.)

In writing this report I find myself operating more on the basis of the second position. I find the situation in Afghanistan such that a project like the one the team has outlined will be at best a very high risk undertaking. I hope the commentary of this report will explain in greater detail why I say that. In general I feel that while the project design we have put together is a good one (needing a good deal more amplification before it becomes operative), the probability of its achieving the outcome objectives we have written into the project is not very high.

This report constitutes a separate report of one member of the three-member team that visited Kabul. The other members

of the team expressed the wish to submit a single report. I spent several days writing what I thought at the time was to be a team report. The fact that the following report is a separate report is evidence enough that the team could not reach a consensus on some issues--not so much in the substance of final recommendations, but in the terms of those recommendations, the way in which they were arrived at, and the qualifications embodied in the commentary provided as a background for the recommendations. I do not feel that a separate report is unfortunate. USAID/K and AID/W will have two different perspectives to work with. I am convinced that there is something to be learned from both.

I do lament the style of this report. It was initially written as a team report. Although the cosmetic modifications could easily be performed, I found the task of completely re-writing it too time-consuming. Consequently, this report is somewhat redundant if read after the other report. In addition, there are sections in which I would have been more outspoken had it not been that I was attempting to strike a more commonly accepted tone.

I acknowledge the positive influence of the other team members in thinking out some sections of this report--especially in the Introduction and in Section III dealing with the first, second, and fourth Scope of Work feasibility criteria. The chronology from 8 January to 19 January is to be entirely

credited to John Bing. I include it here to keep the chronology intact. Appendix B of this report--the Project Outline--is the same as that of the report of the other team members.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The villages of Afghanistan have remained fundamentally unchanged, socially and economically, for centuries. The factors that contribute to the maintenance of traditional ways are many. I could not list them all if I intended to; and I do not intend to. The point I wish to make is that rapid economic or social development in Afghanistan, the kind that would reach from the top down to the village level, would require large-scale inputs and efforts at the national level--e.g., fundamental administrative reforms as well as substantive material, technological, and capital investments. The exact probability of large-scale efforts of this type occurring at the national level cannot be determined, but they do not appear to be likely. Consequently, in examining the possibility of initiating a non-formal education (NFE) pilot project, I have limited my considerations to whether or not some form of NFE could be designed (and then supported) that would have an immediate effect at the bottom--at the village level--and then perhaps have an effect on national development from the bottom up.

In considering such a possibility, I have limited my attention to the kind of NFE project that: (a) would require some, but a minimum amount of external support (i.e., support from outside the villages, coming from the national level); (b) would be of a limited nature in terms of time, effort, and immediate effect on national development; (c) would have an

immediate impact at the local level in terms of improved income or living conditions; and (d) would test and develop a model that, when and if expanded nationally, could have a significant impact on national development.

In considering a project of this sort, I have kept the following points in mind:

1. Although Afghan villages are in certain ways quite different (e.g., in terms of ethnicity, geography and climate, relative prosperity, etc.), they are strikingly similar in other ways. Most villages are isolated from modernizing influences. They have received little beneficent attention (communication, transport, medical, educational services) from central governments; and they have developed effective protective mechanisms to minimize the influence of central governments' less beneficent attention (taxation and conscription). Villagers are generally distrustful of anyone coming from outside the village and have opposed external agents who have attempted to introduce change without utilizing the economic and social structures within the village.

2. Within their relative isolation, village social structures have remained unchanged. The social structure of most villages is composed of distinct extended families, each forming a highly cohesive and largely autonomous social and economic group. These families cooperate in certain ways--most typically in the construction and maintenance of mosques

and irrigation systems. However, the extent of cooperation within a village is relatively limited, bounded by religious, political, or familial/tribal loyalties. In most villages there is a feudal structure. The khan, usually one of the more or most wealthy headmen, and a council of elders determine what is to be done and how it is to be done in the village. This group derives its power in part from the economic structure common to most villages. There are notable exceptions in which their power is derived from familial or religious status.

3. The economic structure of most villages can be characterized as primarily subsistence farming, with some cash cropping, and a handful of artisan skills that are needed for basic life needs, e.g., carpenters, masons, tinsmiths, midwife, herbalist doctors, water manager, etc. The khans generally own most of the land. They farm themselves. let out land to sharecroppers, and hire laborers. They determine what is to be grown and the methods that should be used in growing it. They are the major, if not exclusive, employers.

There are very finite limits to the natural resources available in the villages. There is the land, usually very limited in reference to the number of people it must support and generally cultivated to the limits imposed by fertility and water. There is water, usually scarce, that is used primarily for irrigation purposes, but which can also be used for the processing of agricultural goods (e.g., mills). And

there are the people themselves, unfortunately in not too limited numbers, whose technical and social skills can be developed.

4. The range of women's activities is bounded by the home, e.g., child bearing, child rearing, cooking, sewing, household maintenance. Women seldom escape from the bonds of their work schedule within the home. They go outside the home very infrequently. I found little evidence of their getting together in large numbers except for funerals and weddings.

5. There exist few successful village development programs. Some have met with a relative degree of success, but their influence has been very limited geographically. They have dealt with the more prosperous villagers. Their impact remains unmeasured. It appears that the government has to date been unable to mount a large scale, rural development effort.

With these points in mind, the team undertook the activities listed in the following section in an effort to sketch the broad outline of a program that would: (a) attempt to penetrate the isolation of the villages by using indigenous facilitators (tagged as "field operations agents" by our counterparts); (b) utilize the existing social structure by involving village leaders in the planning of the project; (c) focus on upgrading existing economic activities and/or on introducing new skills that would generate income; (d) deal with women in their homes; and (e) rely as little as possible on external support. The outline of such a project is appended in Appendix B.

Observations concerning the general feasibility criteria mentioned in the team's scope of work are included in Section III of this report. Observations concerning the feasibility of the proposed project outline follow in Section IV.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Anthony R. Lanza for the support services he supplied, for the time he gave to discussing thoughts and impressions, and for his generous hospitality. I also wish to express my gratitude to Ms. Kubra, and to other members of the Directorate of Functional Literacy and Adult Education, for their time and efforts expended on our behalf.

## II. ACTIVITIES

The team undertook a number of activities in gathering the information for this report and in preparing the draft project proposal. These can be summarized as briefings from USAID/Kabul personnel, review of documents, interviews with ministerial and departmental offices, working sessions with counterparts from FLAE, site visits, and some participant observation during site visits. A detailed chronology of interviews and activities is appended in Appendix A. The following is a calendar of the team's activities which hopefully indicates the extent of the team's efforts, the proportion of activity devoted to respective types of activities, and their sequence. Initials follow items in this calendar to indicate

the fact that various members undertook various activities at different times.

- 11 January: John Bing arrival in Kabul  
Informal briefing with Lanza
- 12 January: USAID Staff Meeting with Vincent Brown, (JB)
- 13 January: Meeting with Martin Kumorek, USAID Population Division, (JB)  
Meeting with Peace Corps Staff, (JB)  
Meeting with Dr. M. Ehsan Entezar, President of Compilation, MOE, (JB)  
Arrival of Lyra Srinivasan and John Villaume  
Meeting with USAID and contract-team personnel
- 14 January: Meeting with Miss Kubra, President, FLAE/Women's Institute  
Luncheon with Lanza  
Meeting with USAID staff for briefing on social structures of villages and general discussion--  
Richard Scott, Dave Garner, Haider Nawroz.
- 15 January: Meeting with Tom Eighmy, SUNY geographer  
Meeting with FLAE staff and UNESCO advisers  
Planning meeting, working session with FLAE counterparts
- 16 January: Meeting with Martin Kumorek on health situation and political climate, (JMV)  
Meeting with Vincent Brown, Director, USAID/Kabul.  
Document review
- 17 January: Review of Documents  
Summary of Interviews
- 18 January: UNICEF, Dr. Hoelgaard, (LS)  
SUNY for additional data, (JMV)  
UNDP, Ted Nelson, (LS) and (JMV)  
The Asia Foundation, Jamila Seraj, (LS and JMV)  
Meeting with Miss Kubra, FLAE staff, and sub-governors; working session concerning purpose of our visit and selection of potential visits
- 19 January: Meeting with RDD, Engineer Sediq  
Visit to village in District of Chardehi

- 20 January: Visit to villages in Bagrami; lunch with Malik in village of Malang, followed by working session with sub-governor  
Meeting with Pam Hunte, Research Staff, SUNY
- 21 January: Visit to villages in Den Sabz; lunch with Malik in village of All-Khel, followed by working session with sub-governor
- 22 January: Preparation of programming tool and review
- 23 January: Drafting of first draft of a Project Design Outline
- 24 January: Drafting continued
- 25 January: Meeting with Minister of Education, Professor Qayyum  
Meeting with TCCU curriculum textbooks team  
Meeting with Dr. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education  
Working session with counterparts to present, explain, and discuss draft project outline.
- 26 January: Continual drafting of annexes to draft outline interspersed by:  
Meeting with Ray Hooker, Program Office, (JMV)  
Meeting with PACCA advisor team, Mr. Murray Lunan, G. Brewster, and A. Abdullah, (LS) and (JMV)  
UN Library search and interview with Schwieteringer, (JB)  
Luncheon with Pam Hunte and Mahbooba Safi of SUNY  
Working session with counterparts on their reaction to draft outline  
Meeting with T. Lanza re: draft outline
- 27 January: Continual drafting to incorporate feedback interspersed by:  
Meeting with D.E.D. (German Peace Corps), (JV) and (LS)  
Meeting with Dr. Saraf and FLAE staff for further discussion of draft outline, (LS) and (JB)  
Visit to Women's Institute, (LS)  
Lunch with Miss Kubra and FLAE staff
- 28 January: Continual drafting of final draft of project proposal and discussion of feasibility issues

Meeting with Ambassador Eliot  
Dinner with Miss Kubra, Dr. Saraf and FLAE  
staff

- 29 January: Continued drafting of discussion of feasibility issues. Last minute revisions of Project Proposal.  
Lyra Srinivasan departs
- 30 January: John Bing departs  
Off, (JMV)
- 31 January: Final drafting of feasibility statement, (JMV)
- 1 February: Drafting of Final Report
- 3 February: Drafting of Final Report
- 4 February: Thank you call backs  
Meeting with USAID/K Program Office
- 5 February: John Villaume departs.

### III. CONSIDERATION OF 'SCOPE OF WORK' FEASIBILITY CRITERIA

Comments concerning feasibility are divided into two sections. This section deals with the issue of general feasibility--general in the sense that it asks whether some program of NFE has a chance of working. Comments concerning the feasibility of a specific project--i.e., the project outlined in the appended proposal--are reserved for the next section.

Several assumptions underlie the treatment of the feasibility criteria.

First, when a foreigner asks a question of the general sort embodied in the given criteria, e.g., "would Kabul Province

serve as a good site for a NFE project?", he often receives the reply, "Chera naste?" ("Why not?"). In a sense I attempt to deal with all the criteria from a "Chera naste?" ("Why not?") perspective. Instead of trying to identify all of the positive factors that might answer the question, "Why should a NFE project be undertaken?", I attempted to identify gross debilitating impediments--factors that might answer the question, "Why not?".

Second, the way in which the first two criteria are stated in the Scope of Work seems to imply that somehow conditions in Kabul Province should be similar to conditions in other provinces, so that lessons learned from a pilot project conducted in Kabul Province would be generalizable to other provinces should the decision to expand the project be made. I agree in part with this implication, but in addressing some of the criteria I draw a distinction between content and process. It would seem that the lessons to be learned from a pilot project are not entirely content specific, e.g., a syllabus for carpentry, dry farming, or marketing. In fact, I am wary of the possibility that a pilot NFE project may undertake no more than to develop a standardized (could we venture, formal) curriculum and assorted materials. Rather it appears to me that the more important lessons to be learned from running a pilot project of a certain design are whether the processes embodied in it work--e.g., methods of site assessment; techniques for identifying rural,

adult learning needs; devising and testing various methods and materials; ways in which to structure learning experiences under differing social or economic situations, etc. These process lessons seem to be less bound by the particular physical, economic, social, or demographic characteristics of a site. Thus, although I do comment on specific characteristics, I do so only in order to establish that the sites offer the possibility for undertaking a NFE project that falls within the general description of "rural."

Third, when I refer to Kabul Province, local and national support for a program, or to inhibiting factors, my base of reference is the three sites we visited.

Lastly, in those cases where I make a judgment concerning comparability between the three sites and other rural areas in Afghanistan, I compare the three sites to a general notion of other rural areas for the simple fact that detailed information concerning other provinces was not available.

In addressing the question of general feasibility, I utilize the criteria mentioned in our Scope of Work. Comment on each includes discussion, observations and/or conclusions, and limitations that prevented dealing with each criterion in a better fashion.

#### A. Suitability of Kabul Province

The team was directed to consider "whether Kabul Province can be used as a site for a pilot project to test the potential

for the development of income-producing skills and/or changes in health or other practices on a nation-wide basis; e.g., will the job markets available to those in Kabul Province also be available elsewhere in Afghanistan?

1. Discussion

The villages visited by the team were Qala-i-Qazi in Chardehi district, Chakerai in Bagrami district, and Deh-Sabz-i-Host in the district of Deh Sabz.

In terms of population, Qala-i-Qazi is the largest with approximately 10,000 residents. Chakerai is the next largest with somewhere between 7,000 and 8,000. Deh-Sabz-i-Host is the smallest of the three with 3,000 to 4,000. These population figures do not provide an accurate notion of the population situation in each village. Qala-i-Qazi, the largest, is a suburb of Kabul (without the American connotations of that term). The other two villages are either the largest or as large as several close-by villages. These last two clusters of villages are quite remote from Kabul.

While Qala-i-Qazi maintains its fundamental identity as a village, it is only thirty minutes away from Kabul by car, and there is regular transportation from the end of the hard surface road. The other two villages, although differing in absolute mileage, lie from one to one-and-a-half hours from Kabul by car; and there is but one bus a day. Variation in contact with Kabul reflects these differences in distance.

While less than ten percent of the population in Qala-i-Qazi travel daily to Kabul for work, a proportion of the population moves to Kabul in the off agricultural season. In the other two villages, there is little daily travel to Kabul and virtually none on a seasonal basis.

Qala-i-Qazi's greater proximity to Kabul is also reflected by the fact that although there are no medical facilities in the village itself, there is a basic health center twenty minutes away. Moreover, two doctors, who practice in Kabul, live in Qali-i-qazi and provide medical assistance in emergencies. There are absolutely no medical facilities in either of the other two villages.

None of the villages has a bazaar, banking services, or electricity. Qala-i-Qazi and Chakerai have primary schools for boys. Middle schools--grades seven through nine--and lycees in the Kabul metropolitan area are accessible to students from Qala-i-Qazi, but the nearest middle school for the village of Chakerai is a minimum of an hour away by foot. Deh-Sabz-i-Host has neither a primary nor a middle school.

All three villages are agricultural in the sense that the vast majority of the male population is engaged in either farming or animal husbandry.

Unemployment in these villages during the winter months appears to be quite high. In Deh-Sabz-i-Host, the sub-governor said that unemployment reaches 90 percent during the winter

months, and falls only to 50 percent during the growing season. The sub-governor of Bagrami--district of Chakerai--also commented on the fact that the men had little to do during the winter and that during the summer "they send six men to guard three sheep." It is likely that with the exception of areas where double cropping is possible, underemployment and unemployment are severe problems in rural areas of the country.

## 2. Conclusion

The villages in the three districts visited are sufficiently rural in character to serve as a base for implementing a non-formal education project that would test the processes of identifying and responding to the learning needs of rural adults throughout Afghanistan. There are obviously other provinces in Afghanistan and areas within the Kabul Province that are more remote and have even less access to modern services than the three visited by the team. However, the areas visited have the advantage of being reached by car from a central point within one-and-a-half hours driving time. To implement a program in areas further removed than these would be to introduce serious problems in providing the kind of supervision necessary for a pilot project.

## 3. Limitations

The foregoing comments are based on information of a limited nature, obtained from what can only be called a superficial tour of the target areas, discussion with Afghan officials

at various levels, and materials and interviews supplied through Afghan and other agencies (e.g., UN documents on village community development in Afghanistan). The team spent a total of fifteen minutes in Qala-i-Qazi and approximately 45 minutes in the other two villages. The team did meet with village elders in villages that were part of the cluster of villages near both Deh-Sabz-i-Host and Chakerai--for several hours in each instance. However, there was no opportunity for in-depth discussions or interviews with villagers. (The current policy of the GOA "discourages" direct contact between foreign nationals--particularly westerners--and village people; or so the team was told. It did not test this advice.)

#### B. Variations Within Kabul Province

The team was also instructed to determine "whether the choice of districts within Kabul Province is varied enough to insure sufficient flexibility in the selection of activities."

##### 1. Discussion

Just as a discussion of similarity depends upon the purposes for which one examines the degree of similarity, so also does a discussion of variation depend on why one looks at variations among sites. In investigating variation among sites, I was guided by the general consideration: Are there enough differences between villages to permit the testing of processes of program implementation, development and administration? Is there enough variation among sites in terms of ethnicity

(and consequent social structure) and economic activity (and thus occupational structure) to permit the testing of ways of approaching different types of groups and subsequently dealing with them?

From cursory visits and subsequent discussions with district governors, I was able to determine that Deh-Sabz-i-Host is predominantly Pushtu speaking; Qala-i-Qazi, a mix of Dari and Pushtu speaking; and Chakerai, primarily Dari speaking. Concomitant with this linguistic/ethnic mix is a mix in settlement patterns. Deh-Sabz-i-Host and its adjoining villages consist of separate qalas, high-walled compounds. There is less inter-familial relation than in the other villages. On the contrary, in Chakerai, there is a "common" and open space surrounded by adjacent homes. The team did not tour Qala-i-Qazi, but from the outside it appears that it stands somewhere between the other two sites in terms of settlement pattern and degree of physical integrity.

Most the residents of Chakerai were descendants of Tadjiks, who had settled there centuries ago. Deh-Sabz-i-Host's population appeared to be composed primarily of relatively recent (since 1900) Pushtun immigrants.

Although all the villages produced a common set of agricultural products (grain, mulberries, and some vegetables), they differed from one another in terms of the degree of cash crops grown. The area around Deh-Sabz-i-Host is surrounded

by vineyards, the product of which is sold outside the village. There was also variation in degrees of animal husbandry, with Deh-Sabz-i-Host having the most, followed by Chakerai and Qaka-i-Qazi. Chakerai's land is almost entirely devoted to the growing of crops that are consumed within the village. (We did not get information about the nature and distribution of crops in Qaka-i-Qazi.)

On the basis of superficial impressions, Deh-Sabz-i-Host and the villages of its cluster appear to be the most prosperous, followed by Qala-i-Qazi and Chakerai, in that order. Houses were larger and better kept in the former villages. The team was told that in Chakerai and the villages of the cluster near it, there was less than one jerib (approximately one-half acre) per household.

There is also variation among sites in other areas which were mentioned in discussing the first feasibility criterion; i.e., size of population, proximity to other settled sites, the nature of the relationship to those sites, degree of urban influence from Kabul.

## 2. Observations and Conclusions

There appears to be sufficient variation among the sites visited to permit the testing of NFE approaches to various ethnic groups with economic activities at different levels of economic welfare. The variation in population size and relationship to other settlements will provide an opportunity for deter-

mining the degree of spread effect under different circumstances.

Although there is sufficient variation among sites, there are enough common characteristics to permit some common program planning. In the pilot phase of a project, some uniformity of approach is desirable, since to introduce too great a variety of contact with villages, content, materials, and methods development would overtax the professional and logistical capabilities of a limited number of staff. In short, the team does not feel that the issue of variation among sites is a serious problem.

### 3. Limitations

Due to time and other constraints imposed, I was not able to gather in-depth information on social and economic structures within the villages. Exact data on production, income, occupation and consumption could not be obtained. Nor could such data have been compared with data for the country at large since such data, to my knowledge, does not exist.

### C. National and Local Support

The team was instructed to determine "the degree of support by national and local leaders and decision makers". We divide our comments concerning this criterion into two parts--those having to do with national and those having to do with local support.

National Support

1. Discussion

There are many conventional sources that provide direct evidence concerning the issue of national support: policy statements, budget allocations, previous program activity, statements from individuals holding critical responsibilities, etc. In examining each the investigator attempts to find evidence of past, or intended, willingness and ability to commit resources. Unfortunately, the conventional sources are not very useful in identifying support for a NFE program in rural areas in Afghanistan. I found it necessary to deal with indicators that at best provide only indirect evidence of support.

It should also be emphasized that in addressing the question of support I am talking about possible support, not levels of past support, for a non-literacy NFE project. There has been no non-literacy NFE project. There has been no non-literacy NFE project in the past identified as such. Education is equated in most minds here with schooling. The concept of flexible, client-oriented, learning programs designed to equip adult learners with information, attitudes, and skills having practical value is a new one. It is a seed, planted largely through USAID/Kabul's successful efforts, that may grow; but, given the fact that it is only a seed, it is not sensible to attempt to measure previous or current attempts to nurture a plant.

a) In terms of policy, there is no official policy concerning non-literacy NFE for the obvious reason that it is a new concept. It was, therefore, necessary to look elsewhere in an attempt to identify policy signals that might indicate national support for NFE. The closest thing to the kind of project the team had in mind was the functional literacy program that has been operating since 1970.

In considering GOA policy toward functional literacy it is important to note that most statements cited by assistance agencies as evidence of national support for functional literacy predate the present government. The initial decisions concerning the establishment of a national literacy effort were made in December, 1972, followed by the establishment of FLAE in March, 1973. The only statements since that time that I could find were those made by the former Minister of Education, Pazhwak, who has recently been dismissed and whose animosity toward the President is matter of general knowledge (an animosity that appears to be mutual). Thus, in terms of official statements concerning support for functional literacy forms of NFE, there are only the statements of a former minister who is very much out of favor--a minister under whose administration USAID/Kabul's initial spade work was done.

Other governmental statements are sometimes offered as indirect evidence that the government is committed to the kind of work--i.e., rural development work--under which a village

level NFE project might be classified. It is true that the present government appears to be genuinely committed to rural development. However, the nature of the rural development to which it is committed needs to be made explicit before such commitment can be used as evidence of support for a rural NFE project.

It appears that the present government is committed to resurrecting the type of comprehensive rural development program that was once operating in Afghanistan from 1955 up to approximately 1970. This type of development work involves targeting a given area in which health, agricultural, nutritional, physical construction, educational, and other projects are undertaken at the same time. The government's present commitment to education for adults in rural areas, as a priority item, appears to be limited to this sort of education within the context of comprehensive development. The fact that the government is committed to a comprehensive approach to rural development constitutes a negative indicator of its commitment to the kind of educational project that would stand alone.

b) In the area of budgetary commitment to NFE, indirect evidence of support was the best that could be obtained. National budget figures for the years 1350-53 and projected through 1355, indicate that education enjoys top budgetary priority, higher than all other ministerial budgets save defense, and equal to reported defense figures. Moreover, in terms of

annual growth rate of respective ministerial budgets, education enjoys one of the highest rates--9.6 percent annual growth rate vs. an average growth rate of 4.6 percent for all ministries. (Special thanks for Ray Hooker for generating, compiling, and projecting the figures used.)

While this budgetary evidence stands as relatively strong evidence of the government's consistent budgetary commitment to education, I question whether it constitutes much evidence that the government is committed to a rural NFE project. Education in Afghanistan has been synonymous with schooling--rigid prescribed academic curriculum, taught in formal and unimaginative classroom settings, and devoted exclusively to youth. The government's commitment to the expansion of education of this sort can hardly be read as a commitment to client-centered, practical skill, non-classroom program devoted to adults. On the contrary, the government's commitment to the extension of conventional schooling to the rural areas could mean that programs under the Ministry of Education that do not fit the traditional notion of what education should be would not enjoy priority national support.

FLAE's 1353 (1974-75) budget of 23 million afghanis has been cited elsewhere as evidence of GOA budgetary commitment to a form of NFE. In terms of appropriation, 23 million appears to be a significant positive indicator. It does constitute 2.4 percent of the Ministry of Education's budget. Whether 2.4

percent is significant would, however, depend on comparisons between the amount allocated to FLAE and amounts allocated to other line items in the Ministry's budget. Unfortunately, complete, intra-Ministry budget breakdowns were not available, and the question of the significance of this amount remains unanswered.

What is clear is that FLAE has not been able to spend the full 23 million. FLAE was unable, or unwilling, to indicate how much of that amount had been spent to date, or would be spent by the end of the fiscal year (20 March 1975). Its inability to provide this information would indicate a serious administrative inadequacy; its unwillingness would give rise to suspicions as to motives for concealing them. FLAE acknowledges it has not been able to use all of its annual allocation. That it has not can be attributed partially to the fact that it has been able to fill only 140 of its 594 budgeted slots, and partially to the fact that it has been able to initiate classes for only 1,700 of an initially intended 3,500 students in rural areas. The fact that FLAE was unable to utilize its annual appropriations means that the figure of 23 million afghanis needs to be discounted as evidence of budgetary support. How much it should be discounted remains problematical until accurate figures are made available.

c) Impressions formed on the basis of talks with Ministry of Education people including FLAE personnel are given below.

Support for the team's efforts was verbally expressed by the Minister of Education, Dr. Kayeum, who has been recently appointed. He was, however, not familiar with the purposes of the team's visit nor did he appear to be briefed on the concept of NFE. When he learned that the project the team was preparing would focus on practical skills instead of literacy skills, he responded favorably. He also assured the team that he appreciated the fact that it would be necessary to undertake a pilot project first to test the kinds of innovations in NFE we would be proposing, i.e., that the project would not have an immediate national impact.

The first Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. Siddiq, appeared to be more familiar with the concept of NFE. He assured the team of GOA's support for an NFE effort. He did not appear, however, to appreciate the difficulty of mobilizing the kind of interministerial cooperation which the team mentioned would be necessary for a successful program.

Ms. Kubra, President of the Directorate of Functional Literacy and Adult Education, was very cooperative and prompt in her efforts to set up site visits to meet with sub-governors and to respond to a draft of the team's project outline. Her comments, during the two working sessions the team had with her, were to the point and reflected the fact that she has given considerable thought to the issue of NFE. Her suggestion concerning the circumvention of Ministry requirements in order to

"contract" local residents as field operations agents for the project was a strong example of her willingness to try a new approach and to identify and take the steps necessary to get a project going. Ms. Kubra's remaining as President of FLAE would undoubtedly enhance, if not assure, that a viable program would be implemented. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether she will: a) continue in her dual roles as both head of FLAE and President of the Women's Institute, or b) drop the responsibilities of FLAE to devote her attention to the responsibilities of the latter post to which she has been recently appointed. There are indications that a search is on to replace her in FLAE and the attitudes and competence of her successor are, of course, unknown. Should this happen, the attitudes and competence of her successor would be an important point to consider.

There are mixed indicators concerning support from the staff of FLAE for a program that will focus on non-literacy, practical skills.

On the positive side, as a result of the experience gained in the Directorate's and its predecessor body's failures with functional literacy classes (and undoubtedly as a result of Dr. Saraf's leadership), most of the staff we worked with appreciated the need for a new approach to adult learners. Specifically, they realized that unless the content of the educational activity was relevant to the adult, i.e., had some

type of practical and immediate payoff--adults would not attend classes. They have seen that literacy instruction in its more traditional form and literacy per se, are not relevant in the lives of the villagers. Moreover, members of the FLAE staff appreciate the fact that twelfth grade graduates or primary school teachers are not adequately prepared for the task of adult education by virtue of their schooling alone. On the contrary, the FLAE staff voiced their opinion that being officially appointed by the Ministry of Education as a teacher created attitudes on the teachers' part that inhibited, if not precluded, their working effectively in a less structured program. FLAE is looking for a new kind of teacher.

On the negative side, it became readily apparent that the functional literacy concept and approach have become ingrained in the mind of the Vice President of FLAE and in the minds of some of the other staff with whom we worked. The idea that a NFE program should start and perhaps exclusively focus on non-literacy practical skills was soon lost sight of in most discussions. Reference to "non-literacy practical skills" for these sorts of skills soon reverted to "pre-literacy skills." After a short time, the rhetoric and jargon of functional literacy crowded out reference to them altogether. The verbal events probably reflect a conceptual process in which there was more assimilation than accommodation.

It is perhaps slightly unfair to fault an institution for

not meeting its stated objectives; few do. However, part of the task of determining national support consists in determining not only national willingness, but also capability. It does not appear that FLAE is very capable in terms of mobilizing resources for rural educational programs. During the years 1351 through 1353, the FL program conducted classes for 5,700 of an intended 11,000. It was unable to deliver educational services to women the way it had intended to. Only this year has it been able to provide classes for women. One might observe that the functional literacy program has demonstrated the ability to mobilize classes for 5,700. However, given the absolute lack of records concerning attendance, duration, teacher or student performance, etc., it remains unclear what institutional capacity has been demonstrated.

2. Conclusions and Observations

a) I was not able to find many indicators of significant support for a non-literacy NFE project in rural areas.

b) At the highest level, GOA appears to be committed to rural development, but a comprehensive approach to rural development. Whether the implementation of a non-literacy NFE project outside targeted rural development areas (and the three prescribed woleswali definitely do not lie within targeted rural development areas) will enjoy much support remains unclear.

c) Within MOE and FLAE, evidence of support for a non-literacy NFE can best be described as tolerance of the concept

at the higher levels and the beginning of interest at lower levels.

d) In almost all of the foregoing discussion, I have been dealing with impressions concerning national willingness to support a non-literacy NFE project. Only in the instance of former FLAE performance have I dealt with capacity to support such a project. Here FLAE's track record is not very good. Regardless of excuses concerning the need for further UNDP support, FLAE has not been able to mobilize much in the way of a functional literacy program in rural areas. This inability is a serious matter and should be counted as a definite negative indicator of potential, national capacity to support a non-literacy NFE project in rural areas.

e) Verbal support for the concept of NFE can be attributed more to "new project fever"--generated by visions of a temporary fiscal shot in the arm for institutions and individuals--than to any firm readiness to commit funds, personnel, time, attention and professional security. It can also be attributed to what appears to be the government's anxiety concerning the delivery of fisible projects in an effort to legitimize its rule. People are interested in any idea that might lead to some kind of visible project. Whether they are willing to commit themselves sufficiently to support new projects is not very clear.

### 3. Limitations

a) The team was not able to discuss the issue of national

support openly with Afghans who hold the political power that determines policy effecting support.

b) Accurate, detailed data concerning budgetary support were not available and could not be constructed in three weeks.

c) In forming impressions and judgments concerning FLAE, the team was dealing with a handful of key personnel--not all--and under conditions that encouraged that kind of dissembling that is likely to bias those impressions and judgments. Three of the six counterparts were candidates for fellowships. In their eyes, the team's purpose was to put together a plan that could be implemented at USAID cost. It is likely that responses provided by the staff were largely those the counterparts thought the team wished to hear. The fact that there was absolutely no counterpart comment or response to the gut conceptual and design issues embodied in the team's initial draft proposal is an indicator that the team did not penetrate too deeply into their thinking.

(Local Support)

1. Discussion

In discussing local support, I refer to support from district governors, village headmen, and villagers.

Two of the three district governors the team dealt with appeared to be very supportive of a non-literacy NFE project in their areas. This impression is based on discussions with them during the several hours traveling to and from sites and

during meetings in their offices at the end of the day's travels. They expressed a keen interest in starting practical skills programs, a willingness to act as a go-between between the villagers and the team if the team should decide to pursue the issue with the villagers themselves, and a willingness to provide more information concerning each of the villages.

These two district governors represent a new breed of middle-level managers that the fledgling Republic is attempting to bring into positions of leadership and power. They evinced energy, a sense of purpose, an appreciation for the need for developmental efforts, and a willingness to deal with and listen to the people. They were noticeably different from the kind of autocratic political flunkies who have in years past been the characteristic woleswal.

The team did not discuss the prospects of a non-literacy NFE project directly with any of the village headmen or with any villagers. In forming impressions about potential participation and local support the team relied on the experience of the former Community Development Program, begun in 1954 and terminated in the late sixties. The senior development advisor to this UN-assisted program wrote in his 1966 termination report, "the most impressive aspect of the programme has been people's participation and voluntary contributions even though village councils are still to be efficiently and statutorily

organized."<sup>1</sup> Problems in communication with village-level development groups were laid in this report to "ineffective and inadequate contacts of the project officials with the Village Councils."<sup>2</sup> This report suggests that the failure of this experiment of community development may be attributed to inadequate government support.

In my limited contact with village headmen and in witnessing the interaction between headmen and district governors, I found the kind of openness, straightforwardness, and lack of timidity that increase the further one gets from Kabul. While these characteristics only have indirect importance concerning the issue of local support for a non-literacy NFE project, they offer some assurance that straight answers concerning support can be obtained by FLAE officials if FLAE bothers to ask them in planning an NFE project.

## 2. Conclusions and Observations

a) Past experiences indicate that local support for developmental programs have not had difficulty in generating local support. The team anticipates that a practical skills NFE project should not have any difficulty in this regard.

b) Personal interviews with Afghan friends indicated that local support would not be a problem, that a project should

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<sup>1</sup> \*Final Report of A. Prakash, Senior C.D. Advisor, Covering the Period from July 1953 to December 1966," United Nations document produced in Kabul but undated, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Prakash, p. 16.

anticipate difficulties arising when it came time for central agencies to contribute to the program.

c) Due to the probability of difficulty in garnering necessary central support, any NFE project should attempt to focus on practical skills that require no--or the least amount possible--external support.

### 3. Limitations

The obvious and most debilitating limitation the team had to work with was official discouragement concerning its intentions to deal directly with village leaders and villagers. There is some wisdom in the government's having so discouraged the team. It prevented raising expectations among the villagers concerning a program that may not materialize. But, not talking to villagers directly, certainly limits the validity of the team's observations. (The team should honestly acknowledge that it did not put up much resistance when it was so discouraged. There were ways in which the team could have politely and pleasantly pursued the issue, but it timidly refrained from doing so.)

### D. Cultural, Social, and Political Factors

The team was directly to identify "cultural, social, political or institutional factors that might inhibit project development."

#### 1. Discussion

The team envisioned a program that gives at least equal

attention to women's education. Women's status in Afghanistan is a serious inhibiting factor for certain types of NFE programs. It is not impossible to work around this factor, but it must be taken into consideration. In traditional village settings, women are second-class citizens who enjoy only the limited status and privileges (including freedom of movement) accorded to second-class citizenship.

There is another cultural factor that might be called the Malem (teacher) Syndrome. If a project is identified as an "educational project", it is likely that certain traditional expectations concerning the activities of village workers (who would be perceived as teachers) and the relationship between the workers and villagers will be raised. These expectations may inhibit the kind of non-classroom, non-teacher like project I see as basic to a NFE project.

Cultural tabus may also restrict the types of materials that can be developed. For example, though I do not have information concerning villagers in the prescribed sites, there has been village reluctance and refusal to deal with tape recorders elsewhere in Afghanistan. This reluctance was based on the fear that the tape recorder would steal the villagers' voices and thus part of themselves. There was also fear that the recordings of women's voices might be played to men. Although such tabus and fears do not preclude the implementation of an effective program, they do constitute inhibiting factors

which impose constraints within which any eventual program will have to work.

It is not entirely appropriate to classify perceptive limitations as a culturally inhibiting factor. However, villagers' inability to perceive or to interpret accurately color movies, their ability to deal with line drawings better than with photos are examples of other cultural factors that will constrain the range of materials that can be developed. (RDD has reports based upon field observations concerning villagers' perceptions in other areas of Afghanistan.)

Perhaps the single most significant social factor to be taken into consideration is the role and power of the maliks (headmen) in the villages. There is no way in which an effective project can be started and carried on without at least the tacit consent of the malik--and the unofficial village council of elders. The malik's power is not necessarily a negative factor, but it can be. At the very least, it is a factor that must be contended with in program planning and implementation.

A second possible social inhibiting factor is ethnic polarization within the villages. In all the villages there appear to be only two ethnic types--Tadjik and Pushtun. These two groups enjoy number two and number one positions respectively in terms of social status. Ethnic intergroup antagonism is thus less likely than in villages with a greater ethnic mix. Nevertheless, in those villages in which one or the other

groups is in a distinct minority, it may be hard to reach both groups with a NFE program; or it may be hard to accomplish intra-village cooperation involving both groups.

The boundaries that delimit the political are difficult to find. Items that may be broadly classified as political are listed here.

The political atmosphere may be described as too long awaiting for the second shoe to drop. The change of government in July 1973 generated a good deal of local enthusiasm concerning developmental prospects. But that was over a year and a half ago. Much of that enthusiasm has waned. Moreover, the lack of movement in the ensuing months has given rise to doubts in the minds of the people--especially in the minds of middle-level ministerial people--that anything has really changed. Out of this doubt that a real change has occurred there has arisen a fear--fear to make responsible decisions lest they commit oneself in a direction not considered favorable by those in the upper power structure. Until clear-cut policies are laid down by the government, the kind of responsible midlevel management needed to get development projects going is going to be very scarce. The element of fear is exacerbated by frequent shifts in appointments as the government and factions within the government attempt to consolidate their bases of power. The general atmosphere is definitely not one primed for action.

There is a brighter side to this picture. Whenever politically possible, it appears that the present government is attempting to appoint competent people to positions of authority. When the government feels assured that it has consolidated its political base sufficiently, there is every likelihood that competent people will be assigned responsible positions.

There is another political factor--one that is more specifically related to a NFE project--that must be considered. As we mentioned earlier, there is considerable priority being given to rural development--comprehensive rural development. While projects that fall outside the domain of this political priority may be tolerated, the kind of whole-hearted support often necessary to cut through bureaucratic red tape is not likely.

Within the institutional realm, there are two factors which may hinder any practical skills-oriented NFE project. I am convinced that any NFE project that undertakes to help local people acquire knowledge, attitudes, and skills to tackle local problems will require the assistance--both technical and material--of specialists or agencies that do not reside in the Ministry of Education. Agriculture specialists will be needed to help assess development potential in a given area and to help devise curricula that are related to agricultural problems. The introduction of new income-producing activities will require not only technical advice concerning their performance, but will

probably also require market analysis to determine the marketability of service skills or products to be produced locally. Health advisers will be needed to assist with constructing benchmark surveys and the preparation of curriculum content. Other examples could be given to indicate how the assistance of other agencies and/or ministries will be needed throughout the operation of the project.

There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that such cooperation will be forthcoming. On the contrary, the operations of various ministries suggest that each considers its respective topical area its own bailiwick. For example, it is highly probable that the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation will, at best, look askance at a project under the aegis of the Ministry of Education that meddles in basic agricultural extension work, regardless of whether substantive extension work is going on under MOAI sponsorship. It is hardly likely that it will cooperate in supplying external assistance for a village when it becomes required. The low probability of interministerial cooperation is a serious institutional factor that threatens the successful operation of a rural NFE project. Without interministerial cooperation, a NFE project stands a good chance of being only an educational effort at development and the record is replete with cases and evidence that education alone cannot achieve development.

There is another institutional consideration, one that perhaps pertains more to the specific proposed project, but of a sufficiently general character to warrant mention in this section. To date, efforts in functional literacy might be characterized as an effort to bring schooling to adults in rural areas--fixed meeting places, with a teacher who either lectures or uses rote methods, relying on a standardized text of prescribed content. Hopefully, that model is being dismantled, but the process has hardly begun and is certainly not completed. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, the functional literacy doctrine constitutes the basic conceptual reference point within FLAE.

The establishment of a NFE section within FLAE, but enjoying some degree of functional integrity and autonomy seems a basic requisite for starting a viable non-literacy NFE project. Yet to create such a section, a section that would enjoy certain privileges, would be to introduce the potential for tension and conflict between that section and the rest of FLAE. This possibility is only mentioned as an institutional factor to be contended with, not as an unavoidable impediment. The UNESCO Chief Adviser to the functional literacy program has already expressed the hope that the NFE and the literacy programs could work together, and there is no reason why such cooperation could not materialize.

## 2. Observations

On the whole, I do not find any cultural, social, or political factors that would preclude the implementation of a non-literacy NFE project worthy of the name. There are, however, factors that must be reckoned with and which will restrict in different ways various aspects of any eventual program.

I am worried about interministerial cooperation. Its absence could preclude the effective operation of practical skills NFE project. (This concern has led the team to build in a performance check into Phase I of the proposed project as a means of testing whether a minimum of interministerial cooperation can be arranged as a necessary element in project development. Cf. Activity a) Site Suitability Assessment under Phase I of the appended project outline.)

## 3. Limitations

The team spent only three weeks in Afghanistan. Two members of the team have spent a total of seven years in Afghanistan off and on during the period 1964 - 1973, so some impressions gained during this trip could be checked against previous experiences and knowledge. However, I note the lack of hard information on cultural and social factors in the villages. Likewise, three weeks is too short a time to become sufficiently briefed in new political and institutional realities. Much of the foregoing discussion is based on impressions. I am

less than comfortable with the analysis, since so much is based on impressions.

#### IV. COMMENTS ON THE FEASIBILITY OF THE PROPOSED PROJECT

There are a handful of essential elements contained in the proposed project outline without which the program would cease to be the project the team conceptualized. I use these elements as the focal points for our discussion of the feasibility of that project and in making certain recommendations.

##### A. A Client-Centered Project

The project must be oriented toward the learning needs of villagers. By this I mean that it must make every effort to identify what the adults themselves perceive to be the problems in their daily lives about which they wish to learn something in order to improve their lives. This information provides the starting point from which curriculum content, materials, and methods are devised. Since I anticipate that there will be differences as well as similarities among villages, the client-centered approach precludes the establishment of a standardized, externally prescribed curriculum. Unless the project starts with expressed learner needs, there is every likelihood that classes will not survive.

There is some positive indication that key personnel in FLAE appreciate the client-centered approach. Motivation of adult learners is a very conscious issue among FLAE staff and it was a frequent topic of the team's discussions with them.

The functional literacy program's bitter experience with prescribed curricula impressed many of the FLAE staff of the need to provide learning that is identified by the learners as useful. Caution should, however, be exercised in estimating how easily this perceived need can be translated into actual revision of teaching methodologies.

B. Utilization of Village Field Operations Agents

Recalling the UN adage that it is easier to train localite agents in modern technologies than it is to bring technology to an area via external agents and previous failures in Afghanistan, the team included the use of field operations agents (foa's) in the project design. The team envisions that residents of the villages will be selected as go-betweens--men and women who stand between the people of the village and the central agency responsible for preparing educational modules that respond to the learning needs of the villagers.

These agents have several project roles. First, they bring villagers together and assist them in identifying critical learning needs which they record and relate to the project's central staff. The project central staff devises learning packages which address those needs and trains the foa's in the methods and materials they have devised. Second, the foa's return to the village learning groups and help the villagers use the learning packages. Third, the foa's report to the central staff the information needed to determine the effectiveness of

the learning packages. Fourth, should the NFE project lead to cooperative ventures, the foa's would probably act as organizers or officers.

Although these agents should be literate, it is definitely not necessary that they be highly schooled. In fact, there is reason to believe that if they are highly schooled, they will not be as effective.

The wisdom of utilizing such workers has been at least verbally acknowledged by most of the FLAE staff we dealt with. Members of that staff and Ms. Kubra herself identified a way of circumventing Ministry of Education regulations concerning the hiring of staff. Ministry regulations currently require that teachers have at least thirteen years of schooling. Ms. Kubra suggested that when schooling was not a critical factor in the selection of some workers, the FLAE could contract for their services.

Although I assume that individuals with the characteristics spelled out in the project outline can be found in the project sites, there is no assurance that they can be found. Moreover, the project design is based on the assumption that female as well as male foa's can travel to Kabul for short training sessions. Yet there is no evidence that such women can be identified.

#### C. Afghan National Core Staff

As a result of FLAE's reaction to an earlier draft outline

of a NFE project, the team incorporated FLAE staff members' recommendations that the core staff of the NFE project be Afghan. I feel that FLAE's recommendation in this regard is a positive indicator of the project's probability of success. The team feels that this recommendation will mean that responsibility for the success or failure of the project will be in the hands of Afghans--an arrangement that is in sharp contrast to some project support efforts.

Moreover, I feel that FLAE is correct in saying that there exists a pool of professional Afghans from which can be selected those with the talents and backgrounds necessary to staff the project. Core staff need not have had experience in NFE itself, although that would be an asset. Professionals in more general areas, e.g., research, teacher training, methods and materials development, can re-tool their skills to fit the needs of a non-literacy NFE project.

The fact that such a pool of professionally trained Afghans exists does not, of course, mean that they will necessarily be identified and selected. In preparing the project paper and the protocol to be signed, USAID must take special precautions to insure that the contracting agency responsible for the project has the power to make the final decision concerning who is appointed to various positions. One mechanism that will help to insure the selection of qualified personnel is to insist that the decisions concerning respective positions be made only

after a certain number of candidates have been proposed for each position. It is also necessary to insist that FLAE not be the only agency to submit the names of prospective candidates and that the contracting agency be left free to recruit the names of candidates on its own.

The development of a core NFE staff with FLAE presents a bit of a dilemma. On one hand, sufficiently higher rewards will have to be offered in order to attract qualified personnel. On the other hand, such rewards may cause resentment on the part of regular FLAE staff. One possible route between the horns of this dilemma would be to seek rewards other than highly visible salaries. Insuring retirement benefits, sick leave benefits with pay, foreign training opportunities, and perhaps somewhat higher salaries are a set of options that should be considered in this regard. I feel that other rewards, e.g., greater freedom of decision making and exercising of initiative, association with professional colleagues of comparable calibre, dependability of materials and logistical support, will not go unrecognized by potential candidates.

#### D. Interministerial Cooperation

The project depends upon interministerial cooperation in several ways. First, it relies upon experts from other ministries in assessing the developmental potential of each site and in other aspects of initial site assessment. Second, the project needs expert help from various ministries when it comes to

put together learning packages containing topical technical material, e.g., nutrition, fertilizer application, etc. Third, the project depends on interministerial cooperation to provide the technical and material assistance that I envision will be required as villagers identify developmental needs that call for material or technical resources from outside the village. Two examples may help to illustrate how the project will come to need the assistance of other ministries in this way.

Should a learning group in the village identify health needs as a problem area (e.g., severe dysentery and deaths among children in the heat of summer) and a learning package be developed, it is to be hoped that the learners will come to see the need for a clean water supply. At this point in the learning process, the learners will hopefully attempt to identify alternative sources of clean water. Should their discussion lead to the articulation of their need for a clean well, or for piped water from a clean spring, I feel it is the responsibility of the project staff to offer advice concerning agencies outside the village which can provide technical advice and/or material assistance needed in order to obtain it (e.g., piping, cement well rings, cement to enclose the well). Another example, should the village learning groups state that they wish to learn a skill that would enable them to produce goods that will have a market, e.g., knitting of woolen garments for domestic or tourist sale, advice from the Ministry of Mines and Industries

or from PACCA will be needed to determine what materials are needed to insure quality production, how to organize the delivery of quality materials (e.g., good yarn or reliable dyes for dyeing local yarn) to the village for processing, how to finance those materials (or tools used), and how to market the goods that are produced. In both examples, I foresee that sometime during the process of the project, the project will have to rely on inter-ministerial cooperation to provide this sort of needed technical or materials assistance.

I have already expressed my apprehensions concerning the possibility of such interministerial cooperation. I am frankly at a loss concerning a completely satisfactory way to circumvent this institutional difficulty. Four alternatives--each with obvious advantages and disadvantages--come to mind.

First, the project could go ahead without assurances of interministerial cooperation and hope that problem situations requiring the least amount of external aid could be targeted for the duration of the pilot project. The project could rely on foreign advisers and/or part-time Afghan consultants from Kabul University (provided for in the project outline) in preparing technical curriculum content. The obvious disadvantage to this alternative lies in the constraints laid upon the learning groups in identifying perceived needs that can be addressed. Many critical needs are likely to be just those that require external assistance. To steer discussion away from problems

of that sort is likely to undermine villagers' confidence in the project.

Second, the project design could be amended so that an Afghan staff of "technical specialists" could be maintained on a full-time basis--each specialist being added as articulated learning needs from the villages become known, but starting with a core of agricultural expert, health expert, and cottage industry adviser.

Third, in negotiating the project, USAID and FLAE could take the bull by the horns and appeal to higher levels of the government, e.g., the President or Vice President, to force the kind of administrative arrangements necessary to insure inter-ministerial support. The obvious drawbacks to this alternative are 1) the difficulty of approaching higher channels and 2) the fact that there is no guarantee that dictated administrative arrangements will be translated into actual assistance.

Fourth, the NFE project could be relocated into an agency that already has the capability to muster technical and material assistance of the sort needed. By intention and administrative design, RDD has this capability, but there is no factual evidence that it really possesses the ability to muster necessary resources at this time. Moreover, the relocation of the NFE project would undoubtedly result in undesirable effects upon USAID/K Education Division's relation with the Ministry of Education.

To sum up, I feel that events have developed past the point where USAID can easily or comfortably say no to the initiation of a pilot, non-literacy NFE project. Moreover, there is a definite need for practical skills that can be addressed by the kind of NFE project the team has described. And, the three woleswalis that have been prescribed do contain villages rural enough to permit learning lessons about how to address learning needs in other rural areas.

The important questions that remain do not have to do with whether there should be a non-literacy, NFE project in Afghanistan. The important questions have to do with how to work around existing constraints and inhibiting factors. AID needs to keep these in mind constantly. It also needs to build in some contingency check points which will provide the opportunity for mid-stream decisions about whether, and if so how, continued support should be given.

On the first account, a project design and implementation team will need to keep cultural and social constraints in mind and attempt to devise a project with them--e.g., education to women in their homes, participation of village leaders in program decisions. These sorts of constraints can be worked relatively easily. More serious inhibiting factors threaten the carrying out of a successful NFE project. The most serious are:

- 1) the current lack of understanding and appreciation of the non-conventional, educational approach to practical adult

learning needs and 2) the apparent lack of institutional mechanisms for the kind of interministerial cooperation needed by the project the team has put together. Overseas visits, seminars, workshops, and in-service training can go a long way toward dealing with the first inhibiting factor. The lack of institutional support will be more difficult to deal with. I anticipate that it will be an ever-present problem.

I do feel that the issue of institutional support is an issue that can and should be quickly brought to the attention of FLAE--in the person of Ms. Kubra--and to the Ministry of Education--in the persons of Dr. Siddiq and Professor Qayeum. I suspect that all three are prepared to engage in the nonsense kind of discussion that may generate partial answers to this problem. Another way to begin to approach the issue of "noneducational" developmental activities being carried out under MOE aegis (and the converse--educational activities being carried on by ministries other than MOE) would be to have USAID/K/s various divisions get their acts together. Tony Lanza with education, Chuck Gurney with health, Lou Mitchell with rural development, and Ray Hooker with small agribusiness, each working with their respective Afghan agencies should attempt to see how possible NFE efforts in each area can be designed to be complementary. It is not too difficult to foresee how quid pro quo arrangements could be worked out among ministries--as long as they are quid pro quo. FLAE could provide educational

expertise (once developed) for educational activities in other ministries; and the other ministries could provide technical advice in the preparation of topical material for FLAE/NFE projects. Developing such arrangements will, of course, be more difficult than foreseeing them.

On the second account, the final project design should have definite check points at which decisions concerning further support can be made. The team has designed the entire Phase I of the Draft Project as a performance test of FLAE support capability (as well as a necessary pre-implementation phase). Specific performance criteria need to be spelled out before any protocol is negotiated. The negotiations of that protocol should include an unambiguous explanation of how Phase I will serve as a test of FLAE and general GOA support capabilities. Additional check points need to be built into Phases II through IV. These latter check points would have more to do with how support should be provided, rather than with if support should be continued.

It is difficult to conclude these remarks. There are many points which need further treatment; many issues have been left hanging. Perhaps the simplest way to conclude is to say that I feel the design the team has put together has a better chance of resulting in the outcome objectives identified in the project outline than any other project on the horizon. I do, however, emphasize that there are certain difficulties which have to be

dealt with. Some can be surmounted by careful project design and negotiation. Others will undoubtedly have to be lived with.

APPENDIX A

Chronological Narrative Description of Consultant Team Visit

January 8, 1975

Meeting in Washington in Dr. Freeman's office with:

Harold Freeman  
Bernard Wilder  
Michael De Legge  
Clifford Block  
Stephen Moseley  
(A.E.D.)

and Team Members:

Lyra Srinivasan  
John Villaume  
John Bing

The consultant team met together for the first time and was briefed by two of the three members of the feasibility team (Wilder and Freeman; Jack Mezirow was the third member of the feasibility team that had visited Afghanistan in September). The consultant team was presented with a draft Scope of Work (which remained unchanged and became the Scope of Work) and a working outline entitled "Afghanistan-Nonformal Education Project" (both attached). The consultant team was given a general briefing on the status of development of non-formal education (NFE) in Afghanistan and the "Report of Feasibility Mission."

The objectives of the consultant team (hereafter called simply "team") were:

1. To survey potential for the NFE project in selected districts of Kabul Province and if such a project were judged feasible, to

2. Develop a draft project design.

Informally mentioned by Freeman as potential outcomes of the team visit were recommendations for:

1. Project delay or cancellation,

2. Continued planning for project development, or a "year of planning" as outlined in the Scope of Work,

3. Project design and development.

Travel schedules of Bing, Srinivasan and Villaume were discussed: Bing to arrive on January 11; Srinivasan and Villaume, on January 13. Duration of stay was also discussed. February 10 was set as a tentative date for debriefing in Washington.

January 11:

Meeting in Kabul (informal), Bing and Lanza

Bing related to Lanza the Scope of Work and content of Washington briefing discussion followed and Lanza stated that he thought the Government of Afghanistan (GOA) would not accept any further study of developing NFE through A.I.D. in Afghanistan, and expressed his hope that a draft project design would result from the team visit. He gave Bing a copy of the recently completed Mission "Project Review Paper (PRP) -- Non-Formal Education Project, FY 76-78," a detailed planning document for

the development of NFE in Afghanistan. Bing also secured a copy of the UNESCO village-level study in northern Afghanistan.

January 12:

USAID Staff Meeting with Vincent Brown, Director, Presiding Bing introduced; meeting centered on arrival of Parker, Director, A.I.D., et al., the third week in January.

January 13:

Informal Meeting, Bing and Martin Kumorek (USAID staff)

Discussion focussed on the village-level socio-cultural mechanisms for developing a NFE program. Several were suggested, including the community-based Jirgah meetings.

Bing also met with the Afghan Peace Corps staff and with Dr. M. Ehsan Eftezar, President of Compilation, Ministry of Education, at which informal discussions of NFE were held.

Team Members Srinivasan and Villaume arrive in Kabul.

Meeting with USAID and contract-team personnel (evening).

A regularly-scheduled informal meeting of American personnel was held during which team members described the concept of nonformal education and its potential development in Afghanistan. Feedback was given to team members and some of the difficulties surrounding the development and implementation of NFE were discussed.

January 14:

Meeting with Miss Kubra, President, FLAE (Functional Literacy and Adult Education), the parent organization for the planned NFE Program. In attendance were: Team Members, Lanza, and M. Younus Iskanderzadeh, a Ministry of Education Staff member currently on leave to work with Dr. Lanza and USAID.

Mr. Iskanderzadeh acted as interpreter.

The team was introduced to President Kubra. She asked if the protocol were ready for signature, indicating that her expectation was that the team was arriving with a plan ready for submission to the GOA. It was then explained that the team was here to survey and possibly develop the draft of a plan which could then be submitted. A request to visit the three districts which the GOA had assigned to the project was made; President Kubra cautioned against visiting the villages directly, but then said she would make arrangements to talk with the district governors and to discuss such a visit. The team also expressed the hope that it would soon meet the FLAE counterparts assigned to it.

A discussion then ensued which lasted for about one hour. The concepts of functional literacy and NFE were discussed, as well as general questions concerning motivating the rural poor to attend classes, and the differences between education of adults and for children. The meeting ended with plans to meet with the counterparts and with Dr. Saraf, Chief of the UNESCO

### Functional Literacy Team.

After the meeting, Dr. Lanza conducted a brief motor tour of Chardehi.

Afternoon Meeting with Richard Scott (Program Office, USAID), Dave Garner, and Hyder Narose (PAR/USAID); with team.

It was generally agreed by the three that the three areas of Kabul Province under consideration as pilot NFE sites were "extensions of the city." Discussion ranged over the question of what social infrastructure could be built upon to serve as a "demand structure" for NFE. It was pointed out that the village structure was more or less democratic depending upon the distribution of land ownership. Large landowners (sometimes called khans) exert a preponderance of political influence in proportion to the amount of land owned.

It was also pointed out that the Rural Development Department (RDD) has already impacted many of the villages in the three site areas through public works programs.

Summary of luncheon meeting with Dr. Donald Schutte who is a member of TCCU's Curriculum/Textbook project. We met at lunch and discussed an analytical framework which could be used in identifying the areas of possible NFE activity. His method is to identify topical patterns of activity at the local level, and government intention concerning changes in those patterns. He suggests that curriculum content should be based on government priorities.

The value of his analytical framework lies in the categories he uses for describing village life.

We might use them for the purpose, but we might also either expand his framework or use it for other purposes.

January 15:

Meeting with Thomas H. Eighmy, Associate Chief of Party, SUNY (demographic) team. Others present: team, Lanza, Iskanderzadeh.

Eighmy did not believe that the three Woleswalis chosen were representative of rural Afghanistan. "They are pulling your leg--probably most of the Ministers live there." He estimated that "the majority of the population--or a high percentage--will live or work in Kabul." He also observed that some of the villages of Chardehi "have been absorbed by the City of Kabul." And of Bagrami: "Everybody lives along Jalalabad road--the start of the British retreat route." He summarized his views by saying that "there are 300 minor civil divisions that are better than those that were picked" in terms of rural poor.

We then examined available demographic information on the three districts. Deh Sabz was described as a district "among the most fertile and productive in Afghanistan." Virtually all of Chardehi is now within the expanding limits of Kabul City. Information on the number of "Taskira" or work permits for selected towns was obtained (these are estimates and have only relative value).

AM Meeting with Dr. S.N. Saraf, Director, Functional Literacy Project of the Programme on Agricultural Credit and Cooperatives in Afghanistan (PACCA), Dr. Kaufman, Dr. Montazir (Deputy Director, FLAE), Mr. Iskanderzadeh, and the four counterparts to the team, Miss Aziza Aziz, Mssrs. Abdul Qayyum, Shewa, and Farighi.

Dr. Montazir led off the discussion by saying that Afghanistan's major concern is economic development. He asserted that in Afghanistan education should serve economic development. He then went on to describe the functional literacy program--pilot programs in Kohdaman and Baghan. Connected with PACCA, it is literacy in the framework of agricultural credits and cooperatives.

Dr. Saraf went on to describe the program further. He found that part-time literacy workers (called "agents") were not feasible. Among other things, the pay was not attractive. Saraf stated that the government is considering cooperatives by laws that would give preference for credits and cooperative development to those who have taken literacy classes. He spoke of external and internal motivation. He spoke of a shortage of women teachers, and hence the difficulty of starting sufficient numbers of classes for women. He also recommended that infrastructure development be linked to NFE development. Montazir then pointed out that the three regions chosen are currently a part of national developmental programs.

Saraf then discussed the selection and training of literacy agents. He wanted to find "sons of the soil"--not spoiled by teacher training. But the government turned down the proposal. The government initially required that only 13th grade graduates (of teacher-training schools) were to be hired. The GOA is now considering a proposal to allow twelfth-grade graduates to be hired as literacy agents.

PM Meeting with counterparts and Dr. Montazir.

The team met with their counterparts to engage in joint planning: Pairs of two or three were formed (mixed small groups) and an exercise was introduced to stimulate joint work. The exercise concerned the determination of the village-level structures that could accommodate NFE. Also discussed were the types of needs villagers might have. Each small group reported their observations to the entire group.

At the end of the exercise, Dr. Montazir proposed that the NFE project consider the construction of literacy centers in selected hub towns, with smaller centers in surrounding villages. He indicated that the FLAE might have sufficient funds for the construction of a few of these centers, and expressed his hope that A.I.D. could underwrite the costs for small village-level centers and audio-visual materials, books, desks, and other commodities to be provided for the centers. Members of the team suggested that one of the attractive qualities of NFE was the relatively smaller amount of capital

costs required of NFE as compared to the formal education structure. No conclusions were reached.

January 16:

During the morning, President Kubra and Dr. Montazir and the counterparts met with the three district governors to set up a meeting with the team and to describe the purpose of their visit.

January 17:

Members of the team spent Friday reading various reports and studies concerning village-level development in Afghanistan, constructing objectives, constructing field visit guides and criteria for NFE village-level development, and meeting with Dr. Lanza regarding the above.

January 18:

AM Meeting of Srinivasan and Villaume with UNDP Representative Ted Nelson.

Nelson reviewed family planning activities within the U.N. and Afghan contexts. He mentioned the Afghan Family Guidance Association and the Women's Institute as groups with which we should make contact.

AM Meeting of Srinivasan with UNICEF Representative S.A. Hoelgaard

Hoelgaard said that within the education sector UNICEF has as its special focal point school-age children who have not had the opportunity to attend school. He reported that there are between 2 and 3 million out-of-school youth and only about 3/4 million enrolled in school (not all of whom attend). UNICEF is

supporting the establishment of a Research Unit in the Primary Education Department of the Ministry of Education. Four men and one woman are being sent to New Delhi in February to attend a 6-week training course at the Council for Social Development to study research methodology. Hoelgaard suggested that the new Research Unit should attach one or two people to the new NFE program. He hoped the new research unit would be involved in field-based action research. The purpose of such research would be to investigate the value of primary school to learners, family and community and to make schools more community-oriented.

Hoelgaard said he thought there are girls in the rural areas with a sixth-grade education who could be utilized as NFE agents. He recommended that any curricula which is developed for girls be culturally acceptable to the parents and be designed to make girls an economic asset to their families. In general, he was interested in cooperating with the NFE program.

AM Meeting of Srinivasan and Villaume with Jamila Saraj, Asia Foundation.

A short meeting was held in which the activities of the committee responsible for the Women's Year Planning were discussed.

PM Meeting with President Kubra at her offices. In addition to the team, the counterparts and Mr. Iskanderzadeh, the

following were present:

President Kubra  
Mr. Fateh Mohammed Montazir, Vice President of FLAE  
Mr. Ghafour, Provincial Director of Education for Kabul Province  
Mr. Azizulhaq, Woleswali (District Governor) Deh Sabz  
Mr. Bashiriat, Woleswali Chardehi  
Mr. Salahuddin, Woleswali Bagrami

After initial introductions, the team explained its purpose, i.e., that we hoped to explore with them the possibility of developing a NFE program for adults that would focus on practical skills, especially income-generating skills. We attempted to distinguish between literacy education for adults and non literacy NFE for adults and to emphasize the fact that we were interested in the latter. President Kubra then directed the governors to ask any questions and to express their views.

Mr. Ghafour warned that it was impossible to start in all three provinces at once. One of the governors asked what the criteria were for selecting the distance of the towns from Kabul. The reply: Far enough to be genuinely rural; near enough to visit in one day. The team attempted to emphasize the fact that we were interested in NFE for residents of areas which did not yet enjoy opportunities and services which the government had provided in other areas.

After the team had established some tentative site identification criteria, a long discussion in Dari was begun. President Kubra and the governors discussed various potential

village sites in detail.

Governor Salahuddin of Bagrami indicated that he thought we would have less difficulty in reaching the male than the female village populations. He also felt that one difficulty that the development of a regional or national program would have would be the great variation in economic development that we would encounter all the way down to the Woleswali level.

Azizulhaq, Governor of Deh Sabz, proposed four criteria for village-level development: 1. Denseley populated village area; 2. Willingness of population to participate; 3. Target group should be from the area and live there regularly; 4. Favorable conditions for vocational classes (upgrading of current skills or introduction of new).

Detailed discussion lasted for over two hours, and continued after the team had thanked President Kubra and departed. Prior to departure, a schedule of visits by the team and counterparts to villages in all three Woleswalis was agreed upon.

During the discussion, President Kubra warned the team not to expect visits with the villagers. The impression she gave was that the officials knew what the villagers needed, and it was not proper for the team to unduly raise the expectations of the local inhabitants.

January 19:

Meeting with Eng. M. M. Siddiq, President of the Rural Development Department (RDD), Louis L. Mitchell, Rural

Development Advisor, USAID, and the team.

(Prior to the meeting with Siddiq, Mitchell and the team discussed aspects of the RDD).

Mitchell said that although the administrative structure of RDD calls for an Adult Education Division, there is no activity along these lines now being conducted due to lack of staff. The team wanted to know about GOA agencies working in rural areas. One of the special concerns in this regard had to do with identifying agencies that might have the response capacity to respond to demands for services that might be generated by NFE village activities. For example, should a village come to the decision via NFE activity that it needed a cleaner water supply, what agencies would it go to in order to get some technical assistance? Mitchell responded that there are few agencies working in the rural areas in any systematic sense, that most rural development activity will be undertaken in select provinces, and that to the best of his knowledge the only agency with the ability to respond to local demands for assistance is the RDD. He further explained that there is an RDD office and a staff of approximately 10 people in each of the provinces. The staff includes someone in charge of construction, a driver, 2 storekeepers, 2 clerks, and 2 guards. RDD work is currently exclusively concerned with building the infrastructure, e.g., bridges, roads, etc. In response to a question about a

response mechanism for NFE requests from villages, Mitchell mentioned an existing Council of Presidents which included representatives from various ministries. This group apparently seldom meets.

Mitchell said that he would put together a list of agencies working in rural areas and that he would also provide us with sections of a project proposal he has written concerning integrated development efforts in the rural areas.

In our meeting with Siddiq, a brief history of the RDD was given.

January 25:

AM Meeting with Dr. Qayyum, Minister of Education.

Dr. Lanza, Y. Iskanderzadeh, our three counterparts, and the team met briefly with the Minister. We briefed the Minister on the purpose of our stay, emphasizing the following points:

- 1) We intended to consider an NFE project primarily directed toward non-literacy skills.
- 2) The project would attempt to begin with income-producing skills and work from there into social and individual development areas.
- 3) The project would be village centered.
- 4) The project would be a pilot project to test methodologies that might be suitable in the Afghan context. We explained that there would be no immediate, large-scale developmental impact.

5) We intended to consider education for women, but recognized the need to proceed cautiously in this area.

The Minister replied that it was to his surprise, but also his pleasure, that we were considering practical skills and not just literacy. He said that he appreciated the fact that a pilot project would have to be undertaken first.

AM Meeting with TCCU Textbook staff

While waiting for a later meeting with the First Deputy Minister we met with several members of the TCCU staff. We discussed the possibility of identifying Afghans either trained in or familiar with research skills. Members of the TCCU team identified a number of individuals who had served in various capacities in former research efforts.

Names mentioned which may be of use to the contractor in recruiting core staff were:

Byram, former director of research with TCCU  
Aziz Hamid, currently vice president of teacher education in MOE  
Aziz Yousufzai, chairman of TCCU textbook research group  
Osman Najand, trained in Iran in research techniques

Although it was not raised in this meeting, the name of Professor Zaher of the Department of Sociology at Kabul University was mentioned in our meeting with the PACCA team. Dr. Zaher is US and British trained (University of Sussex) and has conducted extensive field research in Afghanistan. His name should definitely be kept in mind as a possible local consultant to the core staff for research and evaluation purposes.

AM Meeting with Dr. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education

We repeated the briefing agenda followed with the Minister, adding that we could foresee how non-literacy education could eventually lead to a demand for literacy instruction.

The Deputy Minister expressed his keen interest in our work and asked that we return to report on the progress of our work before leaving the country.

PM Meeting with counterparts at FLAE

The purpose of our meeting was to present to our counterparts a rough outline of a project plan. Our intentions were to explain our statements and to elicit their response. Our explanation took up most of the two hours and there was little feedback from our counterparts. There seemed to be a hesitancy on their part to reply fully. We attributed this hesitancy to language difficulties in dealing with a sizeable document and deference to their superiors who were the appropriate authorities to deliver reactions.

January 26:

In the morning John Villaume met with Ray Hooker of the Program Office to discuss the availability of budgetary data. A request for certain data was made, and Dr. Hooker agreed to compile, construct, and deliver the data the following day.

AM Meeting with PACCA Staff

Dr. Srinivasan and Mr. Villaume met with members of the PACCA staff. They were briefed on the following points:

To date PACCA has worked in the areas of credit, supply, and marketing cooperatives. They have not undertaken consumer, civil service, or farming cooperatives. At present they are engaged in re-registering co-ops established under commercial law in accordance with a newly passed Cooperative Law.

So far eight of the former twenty-two co-ops have been re-registered.

At the peak of its operation, PACCA cooperatives numbered 22, each having an average of 100 members. Up to now PACCA has focused primarily on prosperous farmers. It now intends to deal with the less prosperous.

When asked to explain any educational component in the cooperative activity, the PACCA representatives said that the central staff conducts six orientation meetings to which prospective members are invited. In these meetings, the nature of a cooperative, the way it operates, members' responsibilities, etc., are explained. Once a cooperative is formed the staff conducts a series of training sessions for elected members to instruct them in the details of their duties. Those present explained that as a result of the new cooperative law, 10% of the earnings of cooperatives must be allocated to educational activities. Presumably these funds will be used to support FL programs that are designed to be attached to every cooperative.

We were also told that according to the new co-op law, any member of a cooperative who is not literate will be required to attend literacy classes.

We asked a number of questions about research that PACCA has undertaken. Apparently PACCA has had difficulty in conducting field research. We were told that this was due to the government's fear that it would anger the villagers. Those present expressed the conviction that such would not be the case and they cited SUNY's demographic survey as an example of how villagers cooperate with field research. They felt that attitudes toward field research varied according to ministries. They felt that the Ministries of Agriculture and Irrigation and Health were the most timid at present.

PACCA does have permission to keep detailed records concerning cooperative members. While this information is not adequate for evaluative purposes, it will provide some useful information concerning village life. The first compilation of data on coop members should be completed by the end of March.

We explained that our intentions were to investigate an NFE project that would deal with practical skills and would not necessarily involve literacy training. We explained that we foresaw a need for market analysis, financing, and cooperative

marketing of cottage-produced goods. They said that they thought they would be able to provide some assistance in this regard; at least they were empowered to do it by virtue of their new charter.

When we asked about criteria they used in determining whether to attempt the initiation of a cooperative in a given site, they replied that until now they had no fixed criteria for site selection. They said that they largely waited until local initiative lobbied enough to gain ministerial attention.

January 26:

PM Meeting with counterparts at FLAE

The purpose of our meeting was to get our counterparts' reactions to the first draft of the project outline we had presented for their consideration the day before. What we were to receive were Ms. Kubra's reactions rather than those of our counterparts. These were:

1) The counterpart visits should be for six, not three, weeks. Three weeks did not constitute enough time to see much in the way of field operations in other countries. The number of scholarships for this purpose should also be increased to six.

2) Due to the lack of trained personnel in the areas of survey and evaluation, one of the first activities of the project should be to train existing FLAE staff in research and evaluation techniques.

3) Afghan nationals should be recruited and contracted for consultant positions with the NFE project. These should be hired by USAID. They should receive higher salaries in order to free them from "financial constraints." Both long term and short term consultants should be Afghans.

4) The project should provide for the establishment of "complete" village learning centers in the pilot villages, furnished with supplies; a library, stove, etc.

5) The centers should be supplied with all types of audio visual materials, paper, and reproduction facilities.

6) The project should assist the development of a "research center" at central headquarters. (What they had in mind was more of a materials development and evaluation center than what we would call a research center)

7) The project should provide needed vehicles to insure proper field supervision.

8) The project should involve the Ministry of Public Health as one of the cooperating ministries in the preparation of curriculum.

After presenting FLAE's reaction to our initial draft, Mr. Montazir pulled out an old shopping list with a price tag of \$1,000,000, including a miscellaneous item for \$200,000.

We responded to all of this by saying that we certainly agreed with their suggestion to extend the length of the counter-

part travel. We likewise were pleased with their suggestion that the project be staffed by Afghans, but we indicated that it would most likely be necessary to bring in short term specialists to assist with special aspects of the project. We agreed to the need for supplies, materials, and vehicles; but we did not endorse the idea of village learning centers. We emphasized that we appreciated their response, but that we were in no position to enter negotiations of a protocol. We said that we would take their responses into consideration in drafting a final project outline.

Discussion turned more to the conceptual content of our draft project outline. Several members said that they thought the suggestion concerning the utilization of village workers was a good one. They had discussed this matter with Ms. Kubra and she thought that there would be no difficulty in arranging for their services through a "contract." This meant that they would not be officially appointed as members of the Ministry of Education. This arrangement would be better because it would hopefully effect better performance and would work around the difficulty of using twelfth-grade graduates.

We attempted to identify a good term to refer to these village-level workers. Mr. Muntazir was all for calling them "literacy agents" and only with great difficulty on our part and on the part of other members of the staff was he persuaded of the inappropriateness of that term. The rather awkward title (at least in English), "field operations agents", was hit upon and we have used it since.

January 27:

AM Meeting with Herr Walter, Director D.E.D. (German Peace Corps).

Herr Walter explained that D.E.D. is not currently involved in any cottage industry projects. He said that D.E.D. has been approached to provide workers in another project which may be of interest to us.

A group of Germans has been operating a project in Gardez. This group has set up elaborate workshops. They identify products or techniques in the areas of masonry, carpentry, blacksmithing, and engine mechanics. They develop prototypes or techniques that can be introduced into the bazaar with a minimum amount of capital outlay. They train local craftsmen in necessary skills and finance their purchase of materials, including materials for producing new tools. So far the project has developed a new metal plow and a water wheel. The technology for the production of these items is spreading throughout Afghanistan. Herr Walter thought that there were other items besides. He suggested that we contact members of this group for further details including how they approach local craftsmen, how they train them, and how they determine which products to focus on.

We were not able to pursue this lead, but list here the names he gave us:

Mr. Koestler, Director of the Project  
Mr. Schnitzle  
Mr. Gurnhardt  
Mr. Lanz

All of these gentlemen work and live in Gardez, but a member of the team often comes to Kabul on Wednesday or Thursday

to do office work. They can then be reached at the Handicraft Promotion Center - 21168.

We discussed the general political climate. Herr Walter felt that there were some positive signs. The government is critically reviewing all assistance programs. He felt this would lead to better development planning.

He felt that at present the quality of relations between assistance agencies and GOA varied from ministry to ministry. He suggested that the Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation and the Ministry of Health were the hardest to work with.

January 28:

AM Meeting with Ambassador Eliot.

The team reported on its work to date and outlined briefly the project design we were in the process of putting together. We explained that although it included four phases under one title, it would be more appropriate to think of Phase I as a separate entity. Phase I involved those activities that needed to be performed before a detailed plan of action could be written. Phases II to IV would be the body of any eventual project.

Dr. Lanza pointed out that this had important implications for funding; namely, that Phase I should be funded with project development funds.

February 1:

PM Meeting with Louis L. Mitchell, USAID/PARD

It was my purpose to learn from Lou the variety and extent of current development work at the village level. The matter was quickly cleared up by his categorical statement that there is absolutely no developmental work at the village level. The lowest level of the administrative ladder, at which developmental efforts exist is the woleswali, the seat of the district government. In some but not all provinces, there are agricultural agents at this level. Lou was very negative about the possibility that they actually get out of the district capital. There are some Basic Health Centers in the woleswalis, but as yet they operate on a walk-in basis and do not have an outreach program. There are RDD (cf. Engineer Seddiq interview) offices in some of the provinces, but here again they operate on a petition basis; and while the locus of construction activity may be at the village level, the RDD does not have agents working on other kinds of development projects in the villages.

I explained the degree to which the team felt that the success of the project depended upon cooperation from ministries outside the Ministry of Education at different points in its operation. He was most skeptical about the prospect of such cooperation. He felt that there was little chance of other ministries responding to requests for external assistance that were generated by a project under the agencies of the Ministry of Education. He felt that such cooperation would not be forthcoming regardless of which ministry undertook the local level

activity that led to a request for external assistance. He frankly stated that he did not think RDD would be willing to reply to such requests if they were generated by an FLAE/NFE project.

Lou thought that RDD was fertile ground for NFE project development. He pointed out that adult education has been provided for in its administrative structure, that Engineer Siddiq was very concerned about the need for an educational component as part of rural development work, and that RDD had been quite primed concerning NFE. Two years ago Dr. Al Alschuler from U. Mass. had been through and presented some ideas concerning NFE's potential for assisting with developmental work. Following that visit, a Mr. Sizeloff had been brought in to develop film strips to be used in teaching ministerial people the importance of rural construction projects. Mr. Sizeloff also undertook a good deal of field research on perceptive styles in villages in the south. This research examined villagers' interpretations of line drawing, black and white photos, color photos, movies, etc. This activity had generated a consciousness of the need to communicate with the villagers concerning development within their communication and perceptive modes. Lou pointed out that Engineer Seddiq had been to the MSU/NFE conference and had returned with many new ideas which he had presented directly to the President. Lou felt that Seddiq enjoyed the President's endorsement to implement an adult education program within RDD.

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Lou also pointed out that Seddiq has direct access to Moh'd. Hassan Sharq, the Vice President, and that this gives him greater freedom to undertake innovative projects. He also said that Seddiq was under some pressure to produce some visible programs and would probably have an open ear and mind for NFE programs.

February 3:

AM Meeting with Dr. Seddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education.

We reported on the nature of the project design we had put together. We emphasized the practical nature of the skills to be learned, the need for local field workers, the fact that educational experiences for adults cannot be modeled on the conventional school room setting, the fact that the project intends to utilize an entirely Afghan core staff, and the need for the contracting agency to have final say in the selection of members of that staff. We also elaborated on the proposed outcome objectives of the project.

Dr. Siddiq suggested that when the project outline is translated into Dari, a joint American-Afghan team should sit down to discuss its content, term by term, so as to avoid misunderstanding concerning the use of terms and to iron out any possible inappropriate translations. He said that he appreciated the need for local village workers. He mentioned that he intends to visit NFE projects in India and Malaysia during a trip later this month. He promised the ministry's support.

January 19:

PM Meeting with Pam Hunte, Field Interviewer for SUNY

Pam has been involved over the past two years in a number of field surveys: (1) follow up study on acceptors and discontinuers of contraception, (2) Traditional folkways of enhancing or limiting fertility, and (3) a survey of dais. She has been in contact with a very large number of women in their homes. She has worked in many areas, but mostly in the north.

Pam expressed the opinion that it would be necessary to take education to the women due to the simple fact that in most traditional settings it was almost impossible for the women to get out of the homes. Their inability to get out of the home was due to more than traditional prohibition; the women have a very busy, work-filled day. Their day has only a few free periods: (1) after the evening meal has been started and before the husband has come home for dinner (c. 4-5:00 p.m.), and (2) a like period in late morning when again the meal has been begun but the women have to wait until it is ready to serve. (We did not discuss the evenings, e.g., what activity takes up their time before they go to bed).

Pam's comments in this regard led us to consider ways in which education could be brought to the women in their homes. The first thought that came to mind was, of course, radio broadcast. Pam said that radio is very popular with the women, that there are two broadcasts during the day which

the women often listen to: (1) A soap opera without intended educational content which runs in sequences of three to four days. Unfortunately, the characters of this program are all urban. (2) A program concerning social problems, e.g., a young girl being forcefully engaged to marry an old man.

Pam said that the most effective channel and the one most appropriate to most of the contexts in which she has worked is word of mouth. She said that it was not to be discounted and that the gossip network was a very effective way for disseminating information, and quite quickly.

Pam also suggested that funerals, weddings, and hammams (baths) were social events. The latter exist only in more urban areas and would probably not serve as an occasion for bringing in outside communication in most of the settings that we are considering. Funerals and weddings happen everywhere and there is the possibility that "agents" of some sort might work at these occasions. One possibility would be to provide free entertainment that might have some specified content, e.g., singers with special songs or something else analogous to puppet shows in other cultures. There are certain difficulties with this idea since musicians and entertainers, especially women entertainers (since they show themselves in public), sit at the bottom of the social ladder.

During the discussion, the prevalence of photo albums was discussed; such a medium might serve for certain types

of NFE efforts. Two cautions are in order, however, in exploring the possibilities of this medium. One, photo albums are prevalent only in the more urbanized areas. Two, there is likely to be some difficulty in interpretation of content of prepared photo albums with specified content. A good deal of study would have to go into (a) acceptability of this medium and (b) adult perception patterns.

The conversation went back to the acceptability of visitors and we brainstormed the idea of a Women's Visitor Corps--a very low-keyed group of women who would travel from house to house to discuss problems the women have and who might be the go-between for the women's needs and outside information and materials that might address those needs.

Lyra came up with the idea of developing a portable slide box, lightweight so that it could be carried by visitors/workers from house to house, on which would be projected simple slides having to do with skills or issues raised by the women. These boxes would serve as focal points for conversation during visits. The content and the format of the content (readily interpretable, culturally acceptable) could be developed during the pilot project. The content and format would, however, probably have to remain relatively area specific as relevance and acceptability are likely to vary considerably.

Lyra also mentioned a technique which will be tested elsewhere in order to get Pam's opinion concerning its suitability

in situations Pam is familiar with. Lyra asked whether it would be permissible to tape the reactions of women to the programs on the portable slide box, to catch focused or exceptional remarks made in the course of the visitor's discussion. Pam cautioned that on some interviews she has been refused permission to record the interview. Lyra assured her that this would be done only after the family is comfortable in using the machine. Its introduction would have to be gradual and thorough, e.g., bring a recorder for them to operate, listen to their own voices, play back, etc., until they were comfortable with the device. Some women felt that the tape recorder would steal a part of themselves that could not be replaced. Pam felt that the technique might be tried, but that there would also have to be assurances that the recordings would not be played outside the village or before men, or whatever other assurances would be necessary.

Pam suggested that it would be necessary to have some authoritative woman figure with a good deal of status attached to the program, participate in the program, or introduce the program in order for it to get off to a good start. She was speaking from her experience with the SUNY interview schedules. At first women were reluctant to sign on as workers. Only after a few prestigious women agreed to work did others follow. Pam suggested that this was one critical factor in the success of their getting enough interviewers. She also felt that the higher salary that SUNY was

80

able to pay (3,500 afs per month) made a big difference.

In a later conversation with Pam, she suggested that should the NFE program get underway and need interviewers, it should keep in mind the cadre of interviewers trained by SUNY. SUNY has a list of all, and these would be special assets to any research effort.

All the former interviewers are accustomed to a salary of 3,000 afs per month and their introduction to the structure of FLAE might require some engineering.

DRAFT PROJECT OUTLINE FOR A NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PILOT PROGRAM  
IN RURAL AREAS OF AFGHANISTAN

Prepared for Consideration by  
USAID and the Government of Afghanistan

by

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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. Purpose and Scope of the Investigation

The team was directed to study the feasibility of a non-formal education (NFE) project in selected districts of Kabul Province, and, if deemed feasible, to propose the broad outlines of a project design.

The team and FLAE staff visited the three woleswalis designated by the Government of Afghanistan as potential project sites and interviewed a number of officials from agencies with programs in the general area of adult education.

An early draft of a program design was then presented to the Department of Functional Literacy and Adult Education for consideration and discussion. Following the submission of comments by staff of the FLAE Department, a final draft outline was completed and is herein submitted to FLAE and USAID for consideration.

The following pages outline, in phases, a non-formal education program in a specified geographic area. The team is aware of prior rural development programs which have failed to meet their objectives, many of these funded by outside agencies. We therefore must express our belief that success in this type of program is dependent on the degree of commitment to reaching program objectives. The team is encouraged by the degree of commitment expressed by the professional staff of the FLAE and by the district-level government personnel.

B. Goals and Objectives of the Project

1. Major Goals

To develop a pilot program of non-formal education in selected areas of Afghanistan, with a view to demonstrating effective ways of engaging rural youth and adults in the improvement of economic productivity, in raising the levels of living of their families and communities, and in creating the conditions for a self-generating process of local development.

Specifically the project will seek to:

- a. Provide rural youth and adults with knowledge and skills needed to improve their economic productivity in either existing or new occupations or both, depending on the local economic potential.
- b. Promote the development of other areas of living, particularly health, as a means of raising levels of living integrally.
- c. Structure and conduct learning opportunities in such a way as to promote the necessary human development and social opportunities in support of the above.
- d. Select and train the personnel capable of effectively generating and supporting this educational process.
- e. Develop and test appropriate methodologies and materials with emphasis on learner motivation and involvement.
- f. Document, analyze and evaluate the pilot experience and draw inferences for further planning.

2. Project Outcome Objectives at the Village Level

(Economic Area)

a. Current Economic Activities -- Increase productivity (greater or better product per unit of input) in current areas of economic activity (agricultural, animal husbandry, or other forms of production) engaged in by rural adults and youth.

b. New Economic Activities -- The production of items or services of economic value which are currently not being produced or supplied -- both for consumption within the village and for sale outside the village.

(Health Area)

a. Improved dietary consumption -- increased consumption of more nutritious diets.

b. Reduction in the variety and frequency of current, prevalent diseases and health hazards.

(Social Development Area)

a. An increase in the number and types of interpersonal or inter-familial cooperative activity in achieving any of the economic or health objectives.

b. An increase in the use of existing village organizational resources.

c. The generation and employment of new forms of village organizational resources.

d. Exercise of a village initiative in securing outside services or resources.

(Human Resource Development)

- a. Increased communication skills.
- b. Increased problem solving ability at the individual level.
- c. Increased disposition to examine the validity of traditional life patterns and to consider alternatives. (This objective is not to be interpreted to mean that individuals will necessarily accept alternatives but that they will be willing to consider them.)

In all cases the outcomes to be achieved should be considered in terms of both (a) achievement by those who have directly participated in the project activities and (b) achievement by other villagers who have not.

C. Proposed Organization and Technical Support

The project is to be conducted under the aegis of the National Directorate of FLAE through a special division created for this purpose within the National Directorate. The Non-Formal Education Division will function in areas other than those covered by the Functional Literacy Division. Nevertheless there should be cross-fertilization of ideas and mutual support in matters of common professional or technical concern. The NFE Division will have a core staff as indicated below but will also need to draw upon the technical resources of the other Division of FLAE, such as the Survey and Evaluation, Reading Materials, Training and Orientation.

It is recommended that explicit suitable arrangements be made

by these divisions in support of the NFE program in order to facilitate collaborative work before the project begins.

1. Recommended Core Staff for the NFE Division

a) Professional

- 1 Project Director
- 1 Training Specialist
- 1 Methods and Materials Specialist (Man)
- 1 Methods and Materials Specialist (Woman)
- 1 Field Supervisor
- 1 Technical Services Coordinator
- 1 Learning Aids Center Assistant

It is strongly recommended by the Team that the above positions should be filled, to the maximum extent possible, by qualified Afghans selected on the basis of their professional qualifications, background, and performance as well as their experience in fields related to the needs of this project. Terms of appointment, including detailed job descriptions and forms of remuneration, as well as procedures for recruiting and selecting professionals for the core staff, need to be drawn up and negotiated.

b) Administrative and Office Staff

- 1 Management Administrator
- 1 Accountant Clerk
- 2 Secretaries
- 2 Drivers
- 1 Messenger/Office boy

All non-professional staff will be Afghan nationals.

2. Short Term Consultants

In addition to core staff and the technical support of other Divisions of the National Directorate of FLAE, a number of short-term consultants will be needed at different stages of implementation, e.g., in various specialized aspects of cottage industries, marketing, special research services, curriculum development, evaluation, etc.

Several of these short-term consultants could no doubt be filled by qualified Afghans on a contract basis. Some exchange of ideas with outside specialists in NFE is, however, desirable in view of the fact that this is a ground-breaking experience for Afghanistan. The use of well-qualified consultants (short-term) should be valuable particularly in the areas of training, methodology and evaluation. The purpose is to assist in upgrading core staff professional skills.

The core staff and short-term consultants should be employed by the project contractor.

3. Recommended Staff to be Paid by GOA

a) General

The smooth operation of the program will depend on the project's access to FLAE staff. The FLAE Directorate will provide support staff -- e.g., personnel from the Research Division, from the Materials Division, and other respective divisions -- to assist in various phases of the project. The nature and number of staff to be provided in this fashion will be determined by the NFE Project Director in consultation with the President of FLAE during Phase I

and a sufficient number of positions will be slotted for NFE support staff within FLAE's budget. Normal FLAE salaries will cover the costs of this support staff.

b) Field Operations Agents

An essential element in the proposed project is in the field operations agent. The team recommends that initially there be at least two men and two women in each of the three project villages. This number may be expanded during the latter stages of Phase III. These FGA's will be contracted by the NFE Project Staff. Payment for their services will be provided by the FLAE budget. Job descriptions and the amount of payment will be determined by the NFE Project Staff in consultation with the Directorate.

3. Support Staff for Other Ministries

The GOA will provide professional staff from appropriate ministries to work with the core staff as technical consultants and cooperate with the project field staff in meeting requests for technical services from pilot villages (e.g., in improving drinking water systems, roads, etc.)

D. Summary of Cost Sharing

It is recommended that the costs for this program be shared in the following manner:

1. Project Contractor

Core Staff Salaries (professional and nonprofessional)

Consultants

Supplies and Equipment (including transport vehicles)

Travel Funds

Cost of planning and conducting workshops, seminars  
and other training

Cost of establishing and maintaining a learning aids  
center

Duplication, communication and other funds required  
for the day-to-day operation of the program.

2. Government of Afghanistan

Space for program

Salaries for Directorate and Ministry personnel working  
with the program

Locale for Learning Aids Center

Salaries of Field Operational Agents

Capital costs connected with the village-level develop-  
ment projects begun in connection with the program

Estimates of these costs should be made in discussions between  
the two parties.

E. Village Level Learner Participants

Estimates concerning the number of villagers who will benefit  
from the program are rough guesses at this time. The team does sug-  
gest that the project will involve the following number of partici-  
pants:

1. During the first twelve months of field operations, it is  
anticipated that the two male and two female Field Operational Agents  
(FOAS) in each village will contact, organize, and maintain contact  
with approximately 80 villagers each. These 80 will participate in

at least one learning group. The total annual number of participants directly involved in the project will be approximately 320 in each village -- or 960 participants in all three villages. It is hoped that a much larger number of villagers will benefit through a multiplier effect, as villagers share their new knowledge and skills with their families and friends.

2. During the latter part of Phase III, there is the option (and the hope) that the project will expand on a limited basis to nearby villages. The extent of this expansion can be determined only after the project has been operating in the field for at least nine months. However, it is not likely that the project will more than double its level of operations during the first part of Phase III. Should it double its operations, the total number who participated directly in the project's activities could reach a maximum of 1,920 over the entire duration of the project.

3. The very rough estimate of a maximum of 1,920 villagers who would be directly involved in some project activity does not reflect what the team anticipates will be the indirect effect of the project as indicated above. The team entertains the hope that there will be a spread effect within each village as participants transmit their newly acquired knowledge and skills to other villagers via traditional social interaction.

4. The team emphasizes its recommendation that the project should give equal attention to the learning needs of both male and female villagers.

## II. DESCRIPTION OF PHASES OF THE PROJECT

It is recommended by the team that the project 1) be planned to cover a three-year period in four phases and 2) be implemented initially in one village in each of the three subdistricts (woleswalies) visited, namely, Bagrami, Chardehi, and Deh Sabz -- and extended to other villages as experience justifies.

### A. Phase I--Pre-Implementation Phase (duration: 20 weeks)

#### 1. Aims

- a) To assess the suitability of sites and make the final selection of three villages.
- b) To investigate the availability of persons within the village who could serve as field operations agents.
- c) To conduct, on a small scale, a preliminary field test of new methods and materials in non-formal education.
- d) To strengthen the professional capability of the National Directorate through orientation to overseas non-formal education projects.
- e) To compile data concerning ongoing or recent Afghan experiences in rural education or rural development as a point of reference for program planning.

#### 2. Activities

##### a) Site suitability assessment

The Governors of the three sub-districts, assisted by the Project Research Team, should further investigate the suitability

of alternative villages within their districts, as pilot sites for the project. Suggested criteria for this assessment of site suitability are given in Annex A.

By arrangement with the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and Industries, a specialist from each of these Ministries should be invited to collaborate in the site study and to investigate in particular the prospects of each site for improving economic levels through better knowledge, attitudes and skills in agriculture, animal husbandry, small-scale industries or home crafts and through improved health conditions. This analysis should include both the upgrading of existing economic activities and the introduction of new ones.

b) Ascertaining the availability of potential field operation agents

As an important part of site assessment, special attention should be given by the Research Team, at each site, to identifying persons from the village community itself who seem to have potential for training as field operations agents. Other members of the Project Staff (e.g., Training, methods and materials, Field Ops.) should be closely involved in reviewing the kinds of human resources available at the village level. The qualities and background desirable for field operations agents are given in Annex B.

c) Small-scale field testing of new methods and materials

The two methods and materials specialists, together with the help of other FLAE curriculum staff, should begin, at the earliest possible date, to design and field test new methods and materials for

non-formal education. Field testing should include investigation of how rural adults in the selected villages react to line drawings, photographs, slides, film-books and other teaching aids as well as the capability of village-level workers to use these materials. This will be particularly helpful in Phase II, for (a) the production of learning aids and (b) the training of village-level workers.

d) Strengthening the National Directorates  
professional capability

USAID should provide opportunities for six Afghan educators from FLAE (including a woman) to undertake a six-week field visit overseas for orientation to international experience in non-formal education.\* This visit should include 15 to 20 days in the USA for briefing at AID Washington; at the Center for International Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; at World Education, New York; and if possible at Michigan State University. This orientation should also include a field visit to an on-going non-formal education project in a developing country such as Turkey, Iran or the Philippines. The Project Advisory Team should propose a detailed orientation and field visit-schedule for each agency visited. Upon their return, study tour members should conduct a briefing seminar for other FLAE personnel, using slides and/or sample materials collected during the field visit.

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\* Prior to their going overseas, a seminar should be organized by FLAE in cooperation with other ministries and departments, to brief them on ongoing rural education and development activities in Afghanistan.

As a means of preparing the baseline study in Phase II, the Research Specialist in cooperation with the Training Specialist should conduct a training workshop for FLAE research staff. During and following the workshop, research staff will work intensively towards developing the specifications and detailed plans, procedure and tools for the baseline survey in Phase II. They will also collect sample evaluation models and instruments from other NFE projects through correspondence.

e) Review of national experience in rural education and development

As background for these activities, a review of the experience of other governmental agencies in Afghanistan in the field of rural extension and rural development is necessary. FLAE should be prepared to undertake this review, through direct consultation with the agencies concerned. Afghan educators from FLAE who have undertaken the overseas orientation visit should upon their return participate in the review of the findings of this study.

B. Phase II -- Planning and Resource Development Phase (duration: six months)

1. Aims

a. To determine (for the purposes of curriculum development and future evaluation) conditions, needs, and development potentialities of selected sites (i) as seen through the eyes of villagers, their traditional and functional leaders and those potentially suitable as village level workers; (ii) as seen by technical agents of the government operating at the village level and (iii) as observed

by Project Research Staff.

b. To identify specific content areas of training considered highly relevant by local villagers and which are essential to the upgrading of their economy. (This will relate particularly to economic activities but will include and integrate other felt needs, e.g., in health, as well as social and attitudinal changes essential to developmental activities, and possibly even requests for literacy.)

c. (i) To construct an inventory of governmental programs, facilities, resources and services which are or can be available to the selected sites through the different ministries and departments of the central government and through the district government.

(ii) To develop plans and reach agreements by which technical support and service agencies needed for the program will be available as, when and where needed.

d. (i) To design and try out effective non-formal education methodologies which are culturally acceptable to the village communities concerned and which can effectively promote among them the needed knowledge, attitudes, skills and organization for practical application of learning, and

(ii) To create, field test and duplicate (in sufficient quantities for Phase II) a basic set of effective but low-cost materials for two or more non-formal educational programs for men and, separately, for women.

e. To identify and recruit two or three male and female field operations agents per village and to involve them optimally in all of the above activities.

f. To design and conduct training programs for field operations agents and support staff at various levels, utilizing the same principles of learner-involvement which field workers are expected to utilize in working with villagers.

g. To plan and put into effect a system of monitoring and evaluation which will facilitate the revision of every aspect of the program as it evolves in Phases II-IV, and also provide data for final output evaluation in Phase IV.

## 2. Activities

### a) Baseline Study at Village Level

Research Teams of Afghan researchers (three men and three women) under the guidance of the Research Specialist will conduct the appropriate village baseline studies as indicated in Objective 1. In so doing they will (i) work with and through village level workers recommended by the villagers and selected by the Project Staff; (ii) interview technical agents at the local level to both acquire factual data and to establish initial attitudes and perception of such staff, and (ii) record their own observations, impressions, analyses and conclusions.

### b) Curriculum Design

Project Staff should identify and list, from the above, content or skills around which the curriculum (or segments of it) should be built, using the criteria of relevance, utility and impact.

If considered necessary by Project Staff at this stage, USAID should provide a local short-term consultant (two to three months)

in cottage industries to assist in analyzing the conditions conducive to the development of this sector in the selected villages. In so doing, the consultant should examine the entire process of developing selected small-scale industries, from production to marketing. Among other such economic activities, consideration should be given to bee-keeping, silkworm culture, poultry raising, wood crafts, wool products, leather tanning, leather work and handicrafts suitable for village women in the home setting such as block printing, candle craft, tailoring for the rural market town, and application of traditional embroidery or weaving skills to new products for the tourist trade. The scope of basic technical training in, for example, motor repairs and radio repairs, should also be examined.

c) Technical Support and Coordination

Interagency meetings should be held to reach agreements on practical forms of collaboration needed at various levels in support of the project. These discussions should start from an inventory of each agency's activities and services (on-going or planned) relating to the site areas. Firm agreements should then be reached at the central level as to the type of help each agency is prepared to give on a continuing basis (technical staff, materials, supplies, transport, etc.) to strengthen activities in its field of specialization such as in health, agriculture or small industries.

d) Methods and Materials Development

(i) The preliminary trials of methods and materials

started in Phase I should now be expanded into a full-scale activity. New and more effective methodologies for both men and women learners must be created and field tested. Particular attention should be given to the effective use of audio visual aids, demonstrations and problem-solving techniques. Cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness factors should be kept in view. Learning materials should be reproduced in sufficient quantities for use in Phase III, but provision for further revisions, if needed, should be made.

(ii) A learning aids center or institute should be established at the central level. This center, which can begin on a modest scale, should collect and analyze sample materials from innovative non-formal education activities from the developing countries. If it is found desirable to include literacy materials it should closely involve the staff and advisers of the Functional Literacy Program as well as the NFE team. The center should serve as a resource bank of ideas for Afghan adult educators in a way that stimulates their creativity to develop new methods and materials suited to the Afghan context. The success of this resource will depend upon how well the materials are analyzed and displayed so that staff concerned with methods or training can easily profit from them. The center should not be simply a depository of interesting items. USAID should cover the cost of materials, equipment, supplies and activities of the center as a training support for field operations. The center could eventually grow into a key professional resource for the program. In Phase IV consideration could be given to an expanded operational role for the center.

(iii) Careful consideration should be given to the feasibility and desirability of setting up a rural education and demonstration center in each site village, where new tools and devices, sample handicrafts, etc. could be exhibited, small demonstration conducted, basic services provided (e.g., in health, credit) and educational/recreational activities organized. The degree to which village people identify such a center as their own is a basic consideration. Its accessibility, costs and management factors should be weighed against the option of conducting operations on a less centralized basis.

e) Field Level Staffing

Potential field operating agents should be carefully selected and hired on a contract basis of six to nine months. The extension of their contracts will be contingent on their effectiveness on the job after suitable training. Frequent in-service training opportunities and good technical support are essential for the effectiveness of such field workers.

f) Training

The Training Specialist assisted by the two Methods Specialists will plan and conduct a variety of training courses, workshops, field visits and practical or simulated training experiences for program staff, beginning with the training of trainers. These trainers will be FLAE staff and technical specialists from related fields who collaborate in the program. The emphasis throughout should be on learner involvement and critical thinking rather than didactic

teaching or rote learning. An important product of this activity should be a range of specially produced audio-visual aids and a system for evaluating the effectiveness of training. Overseas and national training should be provided to the core professional staff.

g) Monitoring and Evaluation

Since evaluation is a relatively new field, procedures and tools for evaluation of non-formal education must themselves be put to the test. It is therefore important that (a) there should be good communication between curriculum and research staff so that both groups fully understand their common objectives and mutual roles, and (b) analysis of the findings of any tests, pre- and post-surveys, or other forms of evaluation should be reviewed jointly to effect the necessary changes on the curriculum side as well as at the evaluation end.

In addition to statistical and other "hard" data, project staff should maintain diaries and other process records which provide insights into changes in attitudes and perceptions. A workshop on monitoring and "process evaluation" would be very useful early in Phase II.

C. Phase III -- Implementation and Monitoring with Ongoing Development of Program Components (Duration: 24 months)

1. Aims

a) To provide ongoing support for Field Operations Agents and field programs.

b) To provide periodic support for NFE central staff.

c) To analyze data from the field so as to modify program activities and to provide data base for further program recommendations.

d) To coordinate and develop program through integration with supporting agencies.

e) Option: To expand program into satellite villages or to other areas of country.

2. Activities

a) Village-level worker support

(i) The village-level workers will be brought together periodically for purposes of training, information gathering, continued materials development and refinement, and to determine required technical support.

(ii) Central staff and technical consultants will visit the target villages on schedules determined during the village worker meetings.

b) Central Staff Support

Periodic training programs will be held for program central staff to upgrade skills and discuss program activities.

c) Central staff and consultants will continue to develop and strengthen program support systems, such as marketing and credit programs for products produced for sale by villagers.

i. Formative Evaluation:

Data concerning progress at the sites will be gathered through field observation by project research staff and through meetings

with field operations agents. This data will be discussed at village level and central staff meetings to modify program activities. The district governor (woleswal) should also be a part of the program evaluation process.

ii. Specific data required for phase IV program recommendations and for specific materials or training evaluations should also be systematically collected.

d) The central staff will continue to meet with staff of outside agencies to provide the Field Operations Agents with technical support for their activities.

e) A program decision will be made regarding expansion of the program into satellite villages or into villages outside the original target area. Criteria for this decision will be based upon availability of program resources, success of program to date, level of coordination with other agencies, etc.

D. Phase IV. -- Consolidation, Evaluation and Recommendations for Program Changes. (Duration: 4 months)

1. Aims

- a) To make a summary evaluation of the pilot program.
- b) To make recommendations for program expansion or termination.

2. Activities

- a) A thorough review of program activities by Field Operations Agents, Woleswal, central staff and related agencies will be made.

b) Based upon this review and upon data gathered during the three-year program, recommendations regarding program expansion or termination will be made by the program director.

Annex A

Criteria for the Selection of Villages

The following criteria are suggested for use in the selection of villages in which to initiate project activities. They are offered in an attempt a) to assure the greatest probability of success for the project in the areas in which it is undertaken and b) to assure that the lessons learned from the execution of the project will be applicable elsewhere should it be determined that NFE efforts should be expanded to other rural areas of Afghanistan.

A. Criteria Having to do with the Probability of Success in Each Site

Local Interest and Response Capability

1. There should be a relatively high level of interest on the part of both the village leaders and the villagers themselves. While this interest can be determined only at a fairly general level during the Site Assessment of Phase I, the Site Assessment team must be careful to determine the explicit degree of village willingness to permit women from within an extended family to gather within their qala for program activities.

2. There should be no current, serious intergroup strife within the village -- e.g., no ethnic polarization, no current dispute over water rights.

3. Preference should be given to villages which have demonstrated intravillage cooperation in the past -- e.g., support to mirob in maintaining canals, ashar cooperation in harvesting or building construction.

4. The village should also be selected on the basis of whether or not a fair number of potential field operations agents (FOA) -- both male and female, can be identified with relative ease. (See Annex B below for general criteria to be used for their selection.)

Availability of Potential Learners

1. There should be at least 2,000 adult (14 years or older) residents in the immediate village, counting both men and women.
2. Preference should be given to villages which are within a maximum of one <sup>hours</sup> hour walking distance from other villages.
3. Preference should be given to villages which have some contact with nearby villages -- e.g., intermarriage, economic transactions.

B. Criteria Having to do with the Generalization of Lessons Learned

Rural Nature of the Site

1. The vast majority of the male residents of the village should be engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry.
2. There should be little regular contact with Kabul. For example, there should be few residents who work in Kabul on a daily basis. There should be little daily travel to Kabul.
3. The village should be relatively remote in a physical sense -- at least one-half to one-and-one-half hours drive from Kabul. The upper time limit is suggested in order to prevent the village being so far from Kabul as to preclude either adequate project supervision or technical support.

Level of Development

1. Few, if any, of the following modern services should be available:
  - a) modern doctor
  - b) modern health center
  - c) middle school
  - d) electricity
  - e) regular and frequent transportation facilities,  
i.e., bus or taxi.
2. There should be relatively few modern goods in the village.
3. Preference should be given to villages in which there exists a relatively high level of underemployment or unemployment among the men during both the regular growing season as well as during the off season.

Annex B

Criteria for Selecting Field Operations Agents

(and Recommendations)

1. Field Operations Agents (FOA's) should have lived within the village in which they will work for a period of at least one year previous to the initiation of the project. They must continue to live there for the duration of their work with the project.

2. FOA's should have the trust and respect of all segments of the village population. This means that they need to be chosen in the customary way in which village people select leaders.

3. FOA's should preferably be able to read and write simple Dari or Pushtu and to perform elementary arithmetic functions. The ability to keep simple records of expenditures and to fill out simple report forms concerning program activities would be adequate. The FOA's need not have completed a prescribed number of years of schooling.

4. FOA's should be able to understand the goals and objectives of the program and be able to travel to a central place for periodic training.

5. Male FOA's should be currently engaged in a trade or a vocation (including agriculture or animal husbandry) within the village. Female FOA's trade or vocation may be housewife.

6. Adequate remuneration should be provided for FOA's in view of the long hours they will have to devote to their work. Also they should be reimbursed (or advanced cash) for necessary travel and materials expenses.

Annex C

What is Nonformal Education?

Nonformal education is often described in terms which use formal education as a reference point. Formal education is almost always a part of a national educational system which classifies and certifies students for later employment and which in addition attempts to adopt, apply and maintain uniform standards. The curricula for a formal system, therefore, is developed from a national perspective and is then disseminated to schools across the country. Teacher training is often standardized in the same way.

Nonformal education, on the other hand, refers to organized learning activities which take place outside the formal school system. It takes its curricula from the people. Its certificates are the increased effectiveness of the people in their daily work; its diplomas their greater ability to improve their lives. Such an educational system must therefore take account of how the people organize to solve their problems, for often people working together may solve problems that none can solve alone. Its success is not measured in terms of grades or graduates, but in how quickly the people are able to use the knowledge and skills they learn to improve their lives and those of their neighbors.

The program implications of this view of nonformal education are several:

1. Those closest to the rural level (e.g., villagers chosen by other villagers) should be selected as Field Operation Agents; to act

as assessors of village-level needs, as organizers of village-level learning opportunities, and as field-level evaluators of materials and methods.

2. Central staff should be familiar enough with rural life to be able to adopt training, materials, and methods to the areas the program is serving. Subject-matter knowledge is in itself not sufficient to be able to help provide services to rural areas.

3. Standardized NFE curricula should be avoided; rather, each village should adopt or adapt a curriculum according to its special requirements.

4. Materials and methods developed for rural learning must be self-motivating because, unlike formal education, attendance is not compulsory. Materials should be inexpensive and effective; complexity of design or equipment should be avoided where simpler materials, perhaps made in the village, will do as well.

These may be taken as general guides; but in each country, non-formal education will have different forms, as well as in each village: for in each country and in each village the people will have different customs, beliefs, needs, and ways of organizing themselves.

When we, the educators, learn how to learn from the people, then nonformal education will become a reality.

Agenda to Phase I of the Draft Project

Phase I of the Draft Project Outline constitutes the activities that need to be undertaken before the Project embodied in Phases II through IV can be implemented. The activities the team listed in Phase I have been stated in very general terms. The following remarks comment on those activities in an attempt to flesh out the broad outline of the Draft.

It was the team's intention that Phase I be both a) preparations for subsequent phases and b) measures of GOA/FLAE's commitment to a non-literacy NFE project. Phases II through IV are contingent upon the successful performance of Phase I activities in two ways. First, unless the tasks are successfully performed, there will not be enough information in hand with which to rationally plan subsequent phases. Second, unless FLAE can mobilize the resources necessary to successfully perform Phase I activities -- at least actively cooperate in carrying them out -- it is highly questionable whether there will be much purpose in supporting a larger scale pilot project. Readers of the Draft Outline and of these addenda should keep in mind the second contingency aspect of the activities that are described. Many of those activities suggest immediately performance criteria with which to measure FLAE/GOA commitment and capability. However, some criteria are more implied. At some point in the near future, an explicit list of performance criteria needs to be devised.

The following remarks also place the various activities of

Phase I into a contingency time frame. An overall time schedule is presented first -- with rough estimates of time needed for each activity. Comments on each activity within that schedule follow.

John M. Villaume  
14 February 1975

TIME FRAME FOR PHASE ONE ACTIVITIES

(weeks)

0 to 1:

- 1) Three day seminar on NFE followed by two days of briefing for traveling FLAE staff. (duration -- one week)

1 to 7:

- 2) Overseas field visits by FLAE staff. (duration -- six weeks)

7 to 8:

- 3) Negotiations with respective ministries and/or Kabul University. (duration -- one week)

7 to 9:

- 4) Review of national experience in rural education and development. (duration -- three weeks)

8 to 10:

- 5) Site suitability assessment. (duration -- three weeks)

11 to 19:

- 6) National NFE Workshop. (duration -- nine weeks)

19 to 20:

- 7) USAID (possibly with FLAE) assessment of Phase I and decision making concerning Phases II to IV. (duration -- one week)

(Total duration -- 20 weeks)

1. Three-day Seminar on NFE to be held in Kabul -- The Project Draft suggests that a seminar be held in Kabul previous to the departure of the FLAE staff on their overseas visit. The purpose of this seminar is twofold.

First, the seminar should attempt to establish contact with other ministries whose assistance will be needed at various points in the development of the nonliteracy NFE project -- e.g., Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Mines and Industries. This seminar will provide the opportunity to brief representatives of the ministries on the general nature of NFE, the proposed schedule of activities to be undertaken in implementing a nonliteracy NFE project, and the various ways in which assistance from the several ministries will be needed. The seminar can also provide the opportunity for FLAE to relate ways in which its educational resources can be utilized by other ministries to develop educational components of their programs.

Second, the seminar should serve as a focusing mechanism for the formulation of specific questions which should be address by those FLAE members who will take part in the overseas visits. The overseas visits should be more profitable if the FLAE members have in mind a set of specific questions which need to be answered as part of the process of developing a nonliteracy NFE program in Afghanistan. Such a set of questions will enable them to structure their visits to NFE projects in other countries and to define the conceptual tasks they will undertake at World Education, University of Massachusetts and other institutions in the U.S.

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It is highly recommended that a foreign, if not U.S., specialist be contracted to assist with the preparation of this seminar.

2. Overseas field visits -- The question of how many FLAE staff should be involved in the first overseas field visits remains open. It obviously is an issue which needs to be resolved early on. FLAE expectations are that there be at least three FLAE members traveling this spring. If the team of visiting FLAE staff are to include Mr. Rahimi, then the number should be increased to four.

It should be emphasized that the FLAE members need some assistance in formulating questions they need to ask during their trip. Perhaps the foreign consultant who assists with the three-day seminar can also help the FLAE staff to formulate a) overall questions which need to be address and b) special field speciality questions appropriate to the interest and responsibilities of each member of the FLAE traveling team. The emphasis should be on the practical.

It should also be emphasized that each institution that is to host the visit of the visiting FLAE team be carefully briefed on the purpose of their visit -- i.e., that they are interested in addressing a set of specific, practical questions as part of the process of designing a nonliteracy NFE project.

3. Negotiations with Respective Ministries -- This activity has been listed as a separate item for the simple fact that it is a sine qua non in the successful development of a project. Immediately after the visiting FLAE team returns to Kabul they should undertake to identify specific persons in the Ministries of Health, Agriculture

and Irrigation, and Mines and Industries as well as persons at Kabul University whose assistance will be needed in the site suitability assessment and in the development of topical content material. The terms of work -- including duration, remuneration, and specific responsibilities -- need to be worked out previous to a national workshop (item 6 below). These persons will be expected to participate in the site assessment and in the national workshop.

4. Review of National Experience in Rural Education and Development -- At the same time negotiations with other ministries are going on, members of the FLAE staff should undertake a thorough review of current and previous programs in rural development or education in Afghanistan. They should not limit themselves to focusing on the purely educational aspects of programs. They should attempt to inventory all Afghan programs that have worked in rural areas. Then, utilizing the reports of various ministries, the reports of bi-national and multi-national agencies, and interviews with persons involved in the various programs they should describe each program in the following terms:

- a) The nature of the program -- what was its topical area? What were its general, specific goals?
- b) The scope of the program -- where did it operate? For how long? How many participants did it involve?
- c) The organization of the program -- under which ministry (or agency) was it run? What was its internal organizational structure? How did it relate to other operating agencies? How did it relate to other ministries?
- d) The operations of the program -- who specifically did it deal with? How did it approach the clientele? How did it

decide on initial project sites? How did it determine sites for expansion? Did it reduce, increase, or maintain its topical operating objectives?

- e) Success or failure of the program -- is it still operating? When did it terminate? Why did it terminate? What reasons are given for its having or not having achieved its program objectives?
- f) What does all this information have to say about the way in which a non-literacy NFE project should be designed, implemented, and administered?

These reports -- one for each program -- should be written. They will be used both for the design of the non-literacy project and to prepare the national workshop.

5. Site Suitability Assessment -- The first step in the performance of this activity is the negotiation with various ministries mentioned in 3 above. Once the assistance of the various ministries (and/or persons from Kabul University) has been specified and assured, the FLAE staff should sit down with the persons from other ministries to review the criteria for site selection outlined in Annex A. These criteria may be embellished or modified in other ways, but every effort should be made to insure that a common set of specific criteria, each criterion having an explicit purpose, be devised and utilized in the site assessment. A joint meeting of FLAE staff, district governors, and assisting specialists from the various ministries should consider lists of villages in each district. At least two villages should be selected within each district for field work. These will probably, but need not necessarily, include the three villages of Deh Sabz i. Khost, Qalai Qazi, and Chakerai which have already been

visited. Following this meeting, check lists based on the commonly agreed upon selection criteria should be typed up for use by the team(s) that will do the field work. If the number of villages is kept small -- e.g., the minimum of six -- all the field work can be undertaken by a single team. If, however, the number of villages is larger, separate teams may be formed to visit different villages. The number of workers traveling to each village should be kept as small as possible -- probably no more than four or five if that many.

Once the criteria check lists have been prepared, the team(s) can immediately travel to the respective villages. By involving the district governors (waleswals) in the selection of sites, there should be a minimum of difficulty in arranging the village visits. A minimum of three to four hours should be spent in each village. More time is preferable. The team should talk to the malik, other elders, and at least a handful of villagers in forming its impressions of the village and in collecting information for the criteria checklist. (It needs to be mentioned that the team should not proceed to the villages with check lists on a clip board. Hopefully, by virtue of the fact that field team workers will have had a part in preparing, revising, studying the criteria beforehand, they will be familiar enough with the criteria so as to not have to carry checklists in hand. Each evening the members of the team should write a report on the village they visited that day.

The village visits should be used as the opportunity for determining the availability of potential field operation agents. Although a minimum number of potential FOA's cannot be specified, the team should ascertain that there are at least more than the minimum number of four in each village. The team also needs to determine whether village FOA's will be free to travel to some central training site for short periods.

After all the villages have been visited and the reports on each written, the FLAE staff should meet with ministry specialists and the district governors to reach a final decision on three pilot sites.

6. National NFE Workshop -- A national NFE workshop should be held as soon as possible after the completion of the site assessment work. The purposes of this workshop are several. First, it will be an opportunity for the FLAE staff to bring their overseas visit experience to bear directly upon the design of a NFE project in Afghanistan. Second, it will be an opportunity for collective consideration of the review of Afghan national experience with rural work. Third, it will provide the opportunity for the small scale development and testing of prototype materials and methods.

Participants in the workshop should be: FLAE staff who will be most responsible for the NFE project and definitely including those who participated in overseas visits; Afghan specialists from other ministries and/or Kabul University; USAID personnel who are currently contemplating projects that will eventually involve some form of NFE (e.g., Lou Mitchell, Chuck Gurney and/or Martin Kumorek, Ray

Hooker, Tony Lanza); one or more foreign specialists (e.g., NFE materials specialist, educational planner).

In rough outline the workshop will involve one week of preparation by FIAE staff and foreign specialists. Approximately three weeks should be given to the development of learning materials that will have as their content the economic and/or other learning needs identified in the site assessment work. This material development will require the assistance of specialists from the various ministries and/or Kabul University. The objective of the materials development activity of the workshop is to put together the content, sequencing of content, criteria for evaluation, audio visual materials (suitable for nonliterates), etc. -- learning packages to be used by FOA's for two weeks in the villages. Following the development of materials, two weeks should be given to the training of selected FOA's from a given village. This will probably involve some training at a central location interspersed with on-site training as the FOA's utilize the learning materials with ad hoc learning groups. Following the two week training period, two weeks should be given to field testing of the learning materials in the hands of the FOA's. A final week should be given to evaluation of the entire workshop and to recommendations concerning the nature and scope of a larger scale, non-literacy, NFE pilot project.

The workshop should be followed by a joint intermission staff meeting along with the short-term consultant who has been overseeing the activities of Phase I. This meeting should carefully consider

the degree to which FLAE and other governmental agencies manifested the willingness and capability to muster support services during all the activities of Phase I. Decisions concerning the nature and scope of further USAID support to NFE in Afghanistan should be based upon the considerations of this meeting. It should be made clear to FLAE and the MOE as soon as possible this spring that decisions concerning support of the larger scale pilot project will not be made until the activities of Phase I are completed. It may be advisable to inform FLAE that the activities of Phase I will constitute a test of FLAE institutional capability. It may also be advisable to involve representatives from FLAE in the post workshop meetings to decide on the advisability of continued USAID support -- at least some of those meetings.