2022

Leadership for Change: Teacher Education in Afghanistan: A Decade of Challenge in Reconstruction, Reform, and Modernization in a Post Conflict Society

Susan Wardak
Antioch University - PhD Program in Leadership and Change

LEADERSHIP FOR CHANGE: TEACHER EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN:
A DECADE OF CHALLENGE IN RECONSTRUCTION, REFORM, AND
MODERNIZATION IN A POST CONFLICT SOCIETY

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of

Graduate School of Leadership & Change

Antioch University

In partial fulfillment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Susan Wardak

ORCID Scholar No. 0000-0002-7571-2753

June 2022

LEADERSHIP FOR CHANGE: TEACHER EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN:
A DECADE OF CHALLENGE IN RECONSTRUCTION, REFORM, AND
MODERNIZATION IN A POST CONFLICT SOCIETY

This dissertation, by Susan Wardak, has been approved

by the committee members signed below who

recommend that it be accepted by the faculty of the

Graduate School in Leadership & Change

Antioch University

in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dissertation Committee:

Jon Wergin, PhD, Chairperson

Laurien Alexandre, PhD

Edna Mitchell, PhD

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was made possible through the support and cooperation of so many it is not possible to give credit to each one.

The people to whom I owe a deep debt of appreciation include the wonderful faculty and staff of Antioch's Graduate School of Leadership and Change, friends and family members both close and more distant, colleagues in the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan and in my own division the Teacher Education Directorate (TED) of the Ministry, and the many teachers and teacher educators across the nation who have contributed to the development of my vision for teacher education.

Important to my development as a researcher and a scholar, as well as a teacher educator are my beloved professors, advisors, and cohort group at Antioch University. Therefore, I would like to express my deepest gratitude and thank all my professors, especially Dr. Jon Wergin, Dr. Laurien Alexandre, Dr. Mitchell Kusy, Dr. Philomena Essed, Dr. Al Guskin, Dr. Elizabeth Holloway, Dr. Lize Booysen, and Dr. Laura Morgan Roberts, whom I have been privileged to learn from. Their understanding of my unique situation as a graduate student at such an enormous difference, and their support of my efforts that included suggestions, thoughtful criticisms, praise, and guidance kept me going. The Antioch program faculty also lived their educational philosophy in action—it was not only theory, but real—life academic practice. They "walked the talk" as we say in modern jargon. This gave me a concrete model of student centered learning, of student friendly classrooms, and of respect for individual differences in learning goals and ways of learning. Even though the program was not designed for teacher educators, the underlying principles and practice were inspiration examples of excellence in education—the importance of active learning, of inquiry, of follow-through and self-assessment.

stood on my head (figuratively) to keep me going forward at every stage. To her, there are no

words adequate to express my life-long appreciation for her friendship and wisdom.

ABSTRACT

LEADERSHIP FOR CHANGE: TEACHER EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN:
A DECADE OF CHALLENGE IN RECONSTRUCTION, REFORM, AND
MODERNIZATION IN A POST CONFLICT SOCIETY

Susan Wardak

Graduate School of Leadership and Change

Yellow Springs, OH

This dissertation used interpretive case study methodology focused on the story of rebuilding the national education system of Afghanistan destroyed by decades of conflict. The study documents the challenges and progress in preparing adequate and qualified teachers for the nation. The dissertation is based on critical analysis of available documents tracing events, policies, and programs. The research asks: What are the critical leadership strategies and organizational frameworks that promote or impede institutional change? What are the barriers to change in teacher education in a conservative Islamic society? The dissertation is unique in that this story of educational intervention in a small war-torn, socially fragmented, and politically fractured nation is documented by a participant observer who is both of the nation and from the nation. The study records the steps and missteps of the changes and leadership processes implemented by both international donor-advisors and national leaders to restore education to Afghanistan in a critical contemporary time. The story encompasses many aspects of education in Afghanistan, past and present, including urgent efforts to fulfill the promise of the new Constitution for universal nondiscriminatory and free education for all, not only of a population in residence but of the masses returning from exile expecting schools for their children. The central core of the dissertation is a focus on the national effort to recruit and train teachers, competent in subject

knowledge and teaching methods. A basic and recurring theme is the education of girls and

women and their role in this society. Although gender equity is a priority theme through the

dissertation, the central message of the dissertation is the evolution of teacher training. This story

is framed against the larger picture of historical traditions, the disruptions of conflict, and recent

overall national education reconstruction, expansion, and reform. The record of cultural

differences that contributed to failed as well as to successful interventions abounds in examples

of leadership for change impacted by international donors and by political priorities. This

dissertation is available in open access at AURA: Antioch University Repository and Archive

(https://aura.antioch.edu) and OhioLINK ETD Center (https://etd.ohiolink.edu).

Keywords: leadership, change, equity, equality, reconstruction, reform, gender, social justice, development, teacher education, teacher competencies, standards for teaching, school administrator, teacher training, teacher educator

Table of Contents

List of Tables

<u>List of Figures</u>

ACRONYMS

ADB   Asian Development Bank

AIA   Afghan Interim Administration

ARTF   Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund

AUAF   American University of Afghanistan

BEPA/GIZ   German aid education project Afghanistan

CAII   Creative Associates International

CAN   Comprehensive Needs Assessment

CIDA   Canadian International Development Agency

DANIDA   Danish aid

DEDs   District Education Directors

DT3   District Teacher Training Teams

EQUIP   Education Quality Improvement Program

GER   Gross Enrollment Rate

GSP   Girls' Scholarship Program

GOA   Government of Afghanistan (GoA in some spots)

GTZ   German International Development

INSET   Inservice Education for Teachers

IPD   Individual Professional Development

I-SAPS   Institute of Social and Policy Sciences

JICA   Japan International Aid for Afghanistan

KAU   Karlstad University Stokholm Sweden

MICS   Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey

MOE   Ministry of Education

MOHE   Ministry of Higher Education

NCERT   National Council for Educational Research and Training (India)

NESP   National Education Strategic Plan

NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NPITT	National Program for In-service Teacher Training
NTE	National Teacher Examination
PDI	Professional Development Infrastructure
PEDs	Provincial Education Departments ("Director" in other spots)
PLCs	Principal Learning Circles
PTR	Pupil/Teacher Ratio
RALS	Rapid Assessment of Learning Spaces
RNE	Royal Netherlands Embassy
SCA	Swedish Committee in Afghanistan
SMT	School Management Training
TDC	Teacher Development Centers
TECAP	Teacher Education Certification and Accreditation Program (Canadian Support)
TED	Teacher Education General Directorate
TEMP	Teacher Educators' Master Program (SCA)
TEP	(Afghanistan) Teacher Education Program
TOR	Terms of Reference
TTC	Teacher Training College
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization
WUSC	World University Service of Canada

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW: LEADERSHIP FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN AFGHANISTAN

This dissertation focuses on the broad story of restoration, rebuilding, and moving forward in the work of post-conflict renewal of education for the people of Afghanistan, particularly through policies and programs in the education of teachers. The dissertation does not follow a standard academic model of problem identification, literature review, design and methodology, presentation and analysis of data or content although those elements are not ignored. The dissertation is unique in the fact that this story of educational intervention by an international effort toward a small war—torn, socially fragmented, and politically fractured nation has never been documented by a participant observer who is both of the nation and from the nation.

The Positionality of the Researcher

Recognizing that research is an engaged human, social and political activity invites and requires us to seek to account for these aspects in our research and role. All researchers can benefit from exploring the ways in which they are connected to their research—in terms of topic and methodological approach and culture—and how these connections influence their theorizing and practice. Research is always carried out by an individual with a life and a life-world—a personality, social context, and various personal and practical challenges, and conflicts, all of which affect the research, from the choice of a research question or topic, through the method implemented, to the reporting of the project's outcome (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998, p. 4).

I was directly involved in the development and implementation of these programs. Although they are also managed with the understanding that the tasks and responsibilities will be carried out faithfully by others, the ultimate responsibility for outcomes is mine, and thus I am both a participant and an observer in this study. As a researcher, my involvement as a participant

required me to maintain an objective perspective as I investigated, documented, and reported on findings.

As the researcher/author, although immersed in the process, I made every effort to guard against blatant bias by taking a scholarly approach, responsible and ethical, in this difficult documentation. I do take ownership of the narrative; therefore, I write using the first (rather than third) person voice.

It is an important story to record in real time to provide an authentic record based on unpublished documents as well as on documents in the public domain that will trace the steps and missteps of the change and leadership processes for restoring education to Afghanistan in a critical contemporary time.

The story encompasses many aspects of education in Afghanistan, past and present, including urgent efforts to fulfill the promise of the new Constitution for universal nondiscriminatory and free education for all people, providing schools and classrooms in remote underprivileged areas as well as in urban centers, providing schools to meet the enrollment needs not only of a population in residence but of the masses returning from exile expecting schools for their children. The story encompasses the stresses, challenges, and disagreements involved in developing a totally new curriculum with textbooks, teaching materials, and teachers able to teach. The central core of the dissertation is a focus on the national effort to recruit and train teachers who not only could be warm bodies managing classrooms but who would also know modern methods of teaching for successful learning. The concept of classroom competence as applied to teacher skills and teacher education was not a uniformly agreed upon concept within the Afghan society, which had pockets of illiteracy among the highest in the world, and had

leaders from every sector of the nation who disagreed on the central questions of education, such as educated for what, how, by whom, where, and why.

A basic and recurring theme is the education of girls and women and their role in this society. Demands for gender equity in all international aid programs offered to Afghanistan brought forward the question of women's participation and ways of leading within the culture, and the challenges of promoting gender equity especially through access to education.

Although gender equity is a priority theme throughout the dissertation, it is woven into this work as a subtext. The central message of the dissertation is the evolution of teacher training during the decade of restoration beginning with the new government in the 21st century. The story is framed against the larger picture of historical traditions, the disruptions of conflict and recent overall national education reconstruction, expansion, and reform. My intent is to document this story of change, the sources of leadership, and the path of educational progress in the unique circumstances of Afghanistan. The dissertation provides an historical record as well as a scholarly study to inform a broader audience about the challenges, barriers, pitfalls, and successes small and large that are consequences of the merging of conflicting policies within a diverse society influenced by international funding and influence. It is a story of struggles for power amidst widespread disempowerment, divergent views of equity and justice, uses and misuses of resources, and tenacious pursuit of education for all in the face of overwhelming adversity. This case study filled with turbulence, progress, and promise abruptly became part of history rather than a path forward as the government collapsed and international aid was withdrawn in the face of a Taliban takeover in August 2021. Nevertheless, the story of a decade of efforts to support education and educate teachers as professionals in Afghanistan deserves to be told. Therefore, we continue the documentation.

The participation of women as leaders is at times be obscured by the larger issues of eliminating illiteracy, managing and leading revolutionary changes, responding to political and economic exigencies, observing the impact of shifting power structures, and dealing positively with diversity.

Structure of the Dissertation Study and Story of Teacher Education

The path of this story does not follow a clear chronological or topical sequence with plans clearly implemented and results clearly reported. Rather, the dissertation follows the messy realities of change that often vary from a planned course, confronting barriers and running into dead ends, and occasionally losing its way before finding the path again. The story is one of individuals and groups with different and conflicting goals and values across cultures. It is a story of the outcomes of differing government bureaucracies with nonnegotiable expectations and requirements. It involves disparate stakeholders who make generalizations about populations sometimes overlooking individual and group differences, failing to connect theories to practice, not distinguishing between urban versus rural priorities or unable to factor in the impact of affluence and power over poverty, illiteracy and remoteness of access while trying to meet the demands for quantity in terms of numbers of teachers recruited and changed rather than quality in terms of their competence, knowledge and teaching effectiveness.

The dissertation story is composed of both the science of research and the art of narrative. The methodological approach to this study is classified as an interpretive case study. It is not an empirical study using comparative or experimental designs resulting in quantitative data although some quantitative measures are included for information to document changes and challenges. It is partly historical, although it is largely based on contemporary action with documentation and evidence presented in narrative not dependent solely on graphs, charts, and

statistically managed data. The case study methodology does not focus on one narrow aspect of a single institution but sweeps more broadly across the Afghan landscape of education. It attempts to turn inside—out the issues of how teachers may be educated and the complex implications embedded in that one area of focus yet painting this picture within a broader landscape of cultures, traditions, and resource limitations both physical and human. It is also partly an eyewitness story in which the author/researcher is a participant and an observer. Comparisons with international and regional educational policies and practice are included as a framework for standards, for comparisons and for evaluation of progress.

The literature review provided as background and foundation for the analysis of education and teacher education policies in Afghanistan includes not only Afghan history and contemporary desk review materials, but also integrates literature on leadership and change with gender as a consistent theme. The references used include sources on research methodology, as well as sources on international practices in a variety of topics central to the education of teachers. In documenting and integrating the efforts to implement reform in teacher education in Afghanistan, many internal documents are used such as unpublished reports, memos, proposals, and assessments by contracted teams.

As an academic work there must be a fundamental question, or an overarching question, to hold together all the scattered pieces of the study. For a dissertation under the aegis of the Antioch doctoral program in Leadership and Change, the central question for investigation in this story was: What are the critical leadership strategies and organizational frameworks that promote or impede institutional change and that overcome (or capitulate to) barriers to change in teacher education in a conservative Islamic society?

Subsumed within the fundamental or overarching question are numerous other critical questions to be explored. Each is explored in some way in the study, but each is not fully answered. All uncertainties are not resolved. In the end, although questions are examined in the context of the study, many more questions are raised.

The basic questions under the umbrella question of this study are:

1. What factors or events in the history of education in Afghanistan reveal the barriers to be addressed, and the possibilities to be realized, in creating a new and internationally reputable system of education, especially in the education and training of teachers?

2. What sources shaped the vision of goals and the processes of change?

3. What were the sources of intervention and support in the change process, and in what ways did the interventions entangle and interfere with, or facilitate reaching the change goals?

4. How were leadership styles and principles of leadership exhibited during the decade examined, and what were the effects of differences and change including gender?

5. How does the story of the struggle for educational progress in Afghanistan, especially leadership in teacher education, validate, challenge, or reflect theories of leadership for change in a context of gender and cultural collisions?

6. Where and how has change evolved; where has it stalled; and where will it take Afghan education in the future? What may be the value of this research and documentation for Afghanistan and a wider international audience of policy-makers and educators?

Organization and Overview of the Dissertation

After this introduction in Chapter I, the dissertation is organized in the following six

chapters. The order is topical not chronological.

Chapter II. Research Design, Methods, and Data Sources

This chapter provides an explanation of the qualitative, historical, analytical narrative

research process relying on both historical and contemporary documents of published and

unpublished materials. The research in part uses ethnographic materials and methods based on

my role as both participant and observer, obtaining triangulation of perspective for the narrative

through disparate voices in written documents, some informal and some official. This chapter

discusses background for the Interpretive case study approach.

Chapter III. Relevant Literature on Key Topics of Leadership, Change, and Gender

The review of literature in this chapter will focus on the sources and theories most

relevant to my key questions regarding change processes, leadership behaviors, gender, and

teacher education in the context of Afghanistan past and present. Meeting the goals of the

dissertation requires a varied, multi—topic, literature search and critique including the

educational and political history of Afghanistan, the trajectory of change within that history, and

review of relevant recent documents, reports, internal memos and official papers. The sources

combed for evidence of change efforts and to document policies and processes are often

unpublished but accessible as internal papers. References to internal papers and their sources,

whether accessible on the web as formal reports or inaccessible as private but not officially

classified communications, are incorporated in the dissertation chapters as well as in the final

reference section. These internal documents are essential for addressing the central questions of

the dissertation related to how leadership and change continue to evolve in the Afghan context.

The dissertation literature review also requires a study of international and regional practices in teacher education and in classroom practice. The literature reviews provide the theoretical and academic background through which to study the realities of leadership, change, and gender in the education policies affecting teachers in Afghanistan.

Chapter IV. Teacher Education and Gender in Afghanistan Past and Present: Reforms for Modern Education—the Beginnings of Teacher Education

This chapter provides the historical context as a foundation for understanding the recent decade (2002–2016) of change as Afghanistan restored the promise of universal education to the nation. The role of tradition, culture, social policies and international events affecting educational progress and the education of teachers in Afghanistan in the past century are reviewed. Then the contemporary challenges, goals, and change policies in the education of teachers in Afghanistan following the Soviet occupation, the Civil War, the rise and fall of the Taliban and the beginning of international intervention and rebuilding in 2002 are described. A central issue to be discussed, against the broader picture of educational reform, is how the emergency need for qualified teachers was addressed nationally and the critical need for educating and employing women teachers. The goal to increase the numbers of female teachers is discussed within a larger framework of quality as well as quantity in teacher education.

Chapter V. Efforts to Reform In-Service and Preservice Teacher Education, Competency Frameworks, Credentialing, Accreditation

Analysis of leadership and change in tracing the development of new ways of training, educating, and recruiting teachers and synthesizing In—Service and preservice education philosophies and practices is the major focus of this chapter. The chapter provides the major content of the results of the dissertation research. It describes the complexity of recent efforts to

improve in-service and preservice teacher education in Afghanistan in which models of international practice are juxtaposed with traditional practices and values.

Chapter VI. Research on Practice

Includes practices from neighboring regions of Central Asia as well as international models of teaching and learning including teacher education and training, teacher evaluation, teacher professional development with teacher credentialing as an incentive. The chapter includes examples of leadership efforts to bring change to Afghanistan through adaptations and implementation of Best Practices; chaos in marking leadership territory between internationals and nationals; deconstructing and examining the role of international aid in leadership for educational change.

Chapter VII. Marginalization, Social Justice, Gender, And Inequities

The final chapter brings the themes together with special attention to issues of marginalization, social justice, and inequities as they impact progress in education, especially through leadership and change in the education of teachers. The needs and conditions of poor, disadvantaged, and remote provinces with contrasting cultural, economic, and language differences; and the gender inequities and unmet urgent needs for female teachers are highlighted. Hidden agendas resisting change; the need for leadership in promoting change without imposing it arbitrarily or directly attacking cultural traditions, are discussed. The complications of international funding tied to often incongruent international priorities are summarized within the framework of the primary dissertation questions.

Finally, the meaning and importance of this study for national (Afghanistan) and international policy makers, educational leaders and scholars is discussed. Concerns for current

political upheaval, the return of the Taliban to power, and the probability of reversal of more

than a decade of reform and progress mark the conclusion of this case study.

CHAPTER II: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the research can be explained repeatedly with variations on the prose, but the heart of my purpose is to leave an original, authentic documented history of the efforts during these past post—Taliban years (2002–2016) to increase the pool of teachers for Afghanistan. For more than a decade (2006–2016) I was the Director General of the Teacher Education Division a of the Afghan Ministry of Education and also Senior Policy Advisor to the Minister of Education. Our vision was to educate teachers who are educationally well qualified, with growing pride in their work, and expanding awareness of their development as professionals.

In brief, the purpose of my research is to present a factual history, through a case study, of one nation's struggles to provide a qualified national teaching force during a period of chaos, insecurity, social and technological change, and outside intervention through international assistance. The purpose is to provide a record of development in teacher education that can be useful to future policy makers nationally and internationally.

The research question and subsidiary questions require an extensive investigation into the national needs, policies, processes, and challenges involved in the education and deployment of teachers. The design of my research does not include collecting new and original data. The primary approach is interpretive case study, a methodology that makes use of a variety of source materials accessible in public published forms, available in Afghan government and ministry archives; and in unpublished internal reports, as well as in private communication. The materials, already available, include both qualitative and quantitative source materials; they do not require additional original data collection, interviews, or structured observations on my part.

The sources of data for the study have been drawn from a combination of already available materials in the form of academic literature, public documents, and non-public documents and private communications to which I have access. These sources are not in the form of classified documents or materials that violate any government security policies. Some are based on private, but not secret, communications related to work in progress as programs were developing. When appropriate, anonymity was preserved in order to avoid risking unnecessary disclosure of personal identities. No persons who are sources of information for the dissertation were placed at physical, personal, professional, or psychological risk.

Methodology for understanding and planning the research included use of information about research design and methodology including different categories of qualitative and quantitative research. I studied material on methods for historical research and common problems in avoiding error, nonvalidated generalizations, exaggerations, and missing voices in historical events. Thanks to Dr. Wergin, my dissertation chairman, and to Professor Essed I was introduced to critical discourse analysis (CDA), a methodology in which the use and meanings of language and words in written discourse reveals often hidden bias. While CDA will not be a basic part of my research design or central to my narrative, it will at times be important to my interpretation of policies and program documents. I will have an underlying awareness of the importance of detecting unconscious attitudes that may contribute to cultural dissonance or professional misunderstandings. For understanding the potential application of CDA, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) is the primary source of my knowledge of this method. Rogers (2003) and Van Dijk (2001) were also important re-enforcing sources for a broader understanding of the ways CDA may be used in different contexts and across disciplines.

The investigation will be conducted using a lens based on the educational values stated in Chapter I, thus making the study interpretive and critical. The narrative will be in case study form with crucial topics and evidence presented as programs, policies, and issues not necessarily in chronological order.

The focus of the case study narrative will be on concepts, events, and quality of outcomes. Quantitative data will be used to document changes or as evidence in support of outcome explanations or interpretations. Quantitative data will not be used for statistical analyses but will provide important information for understanding the narrative. Statistical significance of changes (when relevant, where found and documented), are shown but are based predominantly on secondary sources since original research of a quantitative nature was not the primary goal of the dissertation.

My Unique Role as a Participant/Observer

The dissertation topic is one that is very important to me in both my professional and personal life since I am a native of Afghanistan and lived in Kabul until my teen years when my family had to flee the country eventually to become Canadian citizens. I returned to my country in 2002, and soon became part of rebuilding the education system. I have worked in the Ministry of Education since 2004 and have been the Director of the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) and Senior Policy Advisor to the Minister of Education for a decade during which I have implemented many changes, initiated many projects, and observed the successes and failures of government policies as a result of varying styles of leadership. I have been, and continue to be, the only woman with a leadership position in the Ministry of Education and sit in the leadership meetings of the Ministry with 16 male counterparts. Because of my years of experience in this position with participation in every conversation and strategic plan regarding

Afghan education, and because of my passion as an advocate for the education of girls and for women to be given leadership opportunities, I am uniquely qualified to write the story of change and leadership, power and impotence, and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. This dissertation, as an interpretive case study, will give a fresh and comprehensive view of change in one part (teacher education) of one devastated nation (Afghanistan).

Archival Documents, Desk Research, and Protection of Human Sources

Most of the focus will be on documenting change efforts to implement teacher education progress and reform in Afghanistan since 2002, although an historical foundation will be presented showing changes in leadership and education policies as they have affected the supply and demand for qualified teachers.

Many of these documents will be from obscure sources within Afghanistan, in personal files, in official public Ministry (MOE) files, in local publications by in-country research organizations or contracted teams, as well as selected reports or publications from international sources. Some information will be based on private (but not secret) communication in emails that were part of daily work. Articles written by individuals outside of Afghanistan are not the priority for documents referenced in the dissertation since the contemporary part of the research narrative is intended to focus on primary, not secondary, sources. It is from these original documents that the leadership and change components in current Afghanistan teacher education policy and progress can be assessed.

Where private communications and unpublished documents are used, the identity of persons responsible will be protected even if the materials are not classified as confidential.

The literature review of published academic materials on each of the central dissertation topics identified will be discussed in Chapter III. The sources of unpublished materials, or

materials with limited availability, will be indicated without violations of privacy but with as much transparency as the materials and sources allow. Those materials will all be items that have been openly discussed and shared in TED or private communications with me. They will be in the form of reports (drafts or finished products), project proposals, competitive bids, formal assessments of projects, memos and personal emails.

Accessing, Reviewing, Analyzing Documents

I accessed these nonpublished documents thematically by collecting relevant and salient materials for each topic in the dissertation, establishing a sequence of documents that reflect actions, attitudes, and policies shaping change. Documents were reviewed, compared, critiqued, and weighed carefully for accuracy of information and for detection of overt or hidden bias. These documents were available to me, not surreptitiously obtained. To maximize rigor and to avoid personal bias in final interpretation, I tried to triangulate perspectives in several ways. For example, on most programmatic topics there is already critical feedback from different sources as the programs were being planned or implemented. I used my role as observer (rather than that of a participant) to meticulously cross examine the evidence and to look at alternative perspectives and at others' points of view.

In case study (nonempirical) research the issue of rigor and trustworthiness is often more difficult to ensure and to display than is the case in experimental quantitative research, although it is important and necessary in any reliable research project. In my dissertation I gave attention to making the study rigorous as I critically selected and analyzed the sources used in order to avoid selection bias and to assess politically slanted material. Without formally using CDA, I consciously scanned and filtered my own narrative to check for bias or inconsistencies that could

affect my interpretation or my conclusions as I sought ways to alert myself to words, phrases, and attitudes that may be based on my presumptions but not supported by fact or triangulation. As indicated earlier, I hoped to ensure rigor and avoid bias by distancing myself from easy conclusions that may be based on opinion; by challenging a viewpoint as I tried to take the perspective of the "other"; by having the material critiqued by knowledgeable readers; and by attempting verification of information through multiple sources.

The dissertation is a series of chapters on different topics (as indicated in Chapter I) that are all related and intertwined with one another. There is a danger of fragmentation and of replication. To avoid this possibility, I provided transitions between chapters and will tried to show the inter—relationships of the topics. The chapters are linked to the questions raised at the outset in Chapter I, providing a common thread woven through the dissertation. Further creating a single document from these somewhat disparate pieces required integration and revisions or reorganizing of both the concluding and the introductory chapters in order to see the dissertation holistically.

<center>**Interpretive Case Study Methods**</center>

The methodology for my dissertation falls under the broad category of Qualitative Research but may best be categorized as an interpretive case study. Stake (2010) defined this approach: "Qualitative research is sometimes defined as *interpretive research*. But interpretive research is investigation that relies heavily on observers defining and redefining the meanings of what they see and hear" (p. 36).

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) stated, "All research is interpretive; it is guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (p. 33). They

also said, "Critical theorists seek to produce practical, pragmatic knowledge that is cultural, judged by its degree of historical situatedness and its ability to produce praxis, or action" (p. 160).

Bevir and Kedar (2008) describe interpretive methodologies as encompassing experience—near situations, events, and materials in which human action is meaningful and historically contingent. Interpretive studies are located within particular linguistic, historical, and values standpoints.

Interpretative case studies are conducted in a close-up experiential position by the researcher. The methodology does involve participant /observation methods. Because of my role as central administrator of (TED), where the case study, (as a case story), is located, with an "experience near" perspective I must allow interpretations to emerge from the data through critical analysis and triangulation. This design and methodology section is presented in advance of the literature review. Chapter III provides a comprehensive literature review on the major topics providing a theoretical or historical background for the dissertation. They are handled as separate sections of the literature review and woven together provide the underlying theoretical structure of the dissertation onto which the current picture of Afghan teacher education is overlaid. Those major topics cover theories of research methodology, leadership and change, research on gender as in women's leadership theories, and research literature on teacher training and internationally approved practice.

The primary focus of the dissertation is narrowed to teacher education theories, practices, and efforts toward adoption and change, with a necessary emphasis on increasing the numbers of qualified female teachers. It does not attempt to determine through research the actual impact of teacher training on student achievement, although this is a topic of on-going research interest of the Ministry of Education.

The subject fields and disciplines used in the research review include literature on the foundation sources on theories of leadership, change, and gender inequity. The early focus is on the history of teacher education and social/political change in Afghanistan, and then on contemporary teacher education practice nationally, regionally, and internationally. Other data sources, outside of the literature review but included in the topic discussions in the chapters, are from archival materials housing recent studies of education issues, policies, and practices in Afghanistan.

Historical and Narrative Source Research Techniques, and Steps to be Taken

Part of my research is historical and relies on the recognized methods of historical research with sequential steps described below. This research employs methods most commonly used to review data from the past and draw conclusions that impact on the present or future. Although commonly used by historians, these techniques are also used by scientific researchers. Using these techniques, they attempt to identify trends, and theorize on the causes of disease outbreaks and epidemics.

The first steps are to define the starting date, locate independent verification of basic background information and investigate the author or the sources. These steps are necessary to confirm that the evidence used is factual, valid and reliable, reported on by multiple sources and to identify any author bias. This is part of the triangulation process.

The next steps are to analyze the information, validate it against other sources and measure the credibility of the information. These steps require the comparison of multiple sources and a process of questioning all aspects of the information. This includes using generally accepted knowledge about the time period in question, the historical facts and the physical

evidence. Analyzing differences in points of view, interpretations of historical events, contradictions in reported facts, biases in the discourse are all part of the historical method.

Since this case study includes programs and projects that have been implemented under my supervision, I want to be clear that I am using participation/observation as a way to handle objectively the events related to leadership and change. This is not a defense of my own work at TED, nor is it a manifesto for my personal and professional opinions or recommendations related to the situation being described. It is to show examples of change efforts that led to progress and some that failed to meet their intended goals. The narrative is not a biased account (either critical or celebratory) of my leadership in the institution. In fact, references to my role in the story are limited to a few instances where intervention was necessary, and those interventions often did not secure the best outcomes. Rather than writing with bias about my personal involvement and success, the story is much broader. It will not be about individuals, but about interacting groups, competing for resources, inevitable glitches and the expanding of horizons within the organizational setting.

Ethical Considerations in Research

Ethical considerations must be embedded in all research studies. Researchers must be aware of and attend to the ethical issues related to their studies. There is no room for deception in any research. It is unethical and unscientific to fabricate data in order to substantiate a personal belief or value. Ethics also require sensitive handling of subject matter and following specific protocols for the use of human subjects. In my Case Study, as stated earlier, this meant protecting the confidentiality of persons quoted in the narrative when revealing names would be adverse.

An essential question which must be asked by all those who want to engage in research is "Why and for what purposes is the research to be carried out?" Basically, this is an ethical question. In answering the question, one must ask whether anyone's interests, needs, or feelings will be damaged or hurt. One must ask also if anyone will profit by the research and in what way. We live in an age of information gathering. What will happen to the data? What rights do people have in relation to such data files?

In my efforts to respect ethical standards and to prevent any potential harm I have considered the above questions of ethics. The purpose of my research is to present a factual history, through a case study, of one nation's struggles to provide a qualified national teaching force during a period of chaos, insecurity, social and technological change, and outside intervention through international assistance. The purpose is to provide a record of development in teacher education that can be useful to future policy makers nationally and internationally. While individuals and groups may be responsible for leadership of change efforts, the dissertation will not place blame for failures on individuals and will do no harm to those involved in the actions described. The data files are not documents that have copyrights or that are under government security. They are either in the public domain or are progress reports or proposals that have been widely distributed without restrictions of confidentiality. I have not used or made public any materials that are marked as confidential. Materials used in the dissertation did not require any official release or approval for their use within the Ministry, the country, or outside of Afghanistan. I am not using my dissertation to be a whistle blower or to leak Ministry of Education secrets.

Methodology and Design for the Literature Review

Chapter III presents the literature review on methodology used and on the major topics of change theory, leadership theory, and research on women's leadership. The literature reviews on the professional topics are also summarized in Chapter III and are fleshed out more fully as appropriate in the subsequent chapters. The references used in the dissertation, including citations of locally available reports and archival data, are compiled in the final reference section at the conclusion of the dissertation. The references are used to provide guidance for the case study research methodology and for documentation of sources from which case study information is drawn, explored, and synthesized into narrative. The literature reviews on teacher education are not primarily to shape the research design, but to provide the substance for the narrative using Afghanistan as a case study of leadership and change with the spotlight on policies, programs, and philosophies related to providing qualified teachers for a struggling nation.

CHAPTER III: REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, LEADERSHIP, CHANGE, GENDER, AND TEACHER EDUCATION

This review of literature encompasses several essential but different topics that provide the structure for my dissertation. First, a review of methodology that helped me frame the problem and determine the research design will be presented. Some of the most salient sources for methodology are mentioned in Chapter II in the design and methodology presentation; but other sources I reviewed before selecting my final topic provide a broader background that informed and shaped my final decision to use case study methodology in handling the accessible but complex data sources I hoped to use.

To map or diagram the dissertation, and the literature review, I think the image could be more like a tree rather than a clear linear road map. The trunk is the visual structure that supports the branches and from which the topics of the dissertation branch out. The trunk is the stabilizing element containing the reviews of theoretical literature on research methods, ways of effecting change, different theories of leadership and issues relating to gender inequities. The trunk nurtures and supports various branches that are the essential characteristics of the dissertation including in-service and preservice teacher education, gender initiatives, regional and international practices in preparing and credentialing teachers, and finally issues of leadership, change, and civil society values in the rebuilding of education in Afghanistan. The background for Afghanistan is the underground root network that lies under and within the dissertation providing the life support for the different topics sprouting from the branches of the case study. The total integrated structure with its separate branches and leaves will be an organic unit in which all parts make the whole. The whole will be more than the sum of its parts, to apply an old saying.

The presentation here of the basic theoretical literature that has informed my research, my approach to the case study, and my presentation of the narrative of "close-up" events, may best be thought of as a pyramid of priorities which are dealt with sequentially although each piece depends upon the others. The foundation for the pyramid is the block of references on different but relevant concepts in research methodology; the next block explores diverse theories of leadership that will be useful in the case study analysis and interpretive work; the third is literature on making and sustaining positive change; the next block explores ways of looking at and deconstructing theories of women's leadership and the effects of gender on leadership in the context of Afghanistan. The final reference review, the point at the top of this pyramid and at the end of this chapter, is the focus on teacher education beginning with a literature review of traditions in Afghanistan. Then literature on contemporary regional and international practices in teacher education and narrowing down to the sources that identify best practices in teacher education and in praxis—actual classroom teaching behavior. Additional sources of information on gender equity concerns related to female students and teachers is included at the end of the chapter to reinforce the importance of this issue to me as I document the efforts to address the gender gap through the education of teachers.

Research Methodology for the Dissertation

The references that contributed to my decision to design my research as a case study were primarily from the following sources.: Golby (1993a, 1993b), Hayes (2006), and Yin (2003). In order to clarify the methods and results acceptable in case study research numerous textbooks were studied, compared, and filtered for useful approaches and problems to avoid including Holliday (2007), Morse (1994), and Lewis and Ritchie (2008). Interpretive case study (Stake, 2010; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2000) were

both new concepts introduced to me as I began planning the narrative of the dissertation, I owe my gratitude and my use of these techniques to my professors, Dr. Wergin and Dr. Essed, who saw their applications to my academic work. In order to explore other possible approaches for my research and other practical uses for the review of educational research literature I found additional categories that should be mentioned as well as some research philosophy that influences my dissertation work. Bentz and Shapiro (1998) wrote about mindful inquiry in social science research that included ethics and social justice purposes. The concept of educational research as a special category, and of classroom action research by teachers is an important but relatively new emphasis in research bringing theory and practice together (McIntyre, 2005) in meaningful and useful ways is refreshing (Denscombe, 2008; Ferrance, 2000; Fraenkel, 1996; Hendricks, 2006; Mertler, 2011; G. Mills, 2007).

Leadership Theories Past and Present

From the writings of the early Greeks including Plato, to Biblical *Proverbs,* on into Medieval Europe through Machiavelli's advice to rulers in *The Prince* and finally to the multitudes of studies and books on leadership currently available the concepts and mysteries related to leadership have absorbed the best minds.

In the 5th century B.C.E. the Greek philosopher Plato wrote in *The Republic* (Bloom, translator, 1968) that philosopher kings must be produced through education to lead the people. These leaders would be natural intellectual elite, the brightest and the best who would rise to the top through education, without regard for heritage or gender, but would be genetically the most gifted the "cream of the crop." He spoke only of men but did see that women and men shared the same abilities. A 16th century Italian, Machiavelli (Connell, 2005), however, wrote a leadership guide for the Medici rulers entitled *The Prince,* that has given rise to the popular term

"Machiavellian Leader," as one who is ruthless in the use of power. He advised the rulers to grasp and retain power through any feasible means including the use of deception and trickery the end justifies the means.

Early leadership theories assumed that leaders are born not made. They are "Great Men" who emerge in a time of crisis. In recent years, a more complex view of leadership has evolved based on studies of shared characteristics or traits of leaders and how their behaviors are shaped.

Questions focused on definitions, characteristics, and styles of leadership, and on how to identify a true leader. The early theories assumed that leaders are born not made. A deeper understanding of leadership behavior was needed in order to have better control in shaping and developing leaders. Western researchers began to distinguish between leadership tasks and leadership in action.

Beginning with Lewin

Kurt Lewin (1951) developed one of the early models of planned change. He identified two forces at work in organizations. The first is those who are striving to maintain the status quo. The second is the group that is pushing for change. When those forces are equal, the current behavior is maintained in a state of quasi-stationary equilibrium.

Lewin looked at leadership in terms of styles rather than natural traits. He defined three styles into which leaders could be categorized: (a) autocratic with decision making powers centralized in the leader; (b) participative or democratic with group participation or input into decisions; and (c) laissez faire where the leader follows the group decisions. Lewin, while favoring the participative style, believed that different situations call for different leadership styles.

Lewin described a change process that consists of three steps. The first step is called "Unfreezing." In this step the organizational forces that maintain the status quo are reduced. The leadership of the organization communicates the new, desired behaviors and articulates the changes necessary to achieve the new desired state. Organization members are motivated to accept and engage in change activities.

There are three ways of unfreezing an organization. The first is through disconfirmation. This involves communicating the need for change. Leaders can explain how customers are dissatisfied with the organization's current performance. Changes to the organization's external environment can be communicated creating an urgent need to respond for the organization to survive.

Second, leadership can induce a feeling of guilt or anxiety. This involves showing members the gap between the current state and the desired state. When faced with these facts, the members of the organization feel guilty and strive to close the gap.

Third, leadership must create a feeling of psychological safety. For people to truly change, they must feel that doing so will not result in a feeling of embarrassment or a loss of self—esteem. Members must feel psychologically safe, meaning that there will be no retribution or punishment for participating in the change (Burke, 2002).

Lewin's second step is called "Moving." In this step the organization develops new processes and behaviors. The organization shifts to the new desired state. As discussed by Cummings and Worley (2001), this is the point where Lewin introduces new organizational structures. Two processes are necessary for organizations to move or change to the new state. First, the organization must begin to identify with a new model or leader to begin seeing things from the new point of view. As people begin seeing others operate in a new way, they can

imagine the new behavior in themselves. The second process is scanning for new information. This is a way to alleviate the fear of change. Gathering and disseminating information about other organizations that have initiated the same changes helps people see that the changes can work. It leverages the experiences of others and allows an organization to learn from them. According to Burke (2002) who updated and interpreted Lewin's theory, eliminating the fear of change can be accomplished by visiting other organizations, inviting representatives from other organizations to visit, or attending conferences.

The third step is called "Refreezing." In this step, the organization stabilizes in the new state. New organizational policies and structures support the new organizational state (Cummings & Worley, 2001).

There are two parts to making this stabilization permanent. The first part is personal. Each organization member needs to feel comfortable with his or her new behavior to make the change successful and permanent. Members must feel comfortable trying new behaviors, getting constructive feedback, and then being rewarded when they get it right. The second part is interpersonal. The new behavior must fit well with other organization members. All of the changes need to work together to be effective and permanent. All employees must be comfortable with the changed behavior of each other (Burke, 2002).

Theories Beyond Lewin

Subsequent theories built on Lewin's concept. Recent applications by Cummings and Worley (2001) and by Burke (2002) have already been briefly mentioned, however there are others beginning with the work of Lippitt et al. (1958) who expanded Lewin's original framework by including the addition of steps to establish relationships with external or internal change management consultants and terminate those relationships when the change is completed.

As thinking about leadership became increasingly complex, and the leadership terminology and vocabulary more diversified, theories expanded to include analyses of leadership power. Who holds the power, what is the source of power, how is the power wielded to produce desired results? Many dimensions of power are teased out of these questions including whether the power is positional and role related, or based on the power of expertise and knowledge, based on relationships and associations, based on ability to reward, coerce or punish, based on charisma and interpersonal influence or some combination of all of the above. Leadership may not be a one—size—fits—all label, but a leader in one situation may not be able to provide leadership for a different problem or different setting. Transactional Leadership and Transformational Leadership are now the current coin in the leadership exchanges and debates. In these theories leadership is not a product of a designated position but shifts and changes as transactions occur with the groups and as transformations occur in carrying out leadership functions.

Today variations of behaviorist theories provide the foundational beliefs about leadership guiding the efforts of multiple leadership training programs. Behavioral theories of leadership took the position that leaders are not born to lead but rather learn to lead and can acquire or be taught the skills necessary for leadership. Behavioral theories focus on role playing, gaming, case studies, and management strategies, skills that can be learned especially for organizational leadership. Distinct lines of difference between leadership and management are drawn by academics. The popular saying is "leadership is doing the right thing; management is doing things right." Other platitudes about differences have been expressed, i.e., leaders provide vision; managers provide resources; leaders seize opportunities; managers avert threats. Leaders amplify strengths; managers reduce weaknesses. Both leaders and managers are needed in dynamic organizations or movements for social change. But the dualism or dichotomy expressed in these

statements are now cliché. We need a deeper understanding of leadership. Some theories are based on observation and opinion; some are beginning to be based on studies of leaders or individuals considered to be leaders by their peers or by their positions.

In the decades since the studies by and work of Lewin, a plethora of leadership theories and terminology has emerged. It appears that much of this is an interesting academic exercise in competitive theory building for the sake of tenure, recognition, or business purposes by motivational consultants. The leadership business has developed away from, but is based on, academe. Peter Northouse (2013) in his sixth edition on leadership does a thorough job of categorizing and explaining many of the current theories that are part of the conversation among leaders of popular leadership. Of course, each approach is taken seriously by the conceptualizers; and each has a piece to contribute to the big picture puzzle.

Transformational Leadership (Bass, 2006), *Servant Leadership* (Keith, 2012), *Authentic Leadership* (Gardener, 2011), *Team-shared Leadership* (Bergman, 2012), and even *Psychodynamic Leadership in Leadership: Theory and Practice* (Northouse, 2013), are umbrella titles under which investigations into leadership and its effective outcomes are being conducted. Each of these has interesting foundations in philosophical beliefs about human behavior and about who can lead, how, why and when as well as grappling with the still unanswered question of what leadership is.

Keith (2012) and Northouse (2013) have somewhat similar messages on thinking of "servant" leadership. Their point of view has some validity but is also controversial and could be viewed as patronizing of women or too deeply rooted in Christian theology to be acceptable as a scholarly theory with some critical theory behind it. Many women and minorities who have experienced oppression as servants find this point of view unpalatable. In the light of analyzing

discrimination against women in diverse and strong leadership roles it is highly questionable as an acceptable rationale for leadership requiring a serving attitude.

Kotter (2013) points to the leadership management categorical divide, saying too many managers, and not enough leaders, cripples an organization. Yet, in the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan (where the author is an administrator) there is much pressure to give administrative/management training to middle level staff in order to ensure accurate and consistent reporting. While certainly accuracy and efficiency in reporting are essential, there may be too great an emphasis on "bean-counting" and numerical outcomes than on process and mission.

Ronald Heifetz's term *Adaptive Leadership* (1998) is reminiscent of the term *Transformative Leadership* often used in studies of women's styles of leadership. But Heifetz's work serves as a serious reminder of how complex, diverse and personal leadership styles can be.

First is the idea that effective leaders must tolerate ambiguity and uncertainty. Ambiguity arises when three conditions are present: (a) novelty—completely new situations in which there are no familiar cues, (b) complexity—situations in which there are numerous factors to be considered, and (c) a contradictory situation in which different factors suggest different solutions

Second is his distinction between two types of problems, "technical" and "adaptive." Technical leadership is that which has clear goals, proven current technology to accomplish the goals, experts available to skillfully use the technology, and narrowly confined constituencies to judge whether the goals have been met. By contrast, adaptive challenges arise when the problem cannot be solved with current knowledge and skills and when the problem itself challenges the validity of our existing beliefs and values.

Third is the role of anxiety in adaptive work. In adaptive situations, anxiety increases as people are forced to take on new roles, new relationships, new values, new behaviors, and new approaches to work. The leader must not focus on reducing anxiety, but upon mission, keeping stress high enough to challenge people but not so high as to be immobilized.

Fourth, he presents two forms of authority: formal and informal. Formal authority is the power of appointed office. Informal authority, the stronger currency, is the power to influence people beyond compliance through the leader's trustworthiness, ability, and civility.

In my position to initiate and implement change at TED and beyond each of Heifetz's leadership situations applies to my work and the dissertation process. Certainly, uncertainty is a strong component to recognize and deal with; the problems revealed in the dissertation story are both technical and adaptive in that goals may be clear and may require dramatic change; but the adaptive side includes problems that the change agents often do not have the knowledge, experience, skills, or contextual cultural sensitivity to implement the changes needed. Anxiety is often an underlying condition resonating through the reactions of all actors; and the issue of power is one that is easily abused.

Peter Senge (1990) in writing *The Fifth Discipline* (and continuing in his later works) created a professional following for Systems theory in which leadership *per se* is not the important key to organizational progress and success, but rather all pieces of the organizational system need to be considered as in making the organizational machine work effectively. His focus, however, was not limited to efficiency of the organization but to those human parts that need to work together in synchrony. He encouraged managers and leaders to look at the ways various parts functioned both separately and holistically. He, like Lewin, saw leadership as not a personalized top-down model but as a total where the "sum is more than the parts." In addition

to believing in the process of developing collaboratively an organizational mission, Senge emphasized "Team Learning" starting with dialogue, nurturing the capacity of members of a team to suspend assumptions and enter into genuine thinking together. He also focuses on decentralizing the role of leadership in organizations so as to enhance the capacity of all people to work productively toward common goals. He parallels or connects, in some ways with those who lean toward "Servant Leadership," for example Keith (2012) as a model for organizational leaders. These ideas are useful for the dissertation analysis of examples of leadership in the case although, study personally, I reject many of the arguments presented in the Servant Leadership models but I am open to identifying this approach when and if it appears in the case study chapters.

Useful to me, however, are Senge's thoughts on learning organizations and his five categories involved in successful leadership. He proposes that the dimension that distinguishes learning from more traditional organizations is the mastery of certain basic disciplines or "component technologies." The five that Peter Senge identifies are said to be converging to innovate learning organizations. They are (a) *Systems thinking*: Senge advocates the use of 'systems maps'— diagrams that show the key elements of systems and how they connect. (b) *Personal mastery*: this is a state of continuous learning, a process not a final destination. (c) *Mental models*: requires turning the mirror inward to reflect on change and leadership. (d) *Building a shared vision*: the capacity to hold a shared picture of the future we seek to create, to develop shared "pictures of the future" that foster genuine commitment and enrolment rather than compliance. (e) *Team learning*: team learning starts with "dialogue," the capacity of members of a team to suspend assumptions and enter into a genuine "thinking together." In

systems theory the whole is more than the sum of its parts; the total picture with all parts engaged and a timeline that does not rush outcomes is important.

He adds to these concepts the recognition that people are agents, able to act upon the structures and systems of which they are a part. All the disciplines are, in this way, "concerned with a shift of mind from seeing parts to seeing wholes, from seeing people as helpless reactors to seeing them as active participants in shaping their reality, from reacting to the present to creating the future" (Senge, 1990, p. 69). He also adds the characteristics of leaders as stewards and teachers, thus linking his model to the servant concept, although he does not deal directly with cultures and issues of social justice and morality such as privilege and exclusion. Go back to Peter Drucker (1959) for earlier similar concepts.

In my analysis and interpretation of leadership examples in the dissertation I will consider the merit of each of these theories looking for authentic instances of the personal power of leaders, the effects of systems and contexts in which leadership is exerted, the results of efforts to enact transformational inclusive team leadership in a nation accustomed to traditions of autocratic, authoritarian leadership. Again, issues of culture, experience, and expectations can disrupt the hoped for changes of the most well-intended leaders. Theories may not be well fitted to emerging circumstances.

Change Theories: Cultural Considerations for Leadership in Organizational Change

Lewin considered leadership in the light of change; leadership was to drive change and as a leader one created change; however, since the work of Lewin others have studied change as a process rather than as the outcome of the leader as a person. Both leadership and change can be understood through theories that separate them and/or integrate them.

The work of Hofstede (2001) has provided impetus for a large body of research on the impact of culture on leadership. His original study in 1980 was based on a survey of IBM managers and employees in more than 40 countries. Hofstede originally produced a cross cultural scale for analysis based on four culture dimensions (individualism–collectivism; masculinity–femininity; uncertainty avoidance; and power distance) and in later work, a fifth dimension (future orientation) was added.

In the GLOBE study, Javidan and House (2001) found that the appreciation of leader attributes such as ''subdued and enthusiastic'' varies across cultures depending upon differences in cultural rules regarding the appropriate expression of emotion. In affective cultures, people typically show their emotions. Effective leaders communicate through a vivid and temperamental expression of emotion. In more neutral cultures, people keep their emotions in check.

Ardichvili and Kuchinke (2002) analyzed transformational leadership and cultural values related to work in a sample of managers and employees in the post-communist and former USSR countries of Russia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan. Because these countries are geographically close to Afghanistan, and because of the Soviet influence on the culture of Afghanistan during the communist regime, this study seemed particularly relevant. More importantly, in the Ardichvili study, additional dimensions of fatalism and paternalism were considered alongside Hofstede's cultural values. Fatalism was the main predictor of most leadership dimensions in Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyz Republic. Both fatalism and paternalism are characteristics one would expect in male leaders in Afghanistan. However, the missing factor is the issue of women's leadership. Is it qualitatively different based on gender, or is culture the greater influence? How intertwined are these two factors?

Clearly, it is important to "mine" the field of leadership where culture and gender are variables in the research. Most, although not all, of the research literature on leadership has been done from a western male perspective. Although the global project has focused on cultural differences, it is not representative of the breadth of the literature. For my case study both culture and gender are important. Both of these factors may play a role in diverting a change process and subverting leadership plans.

<div align="center">**Gender as a Special Category of Leadership**</div>

Women's Leadership Theories, Research, and Applications

Women's leadership is the final and central theme of this literature review chapter, although it is not the central theme of the dissertation. Yet, it must be introduced as a counterpoint to the weight given to gender issues in the dissertation. The policy makers in Afghanistan place gender equity as a high priority for the society and especially for the field of education. However, there is little room for women to become visible as leaders. I wrote about this in my article, "Why Women are Missing" (Wardak & Mitchell, 2013). Theories focusing on women's leadership are relatively recent. When studying leadership, gender makes a world of difference locally and globally.

Women's leadership characteristics, behaviors, and values cannot be considered separately from cultural context any more than can men's leadership. Generally, within each society, culture and cultural expectations for males differs greatly from that for girls and women. Although men and women may be qualified for the same jobs, the ways in which they perceive and perform their jobs may be quite different. The way one gender responds to the assigned leadership role may be completely unacceptable or tolerable to the other sex. Within a culture, the separate (although symbiotically integrated) cultures of men and women may be compared to

the differences across cultures found in the male management (leadership) studies. The degree of gender differentiation in a country depends primarily on the history and traditions of the country reflected openly in its culture but there are more layers beneath the surface giving existence to subcultures based on occupation, socioeconomic conditions, education, ethnicity, tribal or family affiliations, age, and gender.

The literature on women's leadership is confounded by research and theoretical literature on gender and women's studies that look at many aspects of a gendered life within historically patriarchal western cultures. The rhetoric ranges from discussions of women's roles in the public *vs.* the private spheres; women's responsibilities to children and family vs. finding leadership opportunities in public and professional work; and debates about women in traditional careers vs. women breaking into male-only occupations. In the last 50 years female academic researchers in Western nations began to pay attention to the ways women learn (Belenky, 1986; Gilligan, 1982) and eventually to the ways women lead (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990; Schein, 1996). The women's movement of the early 70s was fired by the controversies between feminists marching for women's rights and the conservative right "manned" by traditionalists such as Phyllis Schafly (1964). The women's movement in Europe and North America in the 1970s was ripe for raising awareness of the discrimination against women in unequal wages for equal work and a myriad of similar topics that kept the agenda expanding.

Even though rooted in the women's movement and feminist theory, theoretical literature on women's leadership is relatively new. Most publications of interest date from the 1970s and the quality is mixed. Most of the material is not based on deeply grounded research but is much more anecdotal and impressionistic as is also true with much of the literature on leadership in general. The research of Sandra Bem (1993) that led to the introduction of the term *androgyny* in

gender studies is an exception to the anecdotal exhortations found in the more recent book by

Sheryl Sandberg (2013), and in the writings of Linda Tarr-Whalen (2009), Marie Wilson (2004),

and Sally Helgesen (1990), interesting and inspiring as they may be.

The Imposter Syndrome Affecting Women

An interesting thesis called the "Imposter Syndrome" (Clance, 1978), has significant

implications for women advancing to positions of leadership. The Imposter Syndrome refers to a

feeling, often suppressed, experienced by many talented women. They have an inherent fear that

their successes are based on mistaken evaluations and they have a secret feeling of being a fraud.

The impostor syndrome was found to be true particularly common among high-achieving

women in the United States. Clance believed that this feeling begins in early childhood. In

comparing male and female differences she hypothesized that these feelings of self-worth, or the

lack of worth in childhood, affected adult leadership opportunities and performance. She found

that boys tend to find a way to place blame for lack of success on external factors outside of their

control and dismiss personal responsibility for a poor performance, while girls tend blame

themselves if things go badly. However, when things do go well for girls, and they begin to

achieve, they attribute it to luck rather than talent or hard work. With this syndrome, girls and

women are commonly anxious that they will be "discovered" as frauds and the real truth about

their capabilities, or lack thereof, will be seen by all. Some common attitudes and thoughts that

might characterize the impostor syndrome are: "I feel like a fake;" "My classmates/professors

etc. are going to find out I don't really belong here;" "Admissions made a mistake;" etc.

According to the Clance's research, and that of others who followed to replicate and investigate

this syndrome, many of the most successful women appear to be just waiting for "the other shoe

to drop" exposing them as in the old folktale *The Emperor's New Clothes.* Because of this inner

conviction that their "luck" will run out, they may sabotage themselves with this self-fulfilling prophecy. This theory may have relevance in the lives of Afghan women, including educated teachers, who have been taught that women should be silent when among men. Daring to speaking out with confidence challenges both the private and the public spheres.

The early work of Mary Belenky and her co-investigators (1986) on *Women's Ways of Knowing*, and that of Carol Gilligan (1982) *In a Different Voice*, as well as the studies of gender in the workplace by Judy Rosener (1990) and by Deborah Meyerson (2013), have a gender disaggregated research base but are well documented. They have approached this issue with very different research questions and political purposes. Their work is interesting and useful but generalizing from their work to women's leadership is not directly useful, in part because of a priori biased assumptions.

Training Programs for Women's Leadership

Many centers and programs based on research hypotheses and findings focusing on women's studies and women's leadership, are now multiplying throughout Western society. These centers, often university housed, are action oriented, intuitively and practically planned, and have a social activist mission not an academic approach. Such institutes with a variety of names, claiming to be programs for women's leadership, have sprung up in communities and at institutions of higher education throughout the West. They largely have an educational and training component. Some of them are for—profit entrepreneurial ventures, and their western cultural approaches to women's leadership are being transported to developing countries globally in the east and south.

Women Leaders in the Public Arena

The majority of women who move up into public leadership roles are in a no-win situation facing discrimination rooted in gender stereotypes. Not only must they outperform their colleagues, but they must also work to break away from the disabling stereotypes that may have little or nothing to do with their job performance. They are like "a man without a country" a woman without an authentic identity. Even though there are multiple examples that document the contradictions expected of women leaders, most women who have reached positions of public responsibility forge ahead trying to be themselves, disregarding the sniping and criticisms to the extent feasible until they are fired, give up, or move on. Northouse (2013) in his chapter on women's leadership reminds us of several incidents of blatant gender discrimination affecting the image of public women. One example was that of Hillary Clinton's last presidential campaign where posters and jokes were made of her as a frivolous feminist but also power-hungry aggressive woman. Nutcracker caricatures, for example, made in her image not too subtly depicted the unspoken message of her skills in emasculating men. This is only one example Northouse gives from that campaign in which he argued that such reverse tactics used against Mr. Obama, as black (and male) candidate who won the election, would have brought a wave of outrage from the public and the press. Years earlier a memorable occasion occurred when a female member of Congress, MC Patricia Shroeder, broke down publicly and was shown on TV in tears upon withdrawing from an important political race.

Similar ridicule and "I told you so" types of reactions are easily recalled including jokes about women in political leadership such as Prime Minister Thatcher of Great Britain, Prime Minister Merkel of Germany, and women in corporate leadership such as Margaret Whitman, Ariana Huffington and others. These images are seared on the public mind as evidence of

women's frailty, trivial interests, instability, vulnerability, and obvious inability to handle crises or critical leadership posts. Women in political leadership positions are often thought to be beholden to, or dependent upon, the support of one or more powerful men.

For example, in a thorough and detailed study entitled "Theories of Female Leadership in South and Southeast Asia" by Richter (1990), women's political leadership was examined from the perspective of being derived from family power, from privilege, and from affluence. Richter argued that there are very few female top leaders without links to politically prominent male relatives. She pointed out that the occupation of lofty positions by women does not assure that they *lead* or that the people without institutional roles may not be more important leaders.

Her analysis also shows that having a few privileged women in prominent leadership positions may have little or no effect on the relatively underprivileged status of women in general in a society. She made it clear that, in Southeast Asia and Asia there are very few (almost no) female top leaders without links to politically prominent male relatives. She stated:

> Thus, the apparent contradiction between the overall status of women in Asian societies and the startling prominence of a few is less attributable to their having surmounted formidable barriers than their proximity to established male power. (Richter, 1990, p. 530)

Richter also made a striking argument, although more than 25 years ago, that women appeared to be less interested in positions of power than when the women's movement was at its height.

While Richter's study focused on women's leadership in politics, there is little in Afghanistan that is comparable except to acknowledge that the quota for women in Parliament under the new Constitution does open up some new leadership opportunities that are not all determined by affluence and influence. Some, but not all, of the women in parliament in Afghanistan today are among the wealthy and well educated. Nevertheless, holding these

positions does not protect them from discrimination, disrespect, distrust and even danger. Even in Islamic societies the route to leadership for women, or even to equitable participation in society, varies according to history, traditions, tribal affiliations, literacy rates, economic conditions, environmental resources and the effects of geography on livelihoods and communication, political status and relationships with neighboring countries, as well as other factors in a longer list that could be presented.

One cannot discuss women's leadership in a vacuum apart from the social and political factors already mentioned. Charlesworth and Chinkin in "Sex, Gender, and September 11" (2002) critically analyzed male-female roles in the decisions following the 9/11 attacks on the United States, including the peripheral effects on women in Afghanistan.

The authors described the U.S. White House response to 9/11with respect to gender from several positions. First, the hijackers were seen to be drawn to a vision of their suicides that would be rewarded by virgins who would welcome them into paradise, offering an erotic reward for those who passed the test of manhood. No other role for women was in their attack plan. Second, the major White House players devising a response to the hijackings were all men. President George Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Attorney General John Ashcroft were presented publicly as the crucial decision-makers and spokespersons. The one woman in a publicly prominent White House position, Condoleezza Rice, head of the National Security Council, played a relatively limited overt role in responding to the hijackings and the war in Afghanistan. The intense effort by the United States to build an international coalition against terrorism was similarly a men-only event. The vacant post of U.S. representative to the United Nations was filled immediately after the terrorist attacks, on September 14, 2001, by Ambassador John Negroponte. All four of his deputies were men. The

diplomatic initiative involved President Bush, Secretary Powell, and Secretary Rumsfeld speaking directly to the heads of state of many countries, who were almost all men, especially within the crucial Islamic states such as Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan. One of the few women leaders courted in the coalition building, President Megawati Sukarnoputri of Indonesia, was presented as unreliable and erratic because of her doubts about participating in the coalition.

Part of the strategy for building strong national as well as international support for the action in Afghanistan was to draw attention to the severe oppression of women and girls under Taliban rule. However, at that time Afghanistan was under the control of the Taliban who had previously been supported by the U.S. The attack on America was by Al Qaeda, not the Taliban. It was not Hillary Clinton, Condoleezza Rice, or any prominent woman with clear expertise who was the voice to rescue the victimized women of Afghanistan. Rather, it was the President's wife, Laura Bush, who came to the front to urge on the women of America to befriend and free Afghan women from their oppression. This actually was an effective political technique stirring up women's activism from the grassroots to the White House and back to the grassroots in a reenforcing circle. Because of women's groups who brought oppression of women under the Taliban to the attention of policy makers, the issue became politicized and publicized further energizing grass roots women's activism.

Abu-Lughod (2002) expressed it this way in her article, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving?":

> Laura Bush's radio address on November 17 reveals the political work such mobilization accomplishes. On the one hand, her address collapsed important distinctions that should have been maintained. There was a constant slippage between the Taliban and the terrorists, so that they became almost one word a kind of hyphenated monster identity: the Taliban—and—the—terrorists. Then there was the blurring of the very separate causes in Afghanistan of women's continuing malnutrition, poverty, and ill health, and their more recent exclusion under the Taliban from employment, schooling, and the joys of wearing nail polish. On the

other hand, her speech reinforced chasm-like divides, primarily between the "civilized people throughout the world whose hearts break for the women and children of Afghanistan and the Taliban—and—the—terrorists, the cultural monsters who want to," as she put it "impose their world on the rest of us." (p. 787)

Most revealingly, the speech enlisted women to justify American bombing and intervention in Afghanistan and to make a case for the "War on Terrorism" of which it was allegedly a part. As Laura Bush said:

> Because of our recent military gains in much of Afghanistan, women are no longer imprisoned in their homes. They can listen to music and teach their daughters without fear of punishment. The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women.

We need to be more sensible about the clothing of 'women of cover,' and so there is perhaps a need to make some basic points about veiling. It should be recalled that the Taliban did not invent the burqa. It was the local form of covering that Afghan women in different region wore when they went out. The burqa was one of many forms of covering in the subcontinent and Southwest Asia that has developed as a convention for symbolizing women's modesty or respectability (Abu-Lughod, 2002, p. 785).

Now, where does this place women's leadership in Afghanistan with a context of varied cultures, traditions, beliefs, practices, ethnicities, and languages within the country? Even in the most progressive families, the traditional views about girls and women, and their honor in the family, are strong foundations rooted in unconscious, largely unquestioned values systems.

The Education and Training of Teachers in the Context of Afghanistan

In order to provide myself and readers with an historical background regarding education and a description of teachers in Afghanistan before these recent decades of conflict and destruction, I searched for literature, local documents, and the research of others who wrote about the history of education in Afghanistan.

Important references from which reliable objective information was drawn include the Ministry of Education (1968) report on the last 50 years of education, as well as other books, reports, and documents (Dupree, 1973; Poullada, 1973; Rashid, 2008; Rotberg, 2007; Rubin, 2002; Sadat, 2004; Samady, 2001a, 2001b; Sarvi, 2003; Tomsen, 2011). These sources were largely consistent in their reporting of events related to education progress or decline. Their general agreement on facts enabled me as author to weave together a history of leadership and educational change.

A brief history of Afghanistan by Wahab, and Youngerman (2007), a chronological description of the past wars in Afghanistan by Tomsen (2011), the history of education by Sadat (2004), and Poullada (1973) *Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919–1929: King Amanullah's Failure to Modernize a Tribal Society* all provided a generally consistent account of the historical issues affecting education as well as the traditions of an ancient culture. A valuable source for reviewing changes in Afghan education was Baize's (2013) *Education in Afghanistan: Developments, Influences and Legacies Since 1901.* Also, Sakai (2012) *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival*; Wilbur (1962) *Afghanistan*; Rubin (2002) *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, and Louis Dupree's (1973) volume on Afghanistan, as well as Tomsen's (2011) *The Wars of Afghanistan*: *Messianic Terrorism, Tribal Conflicts, and the Failures of Great Powers* provided additional and consistent descriptions of events affecting education.

For more recent analyses of education and national needs for teachers I relied on comparing the following sources: the Ministry of Education (1968) published an historical account of education in Afghanistan during the 50 years from the turn of the 20th century. Samady (2013) wrote about education and Afghan society and the changing profile of education

in the 20th century. Rashid (2008) wrote the book, *Descent Into Chaos*, that portrays from a journalist's point of view the events that led to the destruction of Afghanistan including the invasion of 2001.

Studies and reports by international agencies gave additional perspectives and confirmation of the enormous challenges facing the education sector. These studies include Rotberg's (2007) *Building a New Afghanistan*; the Asia Development Bank report by Sarvi (2003), *A New Start for Afghanistan's Education Sector*; the Australian Council for Education Research (ACER) report (2013), *Monitoring Trends in Educational Growth in Afghanistan*; the report by the interim government of Afghanistan (AIA) (2002), *Comprehensive Needs Assessment for the Education Sector in Afghanistan*; the World Bank contracted report by Altai Consulting (2014), *Critical Administrative Constraints to Service Delivery Improving Public Services in Afghanistan's Transformational Decade*.

The report by Spink (2002) under the auspices of the Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU) Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, Teacher Education Situation Analysis*,* provided harsh details about the conditions facing the new government in recruiting and training teachers for a national education system.

Review of Literature About Regional and International Teacher Education Practices and Common Challenges

Three areas were the focus of my literature review on teacher education beyond the issues confronting us in Afghanistan. These were to look at neighboring Islamic nations, specifically Pakistan; the more regionally such as Malaysia and Indonesia; and finally at international information about western nations. The results of this literature review will be discussed in depth.

First, information about Pakistan was not encouraging in looking for success. Pakistan seems to continue to cope with problems similar to those in Afghanistan such as unqualified teachers, the achievement gap between urban and rural populations, between affluent and underprivileged, and a similar gender gap in teacher deployment and student access to education. The following sources reflected similar reports on Pakistan's Education Needs and Program Efforts: Bajoria (2009) *Pakistan's Education System and Links to Extremism;* A. Hussain (2015) *Education System of Pakistan: Issues, Problems and Solutions*; Lynd, (2007) *The Education System in Pakistan*: *Assessment of the National Education Census;* the Ministry of Education Pakistan (2014) *Pakistan: Education for All 2015 National Review;* Rashid and Mukhtar (2012) *Education in Pakistan: Problems and Their Solutions;* Saleema (2010) *Pakistan Education: Problems and Solutions of Pakistan Education*; Takbir (2011) *Understanding How Practices of Teacher Education in Pakistan Compare with the Popular Theories and Theories and Narrative of Reform of Teacher Education in International Context*; and the 2006 UNESCO report, *Strategic Framework for Teacher Education and Professional Development–Pakistan*; and Warwick et al. (1991) *The Implementation of Educational Innovations in Pakistan: Cases and Concepts.*

Indonesia and Malaysia Teacher Education

In Indonesia and Malaysia with large Islamic populations, where teacher training was more advanced and where funding from Australia provided opportunities for Afghan educators to visit and attend workshops, the following literature sources were accessible for comparison and progressive ideas: Kasim and Furbish (2012) *Transforming Malaysian Teacher Education for a Sustainable Future Through Student-Centered Learning;* Djalil and Anderson (1989) *The*

Impact of a Research-Based Teacher Training Program on Indonesian Teachers, Classrooms, and Students.

International Teacher Education Principles and Practice

For international sources on teacher preparation and best practice the following were of importance to my research: *The International Handbook on Teacher Education Worldwide: Issues and Challenges for the Teacher Profession* by Karras and Wolter (2011) covered many countries globally including Europe and parts of Asia with parallel reviews of particular issues. In Blomeke's (2012) *Content, Professional Preparation, and Teaching Methods: How Diverse is Teacher Education Across Countries?* topics were reviewed in depth from a contemporary, progressive Western perspective on best practice. Wang et al. (2003), in *Preparing Teachers Around the World*, gives another overview of individual countries, and Williams and Engel (2013) provide useful comparative information in their article, "How Do Other Countries Evaluate Teachers?"

On Best Practices in Teaching—A Foundation for Teacher Education

There are many excellent sources of documents, research reports, essays, and recommendations about best classroom practices for which teachers should be prepared. Many of these practices are new to Afghanistan, teachers, parents, students, and policy makers. But they all have a unified general theme related to focusing on the learner rather than the teacher, respecting individual differences, applying formative assessment for learning as well as summative assessment of group and individual learning outcomes, of schools as learning communities rather than isolated classrooms, and as teaching as a profession with reflective practitioners. The citations listed below make up the heart of my literature review on this subject; however, this literature is vast and growing. I cannot include it all, nor can I be sure I

have included the most important sources. But the themes are generally similar leading toward a progressive philosophy.

Questions of whether teacher education really makes a significant difference were answered, "yes, indeed," by Craig et al. (1998) in a World Bank report *Teacher Development Making an Impact*; in Henry et al. (2012) *Incorporating Teacher Effectiveness into Teacher Preparation Programs*; Brouwer and Korthagen (2005) *Can Teacher Education Make a Difference?*; Boyd et al. (2009) *Teacher Preparation and Student Achievement;* and in a report *Eight Questions on Teacher Preparation: What Does the Research Say?* by the Education Commission of the States (2003); as well as in McIntyre (2005) *Bridging the Gap Between Research and Practice*. The research from Desimone et al. (2002), "Effects of Professional Development on Teachers' Instruction: Results from a Three-Year Longitudinal Study" is also full of useful insights.

Other references used about best practice include: Alber (2015) *5 Highly Effective Teaching Practices*; Arendale (2013) *What is Best Practice?*; Daniels and Bizar (1998) *Methods That Matter: Six Structures for Best Practice Classrooms*; the National Education Association of the US (NEA, 2006) *Best Practices: Learning And Teaching*; Fauziah et al. (2005) *Choice Of Teaching Methods: Teacher Centered Or Student-Centered;* from Educators Technology (2012) *10 Teaching Practices For 21st Century Teachers;* Killian (2017) *Top 10 Evidence Based Teaching Strategies For Those Who Care About Student Results*; Marzano (2013) *Marzano Nine Essential Instructional Strategies*; Tileston (2000)*10 Best Teaching Practices: How Brain Research, Learning Styles, And Standards Define Teaching Competencies*; and Udall (2013) *Five Best Practices For Improving Teacher And Student Learning*.

Additional references on general issues of learning to teach that I am using for assessing the education of teachers in Afghanistan include: Basiri et al. (2005) *Afghanistan: Findings on Education, Environment, Gender, Health, Livelihood and Water and Sanitation*; Hatton and Smith (1995) *Reflection in Teacher Education: Towards Definition and Implementation*.

From the Kabul research unit AERU, Henry et al. (2012) *Incorporating Teacher Effectiveness into Teacher Preparation Program Evaluation*; the Afghan MOE Primary Schools Task Force (2004) *Standards for Teaching Practice in Primary Schools*; the World Bank (2004) *Securing Afghanistan's Future—Technical Annex On Education*; the Afghan Ministry of Higher Education (2010) *National Higher Education Strategic Plan 2010–2014*; UNESCO (2009) *Needs And Rights Assessment—Inclusive Education in Afghanistan*; Hatton and Smith (1995) *Reflection in Teacher Education: Towards Definition and Implementation;* NBPTS (2014) *National Board Core Standards*; National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers (2010) *Standards for the Accreditation of Teacher Preparation Institutions*; and the Teacher Education General Directorate (2010) *NESP II Revision, Teacher Training: Teacher Education Department Report.*

Issues of Gender and Gender Equity in Teacher Education in Afghanistan

In an earlier section in this chapter, I wrote about the literature on women's leadership and discussed some of the gender equity issues facing Afghanistan, specifically in teacher education. The concern about the gender gap throughout every element of society is a serious national topic. In teacher education it is not only the obvious need to increase the numbers of qualified female teachers and to increase the numbers of female students accessing education, but it is also a question of gender awareness in teacher education curriculum content. Here I will include some of the literature on gender inequity and recommendations for closing this gap.

I have already mentioned sources of information about women in Afghanistan as treated in the early part of the 20th century, then the freedom of the Soviet era, followed by the devastation of the Civil War and the restrictions by the Taliban. Following the fall of the Taliban with the invasion of Allied forces major efforts were made by international groups to ensure that women's equity as well as nonviolence against women were central themes throughout Afghan development. The following are representative of the many sources I have consulted for the gender part of the literature review.

The writing of Dupree and Rahimi (1986), "Women of Afghanistan," described many of the critical issues facing women of the last century and in 1989, a paper by Dupree "Women in Afghanistan: A Preliminary Needs Assessment" (UNIFEM occasional paper). Saeed (1995) wrote *Women in Afghan History* published in Pakistan. In *the Encyclopedia of Women's History* (1997), J. J. Lewis wrote a descriptive article on gender roles in Afghanistan.

In 2000 the United Nations Secretary General published a report, *The Implementation of Human Rights with Regard to Women*: *Report of the Secretary—General on the Situation of Women and Girls in Afghanistan* citing the seriousness of violence against women and violations of human rights. In 2005, the UNDP underscored the plight of Afghan women in its publication *Afghanistan's Future Holds Promise and Peril.* The World Bank in 2005 published Country Gender Assessment, Afghanistan: *National Reconstruction and Poverty Reduction—The Role of Women in Afghanistan's Future*. A source cited earlier in this chapter from 2005, Basiri, Afghanistan: Findings on Education, Environment, Gender, Health, Livelihood and Water and Sanitation also included gender as a research focus. Wakefield and Bauer (2005), in a study for the Afghan Educational Research Unit (AERU) an independent nongovernmental organization, published *A Place At The Table*: *Afghan Women, Men And Decision—Making Authority*.

Rostami-Povey (2004) published *Women in Afghanistan*, *Passive Victims of the Burqa or Active Social Participants*? And in 2007 published *Gender, Agency and Identity*, *The Case of Afghan Women in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran* in which she quite objectively described the dilemmas of modernism and tradition in women's lives. In 2008, the Afghan Central Statistics Organization (CSO) published the report *Women and Men in Afghanistan: Baseline Statistics on Gender*. In 2011, a German woman, S. Thiele, assigned to the gender project wrote a report *Closing the Gap*: Teacher Education Department (MOE) Strategic Approach to Achieve Gender Equality in Teacher Training. (Unpublished report) describing project outcomes in a TED embedded project.

Alternative Voices

In contrast to the sources on ways of training teachers, the voices speaking out for attention to women of Afghanistan are not all in agreement. Some are patronizing or sympathetic, others are defensive, rejecting the notion that Afghan women need saving. Few are based on research or unbiased documentation. M. Mills (2006) *Afghan Women Leaders Speak,* is included in this category. Also along this line is the work of Abu-Lughod (2002) *Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections On Cultural Relativism And Its Other;* Ayotte and Husain (2005) *Securing Afghan Women: Neocolonialism, Epistemic Violence, and the Rhetoric of the Veil*; Ahmed-Ghosh (2012) *Afghan Women: At the Intersection of Local and Global Oppression*; Ahmed-Ghosh (2013) *A History of Women in Afghanistan*: *Lessons Learnt For The Future*; And *Exploited By Whom? An Alternative Perspective on Humanitarian Assistance to Afghan Women* (2002) by Wardell and Baralat.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored relevant literature regarding the underlying theoretical themes framing the dissertation: how change is implemented, the roles and styles of

leadership, and the emerging research on women's leadership and finally the literature review on the education of teachers. The final section included sources of background history on education and teachers in Afghanistan and the dramatic changes of the past century. That section also included contemporary analyses of the current needs for and conditions of teacher education in Afghanistan. Regional and international standards and practice in teacher education are reviewed, and the concepts and principles of so-called "Best Practices" are presented. Finally sources relevant to gender and education, (in addition to the earlier sources on gender and leadership) are discussed. These topics will be woven into the remainder of the dissertation through the lens of Afghan educational policy, change, leadership, and gender women's participation in Afghanistan's education history and progress.

The following chapter will provide the early background history with references of the development of education in Afghanistan within periods of political and cultural crises, changing leadership, and educational opportunities available to women.

CHAPTER IV: TEACHER EDUCATION AND GENDER IN AFGHANISTAN PAST AND PRESENT: EARLY MODERNISM TO PRESENT DAY POLICIES

The Historical Context as a Foundation for Understanding Recent Developments

This information in the first part of this chapter is offered as a prelude to provide a better understanding of the pride of Afghanistan in its educational and cultural roots, and the determination to restore or reconstruct the educational legacy and intellectual vitality of its people. The study presented in this dissertation explores the responses to present day crises and chaos in a war-ravaged country as it faces the challenges to create a new national system of education that both respects the past and wants to be respected in the global society. Afghanistan now attempts to overcome the overwhelming gap between what is left after massive destruction and what needs to be done to catch up with the rest of the modern world.

The historical information presented here is well documented in numerous sources, as well as having been part of my education as a child and adolescent in Kabul schools. Important references from which reliable objective information was drawn include the Ministry of Education (1968) report on the last 50 years of education, as well as other books, reports, and documents (Dupree, 1973; Poullada, 1973: Rashid, 2008; Rotberg, 2007; Rubin, 2002; Sadat, 2004; Samady, 2013; Sarvi, 2003; Tomsen, 2011). These sources were consistent in their reporting of events related to education progress or decline although, to my dismay, there are numerous discrepancies in some specific facts, names, or dates and some obvious bias reflecting the political situation at the particular time. Their general agreement on leadership roles and changing trends enabled me as author to weave together this history with a current perspective that allowed me to compare the historical interpretations. The actual historical sources as available in written form, either in English or a native language, are surprisingly limited. Some may have been destroyed in the national libraries, but in any case, I was shocked and

disappointed by the small number of older documents surviving for my review of historical literature. More current literature, written in English usually by non-Afghans or by those living outside the country, seem limited in the depth of their descriptions of historical events in education. I, therefore, have integrated and filtered the information to provide the background for this aspect of the dissertation, not always attributing the historical information, or its interpretation, to a specific source. Literature sources are included as citations where appropriate.

Although not an Arabic nation, Afghanistan does share the religion of Islam with Arab Muslim nations, as well as the Arabic script essential to reading the Holy Quran. Dari and Pashto, the two main official languages of Afghanistan, are derivatives of Indo-European (Indo Aryan), not Semitic (Arabic/Hebrew) languages. Afghanistan is part of the historical stream of Islamic culture embracing the centuries of advancement of knowledge in science, mathematics, philosophy, poetry and literature during the historical era when Europe was locked in what historians now refer to as the Dark Ages. The writings of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek thinkers were preserved and expanded by Islamic scholars who made original contributions in scientific and literary fields. Afghanistan, before modern national boundaries were outlined, was the birthplace or home of numerous scholars of renown such as Al Farabi, Muhammad Ibn Zakariya Al-Razi, Avicenna or Ibn Sina, Al-Biruni, Syed Jamaluddin Afghani as well as the poets, Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Balkhi also known as Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi, Rahman Baba, Abdul Hameed Mashokhel, also known as Hameed Momand, Aisha Durrani and Khushal Khan Khattak, whose works are revered even today.

Before the Modern Era—Steps Toward Educational Leadership and Change

Traditional education and apprenticeships for Afghan children and youth in previous centuries was centered on the home and the mosque. When and where madrassas (religious

schools) became available, they were also accessible to boys. Signs of modern education did not appear in Afghanistan until the early 1900s, around 1903, under the reign of Amir Habibullah who founded the first secondary school, Habibia Lycee. This school was modeled after the Indian high school program which itself was adopted from the British who copied it from the French. Habibullah took steps to increase literacy through increases in print media, newspapers, journals, and the support of libraries. Some students from Habibia were sent abroad for study, especially to British India. Habibia high school gained a reputation over the years for its role in providing a large number of leaders for the nation. However, the pace of educational change and modernization was slow (Sadat, 2004).

Steps Toward Modernization

A method for teaching literacy was developed in 1906 including new textbooks and a teacher's guide. This led to the creation of the Office of Textbooks in 1907 in order to provide uniform school textbooks for the increasing number of schools.

It became clear that a standard curriculum, with new textbooks, required trained teachers knowledgeable in the text material; therefore, the first teacher training institute, Dar-al-Malimin, was established in Kabul in 1912. In the following year a Department of Education was established to attend to the issues of promoting primary education. Amir Habibullah appointed his son as department head. Education, free school supplies, and a small stipend were available to the male students selected to attend. In 1912, the first normal school was established in Kabul to train teachers for primary schools (Ministry of Education, 1968, p. 6).

In 1919, Shah Amanullah became the ruler by succession, and actively supported the movement toward widespread national education. He elevated the Department of Education to

the Ministry of Education and appointed his son, Prince Abdur Rahman, as the country's first Minister of Education.

Mahmud Tarzi, a reformist educated statesman and the father-in-law of Shah Amanullah, held an influential position in the Amani (Amanullah) government pushing especially for education reform and for the empowerment of women. Tarzi's daughter, Queen Soraya, in 1921 with her mother, Rasmiya, founded the first high school for girls, Masturat. Rasmiya was appointed as the first principal. Between 1921–1928, more than 800 females were enrolled. In 1928, the first co-education classes were introduced at Amaniya Lycee for grades one and two.

Under Tarzi's leadership other primary schools were established in major towns, villages, and cities. Schools for the nomadic Kuchis were also considered and established with some success. Several new high schools (Lycee) were founded between 1922 and 1930, some teaching foreign languages such as German or English as an attempt to provide an education comparable to that of Europe and other advanced nations. Two vocational schools were opened in 1924, one for business and administration and another for fine and applied arts. Even with vocational schools at the top of the agenda, the bigger goal was universal education with a system of school and a modern curriculum throughout the nation. The beginning of a network of government-run intermediate and secondary schools was achieved in 1928; as many as 40,000 students were enrolled.

However, since higher education was missing in Afghanistan the government began to allow top male students (sons from elite families) to study outside of the country, for example, in India, Germany, France, Egypt, and Turkey. Ten girls were allowed to go to Turkey in 1928 for university study, but this practice was soon aborted requiring the girls to return home as a conservative backlash grew strong.

Unfortunately, conservative sectors in society believed that government schooling was unreligious and if children attended those schools, they became infidels. Conservative traditional sectors opposed changes in the education system they viewed as western, modern, urban, and against Islam. The opposition included clergy, tribal leaders, some rural ethnic groups, and government opposition groups.

The unpopularity of Amanullah became so strong, threatening civil upheaval, that in early 1929 he abdicated and sought refuge in Italy. Taking his place as ruler for only nine months was the militia commander, Habibullah Kalakani, who reversed the educational reforms made under Amanullah. Among the first steps taken by the new Kalakani monarchy were the closure of female schools and the disbanding of the Women's Association of Kabul. The *Irshad—e Naswan*, the only newspaper published for women, also was banned. The government recalled the female Afghan students from Turkey and required them to put on the veil.

The government declared the Pashto language as the national and official language and it was included in the constitution in 1344 (1965). All government employees were required to learn Pashtu and take six in-service courses which were provided for them free of charge and upon completion they were supposed to receive 50 Afghani increment in their salary. Pashtu Association was founded around the same time and the main objective of the association was to deliver those six courses to government employee but the main challenge was the shortage of teachers.

Education returned to traditional practices. Social and economic measures, including education policy, aimed at sustaining a traditional agricultural society. The majority of rural communities had no schools and continued the education of their children, in the traditional way, at home and in the mosques.

All government schools were closed briefly during this period in 1929; however, schools were re-opened in late 1929 when Nadir Shah became king after capturing and executing Kalakani. Although he at one time had been Minister of Education, education under Nadir Shah was not a central priority. However, one progressive step was taken in 1931 when women were allowed to take health classes at the Masturat Hospital in Kabul. Nadir Shah did support the establishment of Kabul University in 1931 despite the persistence of the anti—modern conservative resistance. In addition, in 1932 the faculty of medicine was founded.

Nadir Shah was assassinated at a high school graduation ceremony in 1933 (Dupree, 1973, p. 174). His 19-year-old son, Prince Zahir, was immediately crowned king, but for many years a proxy rule by older male relatives characterized his leadership. Zahir Shah was king for four decades, from 1933 to 1973, during a period that was relatively free of civil unrest. Some favorable trends started to emerge in the late 1940s. Advances were made in education, the economy, and civil society especially in urban areas during much of his reign, although the conservative Islamic anti-modern element remained strong even as the Communist influence became a dominant disruptive factor. In 1964, a constitution was created enabling greater citizen participation under a Constitutional monarchy.

Higher education introduced in the 1940s included embryonic universities in major cities, most notably Kabul University supported by the United States, and the Polytechnic University founded by the Soviet Union for vocational/technical advanced training. Faculties were established in law (1938), science (1942), and letters (1944). In 1947, Kabul University was formally established. Three years later, the departments of theology, agriculture, and economics were founded. Some departments were affiliated with foreign universities in Germany, France,

America, and the Soviet Union. University admission gave priority to sons of the ruling aristocracy or sons of top bureaucrats (Sadat, 2004).

In 1946, a Women's Institute was started in Kabul to provide classes for a few privileged girls and women. A year later, two girls' high schools were created and in 1947, a women's faculty of education was established. Further steps were taken when, in 1949, the first group of girls having the equivalent of a high school diploma began to teach in girls' schools.

By 1950 there were 368 primary, secondary and vocational schools, and one teacher training school with a national total of 95,300 students. The enrollment of children in primary education was 6% of the entire age group, 6 through 12 years, in an estimated population of 11 million people (Samady, 2001a).

In the 1950s efforts to expand education and improve its quality were initiated. In 1949, the Afghan government asked UNESCO to send a Mission to study its educational system. In 1954, USAID and Columbia University Teacher's College focused efforts on the qualitative improvement of teacher education in Afghanistan. In 1955, the Institute of Education was created and later integrated into Kabul University.

According to Wilbur (1962), in 1960 there were 175,600 pupils in 1,110 primary schools of whom 19,000 were girls. Among the 11,300 students enrolled in grades seven to nine, 2,500 (22%) were girls. Approximately 193,000 Afghan students were enrolled in schools in Afghanistan and abroad, a figure double that of a decade earlier in 1950. Nepotism, favoritism, and corruption were common complaints regarding the awarding of foreign scholarships (Wilbur, 1962, pp. 85–87).

Soviet Assistance and Intervention

Soviet intervention was clear and strong by the early 1970s. Most of the Afghan military were trained by the Soviets either in Afghanistan or in Russia. Russia also sent arms and military experts to Afghanistan. Afghan university graduates received fellowships for advanced study in the USSR and Warsaw Pact nations. From this aid and experience a growing elite of Afghans emerged with modern ideas as well as social and political sympathies in harmony with Communism. Slowly but surely the Sovietization of Afghanistan was occurring. Prime Minister Daoud enthusiastically encouraged Soviet engagement in Afghanistan, earning himself the nickname "the Red Prince."

During Prime Minister Daoud's reign in the 1970s, education was expanded beyond lower schooling to secondary education through several boarding high schools. Ibn Sina Lycee became a teacher's training institution for men to encourage them to become teachers, especially in the rural villages

In the late 1970s Afghanistan had a functioning education system comprising over a million students including 20% girls in primary, secondary and higher education. Government expenditures on education came to constitute 40% of the national budget (Sadat, 2004).

Sadat reported that by 1977, the education infrastructure could not support the educational demands. By 1978, there were more than one million students in primary and secondary schools and other educational institutions in Afghanistan. Of there, there were 152,750 girls (about 14%) and 5,070 female teachers in primary schools. In an attempt to reduce pressure on both the education system and the labor market, the government instituted the Konkur exam (from the French word *concours*), the university entry test at the end of the 12th grade. The main purpose of the Konkur was to select potentially successful university students

from the rest of the student population. This test became a controversial but established

screening mechanism for reducing pressure on the overstrained university system (Sadat, 2004).

(Other spellings will be found for this exam including Concord, and Kankor.)

In 1978, the constitutional monarchy was abolished by a palace coup declaring former

Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud as the country's President of the first republican government.

The Soviets immediately recognized the new government. Not only was the new constitution of

the government styled after that of the Soviet Union but also changes in academia began to

resemble the Soviet approach to education including introducing co—education, especially at the

university level, but also in the lower schools.

However, in April 1978, President Muhammad Daoud was overthrown in what is

referred to as the Saur Revolution. Nur Muhammad Taraki, head of the People's Democratic

Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) replaced Daoud as President. Taraki instituted even broader

Marxist style reforms including a rural literacy campaign expanding educational opportunity to

masses of uneducated farmers and women. He was not intimidated by the internal conflict

between groups supporting traditional systems against the modernization movement. Taraki

continued to offend those determined to maintain traditional customs. He pushed forward drastic

social and economic measures, including land reform, women's rights and modern education.

These ideological conflicts led within the year (in 1979) to his loss of power.

Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin ousted him as president. Amin took firm steps to quell

any opposition such as imprisoning and executing individuals and groups who were viewed as

unsupportive. He did not hesitate to go after his own party members such as former President

Taraki or his sympathizers. Opposition, however, and dissatisfaction were broiling up

throughout the nation making the Soviets uneasy about the stability of the rapidly changing government.

In December 1979 Soviet tanks rolled into Afghanistan. In 1980, President Amin was removed and Babrak Karmal, former 1960s parliamentarian, became the country's fourth president.

The educational system, over several decades, had become increasingly influenced and funded by the USSR, however, after the Soviet invasion of 1979 this trend increased dramatically. Literacy courses and programs educating about health and technology were expanded throughout the country. Reform efforts included the whole of the education system and in 1981 the creation of a center for teacher training and pedagogical research. The official name was the Central Institute for the Retraining of Teachers was established and in 1982 this was transformed into higher education as the Kabul Pedagogical Institute. In addition, relationships with the Soviet Union and other Eastern Bloc countries led to many academic exchange opportunities. At the same time exchanges with the West, especially America, declined or were stopped altogether.

Karmal's presidency lasted six years. In 1986, Dr. Muhammad Najibullah, former head of the Afghan intelligence agency (the secret police), became the country's fifth president. President Najibullah, a graduate of the school of medicine at Kabul University realizing the need for more higher education throughout the country, opened three new universities, Balkh (1986), Herat (1988), and Kandahar (1991). However, Najibullah, seen to be brutal and ruthless, alienated many Afghan groups including his own army, but in particular the Islamic conservative groups that became united as the party of the Mujahideens. Najibullah was forced out of office in 1992, taking refuge for four years in the UN compound. His own brutal execution at the hands of

the Taliban in 1996 precipitated the Civil War that eventually led to the empowerment of the Taliban.

Impact of Soviet Defeat, the Civil War and the Demise of Modern Education

Before the civil war in the 1990s, the Afghan higher education system was largely intact and thriving. UNESCO estimated university enrollment in 1990 at more than 24,000, with women making up one third of the student body. Much of the destruction of Kabul in 1992–1994 was in the area around Kabul University; classes were seriously disrupted as virtually all faculties fled Kabul or were killed. During Taliban rule (1995–2001), the provision of higher education was limited to men only, mainly at what remained of Kabul University, and concentrated on Islamic studies (Thompson, 2007).

In the spring of 1992 various competing factions within Afghanistan collided for control of the government and Kabul was consumed in civil warfare surging throughout the country. Schools and universities, specifically Kabul University, became killing fields as centers of warfare and pillage.

This had an immense impact on education. With no uniform curriculum, religious education was given priority over all other subjects. Equal education opportunities of boys and girls were ignored while religious schools for boys were encouraged. Schools were often closed because of fighting and lack of security. The abandoned schools were pillaged by people raiding them for equipment and electric wiring to sell in the markets and furniture to burn to warm the home. Teachers, administrators, and students became displaced.

Libraries were decimated as books were pillaged and gunfire blew out windows. Thousands of volumes were either looted or burned; rare titles were smuggled and sold off for high prices in the antiquarian book markets outside the country. An article entitled "Raping The

Libraries Of Kabul" details how the various factions burnt or sold millions of handwritten books on religion, history, poetry, and autobiographies of great scholars. From that million volume collection only 20,000 books survived (I. Hussain, 1998).

By 1995, the Taliban defeated other fighting groups in the Civil War and took charge of the government with pledges of peace and order. However, they introduced strict social policies based on their interpretation of Shariah Law and proper practices in Islam. The Taliban completely closed down most government schools, especially those for girls. Religious schools (madrassas) were allowed for boys, but the curriculum was predominantly religious with the Holy Quran as the basic text. Despite Taliban restrictions many Afghans (even some Taliban leaders) educated their children, including their girls, illegally and secretly at home using pieces of the modern, already discarded, curriculum.

The 9/11 Call to Action: The Chase for bin Laden, Defeat of the Taliban, and Western Occupation

On 9/11/01 Osama bin Laden and his followers known as Al Qaeda planned and carried out a major attack on the United States. Bin Laden was a member of the Saudi ruling family. He had become radicalized against the West, particularly against the United States. He and his armed men used remote areas in Afghanistan (and Pakistan) for hideaway bases. The destruction of 9/11 resulted from carefully planned attacks using commercial airlines as suicide bombers, destroying both of the Twin Towers in New York City as well as a simultaneous attack on the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. A third part of the plan involved the use of another airliner for a third target in the Capitol, probably the White House, but the plane crashed as a result of passenger intervention. These attacks resulted in the deaths of more than 5,000 Americans in one brief morning.

By October, 2001 the government of the United States retaliated, seeking revenge on bin

Laden. Other sympathetic nations joined to make an allied force that stormed Afghanistan,

taking the country from Taliban control. After the defeat of the Taliban in 2001 many Afghans

who had fled as refugees during the years of conflict, returned to Afghanistan to help rebuild

their country.

As the school year started in March 2002, the capacity to supply education had been

decimated in both quantity and quality. The situation of the country was described in this way by

a joint report of international organizations:

> The Afghan education system has been undermined by 23 years of war, by
> widespread physical destruction, by restructuring under a communist regime, and
> by its use as a political and religious pawn by succeeding governments. The
> concept of secular education has been under constant attack for decades—first as a
> source of foreign ideas that led to the communist takeover and then by the Taliban
> who banned education for girls entirely and promoted and expanded the system of
> religious schools at the expense of secular schools. (AIA, 2002)

The results of the U.S. response, with international support especially from western

governments, led to the defeat and withdrawal of the Taliban and the institution of a new

western supported (and many believe controlled) interim government. A national Shura

(representative convention) was held, a new Constitution for the Islamic Republic of

Afghanistan was written, elections were scheduled, and commitments made for a decade

of international funding and support in rebuilding the nation as a democratic, modern,

technologically equipped participant in the global community.

The challenges were overwhelming including rebuilding the entire governmental

infrastructure, rebuilding roadways and creating new lines of transportation and communication,

restoring and upgrading electrical power as well as water and sanitation systems, rebuilding or

removing destroyed structures, establishing a banking system, and modernizing commerce including all types of products imported for human survival and comfort.

The biggest challenge was that of rebuilding the totally destroyed education system from the bottom up and from the top down. The education system reformed by the Soviets to include the masses had never been fully operational. Educational opportunity was left largely to those who had access to urban areas where even girls were allowed to attend schools at the university in Kabul where co-educational classes had been the Soviet policy. However, by the end of the Civil War and certainly by the end of the Taliban rule, the universities had been destroyed and were barely functional when offering classes at all. As described earlier, faculty had fled or were dead, buildings were gutted and marauded. Campuses were denuded either by soldiers trying to eliminate hiding places for opposition forces, or by civilians seeking firewood. Furniture was stolen and broken up to use for home heating; equipment was looted; even the electrical wiring was stripped from buildings still standing and taken for sale in the black market. Libraries and laboratories were ghostly artifacts attesting to the destruction of symbols of learning (Tomsen, 2011).

As the attempt to re-open universities began in 2002, the flow of citizens from the country began to reverse with many Afghans returning from refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran or from other countries in which they were exiled including the United States, Canada, Iran, Great Britain, Germany, and other countries. Some of these returning were able to take positions of leadership in the new government headed by President Karzai in a democratic election, and some were capable of restoring the universities and the schools. Stories from students who began to study again at Kabul University tell of walking across human bones on the tall grasses of the university campus that had earlier been a site of warring groups.

In the 21st Century, a Renewed Modernization Period

Education under a new Constitution. After the 2001 Bonn Conference, steps began to restore a national modern educational system under a new constitution. The Constitution states that free education will be available to all Afghans from primary school through the university, although to be admitted to the universities and teachers' colleges students must take the Konkur (Concur) exam. Depending upon their scores and space available they may be admitted, but even if admitted they are assigned arbitrarily to a field of study regardless of personal preference. The most highly sought fields are medicine, engineering, and law. Students with the lowest passing scores are referred to the Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) for admission.

Under the Constitution of 2004 nine years of free and compulsory basic education is required for all Afghan children between six and fifteen years of age (both boys and girls). Expansion of secondary education, technical and vocational education, and higher education are proposed. The Constitution also specifies equal educational opportunity for women as well as provisions for improving the education of nomads and eliminating illiteracy nationwide. Vocation and technical education are addressed as priorities. The Constitution allows for the establishment of private schools and educational programs by Afghan and foreign entities with state permission.

Starting again. As the school year opened in March 2002, by any measure, a formal system of education in Afghanistan was inoperable. It had collapsed. In May 2002, the Afghan Interim Administration (AIA, 2002), supported by a team of professionals from the World Bank (WB), UNICEF, UNESCO, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), conducted a Comprehensive Needs Assessment (CNA) of the education sector. One of the key recommendations of this report was support to teacher professional development.

According to global analyses Afghanistan's education indicators were among the worst in the world, with girls and rural populations particularly disadvantaged. In addition, there were hard-to- reach groups including war widows, orphans, women and girls, children with disabilities (some caused by the war), street children, demobilized child soldiers, nomadic groups, and many others, with the total number of affected people in the millions (Sarvi, 2003). All these groups would require educational services tailored to their particular needs. The gross enrollment rate (GER) estimate in the Preliminary Needs Assessment (PNA) was an enrollment prediction of 38% for boys and 3% for girls in primary education. This did not attempt to meet the Education for All (UNESCO/EFA) goal of universal education (AIA, 2002).

The conservative estimate in 2002 was that an additional 43,500 teachers would be needed within the next decade in order to achieve an 85% net enrollment rate (NER) in primary education. This estimate was based on the assumption of a constant primary school age population of 4.5 million children. To accommodate this increase in enrollment school construction of an estimated 13,851 would be needed. Breaking this ten year projection down to an annual working goal this meant recruiting and training 4,350 new teachers and constructing 1,385 new schools each year. However, there also was a lost generation to consider, those Afghans between ages 12 and 30 for whom no education had been available. If they were to be included, an estimated 40,000 more teachers might be needed. This scale of educational infrastructure is far beyond anything attempted, or achieved, in the history of Afghanistan (AIA, 2002, p. 4.)

With building a national cadre of competent teachers as the first priority, the CNA report recommended delaying long-term investments such as new physical facilities and curriculum or textbooks. At that time the practical decision was to wait until strategic plans and policies could

be developed for meeting classroom and textbook/curriculum needs. Thus, the focus began with teacher recruitment and training.

Teacher Education Begins Again

In 2004, the Ministry of Education released a number of education policy documents outlining priorities. Teacher training was seen as a key component of all education programs for the Afghan Government (GOA). Multiple programs, through international donors, were launched to meet the educational goals of the GOA and the MOE. These programs were introduced separately with little or no coordination either with each other or within the various departments of the GOA and the MOE. The need for coordination and for collective integrated planning soon became apparent.

Collective leadership for the first Afghanistan teacher education program (TEP). TEP was an initiative introduced in 2003, soon to be abandoned and revised, to support a coordinated response to teacher development in Afghanistan. Collaborating agencies included the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Education, UNICEF, USAID, WB, DANIDA (Denmark), JICA (Japan), and CAII Creative Associates International Inc. (under USAID contract). In collaboration with this set of international donors, contractors and stakeholders, as well as others who soon came into the picture, the Ministry of Education developed initial planning documents. The intention was to produce a long-term plan for teacher education in Afghanistan; identify and initiate immediate term activities focusing on rapid, country-wide in-service teacher training programs; set up Teacher Resource Centers at a subdistrict level; and enable a coordination among diverse inputs and delivery systems through a commonly agreed upon approach.

In 2003 the education sector was largely coordinated through the then named Education Program Secretariat. The Secretariat included a small team of international and national senior education professionals, a leadership team, who reported directly to the Minister of Education. They organized regular coordination meetings around specific topics in the education sector. An important responsibility was coordinating all education development funds as a part of the National Development Budget. (The secretariat was disbanded and restructured by 2004.)

The Ministry of Education Takes Steps to Organize

By 2004 the MOE had a greater resource base than the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE), in terms of financial resources, human and technical resources (Spink et al, 2004). Within the MOE there are a number of departments. At that time The Teacher Training Department (soon renamed the Teacher Education General Directorate [TED]) became responsible for national teacher training policies and programs. The responsibility, now with TED, includes managing the TTCs throughout the nation. TED is also responsible for academic guidance to these colleges and the development of their institutional integrity. TTCs offer a two—year teacher training diploma for grade 12 graduates officially qualifying them for teaching positions in grades 1 through 9. Graduates of the TTCs have subject area specialties, as well as pedagogy training. The primary school curriculum is taught in separate subjects beginning in grade four making it necessary to develop strategies for teacher preparation based on projected assessment of school enrollments and needs for teachers with certain subject specialties.

The agreement among the donors and stakeholders in 2004 was to focus on two teacher preparation strands: in-service training for all currently employed teachers nationwide and a long-term teacher development plan to ensure an adequate supply of future teachers in an overall

Teacher Education Program. At this time, in 2004, a large USAID education contract for teacher education was awarded to Creative Associates International (CAII), a private for profit Washington, D.C. based company listed among the "Beltway Bandits" (Johnson & Jolyon, 2004). CAII continues to be awarded major USAID contracts for education projects in Afghanistan, and in other countries, despite many critical reports of their administration of funds, cultural insensitivities, and questionable results. This will be discussed later as part of the struggles faced by international aid groups working to build the education system through the two ministries explained below.

The Structure and Responsibilities of the Two Ministries: MOE and MOHE

Two ministries are responsible for different parts of teacher education: the Ministry of Education (MOE) for schools and teacher training from grades 1 through 9; and the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) for university level education, and for preparation of subject area teachers in secondary schools.

The MOHE focused almost entirely on the development of the university system and gave little attention to Pedagogical Institutes or Institutes of Higher Education. Some of the Pedagogical Institutes are now renamed as universities. The Education University in Kabul (until 2003 a pedagogical institute), now the Kabul Education University, became the premier institution for education; however, it was not actually in the business of training teachers and offered minimum pedagogy, but focused on graduating students who could then be hired as TTC instructors or Civil Servant staff in government or in well-paying international aid or NGO programs.

This separation of territories was often blurred, increasingly leading to confusion, frustration, competition, and cross-ministry power struggles. The early teacher education

program (TEP) became an example of this internecine warfare. As stated earlier, many donors were part of the oversight group that also included the MOE and the MOHE. Efforts were made to create a cooperative joint—ministry board; these efforts were unsuccessful in the early years and continue to be a policy problem even as I write this dissertation.

The appointment in 2006 of a new head of the Teacher Training Department (TTD), the first woman director in the MOE, and the renaming of the department as the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) significantly contributed to a more effective coordination of teacher training activities. I (Susan Wardak) was appointed Director General of TED and continue to hold this position after more than ten years, even as I write my dissertation and simultaneously perform my duties. I continue to be the only female Director General in the MOE and am responsible for interface with international donors and leadership of all provincial TTCs and TDCs across countries and national staff of around 400 employees only in the center.

EQUIP—The Educational Quality Improvement Program

As the TEP (2004) faltered due to territorial and personality disputes, the plan for nationwide in—service training was revised, reorganized, and funded by the World Bank (WB) through a separate education unit called EQUIP. EQUIP was responsible in the beginning to the WB and independent of government direction, although linked collaboratively with the MOE, but later became more embedded in the ministry but still a separate unit in the MOE. The new in-service training program was under the umbrella of EQUIP but was actually developed and administered through TED as a unit of the Ministry.

Over the subsequent decade, tension emerged between EQUIP and the MOE as well as with TED, and to some extent between EQUIP directors and their WB supervisors. For TED, the tensions centered on who was controlling the budget allocation and who was setting the specific

program priorities. It often seemed that the strong personalities in the WB supervisors

determined what parts of each teacher training project or new TTC program would be funded.

The WB staff frequently attempted to exert control over parts of the TED program to reinforce

their preferences. For example, the WB education officer at one time gave TED a list of about 15

projects to be implemented without clear priorities, clear budget parameters, or a time

framework. This was like a wish list, a *potpourri*, of improvement items such as creating a

bridge program from secondary schools to the TTC; creating teacher development centers;

evaluating and training the TTC instructors; developing more effective M andE processes for the

impact of teacher trainings including the use of smart phones for data collection; developing

early childhood and early reading programs; targeting literacy programs, improving mathematics

and science instruction; introducing experimental programs such as Sesame Street teacher

training, Leap Frog devices, and other computer based technology, and many more. These topics

were not bad ideas, and majority of it was already TED's priority and was initially proposed by

TED but made for a scramble in terms of priorities, staffing and budgeting.

At the same time, TED was trying to carry out already agreed upon program plans and

still give feedback about implementation issues as well as about the overriding program needs as

seen through the work and the eyes of the DT3 contractors, the trainers, and the teachers. From

the beginning of EQUIP I in 2004, through the planning of EQUIP III for 2017, the turnover of

international personnel in EQUIP and in the WB education sector in Afghanistan has been

frequent. Personnel change in the staff of major donors is a major problem. Different

personalities bring different leadership styles and very different levels of expertise, professional

knowledge, and experience. Developing new relationships, building trust, sharing goals and

modifying those goals to fit new budget decisions and new priorities that come with new persons

in charge takes time and energy. Sometimes there is not enough sustained time to build those essential relationships.

EQUIP had two main program categories that involved TED administration and supervision. One was the new in-service program the District Teacher Training Team project called DT3; and the second became a massive mix of several programs to improve the Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs).

The Beginning of the EQUIP District Teaching Training Teams (DT3) for In-Service Teachers

In the first round of the EQUIP (2006) in-service program bids for contracts (requests for proposals) were limited to planning trainings in only a few regions of the country. The Requests for Proposals (RFPs) were extended to national NGOs or NGO consortiums as well as international organizations. Contracts were awarded to national groups who could provide extensive documentation of their competence to handle the terms of the project in the specific region. By 2008, the bidding process became much more rigorous; the contract terms more detailed, demanding, and with clear accountability targets. An international request for proposals was announced in order to solicit competitive bids for proposals that would lead to awarding contracts to groups of collaborating NGOs who would deliver training to teachers in different parts of the country. The program was expanded and by the end of 2008 all provinces had DT3 programs with teacher training teams and an administrative structure. The recommendations for proposal selections were made by an interdepartmental team from the MOE. Final decisions were made by EQUIP and World Bank (WB) staff. Although TED was responsible for implementing all DT3 programs, the TED staff was not responsible for awarding the contracts. The WB often wanted to see international groups outside of the country win these contracts; the MOE committee saw strong reasons to give the contracts to Afghan consortia who knew the

country, were familiar with the conditions of the region they were bidding on, and who spoke the local language of the region. The funding for the contracts was substantial. It was important to carefully vet the competitors. The selection process was arduous and often argumentative. The implementation process was equally demanding of time, attention, monitoring, and troubleshooting as each contractor worked to meet the training requirements and to produce the results (deliverables) of their contract. A leadership struggle was evident in the decision-making process with advocacy divided between in-country and out-of-country arguments. Finally, all contracts for DT3 were awarded to in-country consortia except for the part awarded to Creative Associates (CAII) which was the oversight for one of the consortia.

Initially, the training materials and training structure were designed within TED with the early assistance of the staff of Creative Associates International (CAII) who also managed the NGOs serving one of the regions. Unfortunately, there soon appeared difficulties in this process both with satisfactory delivery of target goals and with issues of ownership of the overall process. The MOE through TED was ultimately responsible for the outcomes within the DT3 program and other teacher education initiatives, but the local and national administrators of CAII assumed ownership and authorship of the project and products, taking recognition for authorship and giving little or no credit to the work of the Ministry specialists and staff. TED had legal authority over the in-service projects and was responsible for monitoring the processes and outcomes as well as, to a certain extent, holding the contractors responsible for financial expenditures and reports on teachers completing the trainings. The actual monitoring of expenditures for each contractor was the responsibility of the Finance Office of the MOE and ultimately the Ministry of Finance. As will be seen in later discussions the gaps in responsibility

for budget planning, requests for funding, and timely disbursement of funds became major

problems for the DT3 contractors as well as for TED and EQUIP.

The in-service DT3 plan for teacher training uses a cascade model that includes a train-

the-trainer concept, whereby a team of master trainers are trained in Kabul, who then train

educators in the provinces who train the teachers in the districts. The plan was to ensure that all

teachers undergo a basic, rapid, uniform, and consistent in-service teacher training program. The

program included school regulations and laws (as per the Education Code) for teacher attendance

and classroom responsibilities; it included training in pedagogy encompassing classroom

management, developmental characteristics of learners, teaching and learning strategies

including formative and summative evaluation purposes and methods; and schoolwide

improvement strategies such as collaboration, study groups, school data-based planning, and

more.

The Role of the Provincial Education Departments and Directors (PED)

Unlike the MOHE, the MOE has an office in each of the 34 provinces of Afghanistan.

These are the Provincial Education Departments (PEDs). Their directors (also referred to as

PEDs) are responsible for all budgeting and administration of schools and teachers in the

province.

The PEDs oversee the District Education Departments (DEDs) with Directors who

monitor each district within the province. DED Managers usually do not have their own office

and are often based in an annex of an existing school. Education policy is centrally designed

with a top-down hierarchy. There is no reliable regional administrative structure for education

in Afghanistan. Each PED reports directly to the central MOE. All finances for the TTCs and

DEDs are managed by the PED which is dependent upon disbursements from the central

government in Kabul. On a quarterly basis a budget is allocated to the PEDs after the approval

of the Governor of the province, and the Kabul authorities in the MOE and the Ministry of

Finance (MOF). In each province there is a representative of the MOF, called a revenue

collector, who is responsible for issuing all payments to all government departments including

the PED. In addition, all finances for the Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) are allocated

through the Provincial Education Director even though the supervision and development of the

TTCs is the responsibility of TED. All TTCs report directly to the TED in Kabul and their

programs are directed from TED; however, TED plans and propose all salaries and operation

budget for all TTCs and TDCs but has no control over the disbursement of TTC operating funds

including instructional salaries.

The School System and Challenges to Standardization of Policies

Education in Afghanistan is organized in three levels: Primary Education (grades 1–3 and

4–6); Lower Secondary (grades 7–9); and Upper Secondary (grades 10–12). A school year

consists of two semesters. Depending on where the school is located (hot or cold region) the

school year will begin at different times. In the "cold areas," such as in Kabul and most parts of

the north and south of the country, the school year usually begins with the start of the Solar

(Hijri) New Year in the spring. The Solar (Hijri) New Year is usually around March 21, and the

opening of school in the north and other region of the country are adjusted accordingly. In the

"hot areas" such as the western and southeastern provinces, the school year begins in September.

The school year is typically for nine months with a two-and-a-half-month break at the end of

each academic year. This break in the school year is when rapid in—service teacher training

programs are most often conducted, although many trainings are held when schools are in

session.

Most school days are for three to three and half hours. Many teachers teach for half the day and work in alternative employment opportunities for the remainder of the day, or they may teach a second shift. In urban areas, school facilities are often overcrowded and schools must hold additional shifts. Some schools in Kabul have up to four shifts a day beginning very early in the morning. This shift system is sometimes used in schools to provide segregated learning opportunities for girls and boys.

Schooling is usually, but not always, segregated by gender in Afghanistan. Depending on the location of the school, students may attend co-educational classes. In many parts of the country, children attend co-educational classes until the end of primary school and are segregated in junior secondary or upper secondary classes. In other areas, the community is not willing to allow girls to go to a school that boys also attend, even in a different shift. Families often will allow their girls to attend school only if they have a female teacher who is known and trusted by the community. This is particularly true after early primary as girls approach puberty which may account in part for the clear drop in girls' enrollment after 4th grade.

At the adult level most TTCs, pedagogical institutes and universities are now coeducational. However, in some of the more remote and conservative areas there may not even be a girls' high school to provide the "pipe-line" for females to be qualified for the university or even a TTC where they might become qualified to teach.

<h2 align="center">Teacher Supply and Demand—Unreliable Data</h2>

Obtaining accurate data on student enrollment and teacher supply was not an easy task in the early years of reconstruction, nor is it easy today. Sweeping critical accusations are made against the MOE figures derived from monitoring and evaluation even as recently as 2016.

Suspicions are voiced that many teachers on the payrolls may be "Ghost" teachers, names of individuals who receive pay but who are not really employed at the schools. Also monitoring of student enrollment lists has produced evidence of absenteeism so frequent as to actually indicate the named student has never attended the school. However, the following table shows the official figures for student enrollment by grade level and for average class size as reported in 2004. Data were not available regarding gender of teachers and students or teacher qualifications and subject specialty.

Table 4.1

Summary of Teachers and Students by School Level

School level	# of students	# of teachers	# schools	Student/teacher ratio
Primary	3,765,415	52,948	5,257	71
Junior Secondary	290,301	22,411	1,143	13
Upper Secondary	113,690	25,336	938	4
Total	4,169,406	100,695	7,338	41

Note. *Ministry of Education, Planning Department,* 2004b

From the data it is possible to highlight a number of points relevant to this discussion. First, the student teacher ratio in primary education was by far the highest of any level, at approximately 71 students per teacher. This ratio falls dramatically once the students graduate to Junior Secondary and Upper Secondary School. The provincial variations for student-to-teacher ratios vary widely.

Given the lack of accurate data available for the numbers of teachers and the urgent need for such data to plan for future teacher training programs, UNICEF is supporting the MOE to establish a national Education Management Information System (EMIS). This program officially began in June 2004 and continues to be the central data collection source for the MOE, although by 2015 the TED had an efficient and capable data management office (TEMIS) and had

introduced smart phones and tablets to supervisors in order to collect uniform, consistent, accurate data that can be retrieved quickly for analysis. These data can also be shared and reconciled with the EMIS data of the MOE.

Research and Evaluation

Most of the education programs previously introduced were the result of the "emergency" environment of 2000 to 2006. With almost no educational opportunities available to a large proportion of the Afghan population, the massive return of so many Afghans to their home country, the destroyed physical and administrative education structure in the country, the task at hand in from 2002 was overwhelming. Even today there remains a serious shortage of schools, teachers, adequate teacher training institutes and teaching materials; however, dramatic improvements have been made.

In the "emergency" environment of Afghanistan, qualitative research and evaluation of teacher training programs as well as education quality and achievement in classrooms has been very limited. The education sector in Afghanistan has seen some significant improvements in the past ten years, much of this to the credit of the MOE, MOHE, supporting international organizations and the overwhelming desire throughout the nation for the children of Afghanistan to go to school. Despite an ongoing insurgency situation, Afghanistan has moved into a transitional phase, from emergency to post-conflict reconstruction and development. Educational programs and policies therefore need to change in accordance with this still fluid situation.

There continues to be a strong need and strong movement on behalf of the MOE and supporting organizations to provide large—scale teacher training programs targeted on identified local and national needs. The Ministry is committed to ensuring that all teachers of Afghanistan are included in some form of training. However, the training could be significantly improved if it

were based on concrete evaluations and lessons learned from evaluations of the already implemented DT3 programs as well as other teacher training programs outside of Afghanistan. Also important will be the research providing baseline data on teaching and learning, follow-up studies to track change, and hopefully to document learning improvement.

Most teacher training activities conduct a short-term assessment of the implementation of the training, but there are few studies on how the training has affected the student learning achievements in the longer term. A more detailed study of student learning achievements could be initiated and from this a better understanding of how students learn and what teachers might already be doing to assist this learning process would be available. A large research project is underway to assess student achievement in reading and mathematics as a baseline for tracking progress in national academic achievements as well as for international comparisons.

Donor and MOE concerns about student learning achievements gave impetus to considerations of how to assess the competencies of teachers. Teachers were required to test students on their knowledge and skills and to give them evaluations (marks) to be promoted. Student learning achievements however cannot always be measured by how well they do in the exams the teacher creates. Teachers, in fact, may subjectively give high or low marks for students as summative judgments, rather than identifying where a student may be having difficulty and trying to overcome this through formative evaluation with revised teaching. Awareness of the relative uncertain meanings of student grades reported led donors, and the MOE, to call for baseline national assessments of achievements. Several research efforts to measure academic achievement have been reported since 2010 (ACER, 2016; Altai, 2014; Mansory, 2011; UNICEF, 2016).

These quite different studies yielded quite different results with Mansory's (2011 report on 4th and 6th grade math offering a bleak picture of learning achievements at both levels. The ACER (2016) study, designed to obtain base line data on 6th grade reading and math with followup data to be collected on 3rd and 9th grades, was reported more positively as a beginning point for continuous monitoring along with recommendations at a later point for teacher training. The Altai study (2014) did not focus specifically on academic achievement but more on school and teacher quality. The Altai report gave a clear, although debatable, message related to teacher education.

> Principals reported that teachers were most likely to have completed their education between Grades 10 and 14. A smaller proportion were educated at a university level, and relatively few were educated at Grade 9 or lower, or only received Home Islamic education. Students attending schools with higher proportions of teachers with university education had higher levels of achievement in reading. This re-enforces the importance of recruiting educated teachers in increasing student's learning outcomes.

Students in schools where higher proportions of teachers undertook professional development/in-service training within the last year were more likely to have greater achievement in writing. This finding highlights the importance of investing in ongoing development of teaching staff.

Poor teacher planning and nontransparent teacher recruitment critically constrains the quality of education services delivered. Remote and rural areas continue to lack qualified teachers. Enrollment in Teacher Training Colleges was described by interviewees as only partially correlated to needs for trained teachers. Furthermore, despite the formalization of HR procedures, recruitment is widely perceived as corrupt. Interviewees indicated that HR needs in the education sector were not properly addressed, and many HR appointments were based on

favoritism rather than merit. The poor planning and recruitment of teachers directly impacts the quality of education (Altai, 2014, pp. 12–14).

National Education Curriculum, School Program, and Teacher Education

With the establishment of an independent government, The Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, under a new constitution in 2004, it was important to develop a national curriculum with approved subjects, approved content, newly created textbooks, and standards for the regulation of schools along with the training of thousands of teachers to prepare them to teach a new curriculum with techniques appropriate to modern pedagogy. Teaching methods no longer could rely on rote memorization and group recitation but would emphasize a student-centered approach to teaching. This meant that teachers must understand the development of a child physically, intellectually, socially, and emotionally/spiritually. It meant using methods to encourage development of capacities other than acquiring basic factual information, but learning to think critically, learning to apply knowledge meaningfully in their daily lives, learning about a wider world, and about working together cooperatively to learn and make use of lessons more effectively.

Many of the traditional forms of schooling were continued including introducing separate subject classes at the 4th grade level, while in the early primary grades the curriculum included Life Skills covering many topics related to different integrated subject areas. Islamic studies were (and is) a strong part of the curriculum at every level. Evaluation of student learning continued to be based on test results and on ranking pupils in a class from first to last in a competitive way.

Because of overcrowding, the school day was kept short in comparison with most other nations, with sessions being less than three hours for primary and about four hours for upper

grades. The common tradition of a six day school program was retained. Large schools, especially in urban areas, often had two sessions daily, and sometimes even three, because of crowded enrollment and because of the desire to teach boys and girls in separate classes. During the first decade of the new government attempts to provide schools with equipped classrooms, instructional materials, necessary facilities and security, and well-prepared teachers was an enormous challenge. This challenge continues although great progress has been made.

If educational reconstruction is to fulfill its key role in national development, the remaining 3 million out-of-school, but school age, children must be in enrolled and attending school and achieving grade level standards. Of these 3 million most of the girls (96%) and about half of the boys (40%) cannot read or write. Some have never been to school; some have attended briefly but dropped out. The inequity in enrollment between girls and boys has serious consequences for the future of the nation.

Policies and resources must be placed upon ways to make educational opportunities equitable. The education for teachers and for students must ensure the elimination of existing inequalities based on sex, ethnicity, ability, region, socioeconomic differences, and language of the home.

The educational system of Afghanistan under law specifies gender equity and is a bilingual model with both Pashto and Dari as the official national languages, although other regional languages are spoken such as Uzbek, and Pashayi Afghanistan is said to be home to more than 40 minor languages, with around 200 different dialects. Much remains to be accomplished in the area of Afghan bilingual education so that every child can have basic instruction in that child's mother tongue.

The inequities within the nation were, at the beginning of the century and continue to be today, of deep concern including urban/rural inequalities in access to education as well as gender and economic gaps. The urban/rural population gap shows 60% of students live outside the cities with 40% living in urban areas. However, urban areas receive the greatest education resources and the most highly qualified teachers.

Decentralizing education planning and management, making schools more pertinent to the local community, was seen as an important step. Local school Shuras (advisory boards/school improvement councils) became a requirement for funding. The Shuras were to be part of the strategy for improving school management and school facilities. In action the school councils committed resources to improving school facilities and ensuring security for students and teachers. Nearly all schools have a Shura (school council), many working effectively, but some still functioning with less impact.

The National Strategic Education Plan for 2010–2014 (NESP II, 2010) anticipated an increased enrollment in basic education (grades 1–12) of 60% to 75%. That second national plan spoke of increasing attention to education for girls, and reducing the educational inequities among provinces, geographical areas and socioeconomic sectors in society as well as eliminating discrimination toward disadvantaged groups.

As of 2016, 49 Teacher Training Colleges (at least one in each Province) and 197 TTC Satellites or District based Teacher Development Centers were established. A total of 64,480 students (42% female) were enrolled in TTCs and trained by 1,989 teacher educators. In order to meet the education targets both for student enrollment and for teacher placement, the TTCs must be given targeted attention for quality of students, faculties, curriculum, facilities, and employment after graduation. The quality of teacher education is a continuing challenge,

especially the upgrading of existing teachers (out of approximately181,640 only about 30 % have qualification beyond secondary school. The shortage of women teachers and constraints in attracting women trainees in certain parts of the country is a critical obstacle for development of general education for girls.

Gender Barriers to Education for Girls

In March 2003, President Karzai Speech on International Women's Day, vowed to fight for female education in Afghanistan. He said: Millions of girls have gone back to school, but the majority of the school age girls are still out of school, partly because of security concerns— families are afraid to send their girls to school because of the sense that they might be sexually assaulted or even kidnapped on the way to school, especially outside of major cities. (Sadat, 2004)

In 2007 Minister of Education, Mohammad Hanif Atmar, said that 60% of students were studying in tents or other unprotected structures and some parents refused to let their daughters attend schools in such conditions (Mojumdar, 2007). A lack of women teachers was another issue that concerned some parents, especially in more conservative areas. Some parents would not allow their daughters to be taught by men. This often meant that girls were not allowed to attend school; in 2007 only about 25% of all Afghan teachers were female. In addition to attacks on girls' schools and girls on their way to school, another reality was the on—going destruction of schools by the Taliban and insurgent groups, especially schools for females. Threats against teachers were common in the less secure areas and were made in the form of night letters dropped off anonymously, threatening telephone calls, and even direct attacks. Following the destruction of over 150 schools in a year, many parents had doubts about the government's ability to protect them.

Despite threats and uncertainty, from 2001 to 2009 primary school enrolment rose from around 1 million to nearly 7 million (a sevenfold increase in eight years) and the proportion of girls from virtually zero to 37%. By 2014 the pre—collegiate (grades 1–12) enrollment reached nearly 10 million. The number of teachers in general education also increased dramatically, but their qualifications and numbers continue to be low although steadily increasing with about 31% female teachers overall.

The issues surrounding inequities in the education of girls and women is one of the central issues in my dissertation. The problems, policies, and programs will now be given focused attention.

Addressing Gender Inequities in Education: Policy Issues, Emerging Priorities

Severe gender inequity in education in Afghanistan is a critical reality. The rate of illiteracy among women is much higher than that of men; the rate of girls' attendance in school and completion through high school graduation is much lower than that of boys. The situation is like a "no—exit" syllogism in which girls cannot attend schools when teachers are male, women are not educated and cannot be teachers, therefore girls cannot attend school. This is, of course, not the case for all girls, but it is a national dilemma that has attracted international attention.

As in much of the world, the concept of gender is not well understood. In Afghanistan, the term does not easily translate into the local languages and some interest groups regard the concept with considerable suspicion. At the same time, gender continues to be seen as a "women's issue" and the voices of eminent experts such as Nancy Hatch Dupree (2011) cautioning that in Afghan society it is essential to include men in any gender development work, frequently go unheard. It is therefore essential that those programs containing a focus on gender are well thought through and discussed with the community at large. Progress cannot be

achieved without the cooperation and understanding of men and women, while at the same time acknowledge the specific need of women and to allow them to come forward and be "positively discriminated against" (Basiri, 2005, pp. 47–50).

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was signed and ratified in March 2003 by the Afghan Government. It obliges signatories to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in all aspects of life. The Afghan Government was required, within four years of this ratification, to report on the measures it has taken to comply with CEDAW (Basiri, 2005, p. 48).

The new Afghan Constitution focuses on respecting religious beliefs and enforcing equality of treatment before the law. The constitution denies discrimination on the basis of gender and includes equal rights in the law. It also guarantees women's participation in government, education, health, and other economic and social aspects of society.

Basiri (2005) confirmed the weakness of gender equity efforts in a report to donors:

Since the beginning of the transitional government in early 2002 many strategy documents have been written which include references to gender. However, international consultants have prepared most of these and they are not usually translated into either of the National languages. Some of the ambitions of these documents reflect a Western perspective on gender equality, which may clash with Afghan values, particularly those prescribed by Islam. (pp. 48–49)

The Government of Afghanistan report *Securing Afghanistan's Future*, published in March 2004, was disappointing in gender terms. Again, written by foreigners, with only intellectual inputs from Afghans, it was written to project goals for the next decade, but it reflects minimal concern for women's participation or roles. There is little beyond target setting for enrollment in primary and secondary education and no commitment to priorities, such as, training female health workers to reduce maternal mortality.

Securing Afghanistan's Future (GOA, 2004) states,

Gender disparities are prevalent across both regions and levels of education. In Kabul 81% of school age girls attend primary school, but in many provinces the rate is well below 15%. Likewise, female school attendance drops dramatically from the lower primary grades upward." Closing the gender gap in education will require greater attention to convincing families and communities that educating girls, even through adolescence and young adulthood, is important for reasons that are persuasive, while at the same time making sure that opportunities are safely accessible and that female teachers are available at every level. (p. 13)

Basiri (2005, p. 61) also warned: Understanding of gender issues is weak, not only at the national and provincial levels, but also internationally. The Afghan Government ministries and their departments in the provinces have no real strategy, and it is clear from meetings held with some donor agencies that they also have little sense of direction

This chapter provides insight into the problem and presents two of the many suggested solutions implemented. These examples describe in part some of Afghanistan's attempts to

address the gender gap with multiple strategies all focused on the education and preparation of girls and women to become teachers.

Theoretically, the question is a larger one, set in a social context, examining whether government policies and external interventions can have an impact on social change, traditions, and cultural practices.

Gender Inequity in Education and the Education of Female Teachers

As school enrollments in post-conflict Afghanistan surged forward the supply of available qualified teachers was limited. Even more serious was the emergency situation that many of the persons who could be given teaching assignments were unqualified by any measures except their willingness to take the position. The national requirement for a qualified teacher is to have completed a two-year post-high school program in an approved institution of higher education. This requirement has been until recently an impossible one for most teachers to meet, especially those filling positions in the elementary schools.

The urgent effort to restore the education structure required finding people to teach classes which by 2004 were enrolling hundreds of thousands of new students without classrooms, teachers, or textbooks. In remote rural areas, and in provinces far from the capital, some teachers were hired who were barely literate and were either too young or too old to meet the demands of teaching. Most of these were male (Spink, 2005).

Although the numbers of students enrolled in school has increased exponentially since the defeat of the Taliban, a continuing critical weak link is the dramatic gender inequity, female absence, at every level of education and at the tables where educational policy is made. Girls' attendance in school falls far short of any equity goal. The spurt in enrollment represented only a little more than half of school-age children and only 40% of the girls (World Bank, 2005).

Women teachers are missing from classrooms particularly in rural provincial regions, and women as administrators or policy leaders are almost nonexistent. Females constitute only 1%, 3% and 4% of teachers in the provinces of Paktika, Khost, and Uruzgan whereas Kabul and Balkh represent 73% and 51% respectively. While the government is verbally committed to gender equality in education, deeply ingrained traditions mitigate against the education of girls. Where will women be found to teach girls' classes in all parts of the nation, especially in poor and remote areas?

Other barriers must be surmounted as well including the resistance of many families to allowing females to hold jobs outside the home including teaching positions. The law requires a teacher to have at minimum a grade 12 education, and grade 14 for a fully qualified teacher, yet for a rural girl to obtain this level of education may require her to leave home to live in another town where a high school or teacher training college is available. This is rarely acceptable. To send an educated girl to teach in a rural area where no female teacher may be available, but where she may have no family protection, is also unacceptable. Many factors inhibit the educational progress of females, and without education women's leadership in educational positions is restricted.

Although the shortage of female teachers is a serious concern and a widespread condition, especially outside of the few urban centers, there is an equally serious problem that was somewhat hidden from sight for the first few years of the new government of Afghanistan but is clearly linked to the scarcity of women teachers. The dramatic difference in school attendance between boys and girls came to attention as international aid for development and reconstruction of education came pouring into the country. The stories of the denial of education

to girls and women under Taliban rule were viewed as appalling internationally, and by Afghan leaders as a condition to be addressed at every level.

During the decades of conflict (1978–2001) the education infrastructure in Afghanistan was virtually demolished. As previously noted, nearly all schools were destroyed or heavily damaged. Many teachers and university faculty were intimidated, murdered, or fled as refugees to other countries. Women teachers were no longer employed and went into hiding if they remained alive. Female students could not continue their education. The urgent effort to restore the education structure required finding people to teach classes which by 2004, with international support, were enrolling hundreds of thousands of new students without classrooms, teachers, or textbooks.

Social and Economic Context for Girls' Education

The larger picture of educational need was shown in the UNDP (2007) report that summarized the situation for Afghanistan. The literacy rate for men was low, but for women it was almost non—existent. These data underscore the double jeopardy of trying to provide equity for girls with boys in education. With few educated adult women to be recruited as teachers, and only women are acceptable to teach girls, how can a nation of girls in this and the next generation get a fair and equitable opportunity to learn? The salient summary data are as follows:

- Only 12.6% of adult women in Afghanistan are literate, compared to 32.4% of men.

- Almost 50% of children are not in school.

- There is tremendous gender disparity: 60% of girls are not in school and girls represent less than 15% of total enrollment in nine provinces in the east and south.

- Among the 70% of students enrolled in urban areas, only 5% are girls.

- Dropout rates are 74% for girls compared to 56% for boys (grades 1–5).

- 80% of school buildings have been damaged or destroyed (UNDP, 2007, pp. 20–22).

This difference—the gender gap—is documented, using relatively crude indices of measurement because of lack of readily available information about school enrollment especially in remote provinces. Gender inequity in school attendance was reported at all grade levels from primary through secondary schools and in the teacher training colleges. The university enrollments reflect a similar pattern, but those institutions fall outside this dissertation since they are under the supervision of the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE). This research refers only to those institutions that fall under the Ministry of Education (MOE).

Many factors limit the school attendance of girls including distance from school, security, and responsibilities at home. Although 29% of all teachers are women according to Ministry data (MOE/TED, 2011), this information does not reflect urban/rural or primary/secondary or even subject specialties distributions.

The Shortage of Female Teachers and the "Catch 22"

The majority of female teachers are concentrated in major urban centers. Fifty-one percent of all female teachers and 70% of female high school teachers are based in five big cities of Kabul, Balkh, Herat, Baghlan, and Jawzjan. Ninety percent of the 364 districts have no girls' high school and 13% of them (48 of 364) have no female teachers at all. Not only are girls in the provinces likely to be kept home after grade 4, educated young women in those provinces are not encouraged by their families to be teachers. Although teaching is one of the few generally accepted jobs a woman may have without censorship, in many families any job in public, outside the home, is unacceptable. A further obstacle is that according to law to be qualified as a teacher

enrolled in the civil service program one must have completed high school—grade 12. Fewer than 74% of all primary through secondary teachers in Afghanistan meet this qualification, therefore they are not considered to be on the official government payroll as "real" teachers. The Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) of the Ministry of Education is working on multiple strategies to overcome these barriers to girls' education including ways to recruit and train women as teachers, upgrading education of both women and men through accelerated programs, and providing incentives to professional advancement through leadership opportunities.

There are many educated, brave women in Afghanistan—many of them teachers—who have the potential to be powerful leaders, but there are not enough with public voices in visible places. Women need supporting cohorts, a critical mass of other capable women, if they are to brave the barriers to shared leadership that confront them daily. Young girls need new female role models if they are to develop as the voices of a new generation of leaders. Gender values and norms in Afghanistan are complex and gender equity is not yet a constant thread that runs through education sector plans (Thiel, 2011).

Trying to reach parity for women teachers compared to men has accomplished one goal. In 2002 only 20,000 teachers were known to be in the system. In 2016, with more than 180,000 teachers now in the system, approximately 31% are female, but 50% of all teachers do not meet the required completion of Grade 12. The Teacher Training Colleges graduated 20,000 new teachers in 2012, 40% were female. In the entering class of 2016, of 22,400 for all TTCs, 71% were female. Although this number is promising, the data on placement of the female TTC graduates as teachers are sparse and disappointing.

The number of female teachers will continue to increase because of several innovative programs planned by the TED including both in-service and preservice initiatives to help females complete secondary school and enter and complete the two-year (grade 14) teacher training program in the TTCs and their Satellite Centers.

While the numbers of women teachers are an indicator of movement toward parity and is of vital importance to the expanded educational opportunities for girls, the leadership dimension has yet to be boldly addressed. The importance of educating teachers for girls will have a much wider impact on the future of gender parity in society as a whole where women are needed to be part of every policy setting and employment context. For example, in the public sphere, there is a documented drop recently in women's participation in the government labor force. In 2008, 18.4% of all government workers were females, a decrease from 25.9% in 2005 (CSO, 2008).

Strategies to address these issues have been promoted by the government, and the Teacher Education Directorate (TED) of the Ministry of Education is especially active in advocating for increased gender parity, more girls enrolled and continuing in school, and more females supported through the grade 14 teacher training colleges and hired as teachers, more female instructors in the teacher training colleges as well as more women appointed to educational leadership roles (Ministry of Education, 2006). Programs in support of the goals related to educating teachers make up the body of this chapter and will be described in the later sections.

Recent Developments and Overview of the Current Status on Gender Equity: Making the Case

In 2001, fewer than 1 million boys were enrolled in 3,400 less than adequate schools, taught by 20,000 teachers with limited qualifications. Girls' education was insignificant. By 2012, enrollment increased to 8,643 million children (38% female), an eight-fold increase.

In 2007 the MOE with the support of UNESCO/ International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris (IIEP) designed its first National Education Strategic Plan (NESP), presented its first school survey (2007) and a plan to develop a comprehensive Education Management Information System (EMIS).

NESP-I committed to achieving following gender equity goals by 2010:

- 60% net enrollment of girls;

- Significantly reduced gender disparities and provincial disparities;

- Set up and operate a fund to promote girls' education and to provide approximately 14,000 scholarships and incentives for girls from districts with very low girls' enrollment to be able to complete Grades 7–12;

- Provide incentives to female students in rural districts to complete Grades 10–12;

- Develop and implement a National Communications Strategy for girls' education in close consultation with partners, local and spiritual leaders and communities;

- Collect information on 'best practices and successful results of girls' education and disseminate through local structures and media;

- Provide training to School Advisory/Support Councils on gender and the importance of girls' education. (MOE, NESP, 2006)

TED objectives regarding gender equity (to be achieved by 2014):

1. To promote greater gender equity throughout the education sector by employing many more women (50%) as teachers at all levels in order to develop the human capital that lies neglected in nearly half of our population, and will address the educational enrollment gap between boys and girls, especially in remote and rural areas.

2. To develop a range of alternative teacher education and certification programs (e.g., distance education, accelerated learning, early childhood education training) targeting the needs of the most remote and disadvantaged regions (TED, 2010).

Less than one-third of the 180,000 government teachers are female. Approximately half of all teachers do not yet meet the government minimal requirement of completing grade 14, high school plus two years of college. The 44 Teacher Training Colleges currently enroll approximately 70,000 students (42% female). The MOE estimates a total of 211,000 teachers will be needed by 2020.

The action programs implemented to address the gender—equity problems described above are my responsibility as the Director General (DG) of the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) of the Ministry of Education. For transparency and disclosure, it is important to restate my professional role as the DG in overseeing these programs.

TED is the largest division of the Ministry with approximately 400 employees located in Kabul and around 5000 in the provinces. TED is responsible for every aspect of preservice and in-service education for currently 180,000 in-service teachers and for 70,000 students in the now 49 Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and their 197 Satellite Teacher Development Centers

(TDCs). The TDCs are centrally located in the provinces and are linked programmatically to the TTCs that offer the regular college courses off campus in order to make the grade 14 program accessible to teachers (especially female teachers) for whom travel to the campus is not feasible or secure. The number of Teacher Training Colleges has been greatly increased from four, somewhat operational TTCs in 2001 with 450 students—none female, to 49 TTCs in 2017 with more than 80,000 students. Additional development of campuses is being planned thus making post-secondary education possible to thousands of students, both preservice and in-service, who study a subject area specialty along with general education courses and pedagogy.

A second National Education Strategic Plan (NESP-2) was developed to cover the time frame through 2020. However, NESP-2 is updated by a more recent plan (NESP-3, 2017).

In 2011, Afghanistan obtained membership in the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and was provided $55.7 million to improve the quality and equitable access to education. The TED is aided in its program development through international aid and NGOs who propose and implement projects approved by TED, accountable to TED, and working in partnership with TED. A few examples of these organizations include the World Bank, the government aid programs of Germany, Switzerland, Canada, Japan, Denmark, Sweden, India, Bangladesh, and the United States as well as non—government organizations internationally and nationally including (to name a few) UNICEF, Save the Children, Creative Associates, Int., and local NGOs contracted through EQUIP and the MOE to implement the District Teaching Training Teams (NGO contractors i.e., ADA, COAR, JACK, CHA, WADAN).

These organizations work with the Ministry of Education with special focus on teacher development through TED. It must be noted, however, that other groups introduce programs in schools and colleges, or conduct research, independently without government approval or

knowledge. This happened frequently for the first decade of reconstruction until the government mandated that such programs be registered and approved. This regulation is not consistently applied and conflicts continue to occur when two comparable programs operate at the same time, in the same space but with different sponsors and different incentive systems.

Gender Equity Strategies Introduced—Processes and Outcomes

Numerous strategies addressing the low enrollment of girls in schools and the lack of female teachers were proposed during the early reconstruction period. The severe need to correct this problem continues to increase in intensity. Strategies proposed include revising TTC policies to give waivers to certain admission pre—requisites for academically promising females; to offer accelerated programs to promote high school completion for girls especially in areas where girls did not have access to secondary education. Other strategies were to develop and implement assertive recruitment plans for employment of women as teachers; to invest in vigorous efforts to recruit and appoint women educators as leaders in training projects (such as DT3) and in program administration; to enact a requirement that gender equity language be infused in all new program proposals for education; to introduce Bridge Programs to facilitate the transition from high school to TTC especially targeting female students; to offer scholarships for secondary school female students to encourage their completion of grade 12 and possible continuation through grade 14; and to facilitate the development of graduate programs with quotas for gender equity to upgrade the knowledge and skills for TTC instructors and other educational leaders. Some of these were made into policies; some were adopted by the international groups that support TED.

For example, the Canadian funded program (TCAP) for credentialing teachers and accrediting the TTCs included a gender sensitizing component to be delivered to TTCs and staff at TED. A TCAP activity report included the following statement:

Gender Awareness Training—Three Examples

An international Technical Adviser on Gender Equality was in Kabul from October 25 until November 1. She provided a 2-day Gender Equality Workshop to 28 Lecturers from Sayed Jamaluddin TTC in Kabul. The key objective of the training was to understand gender issues in education and their implications. The consultant also provided a 1-day awareness workshop to 30 support staff of TED. The objective was to expose participants to key gender issues in their working environment.

Gender quality/Equity is a cross-cutting theme in all Canadian projects. TCAP is required to provide gender awareness to 75% of staff working at TED and in Bamyan, Kabul and Nangarhar TTCs (TCAP, 11/17/2015).

This activity is an example of how the gender component was written into all international contracts and, in this case, prompted bringing in a short-term technical advisor, without background in the country, to provide one or two day training without adequate needs assessment or follow-up. The specified target of 75% was also arrived at out of context and without reliable documentation. More critical is the fact that this type of training often overlapped, or intruded upon, similar activities conducted by other groups without clear coordination through TED or the TTCs. It was as if a list was being checked off as "done."

Two gender projects, the Gender Mainstreaming Task Force (GMTF); and the TTC Girls Scholarship Program (GSP), both internationally initiated, had direct impact on the Teacher Training Colleges, but had contrasting outcomes. Both were supported by the World Bank partnership program through EQUIP with additional involvement by other donors, NGOs, and stakeholders.

The two activities to be described were introduced at roughly the same time. They were parallel but unrelated, completely separate projects, although their common purpose was to reduce the gender gap in education. Both projects (GMTF and GSP) were under the ultimate authority of TED; however, these were disparate and attention demanding activities. For the Task Force activities, the documentation included records of meetings over time that reflected discussion, decisions, plans and products. These were collected throughout the study period and from the records available from the inception of GMTF. Data documenting the Girls Scholarship Program (GSP) included records of planning, agreements on funding and on distribution of funds, letters, memos, discussions with administrators, lists of students awarded scholarships, interviews with TTC administrators and scholarship students, and the research report of a follow up study of the first scholarship recipients one year after their graduation.

The least problematic to follow, although not the easiest to administer because of erratic funding distributions, was the scholarship program. The most difficult to track and to move forward in a clear and productive direction was the actual work of the Task Force. The Task Force will be discussed first.

The Gender Mainstreaming Task Force: Process, Problems and Progress

The concept and purpose were partially expressed, according to Thiele (2011) in a report by the German International Assistance Group (GIZ) with reference to gender sensitive teaching materials:

1. In the process of developing modern curricula, quality textbooks and learning materials to be provided to students and teacher trainers in order to continuously improve the quality of teaching, a gender specialist should be consulted to ensure that these materials contain gender balanced information. Materials have to be checked for gender stereotypes and sexist contents. Positive role models should be developed and integrated.

2. Gender training for staff of TTCs and Satellite TTCs, teacher trainers and teachers should be made obligatory. (Thiele, 2011)

The Gender Mainstreaming Task Force (GMTF), formally organized through EQUIP, was a response to making gender training mandatory for staff of TTCs. This was not a government decision or policy statement, however. It was simply the view of the GIZ author of the proposal and couched as a policy recommendation.

The GMTF established a working group that included interagency and diverse NGO representatives who were tasked with the responsibility of developing a blueprint for improving gender equity in the schools and improving girls' enrollment throughout all the grades. The members were representatives of many different organizations, departments, projects, and NGOs with an interest in girls' education, women's rights, and gender parity throughout the nation. Tasks were listed and assigned to persons present in the early meetings. The tasks of collecting data and writing position papers were never completed for any useful purpose since

the volunteer writers were busy with other responsibilities in their jobs, did not know how to

collect the information, and often disappeared from the group attendance sheets.

The success of the Gender Mainstreaming Task Force (GMTF) was in the best interest of

all donor groups and organizations involved as well as the MOE, TED, and the nation. However,

an effective organization of diverse, committed stakeholders with expertise was essential.

The group was expected to develop a clear strategic plan with consensus and shared

responsibilities. That expectation was not realized, in part because of the structure of the project

as well as the participants in the GMTF. The concept for the Task Force activity was initiated,

designed, and especially supported by staff in the Educational Quality Improvement Program

(EQUIP) funded by the World Bank. The original leadership was from EQUIP staff, but GMTF

members were assigned (or volunteered) from a large number of donor organizations or NGOs

who had an interest in (or an investment in) improving teachers. The program, however, had to

be implemented through TED as the official government conduit. TED administrators were

hopeful, even enthusiastic, about the Gender Task Force project and tried to be supportive

without taking direct responsibility for, or interfering with, project development. This was, at the

beginning, a matter of respecting professional colleagues, respecting their freedom to produce a

quality plan, collaborating and advising. What started out as a relatively large group of more

than 20 enthusiastic individuals gradually dwindled to a group of about five faithful members

and a few others with intermittent attendance. Organizational efforts within the GMTF had

already deteriorated as a consequence of indecisions, inaction, or new burdensome expectations;

many members just dropped out.

The Task Force met monthly for about two years, but the attendance varied widely from

one meeting to the next as persons representing the different organizations came and went

according to their leaves and working contracts, and as their interest flagged. Each person in the working group was individually committed to the topic and the goals, but collectively there seemed never to be a core center to inspire, motivate, and coordinate the assigned tasks. Interim reports were written but went into a dark space where no clear track could be identified. As one of the named participants, and as an early chair of this group, I saw the initial interest collapse from lack of coherent and tangible purpose. Eventually it became necessary for TED to give assistance and more guidance as the project floundered.

After many months of work without consistent contributions from GMTF participants, the Task Force leadership (who were paid employees of EQUIP) decided to change direction. At the beginning they hoped to increase girls' enrollment in schools throughout the country; they hoped to increase the number of female teachers in schools across the nation; they hoped to intervene in school curriculum to introduce lessons on gender equity; they even hoped to alter textbooks to reflect progressive examples of female roles.

The international experts employed by EQUIP as gender specialists were the designated movers and shakers, but they soon appeared confused and paralyzed. They proposed a variety of Task Force activities including doing a research project that would review textbooks to tally the number of pictures of females or references to females in the books. This plan was started but abandoned because of complexities of understanding the textbooks as well as having no effect on already published and adopted texts. Further, the project had no direct outcome that would actually increase girls' enrollment. Since it is difficult to get textbooks written (or revised), this particular research plan seemed to be a dead end. Next, they decided to focus on the Teacher Training Colleges that are under the authority of TED.

They proposed a program in which a member of the Task Force (or other invited expert) would go to each TTC to give one or more lectures on topics related to gender equity. To the GMTF team this seemed a very modest proposal, but it actually was a sign of withdrawal from their earlier very ambitious goals of direct intervention in the school curricula. A lecture series was a weak and ineffective proposal given all the time, energy and resources already invested in the Gender Mainstreaming Task Force. It seemed like a give—up situation. When this was reported to the Director General of TED, the response was that although this idea appeared simple, it was actually unrealistic and more complicated than they had anticipated. The lecture series plan was barely acceptable and was met with skepticism. It could be disruptive or ignored in the TTCs. How would the lectures be scheduled, with assured attendance, in all 49 (or any) TTCs spread throughout the country? What would be the content of the series aimed at what specific outcome goals? Who would be the guest lecturers and how could quality control be assured? What would be the follow—up and the evidence of impact? This appeared to be a onetime approach with questionable lasting effects regarding improvement of gender inequity. Further, it seemed to reflect a lack of awareness of the TTC curricula, scheduling, and administrative structure. This suggestion was interpreted by some in the MOE as another arrogant imposition by international "do-gooders."

Finally, the leadership of the GMTF proposed to transform the lecture series idea into a formal course on Gender and Human Rights to be included as a required class in the TTC curriculum that would be taught by a TTC faculty member trained by the GMTF in the course content and methods. Although there were reservations about the wisdom of this approach, in order to facilitate the Task Force, TED agreed to make a place in the elective section, not the compulsory section, of the curriculum for this course. The GMTF group, and the international

stakeholders who remained active, wanted this to be a compulsory course. That would depend

upon the quality and contents of the final course, and its appropriateness for TTC students who

are more than 50% male in most of the TTCs. Not only did it have to be a scholarly work on

gender equity, but it must be gender sensitive in order not to produce a backlash from male

Afghan students. Another major concern was how to fit another required course into student

academic programs that already required nearly 96 course credits. (This is nearly as much as a

normal four—year university credit requirement which, according to international standards,

requires between 120 and 124 credit hours for a BA degree.)

The improvement of the TTC curriculum is a pervasive need, but it should be done more

holistically, not piece—meal in bits and pieces. The idea of mainstreaming the concept was

never clearly formulated with any plan for how this would be done other than for the gender

experts to give a series of lectures. Nevertheless, the GMTF was given approval by the Director

General of TED to develop a course on Gender Equity to be introduced into the TTCs.

Writing a College Course and Textbook by Committee

The plan for writing a course with chapters focusing on different topics to be written by

different specialists seemed, at the beginning, to be an acceptable solution. Chapter topics and an

outline were developed. The writing tasks were assigned to international staff in the Australian

aid group, the German aid group, and the Swedish aid group, to be assisted by Afghan counter

parts who would advise about word and concept translation issues. The problems with this

approach became apparent almost immediately. Different writers had different approaches to

chapter development. Some writers had unconscious biases, or perhaps mere ignorance, about

the history and lives of women in Afghanistan. The view of Afghan women as oppressed,

subjugated and abused and men as the oppressors and abusers was evident in several chapters

written from western perspectives. The chapters had to be written in English, but often were written by individuals (or small teams) for whom English was a second language; thus, the written material was hard to understand with meanings difficult to translate into Dari and Pashto. The content of the chapters varied from being too highly academic, to being highly politicized, too based on western assumptions and research, or to being simplistic generalizations of non—validated opinions. Sensitive issues related to women's sexuality, menstrual cycle, and reproduction created controversy and uncertainty especially when pointing out that male and female students would be studying this material in the same classroom. Chapters were critiqued, revised, and frequently totally changed by a different team of writers.

Tracing the data for the GMTF activities leaves a trail of documents but largely relies on a history of impressionistic reports and discussions reflecting no consensus or common plan for content development —no real purposeful outcome. In retrospect, the GMTF was initially a reasonable idea as a concept, but there was insufficient pre—planning along with a group of diverse members whose ideas about goals and whose skills went in different directions with rotating leadership. It became a cacophony of group think. As leadership changed new ideas replaced or conflicted with preceding ones, and the blueprint for their work became blurred.

Final Assessment of the GMTF

Timelines were set, plans for review and revisions were established. Needless to say, almost all of those timelines were missed by one or more of the writing teams led by largely paid internationals with unclear expertise in the topic. The proposed chapters were reviewed as they eventually were submitted and were found to be appallingly inappropriate, shockingly inaccurate, culturally insensitive or merely inadequate in most cases. Chapters were written, reviewed, re—written, reviewed; new authors were brought in to revise chapters in isolation

from each other. Finally, after four years of GMTF meetings the idea of a course remains at an uncertain level of development.

Some Problems in the Chapters

The early authors wrote with assumptions about gender that were insensitive to Afghan traditions. They often wrote without awareness that the TTC student audience would include a large proportion of male students, given the enrollment data.

They wrote with language that would be hard to translate meaningfully into Dari or Pashtu. They wrote with western world examples of gender discrimination, oppression of women, histories of women's emerging power, and foundations of gender as a concept developed from social norms that required an understanding of psychology and biology to be well comprehended. The chapters ranged in topic from early childhood development, law and women's rights, culture and gender, through many disparate subjects that were hard to coordinate smoothly as a text for a course. Of course, the fact that the chapters were written by different authors or authoring teams, without cross collaboration and with very different writing styles and assumptions, made the final approval of copy very difficult. Thus, after more than a year of work, this project appears to have been abandoned. It has definitely been postponed. The Afghan counterparts who read the materials found it so thoroughly unacceptable that after many attempts to respectfully suggest revisions, the authors and the reviewers came to an impasse.

For example, in an outline for a chapter on Gender and Culture, the following chapter topics were listed:

- The abuse of girls and women in Afghanistan as part of a deeply entrenched culture.

- The issue of "honor" as a socio—cultural norm that leads to harmful traditional practices and the code of "Pashtunwali".

- The marginalization of girls and women because of traditional beliefs.

- The special emphasis on gender relations including gender—based violence.

  (Unpublished Task Force memo, 2013)

Some critical comments to the chapter topics came in private communication through memos and emails from other members. For example, one said:

> A deeply entrenched culture? Every culture can be deeply entrenched in its own right. What does it basically mean here? Does it mean that Afghan culture is deeply entrenched in the context of Afghanistan, such that it cannot be changed, or does it meant that the abuse of girls and women is deeply entrenched in the Afghan culture? Afghan culture is a broad term. It encompasses the values and practices it has acquired from the religion of Islam, various traditions belonging to various ethnicities, and influences from regions stretching from Turkey to the Indian sub—continent. These values and practices do not necessarily advocate the abuse of women. However, it would be totally naïve to deny that there is no violence against and abuse of women in the Afghan culture.

> Another Afghan reviewer said:

> The syntax is confusing. Does it mean that the concept of "honor" leads to harmful traditions and the code of Pashtunwali? This would mean that the code of Pashtunwali is negative. Pashtunwali includes concepts such as hospitality, asylum, justice, loyalty, and righteousness. Also, 'honor' in the Afghan context can be thought of as protection of the weak, which is not a bad notion in and of itself.

And yet other examples come from a chapter on Gender and Health. The following paragraphs were written (by anonymous Task Force reviewers) for the textbook when women's menstrual health and sanitation practices were written as topic content. The topic in itself was sensitive and considered questionable for the students of the TTCs who are taught in co—ed classes with predominantly male

students. The first was simply to point out the lack of relevance of the example to the

environmental conditions of Afghanistan:

> An environmentally friendly sanitary care has to be provided. UNICEF has set up the Sustainable Health Enterprise (SHE) Africa making eco-friendly pads from the use of banana fiber (an absorbent material).

And another to be used for a class exercise:

> Homemade mantu is served and it is your favorite dish. Hmm! It just looks so good and how nicely it is prepared. You know the mantu is filled with meat and you know undercooked meat can be a breeding ground for harmful bacteria. But the white and red sauce sprinkled on top of it makes it impossible to resist. What should you do?

An offended reviewer responded in private documents exchanged within

the Task Force:

> There might be mantu served in poor quality restaurants that the meat is undercooked. But the reality is that Mantu is not filled with raw meat. It is cooked, steamed meat which is ground.

An example drawn from a chapter in which role playing was to be a

teaching strategy:

> **Abdullah.** He is a poor farmer with a sick wife and seven daughters and one son. The oldest daughter, Salima, is fourteen years old. Recently he had to borrow money for his wife's medical treatment. Lack of financial institutions to lend money makes him to turn to a rich landowner to ask for help. He knows he will never be able to pay his debts. His farming products are just enough to feed his family. On top of it is a cold winter and he needs to buy enough firewood. Being hopeless forces him to marry off, to sell, his oldest daughter to the lender's twenty-three-year-old son.

Although cases of a money exchange in a wedding are not unknown, and are given much

attention by international consultants, these situations are not respected by Afghans and are

uncommon except in remote tribal highly traditional regions of the country. Many countries that

are supposedly "developed" have practices in certain groups that would be considered

unacceptable and immoral regardless of the society. However, even a role play of such an agreement drew criticism from Afghan reviewers who found it offensive. There were many more such examples in other chapters, some subtle some blatant.

Although the government mandate and the incessant demands of international funders to keep gender-equity in the forefront of every proposal are still observed, when this topic comes up in a meeting with Afghan policy-makers and Afghan educators one can see eyes roll, heads shake subtly, and people look down. In some meetings, however, the Afghan participants are less polite and much more outspoken raising questions about the meanings and the operational definitions of "gender equity." Recently, after one such meeting the chair of the GMTF, an international gender expert at EQUIP, was found crying in her office because of what she considered to be rude treatment of herself and her report on the gender project. Despite the good intentions, the hard work, and the participation of many well—meaning groups and individuals, this effort seems to have failed in reality, or at best fallen through the cracks, even though the Task Force reports may bravely extoll their projects.

The Girls Scholarship Program (GPS)

The objective of this program that is now in its 8th year is to increase the number of qualified female teachers by increasing the number of female students admitted to and graduating from TTCs, and ensuring that the female graduates of the TTCs enter the teaching force by giving post—completion financial incentives if they teach. Funding is administered through TED auspices, but provided through EQUIP.

The objectives are to be achieved by (a) raising the population awareness of the scholarship program in the selected provinces and by emphasizing the importance of girls being educated as teachers, (b) the establishment of a close cooperation between the project staff and

the TTC in the provinces, and (c) by supporting the TTCs in providing a suitable infrastructure for a sound educational environment.

Orientation and information to the recipients of the privileges and responsibilities of the program are provided. Scholarships are delivered to the heads of the households for each recipient every two months if all requirements are fulfilled. Female graduates are promised teaching positions upon graduation and the first year of teaching is to be monitored, followed by the payment of two months bonus salary and the provision of teaching certificates. TTCs receive Institutional Grants for monitoring the application and awarding process as well as the implementation of the funds.

Any female student who has completed Grade 9 and above or equivalent (including those of nontraditional ages) is eligible for scholarship support of $60 per month for two years of TTC training, followed by guaranteed employment in their communities as a government salaried teacher. Currently, the priority for assigning female students to the project focuses on 12th grade graduates. Students of lower grades will be assigned to the project as soon as a special teacher preparation curriculum is available at the TTCs.

Although a social mobilization and awareness campaign had been conducted through the TED, TTCs and the MOE, an additional awareness campaign was implemented by the Project Administrators once they had been visiting their assigned provinces. Relevant documents which provided information about the project's objective and the benefit for the female students had been developed and prepared by the GSP core team with the assistance of GTZ IS. All information material had been distributed by the Project Administrators among all relevant stakeholders in the province.

A local information campaign was initiated by the local TTC and TED publicizing the opportunity and informing families. When girls learned of the opportunity and talked with their parents, parental approval was required with a signature on the official documents. The funding apparently was delivered regularly, and handed to each girl in a group setting at the TTC where she counted the amount she received and signed the register showing it had been given to her once a month in most cases. The funds were given to girls who had good academic records but who were from poor families and who lived in remote areas and in provinces identified as having a special deficit of educated girls and female teachers.

Altogether, by 2015, more than 10,000 girls had benefitted from this cash support. In a TED research survey and sample interviews they described how the money has helped them especially through paying the costs for secure transportation in insecure districts, and for paying for school supplies and other necessities associated with being a student. In addition, each TTC that participated in the scholarship program received a cash incentive to improve the TTC. The intention was to use the money to promote attendance of girls in the TTC by providing toilet facilities appropriate for females and other gender sensitive projects; however, no stipulation was made on the TTCs and they were free to use their funding on projects they considered highest priority. At this point, the TED researchers were unable to obtain accurate data on exactly how those funds were used since the dispersal was through the MOE finance department, not through the TED, and it seems no systematic follow—through for the institutional gender grants has been recorded.

Selection of GSP Students

The most important criterion for selection of the first 15 participating provinces was identifying those with a critically low enrollment of girls and women in TTCs. The scholarships

are aimed at improving and retaining female enrollment levels. The GSP also provides deserving

female students with financial support to continue their TTC education. The eligibility

requirements and continuation of education though were based on students' attendance and their

academic performance.

The program was started in 2008 and a total of $40,800 was distributed to 585 students in

15 provinces. The project was funded by WB and first administered by GIZ (the German

International Development). Because of security limitations and regulations in GIZ, the

program and scholarship distribution were stopped for almost a year. In September, 2011, the

MOE and the WB decided to assign TED responsibility over the program removing it from GIZ.

TED expanded the program to 20 provinces of Afghanistan and resumed students'

registration and scholarship distribution in December 2011. The program was soon expanded to

students in 25 provinces; currently TTCs in all provinces are offered the GSP opportunity. The

TTC signs a contract with the fathers of the students and with the students themselves agreeing

to the conditions and terms. TED project assistants visited the TTCs monitoring the formal

distribution of stipends to students, as well as checking on whether they met the attendance and

academic achievement criteria for receiving the scholarship. Remarkably, only 1% of the

scholarship recipients failed to finish the two—year diploma program dropping out for personal

and family reasons.

In order to assess the initial outcomes of the GSP, in December 2011, TED designed a

research survey protocol and distributed a survey form that was completed by all 585 first group

of female scholarship recipients in the 15 provinces, who graduated in 2010. Funders believed it

was important to obtain an early baseline by conducting a formative program assessment to

make adjustments or revisions in the process, to evaluate the effectiveness of the program, and

learn how many TTC female graduates, who were recipients of the scholarships, were employed as teachers. The study documented the reasons why graduates were not teaching when that was the case. The results were both encouraging and puzzling.

The following charts are the property of TED but are publicly available in unpublished TED reports. The chart below shows the percentage of that group of students who were employed as teachers and were teaching in schools in the targeted provinces as well as the percentage of students who are not teachers.

Figure 4.1

First Group of GSP Graduates Employed as Teachers in 2011
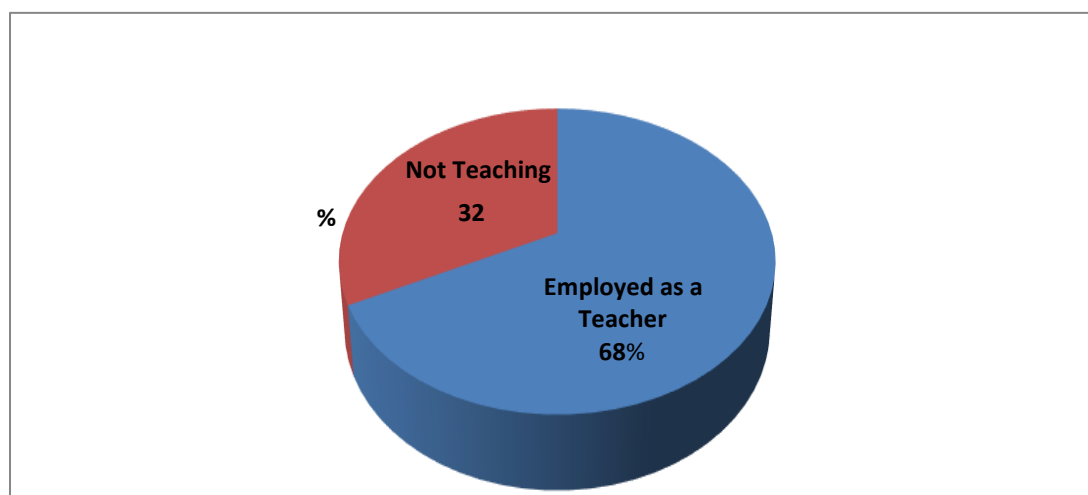
The survey revealed that 68% of the graduates had become teachers after their graduation from TTCs and the remaining 32% are not working as teachers for a variety of reasons.

Figure 4.2

GSP Graduates Employed as Teachers
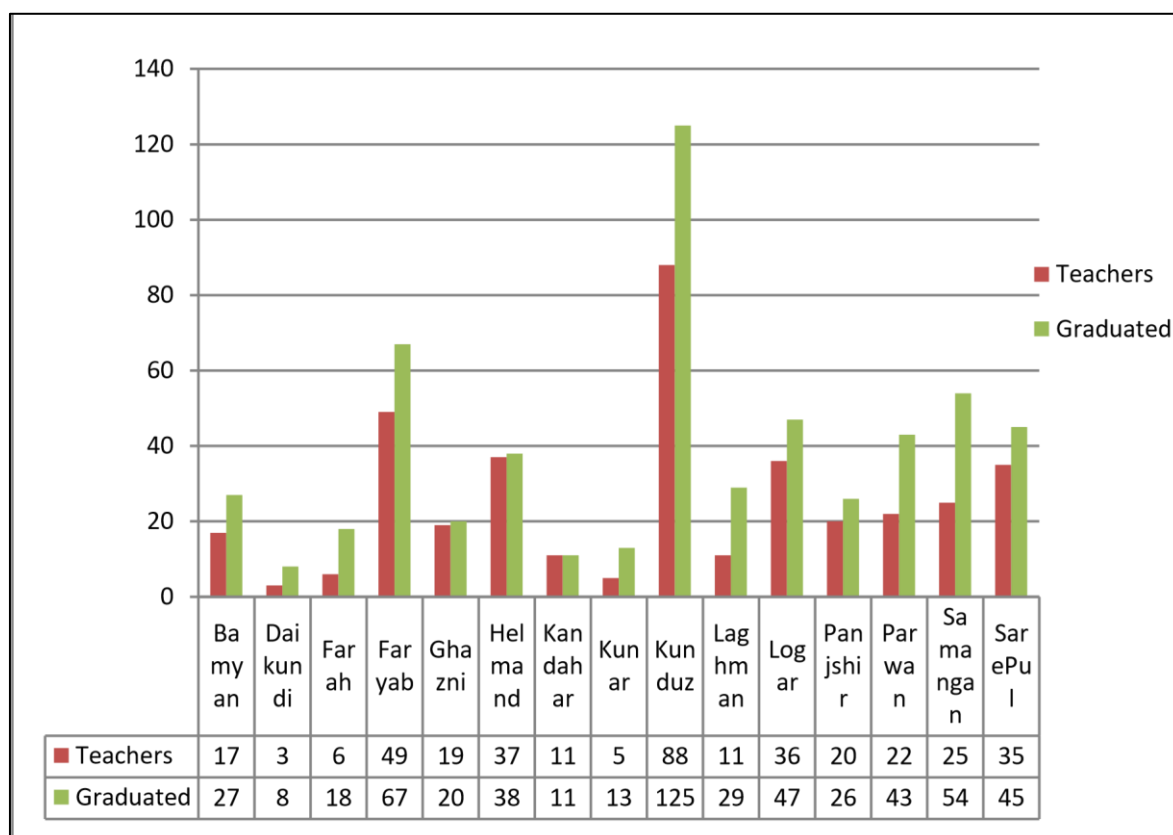
Figure 4.2. shows the number of GSP graduates who were hired to teach in their local province after their graduation. From the chart it is clear that the highest percentage of graduates who were hired to teach locally was in Kandahar where all eleven graduates were employed by the local school districts (100%). In Ghazni and Helmand the rate of hiring the GSP graduates was nearly 100%. These three provinces are in the south where security is a high risk. The lowest number of graduates who were employed to teach is in Farah where only 33% of graduates have become teachers.

The highest number of GSP graduates was in Kunduz where 88 out of 125 GSP

graduated (70.4%) were hired locally as teachers. The only reason cited by the graduates for not

becoming a teacher in Kunduz was the unavailability of Tashkil (government official Civil

Service) positions.

The remaining 32% of the GSP graduates (in other provinces) who were not immediately

employed as teachers gave one of the reasons shown in Figure 4.3

Figure 4.3

Reasons Given for Not Becoming a Teacher
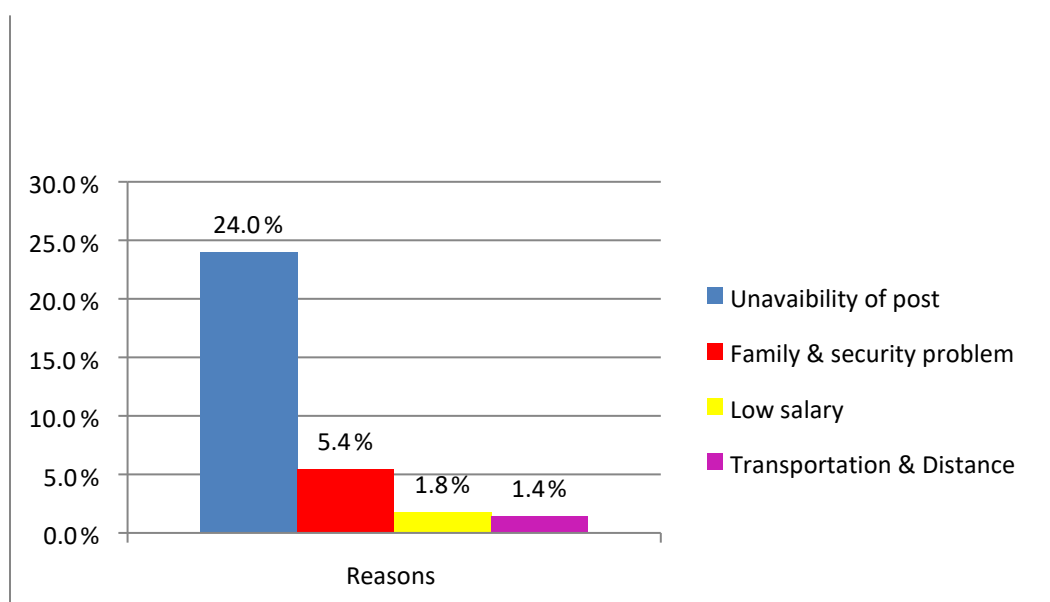
As indicated in Figure 4.3 it is very clear that unavailability of posts is seen as a major

obstacle preventing the female graduates from becoming teachers. Out of 585 graduates, 137 of

them could not become teachers for one of the four reasons cited, with lack of an opening in the

district school being highest. Security and family are also frequently named. Low salary,

transportation, and remoteness of schools were important but listed at the bottom of the possible reasons.

From the survey it was also found that the percentage of GSP graduates with teaching subject specialties from humanities fields (history, geography, languages, Islamic Studies) is greater (44%) than the percentage of GSP graduates from the sciences (see Figure 4.4). The number of graduates from literature (within the humanities) makes 36.2% of all the GSP graduates in study.

Figure 4.4

Subject Specialties of GSP Graduates by Province Percentage
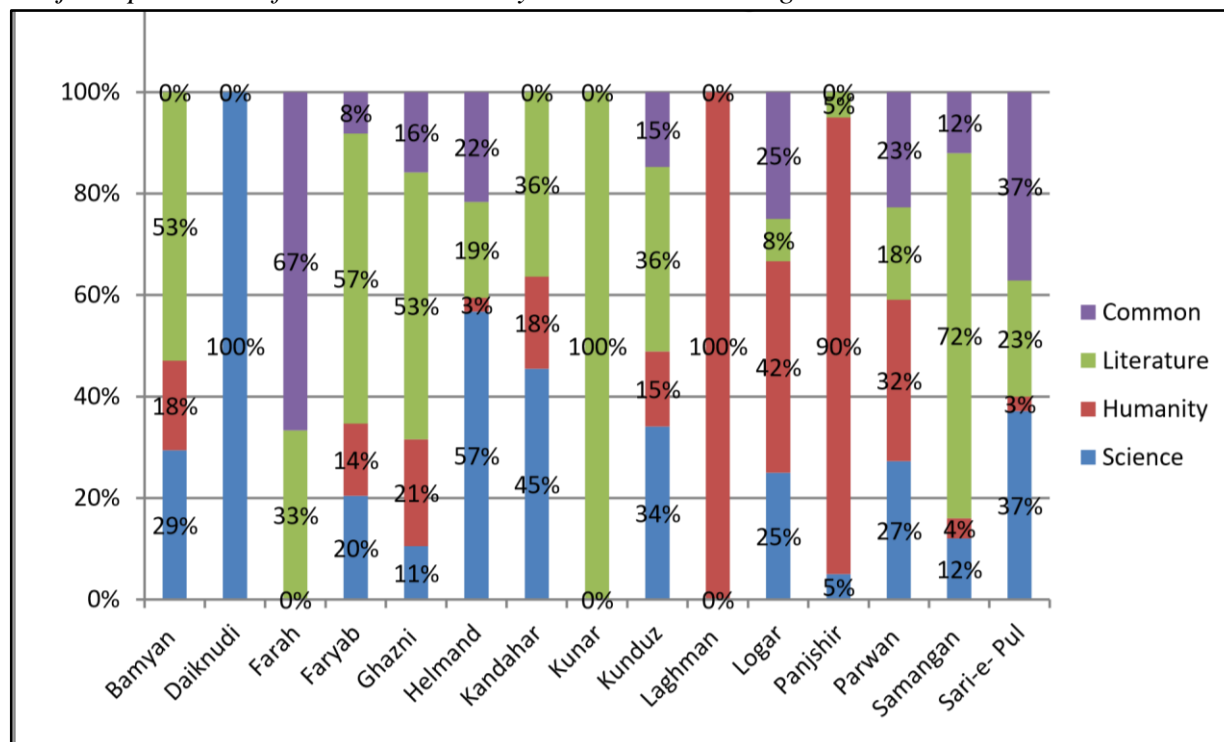
The highest percentage of teachers graduated from science is in Daikondi and then followed by Helmand. None of the female scholarship graduates in Farah, Kunar and Daikondi had majors in humanities, while in Laghman and Panjshir the percentage of humanities

graduates was 100% and 90% respectively although graduates in both of these provinces were employed at higher rates than average.

While the female students major predominantly in the humanities, there were some who did specialize in the sciences. For example, in Bamyan 24% (4 out of 17) majored in biology.

The number of math graduates is larger compared with other science subjects. Almost 21% of the all the GSP graduates were Math majors. In Daikondi all the eight graduates were from the Math Department. In Helmand it is 54%, and in Kandahar it is 45%.

Regarding the age and marital status of the graduates nearly all were between 20 and 30 years of age, and almost 50% of the graduates were married. Among these GSP graduates, it appears that for many of the young women allowed by their families to attend the TTC for the purpose of becoming teachers, the issue of marriage was not viewed as an obstacle to teaching. The scholarships may have made it more likely that married students could continue their studies and subsequently take employment as teachers.

The survey analysts concluded that the girls who received scholarships and graduated from the TTCs did hope to become teachers. The Girls Scholarship Program has been very effective in increasing the number of female students in the TTCs. TTC Directors in many provinces have stories of overcoming barriers to women's participation and enrollment in TTCs. In Kunduz, the TTC was very proud of attracting new female students particularly in the remote districts. The TTC Director mentioned the increase of female students in Khan Abad district as evidence of the effectiveness of the girls' scholarship. He stated, "The number of female students in Khan Abad TDC has reached 137 in the current academic year whereas last year it was only 25 students. This shows a fivefold increase. We did not have any female student in Dashti Archi TDC and in the current year, there are 34 female students."

GSP students, not yet graduates, interviewed more recently as a follow-up to obtain a sample of opinion and experience as a way to triangulate the survey data, all expressed appreciation for the program. Each young woman was highly grateful for the opportunity to continue her studies. Each of the students interviewed spoke of the hardships of transportation that were made easier through the scholarship funds. They spoke of how they wanted to learn, loved learning, and hoped to be able to finish the program and become teachers.

The follow-up data from the second year of the program show that most of the scholarship girls did complete their education and more than 2/3 of them found employment as teachers (68%). Without more recent data, we rely on this follow-up information, as well as continuing to track the GSP recipients annually, to provide clues as to whether or not the program is successful in supporting young women in the transition to teaching. The longer term goal is to assess whether this program makes an impact on the enrollment and retention of girls and young women to advance their education and bring some closure on the gender gap. The more immediate data showing that the GSP students remain in school with less than 1% drop out rate, compared to a much greater dropout rate for other TTC students, is a promising statistic.

Analysis of the Outcomes of the Above Efforts to Close the Gender Gap in Education

The findings from the Gender Mainstreaming Task Force are a complex mixture resulting from rotating leadership, a stew of diverse personalities and confusion of purpose in the program. International consultants leading a project that had so many cultural complexities with no clearly shared target, and who saw the gender issues in Afghanistan as all negative and oppressive, black and white, wrong and right, with no subtleties despite verbal declarations of tolerance. The GMTF mission was far too ambiguous and general for the group to get their teeth into; at least without strong leadership they were unable to chart a path toward an operational

goal and a clear target that could have benefitted women. The starts, stalls, stops and changes of direction were frustrating and disappointing to all concerned, but in the end the result appears to be that no one is accepting responsibility for lack of achievement. Each person and each NGO seem to be willing to step aside and pass the buck to others. In the meantime, the gender equity rhetoric continues to roll on like a roaring river, coming again mostly from international donors, but also from Afghan women although in a quieter volume. The Gender Mainstreaming Task Force, not really yet admitting failure or giving up, has hit a wall and is looking for another route to begin again.

Results of the Girls' Scholarship Program (GSP)

The scholarship program for girls in the TTCs, has produced sufficient good will through its results reported to donors that its support is continuing at least for the next few years. One of the deciding indicators was the low dropout rate of these female students. Given the state of TTC capacity to maintain accurate records it is difficult to know exact dropout rates for all students, partly because many of the students enrolled are in—service teachers working while studying and their enrollment figures tend to be more erratic.

Follow-up information about the non-scholarship female students would be important to know for comparison about completion rates and rates of employment as teachers; it would also be valuable to have comparable data about the ratio of men graduates who entered teaching. There is a widely held belief in the government, even in the Ministry of Education, that a great number of graduates of the TTCs are hoping to be admitted to a university to complete a four-year university degree and they see the two-year TTC diploma program as the route to their real goal, the BA degree. The data available do not support this assumption, but sufficient and thorough collection of follow-up data needs to be done. In the final analysis of the Girls'

Scholarship Program, regardless of whether every student receiving the funds also immediately found employment as a teacher and received the bonus stipend promised when she signed her scholarship papers, it is obvious that the scholarship program motivated these young women, gave them a sense of pride rather than a sense of being charity victims, and increased their determination to remain in school as long as possible.

Barriers to and Blunders in Implementation—The Path to the Future Obstacles and Opportunities

The obstacles are apparent with respect to the time it takes to educate and prepare girls and women to become qualified and competent teachers who will help close the gender gap by providing a continuously increasing number of women teachers for the schools; however, other barriers are equally difficult to overcome including social traditions that continue to limit the education of girls, as well as the realities of concerns for the safety of girls and women who venture out of the home. This is seen in the West as oppression, and also seen by many educated Afghan women in somewhat the same light; but given the facts of attacks on girls in school or on their way and the attacks on female teachers and other women who work in public, these protections are not based on imaginary threats. There are other reasons, of course, beyond safety and family honor that discourage girls' school attendance and retention. Those are reasons such as work that needs to be done at home including care of younger siblings, the many costs of getting a girl to school, keeping her clothed, providing her with books and study materials, and postponing her marriage. The conditions of life for many families make it quite understandable that parents would look at their daughters, think about their futures in light of both the past and the present, and ask "why send her to school?"

Deep concerns nationally and internationally are clear regarding the causes of the low literacy rate among females in Afghanistan as well as their absence in the teaching force and in

leadership positions in society. The chapter provides two examples, out of many that could be cited, in which the Ministry of Education with donor funding promoted special projects to help close the gender gap. The Gender Mainstreaming Task Force was comprised of a coalition of representatives from international projects whose target was unclear but whose intentions to bring change was well meaning. This project, for all practical purposes, has been shelved or abandoned. The other program, the TTC Girls' Scholarship Program, on the other hand, is flourishing and has become a star success for the Ministry of Education and the project donors.

There are several reasons for the differences in outcome that are closely related to the themes and questions of this dissertation: How can change be initiated and sustained? What are the leadership characteristics and strategies that create and sustain positive change? And what can be done to provide educational equity for women in a patriarchal Muslim society?

In the case of the GMTF, the fatal flaw was in the impulsive establishment of a random committee without advance core planning and clear leadership. As Kahneman (2011) cautions in *Thinking Fast and Thinking Slow*, to be an effective change agent it is best to avoid impulsive, intuitive decisions and better to take time to reflect and plan before going too far. It is the old image of the cart before the horse. Further, while collaboration is highly encouraged and necessary in attempting to bring about lasting and significant change, this does not mean merely putting together a group of like-minded people. It means bringing them together with a common understanding of mission, goals, product output, responsible leadership roles and rules of conduct agreed upon, as well as timelines for accountability. The GMTF floundered from lack of consistent, clear, competent leadership as well as from unclear and movable goals. An additional problem was the lack of cohesion and commitment within the group as well as the problems

inherent in trying to effect change, and impose change, from without rather than working within with those whose lives and works would be most directly affected.

The Girls' Scholarship Program, on the other hand had a clear focus, clear boundaries, and was a win-win situation for everyone involved. The girls selected received personal benefits that enhanced their academic success. The institutions involved (TTCs) received benefits from being able to recruit talented female students and by being seen as the provider of stipends. The TTCs also benefitted through institutional gender grants to use as needed to improve facilities. Although in this program girls had priority and received a special privilege through financial support, there was nothing that demeaned males; no lecturing about their roles in gender discrimination. Families and communities also were direct beneficiaries in becoming aware of the importance of educating their girls, and of being proud of their girls' achievements. The leadership in this project was not personal, not a charismatic leader requiring a loyal following; but was leadership through an impersonal structure of clear and legal responsibilities with an action map holding people accountable to work outputs, timelines, and ultimate results.

Two More Examples of Ambitious but as Yet Unfulfilled Gender Initiatives

Because leadership, change, gender and culture are central to this dissertation, two additional projects will be described briefly. One is a relatively new five-year USAID initiative called PROMOTE; the other is the establishment of a women's university to be funded by Turkey to fulfill a campaign promise made by President Ghani and in response to First Lady,

> Rula Ghani's determination to educate women. Both of these efforts have had slow starts, shifting leadership, controversies regarding fantasies versus realities, ambition versus practicalities.

Promoting Gender Equity in National Priority Programs (PROMOTE)

In 2014 this program was planned by experts in USAID with involvement of Afghan women's groups to develop women's leadership in a variety of fields. USAID designated $216 million to this program, saying this would be "the largest women's empowerment project in the U.S. Government's history" (USAID, 2014).

The program has four components: (a) women's leadership development, (b) women in government, (c) women in economics, and (d) women in human rights groups and coalitions. The program has a five-year timeline, and a target of 75,000 women to be affected.

Although greeted with enthusiasm in November, 2014 by government leaders, it got off to a slow start in selecting the primary contractor in 2015, Tetra Tech, an engineering firm with some experience in Afghanistan as well as globally, but not in women's education and leadership skills. However, Tetra Tech soon put out bids for subcontractors to handle each of the four components specified in the project guidelines with the first segment, Women's Leadership, contracted to a Washington based company Development Alternatives, Inc. (DAI). Confidential conversations revealed that while the umbrella title and purposes were commendable, the actual operation of the project was floundering for many months. Staff positions were difficult to fill, and when filled the administrators didn't have a clear blueprint on which to build the project structure. At one point a call came to TED asking for leadership materials to use in training packets. In March 2015, the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan (SIGAR) sent a letter to USAID with a set of detailed questions about the operation of the project, its plans for handling expenditures, and for evaluation project progress. The response from Larry Sample, Assistant Administrator for Afghanistan and Pakistan Affairs, was also detailed but seen as evasive. No

evaluation report on this project is available through USAID at this time, but many international staff have moved on to other jobs.

Because the reputation of large US contractors is frequently under a cloud of corruption, the role of Tetra Tech was viewed with wariness because their fitness for a gender program was suspect. However, more serious was the widespread apprehension in Kabul key government personnel about the capacity of DAI to deliver on the women's leadership development program which was the first to be implemented.

By January 2017, the plan for proceeding with this program had taken a new turn toward teacher education although TED was not involved in the new plan. The plan now intends to educate 7000 female teachers by 2019, to be given a six—week training program to introduce them to the high school curriculum and problem—solving techniques. The goal is to train teachers to instill female high school students with "the skills and self—confidence necessary to take their place among Afghanistan's next generation of community, private and public sector leaders.

The First Women's University in Afghanistan

The President and First Lady, Rula Ghani, have advocated for an all-female university to educate women in law, business, government, and other professions to be determined as need is identified. Mrs. Ghani (2012) stated that this university would enable female students to obtain a higher education degree when they are not admitted to the university system. She also said that a women's university environment would be acceptable to families who didn't want their daughters to be in coeducational classrooms. The planning for the women's university began in 2014, and the official announcement of name (Mawlana Afghan-Turk University) and place (on 47 acres of land in the Tap-e-Malang Jan area in Kabul) was made in January 2016. The

university will be a joint effort with Turkey in that Turkey is providing most of the funds, the

name (after a revered Turkish male religious scholar) and will select or send the faculty.

The controversy over this development, among educators and educated leaders, is one of

skepticism and dismay, although many are loathe to be critical of the President and his wife on

this issue. The skepticism comes from knowing how difficult it is to establish a new viable

institution of higher education that has quality, credibility, and proficient students. The dismay

comes from those who see the gender separation as further encouragement to the conservative

population to keep women "in their place" separate from men. This endorsement by those in the

highest ranks of government seems to many as a step backward from the progressive efforts to

eliminate gender discrimination and inequity in classrooms and educational institutions.

Predictions are made that this move merely opens the door to widespread segregation and closes

the door to women's equity in education and access to true leadership. The answers are not clear,

and the results are not yet produced. The diversity of opinion and the diversity of paths regarding

women's empowerment and women's roles is clearly heard in the dialogue.

The leadership dimension of both of the initiatives described is also clear: these are top down

initiatives, made quickly with passion and even impulsively when the concepts were

underwritten with funding even before clear paths of action were formulated. It takes more than

impulse and passion to sustain such dramatic change. Time must still be patiently awaited before

a verdict can be determined.

In the next chapter, attention will turn to the content, sources, and processes included in

revising the education of teachers in the post—conflict, insecure, traditional, and financially poor

context of Afghanistan today. The policies and progress in teacher education in several

neighboring countries as well as international standards and recommendations for best practices

for professional educators in schools and classrooms. The concerted effort to increase gender

equity and to eliminate the widespread discrimination for girls and women promoted socially and

culturally, became (and continues to be) a high priority for the MOE, for the government, for

donors and for TED. The policies put into action and the efforts being made for support and

recruitment of female teachers will be addressed again in the next chapter in the discussion on

preservice teacher education and support for female students in the Teacher Training Colleges.

Efforts made in Afghanistan in the last decade, including additional efforts to reduce gender

inequities, the successes and stumbling blocks, and the hopes for the future will be presented.

These efforts are not made in a vacuum. Leadership is a key even when resources are severely

limited. Changes in leadership at both the national level and in the rotation of international

stakeholders is a significant factor in analyzing and interpreting this case study.

CHAPTER V: EFFORTS TO REFORM IN-SERVICE AND PRESERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION, INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL MODELS OF BEST PRACTICE

This chapter is organized into three sections, each with subheadings, in order to cover the diverse and complex topics necessary to explain the breadth and depth of this case study dissertation beyond the historical framework. The sections are briefly titled:

Section I. Teacher Education Reform in Afghanistan: Standards, Competencies,

In-service Training

Section II. Teaching Credentials and TTC Accreditation

Section III. Preservice Education

Section I. Teacher Education Reform in Afghanistan:
Standards, Competencies, In-Service Training
Impact of International Practice on Teacher Education in Afghanistan Professional Standards and Best Practice

A review of teacher education in Afghanistan (Spink et al, 2004) prompted action among international donors and policy makers in Kabul. In 2006, international consultants were working with TED to develop a professional framework as a goal for teacher training and teacher education. The framework, as it emerged, began with a basic set of professional standards for teachers, but then led to a more complex structure of domains with sets of behavioral objectives that could be assessed for each domain. The standards and the competencies were to be the basis for teacher training, both in-service and preservice.

The standards and competency domains covered both teaching content and teaching methodology. The intent was to have these standards and competencies aligned with the national curriculum and the textbooks, both of which were undergoing an independent change process.

Different groups worked on separate parts of these activities; however, TED was responsible for a synthesis of standards, competencies, and teacher training packages. The standards will be presented soon, but first it is useful to understand some of the sequences that resulted from the early standards and competency efforts.

Teacher Standards and Competencies—An Evolution

Turning back now to broader principles underlying teacher training, the MOE leadership was persuaded to look to international policies in establishing a framework that could serve to measure teacher performance. As part of the effort to train and educate teachers to address the government priority for high quality, competent, professional teachers, a fundamental step was the development of a statement of standards for teachers. This was followed by a complex framework of competency statements for teachers.

In 2004, the MOE gave TED responsibility to appoint and supervise a Primary Education Task Force to write standards that provided clear values for teacher education. The first two standards were given highest priority by the Task Force. These were articulated as follows:

Standard 1. The teacher understands that children learn in different ways and have different needs and knows how to engage the interest and participation of all students in experiences that provide the opportunity to learn.

Standard 2. The teacher has mastered the subject being taught, can teach it in ways that are compatible with Islamic values and can create learning experiences and learning aids that make the subject meaningful and appropriate for the age and ability of students.

Standard 3. The teacher understands how children learn and develop and provides

learning opportunities that promote learning how to learn,

Self-development and character development.

Standard 4. The teacher creates a learning environment that encourages positive social

interaction and active engagement in learning.

Standard 5. The teacher is aware that there are both planned and unplanned

consequences of goals, policies and practices at every level of the

educational system, including national, local and classroom levels

and is able to be flexible in planning and teaching to address

changing circumstances.

Standard 6. The teacher creates a learning environment that encourages problem solving,

critical thinking and creativity.

Standard 7. The teacher encourages students to respect Islamic and democratic values

and Afghan culture.

Standard 8. The teacher encourages students to take responsibility for themselves and

to have a sense of responsibility toward community and society.

(Primary Schools Task Force, 2004)

Competency Framework for Teachers

In 2006, as part of the EQUIP/DT3 contract Creative Associates hired international specialists to create in collaboration with the MOE/TED, a competency framework for teachers aligned with the approved standards.

The competency framework outlined purposes, philosophy, and principles that framed the essential teaching competencies. Understanding and identifying what teachers must be able

to do in order to deliver quality instruction requires functional analysis of the specific tasks they are called on to do. While this understanding can and should refer to generally accepted principles as to what should be in an ideal teacher training curriculum and in ideal teacher behaviors, nevertheless, it is crucial to consider the competency requirements in light of the real-world context in which Afghanistan's teachers workday after day, month after month, year after year. Such considerations will assure that Afghanistan's teacher competency framework is relevant, that it can serve as a practical tool for improving teachers' skills and have a rapid, tangible, positive impact on the quality of instruction Afghan students receive.

It should be reiterated that an important strand in the preparation leading to the development of this framework was to meticulously consider the specific requirements of teachers working effectively, considering Afghanistan's national values, values incorporated in Islamic educational philosophy and traditions, the role played by teachers and education in national reconstruction, and the perspectives of education officials and teachers themselves (TED, 2007, p. 4).

The competencies were identified in four domains starting with subject content competence, followed by focus on knowledge of student growth and development, then delivery and assessment of learning content, and finally in Domain 4 continuous professional improvement on the part of the teacher. The original 2007 framework is presented here; however, by 2012 another group of international consultants from (TCAP) project working on a plan for teacher credentialing dismissed the earlier work and started fresh with a new set of standards and competencies. This will be discussed later, but the confusion and sense of rejection of this foundation was the source of numerous problems and contributed to the delay of

the credentialing project and the institutional (TTC) accreditation process to the point that
funding expired before approval and implementation of the plan.

The original 2007 Competency Framework Domains for Teachers is presented here in
abbreviated form. The more extensive in—house TED document presented a chart with
examples of behavioral objectives for teachers for each item in each domain separated into
categories of (a) knowledge, (b) skills, and (c) behaviors.

Domain 1: Mastering the Subject Content

> *Teachers have mastery over the subjects they teach and are able to*
>
> *organize and present subject matter content for student learning.*
>
> 1.1 Mastering Subject Matter Content
>
> 1.2 Mastering the Teaching of Content
>
> 1.3 Mastering Knowledge of the Curriculum

Domain 2: Fostering Student Potential

> *Teachers understand how students develop and are able to use their*
>
> *knowledge of child development to facilitate learning and growth.*
>
> 2.1 Understanding Child Development and Learning Theories
>
> 2.2 Using Diverse Strategies to Effectively Foster Learning and Growth
>
> 2.3 Valuing and Responding to Diversity

Domain 3: Managing Student Learning

> *Teachers are able to plan for, manage, monitor, and assess student learning.*
>
> 3.1 Developing Clear Plans to Organize Classroom Activities and Overall
>
> Student Learning
>
> 3.2 Establishing and Maintaining Environments which Support Learning

3.3. Assessing Student Learning and Progress

Domain 4: Improving Teaching Practice Continuously and Collaboratively *Teachers engage in continuous professional development and are active members of learning communities.*

4.1 Developing Partnerships with Families, Colleagues, and the

Community to Garner Resources for Student Learning

4.2 Pursuing Lifelong Development of Teaching Skills and Maintaining

Professional Teaching Ethics

4.3 Engaging in Continuous Reflective Practice and Self—Regulated

Learning (TED, 2007, p. 2)

The bottom line outcome of these evolving efforts from 2004 through 2014 to establish a usable, comprehensible, and comprehensive set of standards as a foundation for teacher education and for teaching is a compromised document. Compromised by the fact that Afghan educators took early ownership in the creation of a framework that, overtime, was edited, re-edited, and reshaped into the language and form familiar to international consultants but reluctantly acceded to by Afghan educators who had worked to create the initial document. Change and evolution, improvement of ideas was expected and necessary; but too often the changes seemed to be mere wordsmithing and the ideas out of touch with cultural context.

School Management, Administration and Leadership Competencies

In addition to a competency framework (in addition to Standards) for teachers developed in 2007, by 2009 a comparable one for school administrators (shown below) was created.

Because teachers cannot develop and display the required behaviors without the support of enlightened school leadership through their administrators, it became evident that school administrators also needed a new vision of leadership and their own competency framework compatible with new concepts of schools as learning communities. The old stereotype of administrators as managers was to be modified by a vision of educational reform. Along with the administrators' competency statement, a rationale for a new approach to school leadership was articulated in the paragraphs excerpted here:

> Every school has a designated Head, Principal or an administrative support team with specific duties. The management duties of these administrators include a long tradition of record—keeping and supervision. What is needed for administrators to fulfill the new National Education Strategic Plan is an understanding of leadership that is visionary, inspirational, practical and competent. This concept of school leadership covers a much broader range of responsibilities and opportunities for an administrator than found in the traditional model. It includes having knowledge both of the curriculum and the best teaching methodologies that will enable students to learn the curriculum and apply that knowledge in their daily lives. It includes knowing how to encourage, support, mentor and critique teachers in order to develop a staff of committed, professional teachers who share the educational vision and leadership responsibilities of the school.
> It includes knowing how to manage resources efficiently, how to set priorities with respect to time management and issues to be addressed, how to seek additional resources for priority needs of the school, how to communicate effectively in conflict resolution, problem solving, in team meetings, in parent conferences, among community groups, and with individuals.
> It includes how to make the school part of the community to engage community support and build mutual understanding of school goals, policies and procedures. This vision of the school requires a new kind of principal as leader of change. (Mitchell, 2009, pp. 4–6)

A competency document, mapping responsibilities and expectations for school administrators in domains parallel to those in the teachers' framework was created by TED staff and consultants in 2009. The basic competence outline is given below. But greater details including a self-assessment checklist, observation guidelines, and other materials were prepared for the school managers training (SMT).

Competency Domains for School Managers (Principals)

DOMAIN 1. Instructional Leadership and Accountability

      A.   Fostering Student Learning

      B.   Leading and Supporting the Teaching and Learning Process

      C.   Assessing, Recording and Reporting Student Learning Outcomes

DOMAIN 2. Managing Schools with Professional Leadership

      A.   Managing School Operations

      B.   Supervising and Supporting School Staff Fairly and Effectively

      C.   Budgeting, Planning, and Using Resources Wisely

      D.   Planning to Enhance Future School Performance

      E.   Contributing to the Well—being of the Overall Education System

DOMAIN 3. Leadership in Fostering Community Relationships to Support Learning

      A.   Fostering Community Relationships

      B.   Engaging Effectively with Students' Families

      C.   Working Cooperatively and Collaboratively with Colleagues

DOMAIN 4. Leadership in Fostering Continuous Learning and Professional

   Development

      A.   Identifying Pathways for Individual Teacher Development

      B.   Implementing School—level Activities for Professional Growth

      C.   Contributing to the Development of the Learning Community

   (Mitchell, 2009, p. 2)

The framework for teachers, became the foundation and the touchstone for the

development of the National Teacher Examination (NTE) that was created to test teacher

knowledge of academic subject content and of relevant pedagogy. The standards and competency frameworks were used as a template for developing the in—service teacher education packages (INSETs) used in the EQUIP/DT3 program. These professional packages, intended to teach content as well as pedagogical strategies based on internationally identified best practices, should be described here along with critical independent assessments funded mostly by the World Bank. I turn now to these in—service programs and will return later to the NTE and the ambitious new work on Standards, Competencies, Credentialing and Accreditation implemented by TCAP, a Canadian aid (CIDA) project.

Policy Priorities

Implementation of the In-Service Teacher Training Packages and Programs, DT3

In May 2002, The Afghanistan Government identified the professional development of teachers as a critical part of re-establishing the country's human capital and economy. A Comprehensive Needs Assessment (CNA) of the education sector was conducted for the Afghan Interim Administration (AIA) by a team of professionals from the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). One of the key recommendations of the report was support to teacher professional development (AIA, 2002). In 2004, the Ministry of Education released a number of new education policy documents outlining priorities. Teacher training was to be a key component of all education programs for the new Government of Afghanistan (GOA; MOE, 2004b).

The investment in in-service teacher education, teacher recruitment, training, and education were a top priority with enormous demands placed on the national budget and human resources for program implementation. There are innumerable and meaningful stories of emerging leadership and change for in-service teachers through emergency trainings, the

establishment of EQUIP through World Bank funding and oversight, the development of DT3 (District Teacher Training Teams) throughout the provinces. The national requirement for a qualified teacher is to have completed a two-year post-high school teacher education program in an approved institution of higher education. This requirement has been, until recently, an impossible one for most teachers to meet, especially those filling positions in the elementary schools.

In-service teacher training required the development and implementation of training packages for teachers and school administrators with modern concepts of pedagogy and teaching practice requiring major changes in behavior and in knowledge. Most of these programs were influenced by international advisors requiring all documents to be written primarily in English with translations to Dari and Pashto necessary. Concepts, language, and even single word meanings were controlled by international donors and advisors, dominated processes and products.

As described in the previous chapter, The Education Quality Improvement Program (EQUIP) is one of the National Priority Programs of the Ministry of Education. EQUIP is part of the National Education Strategic Plan (NESP). The MOE is the leading execution body of the program. The project is nationally executed with the support of the World Bank. It is financially supported mainly by the World Bank. A number of foreign donors support the program through the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF), which is managed by the World Bank.

EQUIP, which began in 2004, was allocated $37 million over the first four-year period to focus on rapid development of teacher competence through both in-service and preservice teacher training initiatives to cover the entire country by organizing provinces into regional areas. This in-service plan, called the Teacher Education Program (TEP), was later modified and

entitled the District Teacher Training Teams (DT3) Program. The design and implementation of this program initially was supported by USAID through the Basic Education Support System for Teachers (BESST). The nation was divided into four manageable clusters of provinces, with separate contracts for each region competitively awarded to different NGO consortia to implement the National Program for In—Service Teacher Training (NPITT) for teachers. DT3 offices are established in all provincial canters. The Program was implemented in one region through support of USAID through the BESST project and three regions through EQUIP.

The first phase of the four-year long program, EQUIP I, came to an end in 2008. The second four-year long phase, EQUIP II, ended in August 2012. However, it was extended through August 2014 and finally to August 2015. An extension grants of over $250 million USD, covering the extension phase, was approved by the Afghanistan Reconstruction Fund (ARTF) and the World Bank.

District Teacher Training Teams (DT3)

The logistics of awarding contracts and monitoring the progress of each DT3 section of the nation is a story of trial and error, successes and failures, expert performance as well as disappointing ineptitude and in a few cases blatant corruption and falsified records. TED had a team of program monitors responsible for the assessment of each training effort under each of the four consortia contracts for the four regions of the nation. (In the first contract only three regions were targeted.) Although TED reviewed each program progress report and all requests for payments of expenses as well as auditing the quarterly training reports, TED did not directly handle any of the funding. Often complaints from participants, trainers, and community members were made to the Ministry or to EQUIP and then passed on to TED for follow-up with the accused program contractor. Some of the complaints involved accusations of poor

trainings—too short or poorly delivered. Some were accusations of padded lists of participants such as names of teachers who did not attend despite daily record sheets. Some complaints were about inequities or neglect in delivery of the per diems and reimbursements of expenditures. Even though teacher evaluations of the trainings were overwhelmingly favorable, there was a generally suspicious attitude on the part of the donors and members of the Ministry that too much money was given to the contractors with too little evidence of results in teacher effectiveness and student learning. Therefore, the demand for program evaluation was incessant despite extensive reports submitted quarterly. The World Bank and other donors were frequently eager to find external, international, firms with expertise in program evaluation. The expenses involved in these assessments was frequently excessive, and the outcomes minimally useful or applicable. This issue will be discussed more fully in the final chapter.

The framework for this massive teacher training project was established by expert teacher educators, largely external consultants from Europe, the USA, India, and Asia, who assisted TED in developing the competencies and standards for qualified teachers, and who also assisted in the development of the first training packages to be delivered under the contracts awarded to the NGOs. In order to win the contract for the DT3 program, each NGO proposal was required to provide detailed accountability for program delivery, financial tracking with integrity, unequivocal standards for program staff, and clear timelines for training, follow-through, and reporting.

All training packages for DT3 are developed through TED who provides training to the teacher trainers employed by the NGO partners but screened for relevant qualifications by TED and an interagency committee reviewing proposals for contracts. Consistency in delivering and assessing the training packages across all provinces is important.

TED was responsible for the work of the NGOs who had DT3 contracts, to ensure uniformity in national trainings and to monitor fulfillment of contractual obligations. TED was responsible for the training of trainers in all DT3 contracted programs as well as for the monitoring, evaluation, and oversight of the projects. These projects were all rooted in the local communities and are linked to the Provincial Education Departments (PEDs) and the local District Education Department (DEDs). The training programs are referred to as INSET trainings (in-service teachers) and SMT trainings for school managers such as principals, headmasters, and other educational administrators.

Outcomes of the program have been thoroughly evaluated as the initial contracts expired and a new round of competition was introduced with new targets based on lessons learned and modified goals for professional progress for teachers and for administrators. The teaching force throughout the nation for grades 1 through12 is approximately 180,000 with 30% female. The percentage of unqualified (less than grade 14) has decreased over the decade as teachers became qualified but is still about 50%. The number of school administrators trained was over 21,000 with 14% female indicating that school administration remains predominantly a man's job. The numbers of qualified teachers and administrators vary from province to province and are based on the enrollment as well as on local subject area and grade level needs.

Because the Ministry of Education and its Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) did not have adequate human resources to staff a nationwide program, the decision was made to outsource the program and announce terms of reference (TOR) for competitive bids for the delivery of the DT3 in-service program. National NGO consortia were encouraged to apply for the contracts. International bids were also encouraged. The deliverables and the implementation

design for each regional contract were to be comparable, based on a unified set of goals, principles, and procedures.

The funding for this program was to be under the control of the government although each contractor would be held accountable for its approved budget and expenditures. The Kabul office of the World Bank, through its EQUIP staff along with the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED), and the Finance Department of the MOE, monitored the reports of the regional contractors. TED was responsible for ensuring the quality of the trainings including scheduling and verifying trainings, monitoring the numbers of teachers trained and the qualifications of trainers, collecting and analyzing participant evaluations of trainings and follow—on activities through the professional learning circles.

In-service training packages (INSET-I through INSET-VI) were developed over several years to give untrained teachers information about pedagogy with knowledge of concepts, methods for successful teaching, and assessment of student learning. INSET packages were also developed to focus on subject area content and specific teaching strategies appropriate for the academic area and grade level taught by the participants in the training.

Teacher improvement was the first priority, but school administrators were also a target of EQUIP and TED. Training materials were developed specifically for them within the initial year. Basics of School Management (SMT-I) was followed by subsequent training materials including practical issues for Afghan school administrators as well as materials that are current in international administration and leadership trainings. The SMT information and training content gradually changed in tone and topics to be aligned with that of the teacher training in the INSET packages in order to harmonize and synthesize the professional standards common to both teachers and administrators. For example, administrators have the responsibility to monitor,

supervise, and support teachers in order to improve learning outcomes in their school. In the most recent package (SMT-VI) administrators and teachers share similar materials about expectations, standards, ethics, professional development, mentoring, collegial assessment techniques, and formative and summative evaluations of teaching.

The DT3 In-Service (INSET) training programs began through TED in 2008 with intensive workshops. The training plan was designed as a cascade model with trainers sent to Kabul from each of the regional DT3 projects for two weeks of intensive training. They were then responsible for delivering this training to provincial educators targeted to train teachers in their districts. The plan was to ensure that all teachers would undergo a basic rapid In-Service teacher training program. The follow through on the trainings was the responsibility of the contracted NGO as well as monitors from TED assigned to observe, assess, and give feedback to the regional project directors as well as to TED in Kabul.

By 2017, six special packages for in-service trainings of teachers (INSET) and for school administrators (SMT) had been developed and delivered. The first package, INSET I, focused on basic pedagogy for all schoolteachers. INSET II was a combination of content knowledge and pedagogy where participating teachers were divided into job-alike groups: teachers from Grades 1–3, teachers from Grades 4–6, Humanities teachers from Grades 7–12 and Math and Science teachers from Grades 7–12. INSET III focused on Advanced Pedagogy providing information on best practices; INSET IV literacy and numeracy for teachers teaching Grades 13, and content knowledge for teachers teaching all other grades INSET V was Enhanced Literacy that provided professional information about teaching reading and language arts across the curriculum and seamlessly through the grade levels.

School Management Trainings for principals and school administrators were developed and introduced soon after INSET I was implemented. Although school principals were expected to attend the teacher INSET trainings, it became evident that their jobs required specific training in addition to an understanding of the new teaching practices. The SMT packages contained much of the content in the INSET trainings, but also provided training for administrators based on the Administrator Competency Framework. However, INSET V and SMT VI were developed as a duplicate parallel training to be shared by school administrators (principals) and teachers focusing on evaluation, reflection, the school as a community, and professional development goals and strategies. As director of TED, guiding the creation of the materials for this training was personally and professionally important. The final products were in the form of workbooks for teachers and a corresponding manual for principals with weekly activities requiring action and reflection.

A list of the titles of the INSET packages for teachers shows some of the change in focus as the program moved forward from an introduction to methodology in the first training program to Advanced Pedagogy in the third, and to Self-Assessment and Reflective Teaching in the 6th and final set. Some consultants thought the trainings should be recycled for each new cohort of beginning teachers, but our view was that to return to an early package, written when the designers and trainers were themselves novices with regard to new pedagogy, would be a return to an already obsolete form of teacher training. We wanted to keep moving forward and to bring the new teachers along with those who had experienced previous trainings.

The School Management Training (SMT) packages had a similar evolution starting with Basics of School Administration, the moving through new packages annually including Management, Leadership, Coaching and Mentoring, Standards, Competencies, Curriculum. The

sixth and final package at this time was designed to have principals and teachers experience training on compatible topics. It is entitled and described as *SMT VI*:Teacher Self-Assessment, Reflective Teaching and Teacher Assessment for the School Leader—with a Professional Tool Kit

Edited for both administrators and teachers, this package focuses on improvement of schools both schoolwide as well as classroom teaching improvement. The training materials are designed in two parts: one for explanation of philosophy and practice regarding reflection and self-assessment of professional performance; and the other a workbook including assessment exercises for teachers. The exercises cover lesson planning, delivery, and follow-up and assessment of student learning; student feedback; partnering activities with other teachers including observation of classrooms with feedback; administrator and supervisor observation tools and feedback; questions for reflection and planning requiring written answers.

This package is shared by principals and teachers in order to ensure that both parties have a common perspective on their roles and responsibilities for improvement of learning and developing a community of learner's approach to school climate.

External Evaluation of DT3 In-Service Programs

In 2014 concerns by donors and critical members of the MOE, persuaded the World Bank education program directors in Kabul to invite proposals for an external review of the TED and EQUIP in—service teacher training programs, DT3. The evaluation contract was awarded to Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (I—SAPS), a firm based in Islamabad, Pakistan. Their Report on Third Party Review of the Preservice and In—Service Teacher Training Programs (NPITT, DT3, TTCs) of the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) was presented in May 2015. This review initially was highly criticized by some in the MOE who were convinced

the program was failing and who were demanding a reorganization of programs and

redistribution of funding. The evaluators made numerous revisions to accommodate their critics,

but the final version of the report was generally favorable, even laudatory, to the TED project

management. Excerpts from the I-SAPS evaluation report of INSET programs are included

below.

> Our review of INSET programs suggests that in the absence of a proper
> professional development infrastructure (PDI) in Afghanistan, the DT3
> modality, which involved contracting out professional development, has
> been a useful strategy to quickly reach out to a large number of teachers.
> As indicated in reports reviewed by us, DT3 has been successful in
> meeting its quantitative targets for training teachers and principals.
> The programs being implemented under this modality consist of a
> national unified teacher—training curriculum for all school levels, which
> is modular and competency based. All INSETs and SMTs are informed
> by the teachers' and school administrators' competency frameworks.
> They are designed by the TED and offered through a cascade mechanism
> by the DT3 partners. Over 80% (n= 569) of the teachers surveyed for this
> study believed that INSET trainings had helped them improve their
> instruction, classroom management, and assessment practices.
> The design of the INSET courses was reviewed for its alignment
> with the TCF. We found that like the DTE, INSET courses provide
> adequate coverage of the competencies mentioned in the TCF. Teachers
> have received the INSET supplementary materials very well. As the
> survey indicates, nearly 90% teachers thought the materials were easy to
> understand and useful. Over 60% said they were using them regularly in
> their teaching practice.
> Supplementary materials for the INSET trainings usually included
> the national textbooks based on the curriculum that were used in courses
> where lesson planning or subject content was central to the training,
> which is the case in nearly all the trainings.

The I-SAPS (2015) report also included an assessment of the School

Management training. They wrote:

> A review of SMT materials shows that much like the INSET programs,
> the competencies and responsibilities of principals are at the heart of
> SMT programming. In general, SMT training manuals cover important
> competencies as listed in the framework. Our data also shows that a
> needs assessment was carried out in select provinces before the
> development of each SMT training package. In fact, the needs assessment

for the SMTs are done before, during and after each SMT training including special feedback sessions in the principals' learning circles to have field input regarding priority needs for training. Trainers, monitors, and international stakeholders have also been sources for suggesting needs for training content.

The principals value the training and over 96% of them (n=122) found the training to be of good quality and useful to them in as far as improving their management and administrative roles and practices. The principals also appreciate the quality of the learning materials and its usefulness in their daily work.

Principal Learning Circles (PLCs) have been formed to follow up on the SMT trainings and provide a forum of continuous support to the principals. Regarding the usefulness of the PLC, the Kabul PLC members were almost unanimous that the PLC mechanism was helping them learn from their peers, both in management and pedagogical skills. They claimed that they often bring their school problems to the PLC and their peers helped them solve the problem. (I-SAPS, 2015, pp. 135–140)

Cultural Challenges in Teacher Training Packages

Although the I-SAPS report was generally positive about teacher training, in Murphy's Law, *anything that can go wrong, will go wrong*, so it was with the training packages as they were translated and read by Afghan education specialists. Some of the mistakes were offensive, some were only frustrating, and some were actually amusing.

An example is found in the *Inset V: Enhanced Literacy package* that was written by a short—term western consultant who was a specialist in teaching reading. He wanted to provide local examples whenever possible to illustrate the principles of the reading methods—a good intention. Despite advice and warnings from people reading his draft papers, he persisted in using a story about the steps in giving a dog a bath. The problem was not the reading level in the translation, but the fact that dogs are generally considered dirty (*haram*) in Islam, but not so dirty as to give a bath. They are religiously unclean; one does not bathe them. This story ended up in the training material and was simply avoided by the Afghan trainers. Another example in the Advanced Pedagogy material,

also written by a respected consultant, was a principle about collaboration and teamwork in which the word "relationships" between teachers (male and female colleagues) was translated with a sexual meaning. This did create consternation until it was revised.

Because this issue is of critical cultural importance in the current urgent push to improve and modernize teacher education, it is appropriate to provide a few more examples of situations that were involved TED and that required tact with firmness to handle.

The Leap Frog Fiasco

Large donors such as USAID, UNICEF, JICA (Japan), CIDA (Canada), and others often came with special interests and agendas that were not sufficiently adapted to the realities of life and customs in Afghanistan. A few examples will illustrate the fairly common situation. Tommy Thompson, Secretary of the US Department of Health and Human Resources saw his grandchild using a computer toy called Leap Frog that had cartridges with educational programs. He impulsively decided to give these laptop type toys to Afghanistan both for children and for mothers to promote health and education. In 2004, $125 million and 20,000 Leap Frog tablets later the project was launched. The written report of this ill-advised effort is surprisingly transparent about all the difficulties and ultimate disappointing failure. One obvious problem was that there was no infrastructure in the remote areas targeted to enable families to operationally maintain the Leap Frog; there was no back up support to help families learn how to use it; the project workers were also unskilled and unreliable. A notable flaw was that the information was translated into the Kandahar Pashto dialect, but the material was used in eastern provinces where people were unfamiliar with the Kandahar dialect; further, the cartridge

content had been developed by affluent educated Afghans in the US who used a more

sophisticated dialect of Pashto than the illiterate women who were the recipients could

understand. Another issue that appeared in the final evaluation was that although the

training was intended for both men and women, the project supervisors were

predominantly male. In rural Afghanistan men, not part of the family network, would be

denied the opportunity to interview women or engage them in training and discussions

about personal health and reproductive issues. Lack of basic gender sensitivity was not

only a recipe for failure but could predictably lead to alienation toward the sponsoring

foreign aid group (International Medical Corps, 2005, p. 8; Kim, 2007).

A report in the *Atlanta Journal* (Young, 2007) described the project in this way:

Instead of helping Rabia Balkhi Hospital buy medical supplies needed to deliver 14,000 babies a year, the United States spent $1.3 million on computerized Leap Frog talking books. The idea was to teach illiterate Afghan women about hygiene, prenatal care, immunizations, and nutrition from talking picture books popular with U.S. children.

Never mind that rural Afghan people have never seen touchscreen technology. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services gave Leap Frog a no-bid contract after an offhand comment by the daughter of a supporter of then HHS Secretary Tommy Thompson, according to interviews and records obtained by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. It was more than a quarter of the money Congress gave HHS in 2004 to tackle maternal and child health issues in Afghanistan. At the same time Rabia Balkhi in Kabul routinely lacked soap, hot water, proper operating room equipment and working incubators. HHS made a policy decision to focus only on training at Rabia Balkhi and refused to buy medical supplies. In the past, the Afghan health ministry could only afford to supply its hospitals for about one week each month.

In December 2004 Secretary Thompson announced the delivery of 20,000 Leap Frog books to Kabul. Then they sat in a warehouse for nearly two years until the Afghan government started distributing them. HHS officials said it took that long to field test the books. Meanwhile the devices' AAA batteries died; HHS spent another $9,800 to replace them last fall.

HHS officials and Secretary Thompson defend the Leap Frog purchase and call the project innovative. But a $95,000 study commissioned by HHS found the books had dubious value. Afghans who used the book learned from it, but fewer than 10 per cent were willing to use it during a 2005 pilot project. Most found the device too complicated and preferred being taught by people.

"From a cultural perspective, it is not surprising," the report by the
nonprofit group International Medical Corps concluded. "
They have little or no experience with learning from books or electronic forms of
media."
Was the book the best use of limited U.S. funds? Kakar said the books will
be useful. "But when it comes to priorities, we have donors. They do things
according to what they think is right," he said. "Our priorities might be a little
different." (Young, 2007, p. 3)

This example is included because it was presumably an education project, especially

aimed at women who by teaching their children would also be learning, and it illustrates the all-

too-common temptation to plan and implement expensive foreign aid projects without adequate

in-country planning and timely assessment. The final report on the project also provides a model

case study example of the cultural potholes that impede project goals in the form of language

dissonance, poorly prepared or under motivated project implementers, lack of capacity of the

recipients in the field, and flawed technology.

Sesame Street, An Aborted Teacher Training Project

Another example was initiated by administrators for the World Bank team in Kabul who

were persuaded that Sesame Street had a successful teacher training program in other developing

countries that would be highly valuable for Afghanistan. A contract was awarded to an outside

organization who had already made several short videos of classroom practice and teaching

principles in other parts of the world and who made a prototype for Afghanistan using a private

school in Kabul. This group proceeded to hire a young western teacher who had no teacher

training or credential, but who had taught several years in the American School in Kabul. She

was the advisor for the film series to be made. This project was already nearly fully funded and

would soon have been distributed to the TTCs and other teacher trainings through EQUIP when

TED staff reviewed the training films made in an Afghan classroom with the topic and filming

directed by these Sesame Street entrepreneurs. The unanimous reaction of the TED staff was

shock, disbelief, disappointment, and disapproval. The model teacher in the film for a 4th grade math class was misguided in her didactic approach to teaching her class a lesson about circles, squares, and triangles. She overlooked the importance of assessing the prior knowledge of students or engaging them in active learning and practical applications, and no awareness of sensitivity to time on task usefully applied. Learning time was essentially wasted. It soon became apparent from the film that the 10–year-old students already knew the meaning of circles, squares, and triangles, but she taught those concepts (and figures) as though the students were totally unfamiliar with them. Despite efforts to appear nontraditional and child centered the class was teacher centered and dogmatic.

Critical comments from a TED in-house reviewer in an internal memo stated:

Several problems are apparent in this pilot video which is to be the final video in the set of ten modules. The title should be something other than "Assessment" since it presents a very limited model of assessment of learning. Further, it presents a very uninspiring model of teaching, although there is some student pairing and sharing shown. There is no indication of an "assessment" of student prior knowledge—nearly all the students in the class may already have fairly sophisticated understandings of the circle, square, and triangle. No effort to engage them in describing, identifying, or showing an ability to apply this knowledge (whether it was prior knowledge or learned during this lesson). For example, no discussion was evident that a square is not the only shape with four sides; no opportunity for students to work individually or in teams to identify these shapes actually in the classroom; no opportunity to brainstorm where these shapes may be found in useful things outside the classroom; no opportunity for the students to draw something from their own imaginations using the three shapes—all had to make a house out of identical paper shapes. Such a clearly limited lesson whose purpose was to show what the children had learned when the viewer cannot know that any learning at all took place except the learning necessary to be a compliant, cooperative, and well-behaved student in the classroom.

There also is missing a sense of learning continuity. This lesson is presented in isolation from anything that may have been learned or thought about in a previous lesson, and it does not provide students with anything to suggest a follow—up the next day giving no hint of how to apply this learning and extend it in their lives.

> If this is a primary classroom, there is minimal student energy expended in the activities—they are quite passive and are not encouraged to show inquiry, initiative, or solutions to challenging questions.
>
> Finally, in a quick review of supplementary strategies we were shocked to see a plan to have mothers help their children learn the alphabet by having the child draw letters in flour. Why model the waste of a food source for this kind of activity in Afghanistan when the mother could easily have the child draw letters using sand, dust, dirt or water rather than by wasting food! (TED, internal memo, unpublished personal file, March 25, 2013)

Further, the introductory scene, featuring playgrounds with well-dressed Afghan girls swinging boisterously to the rhythm of loud music, was culturally offensive. The problems could have been avoided, and the project more successful if the teacher education division (TED) of the ministry had been consulted at the outset when the project proposal had first been submitted to the World Bank. It's an example of the old saying "the right hand doesn't know what the left hand is doing."

The UNICEF Psycho—Social Teacher Training Blunder

This training program for teachers in Kandahar, where threats of insurgency were high, was designed by the German aid specialists (GTZ) under contract to UNICEF working with TED cooperation. Although the training goals to identify and help traumatized children were considered important, the content of the training was inappropriate for classroom teachers in Afghanistan and some parts of it (the University of California-Los Angeles medical school post—traumatic stress questionnaire) were inflammatory causing embarrassment to the program managers. Parent protests over the questions in the survey caused the Provincial Education Director to step in and demand revisions.

This program, funded by UNICEF, was approved by TED with minimal critical review since it reputedly had been used in other countries and the international program leader from Germany was an experienced professional in this field and came highly recommended. In the

midst of the delivery, however, the eruption of outrage occurred. Examples of some statements

from a TED assessment report are included here, although both TED and UNICEF had to share

responsibility for the cultural errors. Politically it was important to continue to partner with

UNICEF, and other donor groups, so the report to UNICEF was more laudatory than critical

despite the comments below.

Preliminary assessment and comments by the consultant and TED staff:

The training material on the surface seems heavily theoretical and appears
directed primarily to training appropriate for school counselors and clinical
psychologists.

Much emphasis is placed on understanding diagnostic terms and
physiological consequences of Post-Traumatic Stress. This, according to
literature cited, is not the only cause of stress in the lives of Afghan children. In
fact, it may not be the major cause of stress. Many other factors affect the
emotional and physical health of Afghan children including hunger, poverty,
disease, loss of family members, and fear of many things including kidnapping,
drowning, automobile accidents, and other horrors.

The inclusion of stress reduction exercises for teachers through breathing
and muscle relaxation techniques seems questionable in this context of mixed
gender and Afghan culture. Some Afghans may find these exercises offensive,
especially with regard to the suggestion that the participants lie on the floor to do
them.

Instruments for assessing psychosocial problems. The UCLA Index for
use with children is widely known and used in western clinical contexts, but
rarely used by teachers in schools. It is used for training medical students,
psychologists, and professional counselors. Questions about home drug use
including alcohol, inappropriate touching of private parts, and some questions
about family discipline or violence such as frequency of beatings and techniques
used are inappropriate for a stranger (or a teacher) to be asking students. These
more offensive questions were reportedly deleted later from the interview forms.

Gender. The workshop information states with authority that Afghan
boys suffer more from PTS than do girls. This data should be proposed more
tentatively. Throughout many societies boys show more behavioral problems in
classrooms. Explanations for this have been suggested to be a developmental
difference between boys and girls, differences in socialization patterns for boys
and girls, and classroom climates that are not developmentally appropriate or
friendly to boys for a variety of reasons cultural and personal. In Afghanistan,
however, the data are limited on this question because in—depth interviews with
girls are difficult to obtain. The reasons for this difficulty include the fact that
most of the interviewers in this psychosocial training were men, as well as the
fact that most of the students interviewed were boys. The UCLA interview form

is not designed to assess the depth of girls' worries about getting to school safely, being teased and dishonored by boys, being worried about duties at home, and especially concerns and fears about early marriage.

Classroom Application. The stated purpose for teachers in the introductory power point of the trainer was to *"*Increase knowledge and skills in teachers at the TTCs and TED with regard to psychosocial needs in children through trainings and the integration of contents into the curriculum."

However, the integration into curriculum content has not been demonstrated by the training. Spending much time training teachers for individual private interviews with their Afghan pupils does not address the practical classroom strategies that could be implemented by teachers to create a friendly classroom where children, even those with emotional difficulties, can find a source of refuge and experience success. Helping children with symptoms of psychosocial disorder including aggression, bullying, bad language, classroom disruptions or, at the other end, shyness, withdrawal, lack of concentration, and inability to focus and remember. Tactics to identify and aid those children would be a useful addition to the program. They could even be a useful substitute for some of the theoretical sections. This training was piloted with in—service classroom teachers, not with TTC students or instructors. (TED, 2011, pp. 12–14)

Many other examples of ill-considered independent initiatives for teacher education, that were the pet projects of an individual or an international donor, could be cited. Each of these took time, resources, and required negotiating skills and special expertise in order to retain cordial working relationships with the agency promoting the program. Many of these efforts died natural deaths because of lack of appropriateness to school problems despite infusion of funds. These programs described were not implemented by the DT3 partners although often their resources and school contacts were used.

The National Teacher Examination for Afghan In-Service Teachers

After the development of the Standards and the Competency Frameworks by 2006, the next step suggested by donors was to assess the level of basic and specialized knowledge of current teachers, especially those who were qualified by paper standards of having completed grade 14. There was always a tone of suspicion that was underlying many of the suggestions. TED had become an energetic arm of the Ministry of Education with many projects and major

responsibilities. There was a mood of resentment that the teacher education program was absorbing a disproportionate amount of program funding and was expanding into territory claimed by other divisions of the Ministry. Even the Ministry of Higher Education expressed concern that TED was growing too rapidly in the territory of higher education through the expansion of the Teacher Training Colleges.

In 2007, President Karzai issued a mandate that teachers should be part of the Civil Service Pay and Grade salary system of the government; therefore, documented qualifications must be provided and all teachers must be identified and classified according to the status of their qualifications. The most obvious and efficient method of verification that occurred to the foreign advisors and the Afghan MOE was to create a National Teacher Examination (NTE) based on the written competencies even though actual teaching competence could not be validly assessed in a hastily developed written examination. Nevertheless, the NTE was developed and administered.

Although TED was recognized as a highly productive, energetic, and successful part of the Ministry, there were constant demands that additional regulations, oversight, and program changes be implemented in order to ensure quality as well as quantity in outcomes. It was a time of change in international donor staff, and the institutional history of the Ministry, of TED, and of education in Afghanistan was blurred, sometimes misunderstood or unknown, and often blatantly disrespected. There was a general view that the fact that illiteracy was widespread in the nation also meant that ignorance characterized even those well-educated. Illiteracy was equated with lack of intelligence. Certainly, it was true that many, if not most, teachers lacked a depth of formal education. Therefore, the testing mania that was sweeping western nations was part of the demand for testing teachers to verify in a general way their level of knowledge.

Numbers and statistics are seen as a scientific, objective way to measure knowledge and therefore to validate teaching quality.

Afghan education traditions and culture also use testing as a reasonable and reliable way to measure academic attainment. Great value is placed on test outcomes and rank in class from the primary grades through the university. TED took the responsibility to develop the test for teachers that would have questions on general curriculum as well as on specific subject specialties and on teaching methodology (pedagogy). This process was exceedingly complex and convoluted and had to be done quickly to satisfy the President's mandate that in order to place teachers on the government payroll, they had to be tested. This was referred to as "pay and grade."

TED had already identified a group of Afghan university professors who were contracted individually to be part of textbook writing teams for the TTC subject area textbooks. These professors and specialists were now assigned responsibility for writing questions in their subject fields to be used for the National Teacher Exam. They were given minimal training in test item writing, but their test items were reviewed in teams with the international education consultant guiding the effort to ensure uniformity in question format as well as depth and fairness in topics. The goal was to develop a test bank of over 6,000 items that could be selected at random for different versions of the test. The challenge was monumental but the goal was reached. Validity and reliability of each question was, of course, limited. Not all questions submitted could be used; however, not all questions that should not have been included were discarded.

For example, one question created by a member of the geography team was "How many regions are there in heaven?" Answers were multiple choice with simple numbers as answers. Members of the team disagreed on the correct answer. The question itself was questioned for its

appropriateness for geography; someone suggested perhaps Islamic Studies. Other questions

posed somewhat similar difficulties, especially when the exercise was to encourage logical and

critical thinking for teachers. The professors were given information, translated into Dari and

Pashto, to give them tips for test item writing; however, they each had experience in creating

tests for their university students and changing that practice to create a uniform document was of

limited success. This became an obvious issue, even without seeing the questions or knowing the

evolution of the test, when the I-SAPS testing expert (I-SAPS, 2015) focused on the

implementation of the NTE.

> The I-SAPS report included the following comments about the NTE:

> The first NTE was held in 2009, and since then it has been conducted four times. Exams are held separately for teachers with the following levels of education: below grade 12, grade 12, grade 14 (TTC graduates), and grade 16 and above (university graduates). For teachers with grades 12 and below levels, the teachers take an exam measuring general education across subject areas and pedagogical knowledge. For teachers with grades 14 and 16 (and above) levels, the teachers also take exams in subject area specialties. In-service teachers who wish to become a part of the pay and grade system have to take the NTE. In the future, this exam will become mandatory for all in-service teachers. (I-SAPS, 2015, p.142)

The report continues:

> Like with any nascent large scale testing system, there is undoubtedly room for improvement within the NTE process as well. However, it is also important to remind us that the TED undertook a huge task under immense time pressure, and with limited resources. Where there are needs for improvement, the encouraging sign is that the TED understands weaknesses in the process and is moving in the right direction to fix them with each round.
> Based on the review above we make the following recommendations to strengthen NTE design.
> *Conduct test equating*. There is no evidence that the test results are comparable from one year to the next. Any test forms will have different difficulty levels, and these levels must be equalized so that teacher performance on the NTE is judged in the same way each year. The test equating process requires significant psychometric expertise.
> *Improve capacity*. Employ psychometric specialists in addition to the curriculum specialists (that TED already has) in the design process. Local

psychometricians may require training by outside experts. In addition, independent reviews should ensure that items are valid and that they are psychometrically robust.

   Conduct reliability and validity analysis of the test after every round. Establishing reliability and validity is not a one—time thing. This has to be a recurrent exercise undertaken after every round of test taking.

   Interpretation of data. Interpretation of data generated by the NTE is a critical component of the exam cycle. Given the scale of this exercise, (teacher placement in the pay and grade scale) it is vital that that the results of this exam are widely disseminated and shared in meaningful manner with a variety of stakeholders. More importantly, these results should inform the teaching preparation programs both pre— and in—service and improve the delivery of quality teacher education, which does not seem to be happening at the moment, though it was an important use of the NTE in the past. (I-SAPS, 2015, pp. 147–149)

Making the NTE even more controversial, with suggestions by many in the donor community and the Ministry, was the fact that during the first administration nearly all teachers achieved a passing score of more than 60%. Rumors of copies of the tests being sold in the bazaars of different communities proved to be unfounded; only the information pamphlet (free to teachers) that had sample questions was being sold in the markets. But concerns about test corruption, leaking, security, teacher tactics to ensure a good result, all were rumored in many circles. Decisions about who will take responsibility for future iterations of the NTE are still undetermined.

However, despite the long-standing tradition of using tests as a final assessment of competence, paper and pencil assessment of underlying competencies is never as reliable as actual direct observation of performance. Also, very specialized expertise is required to design tests which are both powerful in distinguishing more qualified and less qualified teachers. Moreover, paper and pencil tests do well at measuring knowledge and some sorts of skills but do much less well at predicting whether a person can apply their knowledge and skills in the real-world context of a classroom in a way that ensures student mastery.

Section II. Teaching Credentials and TTC Accreditation Teacher Certification

Turning now to the earlier topic of teacher certification or credentialing using international models, similar complexities related to leadership, change, power, and politics can be found in this process.

The most recent capstone related to standards and competencies was created in 2013 when the Canadian Government agreed to support a plan for credentialing teachers and for helping Afghanistan design and implement a program for accreditation of the Teacher Training Colleges. The MOE, and especially through the urging of TED, sought funding from Canada to implement these important steps for quality assurance and modern progress. The teaching standards and competencies were to be the foundation blocks of the credentialing and accreditation plans.

However, when a Canadian nonprofit organization (WUSC) in 2013 won the multiple year contract, new consultants arrived who enthusiastically proceeded to start nearly "from scratch" to rewrite and revise the standards, the competency framework, and all the teacher training protocols much to the confusion of the Afghan colleagues they expected to share in this enthusiasm and total reform. I will return to this struggle later, but now I must remind the reader that the early standards had been in place since 2007. The competency frameworks for teachers and administrators were comprehensive, detailed, approved by the Ministry and somewhat understood by teachers when they were informed. However, as new international consultants came to lead newly funded projects, they often started fresh with little understanding of the previous foundational work. For example, a new set of competencies was introduced by the Canadian Credentialing and Accreditation project team (TCAP/WUSC) with little regard for

what was already in place. Their new competency list, in its first drafts, presented unacceptable and sometimes incomprehensible concepts for Afghan teachers.

Although the TCAP/WUSC six competency statements as finalized were generally approved by the Afghan working group, it was not without much grumbling and frustration. For example, in Competency 1, "Designing and implementing learning experiences" the TED team argued that the meaning of this was ambiguous to them because their first level of expectation for Afghan teachers was to be able to teach the national curriculum that was already designed. Innovation was not highest on their priorities for current Afghan teachers in order for all children to master the knowledge and skills set forth in the national curriculum goals. While each of the six items created heated discussion, even after they had been revised, Item 5 was most problematic but remained stubbornly unchanged in the TCAP documents. Item 5 stated: *Developing supportive relationships with families, community agencies, Afghanistan cultural organizations and Islamic religious institutions.*

Questions were raised about the implications that the Afghan teacher would be responsible for developing relationships with community agencies, cultural organizations, and Islamic institutions. The Afghan working team argued that these were beyond the scope of the teacher's job description, but were more appropriate for the principal. They were unclear what was meant by Islamic institutions since the mosque is a place of worship not an institution. Words are important, and meanings through words are doubly important when English is translated into two more languages used in the schools. Further, words matter when the vocabulary is a specialized one common to erudite international scholars but unfamiliar in the Afghan context.

Item 3 *Explaining the structure and key concepts of a discipline or subject matter taught and designing learning experiences that preserve the integrity of the subject while being appropriate to the student's level of understanding* is an example of the use of many words that may be very differently interpreted by an Afghan teacher, principal, or policy maker. Can a teacher be expected to fully understand "the structure of the discipline"? The term "discipline" is not an easy one to convey clearly to teachers where discipline, as translated, has a concrete behavioral meaning in the traditional classroom, not a subject field meaning.

Another example of potential for critical discourse analysis is this one about defining Quality in teacher education. It comes from a paper that was commented on critically by TED staff. The original TCAP statement is in bold with the TED comments in italics:

The following Teaching Quality Standard will be expected to be met:

Quality teaching occurs when the teacher's analysis of the context leads to decisions regarding the design of engaging learning experiences and choice of appropriate resources and creation of conditions that support student's learning in Afghanistan schools.

Another example of the TED reaction to this TCAP paper is in the following:

A Teaching Quality Standard will guide policy makers in the design of ongoing and integrated policies and practices regarding supervision of teachers and assessment and evaluation of beginning and experienced teachers. Finally, a Teaching Quality Standard statement serves as a mission statement, for the stakeholders in education in Afghanistan, including parents. The mission statement, or Teaching Quality Standard, explains and encompasses what quality teaching looks like when teachers have reached the 8 teaching quality standards, how Afghanistan wants quality teaching wants to be known' and recognized, and what TED stands for regarding

quality teaching. And, about the relationship between a TTC diploma and a

teaching credential some initial tension existed between TCAP and policy makers in

the MOE and TED as written here:

> *All graduates from a TTC receive Interim Professional Certification; and,*
>
> *though they may not teach initially, can eventually teach and enter into the*
>
> *certification system, including assessment and evaluation, TPGPs, portfolios and*
>
> *written competency testing. An Interim Professional Certificate expires after five*
>
> *years. (Comment: by an Afghan workshop participant no—all TTC graduates*
>
> *should not automatically receive a credential even if they are eligible, before*
>
> *getting the credential, they should submit an application. They must want to teach,*
>
> *they must want a credential even if they do not use it immediately. Not all graduates*
>
> *will want to teach, some may change their minds in a year or two and can then*
>
> *apply for the Tier II credentials. 3 Years may be too short a time and 5 for*
>
> *eligibility seems reasonable. After that what they may have studied about teaching*
>
> *may need refreshing, updating and testing "clinically" in an internship, practice*
>
> *teaching)*

The above examples are a small sample of the struggle to reach agreement on the

credentialing process. Although the process took more than three years, and is still in the pilot

testing phase, plans for both a teaching credential structure and for the TTC accreditation

protocol are now in place on paper. Efforts are ongoing in terms of finding and removing

obstacles or working around them. Afghan teachers and TTC administrators and faculty are

eager to see these plans successfully introduced, and they have been highly cooperative with the

TCAP working groups, although they are not so naïve as to expect miracles as these structures

are built. The teacher credential as currently designed has different tiers, based on certain qualifications, and must be renewed every six years. Teacher earnings are tied to the Pay and Grade scale, i.e., earning a higher credential moves the teacher to the next Grade on the Pay scale. While this system may seem logically sound, there will be many obstacles not easily resolved, such as the shortage of female teachers in remote areas, the shortage of certain subject appropriate teachers and insufficient capacity at every level. There are also misunderstandings about how to obtain an initial credential and how to advance on the credential tier system. The process for applying for a credential and for renewal or upgrading is at present confusing and complicated with possibilities of favouritism, nepotism, and corruption occurring in the process.

In the final report by the TCAP consultant responsible for the project, this description is provided regarding implementation of the final plan in a pilot project:

The credentialing pilot phase happened for 18 schools and three TTCs in Kabul, Bamyan and Jalalabad. Descriptive statistics have showed that it included 154 schoolteachers, 149 TTC student-teachers, and 18 school principals form three districts (Bagrami in Kabul, Yakawalag in Bamyan, and Behsood in Jalalabad).

The pilot phase of Teacher Credentialing System included TTC students to apply for credentials for Tier 2.

Following the training workshops for teachers, principals, PED supervisors and TTC lecturers, coaching and mentoring teachers occurred for more than eight months. Data collection, teachers' and TTC students' portfolios took place within a period of three months. (WUSC, 2012, p. 29)

TCAP worked with groups of educators in the national system as well as with groups funding community—based schools where teachers were generally untrained from the local community and were not included in DT3 trainings program. The desire to include them in a national credentialing system was understood but fraught with political pressures surrounding their baseline evaluations and the unrealistic plans for their professional development. A well-intentioned statement written by TCAP was met with a critical concern by TED:

> The system is designed to include Community Based Education teachers to become part of the national cadre of qualified teachers, or teachers working toward qualifications through the credentialing tiers. CBE teachers will be guided to develop professionally, to transition into the system at the first level, and then move in a continuum towards higher tiers or to retain their credential through regular assessment of their individual professional development plans. The credentialing system includes some innovative features, designed for Afghanistan and based on international best practices of prior learning assessment recognition. A Learning Equivalency Assessment Unit (LEAU) within the Credentialing Board will manage prior learning assessment of formal and nonformal learning of teachers.
>
> *TED Response: The credentialing board hasn't been mentioned previously and the expertise of an LEAU within an unidentified Credentialing Board adds a layer of bureaucracy that lacks transparency. This plan is open to so much abuse and misuse – favoritism, uncertainty, poorly understood standards or criteria for equivalence that it could become the "tail that wags the dog"— meaning it could become more important than the actual focused, targeted, training for teachers— the*

many certificates, short term trainings by NGOs etc. could take up disproportionate

time in assessing teachers' equivalent learning. I recommend leaving the equivalency

paragraphs out until a later time after the pilots are assessed.at this time. (Internal

unpublished TCAP communication, 2014)

Another obstacle was presented in how to treat teachers or prospective teachers who had

attended one of the many private for-profit teacher training institutes that were popping up

around Kabul and other urban areas. The long-term design for institutional accreditation of both

public and private TTCs was on the table but was heavily laden with political entanglements and

consequences.

Accreditation of Teacher Training Colleges

In 2014, at the same time TCAP was working to design and pilot test a teacher

credentialing program, their teammates from WUSC were writing proposals for assessment and

accreditation of the Teacher Training Colleges. These two programs often had overlapping

responsibilities, shared groups and held joint meetings, and needed to see the importance of

aligning the TTC curriculum with the teacher credentialing requirements. In an early document

from WUSC regarding accreditation the following exchange occurred:

> Program accreditation involves the accreditation of individual courses of study. It
> involves the systematic collection and analysis of information related to the
> design, implementation and outcomes of an education program within an
> educational institution for the purpose of monitoring and improving the quality
> and effectiveness of the program. It establishes the academic standing of the
> program or the ability of the program to produce graduates with professional
> competence to practice. Program accreditation is the outcome of the process by
> which an academic program of study is validated by a professional or regulatory
> body as a program that prepares students for registration in a regulated profession.
> This means that program accreditation by a professional body establishes that
> graduates have the competencies required for professional practice.

(TED Response: Something here worries me, the institution can verify or validate those students have completed the approved course of study, but can they really attest to the competencies acquired by each student?) (WUSC, Accreditation Working Group. Feb. 25, 2012, p. 6)

WUSC Report on the TCAP Project

It is only fair to cite from the 2016 final report by WUSC to CIDA (Canadian International Development Aid) regarding their assessment of the project. Much of the report is couched in glowing terms of progress and success, particularly in the initial training for credentialing. TED was not as enthusiastic and optimistic about these outcomes, especially since the project was terminated before the system could become stable and embedded. But to present another perspective it is worthwhile to quote the criticisms of the process, and of TED, from the WUSC point of view. The report stated:

The project was further hampered by the centralized nature of decision—making within TED. Although this changed a little over time, initially all decisions were made by TED senior management and there was little autonomy at lower levels to make significant decisions. This approach ran contrary to TCAP's belief in recognizing the skill set of our partners, taking an asset rather than a deficit—based approach.

In working with TED a lot of time was invested in establishing rapport between the project team and the Directors with whom we were working. At times it appeared as though little progress was being made towards the deliverable outcomes of the project; in fact, this investment was crucial to future project success.

It was envisaged that this person, (a TCAP specialist) together with the Field Manager, would provide a stable Kabul—based presence for the life of the

project. Unfortunately, we were not able to achieve this goal. There was initial resistance from TED senior management to having someone placed in the building and although we were often assured that this would be possible, it never happened. The situation was exacerbated by a lengthy period of renovations to the TED offices, which further limited available space. The lack of an embedded person caused some frustration throughout the project, as it would have been very useful to have someone in a position "to work one-on-one with MOE counterparts to integrate tools and policies developed by the project into MOE processes and protocols." Although all project personnel were regular visitors to the TED building, a more formal presence might have also lifted the profile of the project.

TED senior management was sometimes a 'pinch point' and could be very difficult to pin down to meetings, did not communicate effectively, refused to delegate responsibility for decision-making, and failed to act as an effective bridge between TCAP and other Directorates within the TED, or with the new Minister.

In our preliminary assessments we had identified expertise as a benefit, not a risk, and had not considered the ability to establish relationships. This was actually a risk, as one can replace expertise / content knowledge easier than reestablish relationships. (TCAP/WUSC, unpublished notes on the report. 2016)

Section III. Preservice Education

Preservice Teacher Education: Challenges in the TTCs

The first teacher training program was established in 1912 in Kabul, and by the 1950s there were sixteen located throughout the country. In 2001, four Teacher Training Colleges

(TTCs) were operating in Afghanistan with approximately 400 students, none of whom were female. The schools were decimated, few students were enrolled, and few teachers were available.

In 2002, the new government of Afghanistan (GoA) faced an overwhelming challenge to provide teachers for the swelling post—conflict enrollment demands as well as to develop the infrastructure to prepare future teachers beyond the needs of existing emergency. Without a willingness to use existing teachers who were even grossly unqualified from the start, it would not have been possible to respond to the demands. Children cannot wait for several years for new teachers to come on—board with the required qualifications. Therefore, conditions required emergency strategies for immediate hiring of persons to teach in the rapidly expanding schools.

Under the new government the numbers of students needing education multiplied and the demand for teachers created an emergency priority for the Ministry of Education to be urgently addressed. Not only were thousands of new teachers needed, but the quality and education of teachers was high on the agenda.

The government of Afghanistan and its international advisors saw the importance of a dependable infrastructure and reliable system of teacher recruitment, training, and professional employment. The recommendations from international advisors included re-establishing and expanding the two-year teacher training college programs.

As documented and reported in the semi-annual report for EQUIP II (TED, 2014b), The Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) of the Ministry of Education (MOE), Government of Afghanistan (GoA) is responsible for setting up infrastructure for pre- and in-service teacher education and for planning, delivering and monitoring teacher education throughout the country. TED's record of achievement includes an enormous growth in the number of teachers now teaching in classrooms throughout the nation.

The TTC enrollment includes preservice students as well as in-service teachers who need to upgrade their education in order to meet the minimum requirement of grade 14 to be a qualified Tashkil teacher (officially registered with the government pay and grade civil service system) with an opportunity for an improved salary (TED, 2014a).

Today, there are 49 TTCs with 197 off-campus Teacher Development Centers (TDCs), enrolling more than 80,000 preservice and in-service teachers in training. The TTCs are strategically located with one or more in each of the 34 provinces and are part of the free education system of the government. Enrolled students do not pay tuition, but many other expenses and obstacles can be deterrents to student attendance and program completion.

The TTCs offer two-years of post-secondary education and have as their mission the preparation of qualified teachers for grades one through 9, although many graduates will also teach in the secondary schools for students in grades 10–12. The 49 TTCs are under the authority of the Ministry of Education (MOE) and are the direct responsibility of the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED), a division of the Ministry. Other four-year colleges and universities offering professional or technical training are the responsibility of the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE). The MoHE also has departments of education in many of the Universities in which students become qualified to teach at the secondary level or in the TTCs as TTC faculty.

Admission to Post-Secondary Institutions

Students graduating from High Schools in Afghanistan may take the Kankur (or Konkur) Examination that is a university placement exam. Depending upon their scores they may be admitted to a University and assigned to a field of study with Medicine, Engineering, Law, and Islamic Studies being the most highly desired and being available to those students with the highest outcomes on the entry exam. Students with passing but lower grades may be

recommended for admission to a TTC. This situation tends to weaken the mission of the TTCs because many of the students who settle for the two-year TTC diploma program hope to be admitted to a university when they complete the diploma. They do not necessarily want to become teachers, but they are required to take the TTC pedagogy curriculum as well as the courses required for a subject specialty. Although the government plan in developing these twoyear institutions of higher education was to provide well-educated teachers for the nation's burgeoning schools, there is now growing criticism from different sources that the TTCs are not adhering to their mission. The criticisms come from Parliament, from the President's cabinet, from within the Ministry of Education, and from the Ministry of Higher Education where territorial concerns provide impetus for complaint and criticism. Some of the criticisms are about the numbers of graduates who do not become teachers; other criticisms are about the fact that the specific subject matter needs of schools are often not aligned with the subject specialties of the local TTC graduates. Supply and demand issues for local schools cannot be directly met by the TTC enrollments.

Students desiring admission to the free university system in Afghanistan were ranked and placed according to their performance on the University Admission Exam, the Kankor. Only the students with the highest results will be accepted into Kabul University. Each student can select four college preferences. Normally those students with the lowest results are accepted into TTCs. A student may select which TTC he or she prefers to study at. Normally students will select the TTC closest to their home, or the Kabul TTC. Many of the examinees qualified to attend TTCs fail to enroll. Many students may not be financially able to continue their studies away from home. Also, in many cases students do not enroll because they do not value teaching as a viable career path. Also, students may enroll in a TTC hoping to be able to transfer to a University at the end

of the two—year program. Unfortunately, for the TTCs, the obligation to admit those Kankor students allocated by the MOHE means that TTCs deny places to students who may genuinely want to teach (Nicholson, p. 22). Numerous outside experts recommended that the TTCs should focus more clearly on teacher training and avoid becoming a way station for those who want to go on to university education and have no interest in teaching.

The effect this process has on the TTC curriculum and academic environment is complex and entangled. The TTC administration and faculties model their own university experience setting academic expectations for students and faculty comparable to those of the universities even though the actual course content may be less rigorous. In the beginning years, TTC faculty taught without textbooks for students, using their own university course notes to guide their teaching. The institutional mission of teaching teachers how to teach was framed as a traditional, formal, lecture and rote learning process. The culture of the TTCs was not that different from the university culture, except the students and faculty felt like stepsisters to the more prestigious institutions of higher education. This feeling of inferiority was further exacerbated when the MOE announce a new policy and made it clear that the requirement for teaching profession is university graduation and no longer TTC graduation. Although students who graduated from the TTC could entered the university and transfer their credits as equivalent to university courses of the same name, but not all provinces had university and students who graduated from districts could not access university and neither they could enter the teaching force now.

Despite these arguments, the TTCs continued to grow and to graduate students many of which did not seek or obtain teaching positions. Follow—up studies, particularly of female graduates, revealed the diverse reasons this result occurred. In the meantime, efforts to improve, to support, and to evaluate the TTCs became a priority for the MOE as well as other principal

members of the government and the donor community. Many calls to curtail or reduce the numbers of TTCs and their student enrollments or to transfer the entire operation to the MOHE were heard.

Nevertheless, from 2006 TED pressed forward energetically to reform the teaching climate of the TTCs and to develop their capacities. A major effort began through Canadian aid in 2013 to introduce an international form of institutional accreditation for each TTC. Before this program was introduced, however, the Kabul World Bank leadership urged and supported (through EQUIP) a series of important initiatives to improve and strengthen the TTCs including a major focus on recruiting and admitting females who could become teachers. The limited number of female teachers at all school levels clearly restricted the education of girls, especially in communities where families did not want their daughters being taught by men. The TTCs were desperately needed in order to meet the targets for expansion of general education. Greater efforts were needed to increase the capacity and develop the facilities of TTCs. The quality of teacher education, especially the upgrading of existing general education teachers (181,640) of whom only about 30 % have post-secondary or higher qualification), is a continuing challenge.

<div align="center">**Female Teachers in Short Supply**</div>

The shortage of women teachers and constraints in attracting women trainees in certain parts of the country is an obstacle for development of general education for girls. The gender gap is another serious problem since, for the education of girls, women teachers are needed at all levels in every district. The cultural traditions and safety concerns for girls cause families to keep their daughters safely at home. Without girls being in school from primary grades through higher education the "pipeline" supplying female teachers is almost dry. In fact, in some districts there are no female teachers employed at any level.

This issue presents many challenges to the TTCs. In addition to organizing and delivering a two-year college education with integrity, they must also focus on recruiting and admitting young women into the colleges, supporting them through program completion, and helping with appropriate job placement in classrooms accessible from their homes. This has led to the introduction of special programs supporting female students as well as proposals to support girls in secondary school through bridging to the TTCs.

The number of females graduating from the TTCs is increasing dramatically, however the TTCs are not women's colleges only; they are colleges striving to provide substantial modern education in many curricular areas. The TTC faculty perceive themselves as on a par with university faculties, and pride themselves on the depth of content in their courses. The sense of mission, the preparation of teachers, is limited to preparing students to teach their specialty (major) at a high level of complexity. Inter—disciplinary collaboration and overall institutional planning with integrated programs is largely missing.

For many TTC administrators and faculty members the tasks are overwhelming and the old traditions of academe do not fit the conditions very well. For example, teaching hours are specific to classroom work; advising, keeping office hours for student appointments, committee work, and collegial collaboration are unfamiliar expectations. Even less comfortable for faculty members is the concept of student active engagement in learning both in and out of the classroom. Assessment and evaluation beyond paper-pencil examinations is rare. TTC faculties, along with university faculties, do not know how to do "authentic" assessment, and many would not even see the value when compared to examination processes. In the Institutional Accreditation project (discussed more fully at the end of this chapter) these weaknesses in the TTCs are structurally addressed.

A major undertaking in the TTCs is to develop a system of institutional accreditation including the self—study for all categories that are standard for accreditation in higher education. The decision to implement institutional reviews for accreditation is not a democratic decision but is "top down" from the central administration in TED and the MOE. Resistance can be expected. A balance must be established between compliance and resistance, even if the resistance is cloaked in passive language and diversionary action.

Leadership, Change, and Resistance

Leadership for broad change in the TTCs, and for the smaller steps in the change process, falls heavily on the TED, especially on the Director General whose long-range vision for the TTCs has been the primary source behind their rapid development. The Director General faces many challenges and obstacles, one of which is a gender issue in being able to provide clear direction and ensure follow-through in the TTCs. As a woman in a Ministry that has no other female in top management, she must exercise authority in leadership in a context of male department heads, many of them older with experience they view as superior to hers. Leadership theories generally point to the successes of a leadership style that is collaborative, develops teamwork, and expects each person on the team to contribute equally and take responsibility for final decisions hopefully arrived at through a transparent process. This change process in TED, in the MOE, and in the GoA is confounded both by the gender disparity in leadership positions and the cultural traditions and embedded expectations commonly accepted in Afghanistan related to gender roles.

Change, however, is inevitable but the direction of change, the time necessary, and the resources required are factors as important as the styles of leadership. The leadership positions that impact the quality of change and the vision for change for the Teacher Training Colleges are

critical at several levels. First, top leadership by the Minister of Education is affected by the frequent changes in appointments. Then the leadership responsibility passes to the Director General of TED whose effectiveness is restricted by numerous factors both within TED (limited staff capacity, for example) and extraneous to TED (donor and stakeholders' priorities with control of funding and selection of contracted expertise). Finally, at the TTC level, change is inhibited by autonomous administrative leadership, by faculty perspectives and resistance, by student opinions and expectations, and by institutional and regional resources. Leadership for change is a struggle balancing the mindsets of all of these players and cultivating "buy-in" from each group. While positive educational change in Afghanistan must be envisioned from leaders at the top of the pyramid, the actual realization of those changes must be activated and embraced from the base—the students, faculty, and leadership at the TTC level. Bringing academic reform to the TTCs is an uphill struggle, partly because of lethargy and institutional resistance to change, and partly because it is unavoidable to prevent radical changes from being top-down.

We turn now to the most critical and intertwined topic of curricular change and the TTC academic mission for teacher preparation.

Curriculum Development and Struggles to Initiate Change

Earlier it was stated that the TTCs were developed to produce an educated teaching force for the nation's schools. However, as is the story in many cultures, those leading this development had different concepts of what makes an educated teacher. In Afghanistan, because of the disruptions of conflict and the dispersion of citizens during the diaspora, as well as differences in rural/urban differences, tribal histories, and lifestyles, the role of a teacher and teacher classroom behavior was very differently perceived.

Nearly all who were in positions of leadership, even in quasi—leadership roles, had been educated under teachers in schools where rote memorization, class rank, severe discipline, and teacher dominance were traditional. This was (and is) true from primary grades through the university classroom. Even educated citizens, returning to Afghanistan, who had been in schools abroad did not absorb modern international concepts of child friendly schools, active learning, inquiry methods, cooperative rather than solely competitive learning. Some understood those principles verbally but could not see how they applied to learning and teaching in Afghanistan.

The international advisors to TED and the MOE worked hard to introduce a new philosophy with new methods of teaching, seeing the Teacher Training Colleges as the most fertile ground for achieving this goal. The obstacles to their success, however, were not merely long held and trusted traditions, but were also subtle differences in what should be the focus of the TTCs—pedagogy or disciplinary (subject matter) content. This discussion was deeply complicated by the ways in which the nation's schools were organized with subject centered teaching from grade 4 forward. This meant that a school schedule was broken into separate subjects, taught by subject specialists each day. This national plan required teachers to have a subject specialty (a major field) in order to be qualified to teach.

In creating the TTC standard curriculum, the largest proportion of a student's course work must be in a subject field, and minimal attention was given to interdisciplinary connections across or within fields. Attention to pedagogy was also limited to a few courses taught with little or no relationship to one another, and barely associated with the realities of a school classroom. The TTC instructors wanted to teach in the manner of university professors, and they also needed to rely on what they knew from their university experiences. Their only knowledge of teaching in pre-university level schools was that they, themselves, had been through those grades as children

and youth. They were not educated to be educators of teachers. The cultures of the TTCs were not really tuned to teaching but were focused on traditional ways of learning in higher education. TTC faculty in the pedagogy curriculum had low status and minimal power in the view of other faculty and of students. To exacerbate these attitudes, all students without exception had to take the required pedagogy curriculum for teacher preparation including the student teaching practicum in the campus laboratory school or an off-campus classroom.

The Teaching Practicum Example of Critical Controversy

Efforts by the TED leadership, and that of other NGO stakeholders, to break through the barriers to tradition were difficult to implement and coordinate. Some NGOs wanted to work directly with the TTCs and expected their programs to provide models to be replicated through the TTC system. But all too often those programs were not in sync with one another with regard to teaching methodologies and threatened to compromise the changes being implemented by TED. One example is the clash between TED and BEPA/GIZ (a German funded program to improve the student teaching practicum). TED introduced a 4-semester practicum series in the pedagogy stream intended to have students involved each semester in school observations linked to other pedagogy classes they were to take each semester. The plan was to progressively expand the understanding of child development, instructional processes, and student learning until, in the final semester, students would have a period of classroom immersion and independent teaching and would prepare a portfolio reflecting their growth over the four semesters with a self-assessment of their learning. The BEPA program was based in five TTCs in northeastern Afghanistan and took place over several years under the changing direction of international managers. The end result was that BEPA asked TED for help in what those onsite saw as a failing program. The first three semesters of practica were ignored, and there were too many

students needing classroom placements in the final semester. A compromise, justified by BEPA, but appalling to TED, was to let students fulfill their student teaching requirement by observing another student for one or two class periods, or by teaching one or two lessons. The result was students struggling to fit a classroom presentation into their busy academic schedules and being approved as teachers by only giving a presentation. For TED, this was not professional training for teachers; it was not comparable in any way to other professional internships such as those in medicine. It was not even comparable to the education given to a craftsperson who had to learn the skills through apprenticeship. The road to change was blocked for TED not only by the BEPA refusal to make adaptations to their program, but also by the fact that the TTC faculties did not place priority on the teaching program. Nevertheless, curriculum changes were happening and, even though opposed, were beginning to wear away at the granite walls of academic resistance.

The TTC Curriculum Undergoing Reform

In the 2014 EQUIP II report for the World Bank, TED stated:

The curricula at the TTCs has dramatically changed in these past couple of years as new concepts of pedagogy have been introduced through courses such as a newly structured Student Teaching practicum, action research, a Portfolio Assessment requirement, and cross—cutting issues in course introduced for Gender Equity, as well as Peace and Conflict Resolution. The introduction of a Primary Teaching Specialty is nearly ready to be launched in the TTC curriculum. For the first time in history, TTCs and TDCs students will have standardized resource books and instructional materials. Up to now around 247 titles of students' resource books and instructional guides for both preservice and in-service programs have been developed and 50 more titles are in the pipeline.

An initiative to increase and ensure teacher competence is the development and integration of teachers' standards, categories of competencies, and measurement of competence through intense observational monitoring and through the introduction of a National Teacher Examination. The standards and explicit competencies are woven into and threaded through all components of TED programs. (TED, 2014a, p. 7)

The required curriculum as currently approved is shown in the figure below. The revisions from the previous curriculum have increased the number of required courses in pedagogy to 37 credits with 51 credits allocated to the specialty (major), 7 specifically required in general education, with 4 more to be chosen from non-required electives for a total of 96 semester credits to complete the diploma (TED, Internal memo. 2014.)

The figure below displays the TTC diploma with core competencies, subject areas, and standards for teachers.

Figure 5.1

TTC Two Year Diploma with Core Competencies, Subject Areas, and Standards for Teachers

The in-service (DT3) packages and training programs have been analyzed for comparative content and quality with the TTC required professional courses.

The importance of introducing a primary teaching (multi-subject) specialty is acknowledged as of major importance in light of the need for teachers who know what and how to teach literacy and numeracy in an integrated way to young children along with being able to provide for individual differences in learning and in development. The design for the curriculum has been taken on by TED staff as well as by national and international experts and consultants supported by several donors such as UNICEF, GIZ, Danida, World Bank, and USAID.

An early disagreement was over whether to make this specialty only for grades one through three, or to have it cover the full primary grades of one through six. The entrenched practice of starting separate subject teaching at grade four was used as an argument against going beyond grade three as a specialty. A counter argument was based more on job availability than on pedagogy or developmental learning. Some of the advisors believed the TTC graduate would have more job opportunities, and employers more flexibility, if she (in most cases these students would probably be female) were qualified to teach any of the six primary grades.

Other new parts of the pedagogy curriculum reflect changes globally in teaching such as the course on Inclusive Education that introduces the concept of providing education for children with special needs in a regular classroom. The course on action research is intended to build capacity in classroom teachers to use practical methods of inquiry and research in order to improve learning. This course provides basic research techniques for teachers to use individually or in teams, and includes team approaches

within and across schools such as "Lesson Study" practiced in Japan and the United

States.

Two optional courses, Peace Education and Gender and Human Rights, are prepared as

additional courses and have been introduced in several TTCs as pilot projects. Each of these

courses had some controversy in their preparation as their sponsoring nongovernmental agencies

wanted to see them made requirements for graduation. Some resistance to the Peace course came

from Afghans who wondered why this should be a compulsory course in Afghanistan when it

was not compulsory around the world. The fact that the curriculum requirements were already

much greater at the TTCs than are typical for two—year colleges made additions burdensome

unless some courses could be deleted. The suggestion was also made that both Peace topics and

Gender and Human Rights issues should, and could, be mainstreamed in other courses

throughout the TTCs.

The course on Gender and Human Rights had a greater challenge in its preparation. It

was supported by UNICEF and encouraged by many stakeholders with staff who volunteered to

serve on a writing committee. The first challenge was deciding upon chapter topics, then

allocating writing those chapters to members of the committee, or to teams including persons

beyond the committee. As in the old saying "Too many cooks spoil the broth," this became

painfully true as chapters were produced. The most glaring difficulty was in interpretation of the

major points of a topic as well as the language used. Another problem, but of minor importance,

was that the chapters were approached in different ways by different writers, making them seem

out of synchrony with each other.

Some of the volunteer authors saw the course as a "women's study" class, but the TTCs

are not women's colleges and this course would include men. TED, and others, argued that both

men and women have a stake in both gender equity and human rights and should be able to discuss these issues together. Still, several authors who had limited experience in or knowledge of Afghan culture wrote using negative generalizations of men's oppression of women in Afghanistan and women's right to stronger voices. Because of these variations in quality of writing and discrepancies in focus, it took many months and many changes in the committee before a final version of course content could be accepted for translation into Dari and Pashto. Nevertheless, these courses are now prepared for TTCs to offer, and faculty must be prepared to teach them.

This project is a classic example of lack of cohesion in purpose, lack of unity in principles and philosophy, lack of information, and inadequate scholarship. After two years of trying to collect chapters, giving feedback, changing the topic outline of the course, and turning the products over to TED staff for additional editing and rewriting, the book for the course was nearly ready for translation. A major problem was that some of the authors wrote from a western feminist perspective that was both biased and incorrectly informed. Another serious limitation of the course as outlined was that the voice of the authors excluded any awareness of gender inequities that might be experienced by boys and men in Afghanistan. The students who will be required to take this course at the TTCs will include male students, and in some TTCs the males will predominate. The material falls short of providing a basis for male-female discussions of gender issues, including topics that resonate with male experiences with inequities, in a way that will build mutual understanding and support.

TTC Faculty Development—MA Programs Delivered by Sweden and by the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF)

Many aspects of the academic and administrative performance of faculty and TTC leaders were obviously in need of remedial attention. The appointment of TTC Directors as well

as of instructors was frequently a matter of patronage, of convenience, or of connections to the local Provincial Education Director. In theory, TED was responsible for the instructional program of the TTCs, but the funding for the institution and its programs was funneled through the local Provincial Education Directorate. The Provincial Education Directors (PEDs) commonly had no relevant experience in planning, administering, or evaluating education programs. The PED was primarily responsible for the overall operation of schools within his province (and PEDs were without exception, male). Attention to the TTCs was not a high priority except for the financial aspect when funds could be diverted to other budget areas or when funds allocated could not cover TTC expenditures.

TTC directors were nearly always chosen from the local area or from the faculty within the TTC. The directors were appointed by the Civil Service Commission in close coordination with Human Resource Department of the Ministry of Education through open competition but had to be approved by the President. TED was determined to provide opportunities for women to develop leadership skills and tried whenever possible to encourage appointment of woman as a head of TTCs. However, female TTC Directors frequently found themselves in difficulty as administrators sometimes because of student or faculty dissatisfaction, sometimes because of provincial politics where a Parliamentarian wanted to replace the Director with someone else as a political favor. Even male TTC directors often had to deal with controversies coming from different directions. In every case, the TTCs were largely embryonic institutions led by persons eager to succeed but untrained in the complexities of institution building and served by novice faculties who were knowledgeable neither in curriculum development or institutional policy building. Faculties in the TTCs in the more remote provinces were often drawn from the region and were therefore both hard to find in terms of qualifications and hard to retain if well qualified.

EQUIP funds and other sources of funding was sought to provide solutions to the perceived need to upgrade TTC faculty and staff as well as the leadership within the Ministry of Education. Capacity building within the government education structure was a great need and a high priority for the GoA and for international stakeholders.

An early program plan came from the Swedish Committee in Afghanistan (SCA) in 2008 to offer a two- and three-years master's degree in education focusing on research skills, delivered to a cohort group of approximately 30 students, largely onsite in Kabul by visiting professors from Karlstad University. The plan for this program was stated briefly in an archived memo retrieved in 2013; the English translation may not be perfectly accurate:

> The Teacher Educators' Master Program (TEMP) is designed in educational research and didactics with full considerations of the Islamic context and Afghan culture. TEMP is expected to significantly contribute in all three outcomes stated above as a crosscutting capacity development effort.

> TEMP is provided as commissioned training by Karlstad University (KAU), which is sub-contracted by SCA. Karlstad University designs, implements and awards a professional Master Program in educational science, i.e., provide training, supervision and examination of TEMP participants. A combination of part- and full-time studies will be used, including face-to-face sessions, internet-based provisions, tutoring on distance and self-studies (preliminary course plan attached). The program will be offered at 60 ECTS as well as 120 ECTS levels.

> The Program is aimed at introducing to the Afghan education system a Master program with focus on educational research and didactics, and developing

a core cadre of teachers able to design and assess relevant and adequate teacher training programs of high quality at pre- as well as in-service level.

TEMP has been designed for three and half years (July 2011 to December 2014) in three intakes of each 30 teacher educators (totally 90) from the provincial teacher training colleagues. Each intake continues for one year plus a three-month preparatory phase. The preparatory phase is designed to make the participants fully prepared in terms of English and computer skills as well as orientation to scientific studies before entering to the master degree program. (*SCA to TED, internal memo, 2013*)

The program started in 2008 and attracted many leaders in various parts of the Ministry but enrolled few teacher educators in the first phase. The advantage of this program was that it followed international standards and was delivered largely onsite except for the thesis defense that required each student to travel to Karlstad for that final activity. Afghan educators who were in this program were able to keep their jobs and live at home while attending the conveniently scheduled classes. This program was supported by Sweden for several years, with at least three cohort groups completing their degrees, but the need to evaluate implementation and outcomes resulted in an outside assessment by a British team that produced a devastating report critical of Karlstad's capacity to deliver a quality program, critical of participant abilities to master the skills expected, and generally recommending its termination.

In brief the extensive evaluation concluded with these statements:

Teaching practice, assessment methods and strategies toward teaching within lessons observed by the team, did not generally reflect a high standard of teaching practice. As such, there is limited evidence to suggest that participants have significantly contributed to positive change. (Goldie-Scot, 2014, p. 38)

As a consequence, the contract with Karlstad was terminated in 2015 and the Sweden International Development Agency who was funding this program, funded a new planning and awarding the next phase of the contract to a Swedish NGO Swedish Committee for Afghanistan SCA. The new contract was another needs assessment focused on TTC instructors and teachers' educators to determine their priority needs for professional development. No new steps have been formulated.

The Karlstad program did not meet the needs of the TTC instructors to advance their teaching skills and subject knowledge, nor did it give them a foundation in educational principles and pedagogy. The curriculum was not designed to do that, although the project plan did indicate this as its major purpose.

Graduate MA Program for TTC Instructors at the American University of Afghanistan

In 2013, TED proposed a program specifically for TTC faculties that would bring 300 promising instructors from TTCs in every province to Kabul for a 14-month intensive residency program to be taught in English but would have teaching assistants fluent in Dari and Pashto for private and group study sessions, mentoring and tutoring for students. The program was negotiated with the World Bank for funding. The contract was awarded to the American University of Afghanistan but was clearly the responsibility of TED to monitor the logistics, to help trouble—shoot problems and complaint, and to ensure that concerns of both the students and the AUAF administration were addressed.

This was a highly ambitious program in terms of the large number of participants to be enrolled and taught as well as the challenges of finding suitable housing and transportation to enable students to reach and enter the campus in time for classes to begin. In addition, attempts to make the program gender equitable meant that female students (TTC instructors) from distant

provinces had many barriers not typically a problem for men such as leaving husbands and children behind and being required to be accompanied by a male chaperone (a mahram). Fortunately, the latter issue was peacefully resolved, but other issues emerged before and during the program that were much more difficult to resolve.

The expectations and the program appraisals of TED were at sharp differences with the AUAF directors. Textbooks and teaching materials were not available for the courses; in some cases, instructors were clearly unqualified to teach the assigned course and introduced unrelated material. However, the most grievous issues revolved around the different interpretations by students compared with faculty, about the treatment of the enrolled TTC instructors. They wanted to be shown respect as college teachers, but they felt they were demeaned, ridiculed, and shamed. The faculty reported that the students were unqualified, ignorant, and unmotivated; they were seen as only interested in getting credit for the graduate degree. The goal was the paper, not the application of learning. Also, there were regional issues (rural/urban; Tajik/Pashtoon) as well as gender insults by a few men who wanted all females to sit at the back of the lecture hall to avoid interaction with the male colleagues.

Nearly all 318 masters' students did finally receive their diplomas, but the rancor over the misunderstandings along with the enormous amount of time required to handle complaints, along with the change in the AUAF leadership, made it impossible to launch the second cohort as previously planned.

USAID Funding the MOHE for MA in Education Leadership

In 2016, USAID announced funding the MOHE for a new master's degree program in Educational Leadership and Management that was already started in late 2015 at the Rabbani Education University in Kabul. This program has 24 students, 12 females. "Through this

program, educators will be empowered to serve as change agents at policy and decision-making levels," said USAID Mission Director Herbert Smith, in a written statement. "As the number of Afghan students in the education system continues to grow, the graduates of this master's degree program will ensure the quality of their education improves as well" (USAID, Jan. 3, 2016). At the same time the EQUIP/WB/TED Master's Degree program delivered by the AUAF for TTC instructors was discontinued, and the SCA Master's Program through Karlstad University in Sweden was also terminated awaiting results of an independent evaluation.

Gender Incentives for Enrolling Females in the TTC System

As indicated repeatedly throughout this dissertation the need for qualified female teachers at every grade level and in most subject fields was (and is) a critical need. In 2005, Spink wrote:

> The urgent effort to restore the education structure required finding people to teach classes which by 2004, with international support, were enrolling hundreds of thousands of new students without classrooms, teachers, or textbooks. In remote rural areas, and in provinces far from the capital, some teachers were hired who were barely literate and were either too young or too old to meet the demands of teaching. Most of these were male. (Spink, 2005, p. 14)

Addressing the issue of increasing the number and availability of qualified female teachers, several new initiatives were introduced through donor funding. One was the TTC Girls' Scholarship Program, another was institutional Gender Grants; another, marginally related, was the provision of incentives to instructors to teach in remote areas where the TTCs were unable to find qualified instructors, especially female, for many parts of their curricula.

Plans to Sustain and Expand TTC Programs to Increase Accessibility for Females

Several plans were articulated in the National Education Strategic Plan for Teacher Education drafted for NESP III, 2015–2020. The section specifically addressing recruiting and supporting females proposed the following initiatives.

Implementation of a 3 + 2 integrated and accelerated program for girls and young women, especially in remote and disadvantaged areas. This program is designed for females who wish to be teachers but who need to complete secondary school and the TTC in order to qualify for Tashkil teaching positions. These may be girls who have completed grade 6 but who need an accelerated, specifically planned program that will cover all required curricular content of high school in 2.5 to 3 years and the TTC in 2 years under the direction of a TTC.

The Girls' Scholarship Program needs to address the fact that many girls cannot attend a TTC because they have not been able to complete high school. Even without a high school diploma some may be employed to teach in a rural school. These girls need help to continue their education at least to the minimum level to be qualified as a teacher. That level, of course, is the two-year TTC diploma. TED will need funding and support to implementation of a 5-year scholarship program (in addition to the two-year scholarship program) beginning at the high school level and continuing through the completion of the TTC diploma.

Female students in a 5-year scholarship program will be assisted by the TTC in completing the requirements for high school completion, perhaps through the already planned accelerated program. These girls should be identified as future teachers and should be placed in paid internships in schools. The PEDs, DEDs, and TTCs should be involved in placements where the girls can be assistants to fully qualified teachers, mentored and/or coached by exemplary teachers or

administrators and may be given contracts appropriate to the jobs or internships they will be given. This kind of program brings theory and practice together, and will provide motivation for becoming a teacher as well as the financial incentive to make education possible. (TED, 2013a).

Bridge Programs from High School to College

In addition to the challenges faced by women trying to obtain an education high school graduates of both genders also face enormous academic, economic, social, cultural and emotional difficulties when making the transition from high school to tertiary education. Rural high school graduates are particularly vulnerable to failure and dropping out. Our strategy to address this challenge was to provide bridging programs for high school graduates to meet the qualifications for university entry. The program is designed to provide support to young men and women to assist them in being successful in the TTC and, hopefully, later at a university. The following paragraphs are in the TED proposal for the National Strategic Plan (NESP III).

Initially, the Bridge Program will be established to support young women who are gifted but at risk for academic failure in college due to a variety of factors. These programs will be offered between academic sessions at the TTCs and will focus on learning specific study skills and strategies for academic success as well as a review or re-teaching of basic math, science, social science, religion and language (including English) knowledge and skills.

Completing the BA Degree and beyond (vision list). Targeting selected TTC female graduates for a 2+2 program beyond the TTC to enable them to complete the BA degree in two years, thus qualifying them for positions as teacher educators at the TTCs where female instructors are the minority today.

Targeting leadership for women beyond the BA degree through a

specifically designed master's degree program (1.5 to 2 years) in

administration and leadership. (Vision list). This program would need to be a

partnership program beginning at the TTC level and completed at the university

level to provide knowledge and skills. (TED. 2015. pp 17–19)

The Uruzgan Bridge Pilot Program

Some of the programs recommended for inclusion in the NESP III government plan for

education through 2020, have been implemented as pilot studies. One pilot program was

designed in 2008 to send high school graduates to India to be trained as teachers.

The Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) developed a plan to increase the pool

of educated teachers through focusing on the high school students in the most remote regions of

Afghanistan where the quality and quantity of teachers was severely limited. Initially the

program was planned as an international scholarship project to strengthen education for a

number of Southern Provinces of Afghanistan. Uruzgan was the original target. In the beginning,

the scholarship project was delivered to selected Afghan students sent to India for a program

delivered by the National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and its

Regional Institute in Mysore for a diploma in teacher training. In the beginning, 86 students

constituted the first two groups with the expectation of a third cohort to follow in order to

complete the original target of 120 prospective teachers. Due to various factors of which all the

project partners were aware and in agreement with, it became no longer feasible or desirable to

continue the program in India. The effort to continue this program was described as follows: As

it was no longer viable to send a third cohort to India, the TED developed a plan which enabled

40 individuals from Uruzgan to receive a dual teacher training diploma in Math and Science in

Kabul, Afghanistan. As in the first two groups, 40 candidates were selected for the third wave of the program. Half of the students focus on a specialty in science subjects and half focus on mathematics. Both groups also have instruction in psychology, human development, Afghan history, Islamic studies, and other courses relevant to their areas of specialization. This group has now completed its third semester of a four-semester program that duplicates the academic requirements of the TTC for all its students (TED, 2012, pp. 5–6).

As a consequence of the termination of the program in India, another pilot was implemented to bring Uruzgan TTC students to Kabul for an accelerated and intensive teacher diploma program. Uruzgan is one of the provinces where the education system as a whole is seriously affected as a result of being underserved for many years due to its remoteness, and most recently by security constraints. The bridge program was introduced at the TTC in Uruzgan to prepare science and math teachers for that region. The program was a residency program held in Kabul at the Sayed Jamalludin TTC. The accelerated diploma program was described briefly:

> The Uruzgan group is in a uniquely designed accelerated program that will
>
> complete the standard two-year curriculum in 14 months. (TED, 2012, pp. 5–6)

Unfortunately, because there were no female high school graduates in Uruzgan, the bridge program enrolled only males. However, in Kabul, their math courses were taught by a female instructor, a situation that created a temporary revolt by these young men who said they would not attend a class taught by a woman. The TTC and TED administrators held the line, and responded that the opportunity for this group would be jeopardized by their resistance—they would be sent home. The outcome was unexpectedly gratifying in that not only did the group stay in the class, but later some students wrote to the teacher thanking her for her hard work and an excellent job.

A statement from the conclusion of this report acknowledged the serious lack of female students:

> There is more to be done in Uruzgan to "jump–start" the education motor there. A serious challenge, to be worked on persistently in the coming months and years, is the effort to persuade girls (and their families) to continue their education, to become teachers and role models for other females, and to pursue the advanced education in the TTCs that would enable them to become qualified teachers. The pipeline for these girls is beginning to open, and with a bit more time female students will be pouring in – not flooding the Uruzgan schools with female students and teachers but producing a steady stream of potential teacher candidates. (TED, 2012, p. 13)

Developing a National Teacher Certification Program with a TTC Diploma as a Base

Parallel with, and even in advance of, the institutional accreditation initiative is the plan to introduce a national system of teacher credentialing that will not only provide a career ladder for teachers but will offer an equitable and clear system for placement of teachers on the national Civil Service System salary and promotion scale called Pay and Grade.

The impetus to provide a license for teachers, or a credential, was articulated in 2007 in documents and reports developed through the Creative Associates project funded by USAID. Creative hired consultants from the Aguirre (U.S.) company to develop a blueprint for instituting a credential program (Kissam, 2007). A series of documents were produced including linking a credential system to an institutional accreditation system for TTC development and assessment.

TED proposed introducing a process that would grant teaching credentials (license) to teachers and TTC graduates whose qualifications could be documented and verified by an independent agency. TED also proposed that an institutional accreditation process, similar to that practiced in the United States and Canada, be developed to provide a structure for the TTCs to guide them in addressing in detail every organizational structure of a TTC including

administration, budget, enrollment, faculty appointments/promotion/evaluation of teaching,

student learning outcomes, facilities, institutional governance and planning.

The General Director of TED (this author) encouraged the promotion of these ideas and

presented them at stakeholders' meetings in an effort to obtain seed money and funding to push

forward on these initiatives. Finally, in 2013, Canadian officials showed an interest and after

several presentations by TED accepted leadership responsibility in implementing both the

credentialing and the institutional accreditation proposals. The Canadian International

Development Agency (CIDA), awarded the contract for this unified project to the World

University Service of Canada, WUSC.

Although a framework for credentialing and TTC accreditation had been articulated in

papers by Kissam (2007, 2008), under the WUSC contract the consultants developed a fresh plan

with revisions of the teaching standards and the competencies. The difficulties and delays that

arose from starting "from scratch" will be discussed at the end of the section on accreditation.

The foundation for teacher credentialing, as in other areas where credentialing is used, is

to articulate clearly and concretely what teachers need to be able to do, the "functional

competencies" of their job and what education stakeholders expect teachers to be like as

individuals. Most professional preparation programs which lead to a credential require not only

prescribed course work but also include two other factors: a) practical experience as part of

preparation and b) demonstration of actual knowledge, skills, and ability to do a job in some

form of final "test" or "assessment." A centerpiece of such a system is a teacher competency

framework which clearly articulates what is expected of teachers in terms of specific observable

knowledge, skills, and behavior, i.e., actual ability to instruct in a typical classroom.

We assume that an initial teacher credentialing system will evolve over time-keeping pace with the institutional growth of Teacher Training Colleges, the growing administrative and technical capacity of central, provincial, and district level education system administrators, and a growing ability by local school directors and teachers to effectively screen teacher candidates, identify their strengths and weaknesses, and supervise them so that they become increasingly able to respond to the challenges they face in the classroom.

Upgrading the TTCs Through Institutional Accreditation

A recent initiative is the design and implementation of a system to officially evaluate and accredit the TTCs using international standards and procedures for institutional accreditation. This means that a common set of approved policies and procedures will be in place to guide TTCs to meet mission and vision standards for quality in terms of curriculum, faculty, administration, and organizational structure. Accreditation will address the quality of facilities, resources, the faculty, and the quality of education received by students. Accreditation is the means by which TED is further able to address issues of quality control in teacher preparation and professional practice.

Funding was contracted through Canadian Aid (CIDA) to WUSC, an independent contractor, to develop a system of institutional accreditation including the self-study for all categories that are standard for accreditation in higher education. The key areas of review range from administrative policies and procedures, through facilities assessment, curricular review, policies related to student life and learning as well as faculty regulations including appointment, retention, classroom and course procedures, student assessment and post-graduation follow-up, and professional growth of instructors. Poor curriculum quality was a major issue as well as gender inequity among both faculty and students.

The outlines for the accreditation process, and the national committee within TED for overseeing the process, have been formally proposed. TTC administrators and key faculty leaders are being informed about the process and trained in the procedures.

The issue of assuring that students graduating from the TTCs had completed a program that fully qualified them as teachers is a continuing concern of donors, stakeholders, and the government. Gender equity, rather lack of it, is a theme throughout. The outlines for the accreditation process, and the national committee within TED for overseeing the process, have been formally proposed. TTC administrators and key faculty leaders are being informed about the process and trained in the procedures. The decision to implement institutional reviews for accreditation is not a democratic decision but is "top down" from the central administration in TED and the MOE. Resistance can be expected. A balance must be established between compliance and resistance, even if the resistance is cloaked in passive language and diversionary action.

Initially the CIDA proposal for accreditation of TTCs included the teacher credentialing process under a sub-group Teacher Education Professional Accreditation and Certification (TEPAC). The intention was to fund a 10-year project to implement both of these related procedures, and to have them institutionalized and sustained by Afghanistan. The consultant teams came to the project with idealistic aims that required re-doing much of the work on national standards, competency frameworks, teacher training for TTC faculties, and a separate but parallel working group to design the professional categories for credentials and the requirements for moving from lower to higher credentialing tiers.

This program was massive in its ambitions and overwhelming for the visiting consultants and their Afghan partners. The wide discrepancies in knowledge between these two teams, the

WUSC/TEPAC group and the Afghan working groups, with regard to familiarity with how credentialing or institutionalization could work caused enormous confusion although the Afghans were generally uncritical at the outset and the consultants were patient, cooperative, but unyielding in principle. As the processes were better understood, the Afghans began raising practical questions of importance to teachers in the field.

For example, many questions regarded how teachers would create the documentation required for the credential evaluation process; how the DT3 trainings could be assessed for equivalency to TTC diploma courses; how untrained teachers in the village NGO supported (nongovernmental) schools could become accredited; and a serious issue with respect to teacher training was how the institutional accreditation process would handle private TTCs. Private for profit teacher training programs were popping up in cities all over Afghanistan with no government oversight. Some of them, apparently, were delivered by husband/wife teams in their homes. Dealing with those questions, integrating the answers into already complex plans, and working on an intermittent schedule as consultants came for brief periods caused the project to slow to a grinding pace. In addition, the consultants thought that in order to make all the pieces fit smoothly together, they needed to start at the beginning in the TTCs by transforming the curricula and training all the faculties. They began holding workshops on teaching methods for TTC instructors as a pilot process. The reports getting back to CIDA were not promising, and by 2016 the Canadian aid priorities had shifted. Although WUSC worked hard for contract extension and renewal, the project seems to have now been left in the hands of TED and the TTCs to continue toward a national credentialing system and the TTC institutional accreditation.

In summer, 2018, as the Ministry continued to try to finalize the National Education Strategic Plan (NESPIII) that would meet the approval of all players, national and international,

the World Bank staff took responsibility for editing a final document. Unfortunately, it appeared to be written by international consultants who, once again, diluted the goals earlier presented and wrote new interpretations of the evolving national plan. This was blatantly the case for teacher education where the emphasis was shifted to awarding teaching credentials rather than the improvement of teachers' skills, the professionalization of teachers, and the continuation of improved understanding of teaching with improved learning outcomes. No longer were references made to EQUIP, but instead to The EQRA project, meaning Education Quality Reform in Afghanistan.

While it remains to be seen what final outcome of the NESP III document will be, this example provides an illustration of how the leadership ground shifts even as we move forward. The messages here are clear but complex. One issue for all change projects in Afghanistan, and especially in the MOE and TED, is that without continuity and sustained support projects are in danger of being weakened by the perpetual transit of skilled and well—meaning temporary consultants as well as the ever—present "musical chairs" happening at all levels of national leadership. Even as I write this dissertation in 2017, a new Minister of Education is being approved by Parliament which recently gave the current Minister a vote of no confidence. This will mean four changes in leadership at the top of the ministry in ten years, approximately one every 2.5 years. Different leadership styles, different priorities, different experiences all contribute to program delays or program changes, along with a sense of uncertainty and lack of continuity. Despite some retention in top level staff, the sense of starting over again was predictable with each new minister. Transitions tended to create strenuous efforts to avoid paralysis.

Summing Up and Next Steps

Many topics have been folded into this chapter, each one could be a chapter unto itself or a least merits a thorough discussion, but I will try to synthesize and summarize the key points from the three sections. Section I described reform in the education infrastructure most specifically on developing standards for teachers, identifying competences, and establishing a foundation in principles and practice to guide teacher education for a new nation and a new age.

In-service teacher training beginning with crisis solutions and evolving toward sustainability of a national cadre of teachers with an increasingly urgent need to recruit and education females in order to enroll girls in schools.

Section II homed in more specifically on teacher qualifications through the several processes attempted to ensure competence and high quality in teachers including their subject matter knowledge, their pedagogical skill, and their commitment to professional responsibilities. A detailed system of teacher evaluation and teacher continuing development was designed and partially piloted with many of the cultural complexities exposed surrounding planning through committees with diverse membership, unequal power, and with English as the dominant planning language in a context of at least two non-English national languages.

Section III turned to the preservice component of teacher preparation through the rapid expansion of Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) which, in Afghanistan, became subjects of much controversy and competition. These 49 colleges, one or more in the center of each provinces, were required to enroll students based on their Konkor exams without regard for their interest in teaching although the mission of the colleges is teacher preparation. This factor contributed to struggles over TTC curricula, faculty qualifications and status, gender issues, and political dissonance both on the campuses and throughout the government. The effort to

implement an official accreditation plan for the TTCs, as well as a mandate requiring every TTC graduate who hoped to teach to take and pass a National Teacher Exam added to difficulties in TTC administration.

The structure of the government placing two ministries in charge of education and making the Teacher Education General Directorate (TED) which was always part of the Ministry of Education was a time bomb waiting to explode. TED is responsible for leadership and implementation of in-service and preservice teacher education, including the post-secondary Teacher Colleges. The Ministry of Higher Education is seen to be responsible for education of secondary teachers (subject matter teachers) in addition to offering a university education. The intersection of the two ministries meets and competes at TED. It remains an undecided game of politics.

Finally, the chapter highlighted the ways in which language differences contributed to cultural conflicts in numerous well intended but failed, or nearly failed, projects. Many lessons obvious to observers, but perhaps not well learned by participants including international consultants, are textbook in type especially those derived from expectations of rapid change, quick results demanded in numerical form focusing on quantity over quality.

CHAPTER VI: REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES AND CHALLENGES IN TEACHER EDUCATION

In developing strategic plans for change and improvement in a nation's system of education it is wise, if not expedient, to know the experiences and practices that are successful internationally and to make comparisons with other countries within the geographical region. Experiences in other nations may provide models of success or they may provide useful examples with pitfalls to be avoided. The story of the struggles of Afghanistan to strive toward international standards in education, and yet at the same time to maintain the integrity of national history and culture, is a story different from that of its neighbors even in Islamic countries.

No other country in the region, and none in the world, has a comparable history of experience and education disruption as in Afghanistan. Although I would prefer to avoid describing the decades of conflict, it is against that background that one must compare Afghanistan with other nations, even those within the region such as Pakistan, India, and Malaysia. These are the realities not easily brushed aside. The past and recent history of political unrest and government upheaval, occupation by non—Islamic invaders, conflict and insurgency, ethnic antagonisms, civil war, a massive diaspora and destruction of a civil society including its economic, political, health and education systems, and even family structures, as a consequence of war casualties all brought Afghanistan as a diverse and divided nation to the point of total collapse.

Restoring a once vibrant education system out of these ruins could not be done easily or quickly when the nation was almost devoid of human capital as a consequence of the conflicts, killings, and waves of refugees fleeing as each shift in government occurred or other calamities were introduced. Theories applied to Afghan leaders and leadership to change, planned or consequential, and as applied to gender participation in leadership and change, rarely fit into the

historical or traditional academic theoretical frameworks. The Great Man, or Great Woman, approaches show only short-lived, non-lasting impacts. Shared, collaborative, transformative leadership theories may apply briefly; but without sustained leadership, without clear transitional structures, the collaborations break down resulting in paralysis, confusion, power struggles, and appearances of scavengers competing for the choicest pieces remaining.

Acknowledging the absence of a solid foundation upon which to build a new education system and recognizing the international expectation that the new system would introduce the best practices as seen through foreign eyes, Afghanistan began the development process with a vision of educational perfection literally impossible to fulfill. The reality is that no developing nation has yet achieved that vision of ideal education administration, even where rampant destruction was not part of the picture. Afghan educators and policy makers are not complacent in knowing that the issues they face in improving education are not unique to Afghanistan but are experienced globally in both so-called developed nations and those struggling with limited resources. It makes it no easier to address those issues of educational vision by knowing that neighboring nations have failed to meet their targets and to deliver on their own strategic promises.

However, in this chapter some of the experiences and challenges faced by a few stronger and relatively stable regional nations such as Pakistan, India, and Malaysia will be discussed. In addition, educational change as focused on by Europe and Australia will represent the perspective of post—industrial societies in the West. Attention will be given to government policies intended to provide access, equality, and quality in the nation's education. Issues of teacher preparation, qualifications, evaluation of competence, and national licensing or credentialing will be reviewed.

The topic of "Best Practices" in teaching will be presented briefly, at the end of this chapter, to give insight into the difficulties presented by pedagogical language and practice before being introduced into teacher education in post—conflict societies where traditional methods, rote learning, limited education opportunities, with minimally trained teachers, is the norm.

Education in Pakistan

Pakistan is the closest neighbor to Afghanistan, is similar in religion, geography, and culture at least in some part and is viewed by many to be in a privileged position, comparatively, with respect to government stability and economic development. Many of the international consultants and educational experts in Afghanistan come from Pakistan as part of international aid teams including a recent team from the Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (I-SAP) that evaluated all the programs for the TED. Trusting that the expertise from Pakistan would lend to Afghanistan the wisdom of compatible, comparable, and successful experience, these consultants have won many MOE contracts to critique, advise, and recommend on education strategies.

It comes, therefore, as a shock to review the literature on that nation's progress, or lack of it, on issues so similar to those Afghanistan is attempting to remedy. Although no recent major national conflicts or infrastructure destruction have crippled that nation, the critical reviews documenting failure in performance, repeated failure to meet objectives of five-year plans, and the general lack of interest in and motivation toward the visionary targets of best practice are clear. These descriptions of lack of leadership and momentum for change resonate deeply with the problems facing Afghanistan. In fact, if one were to replace the word Pakistan with the word Afghanistan in the critical reports it would hardly be an obvious deception (Bajoria, 2009; Hussain, 2015; Rostami-Povey, 2007b; UNESCO, 2006).

The reports to be described here, do not give heart to Afghanistan by sharing similar failures; but, rather, they provide a cautionary tale that one hopes will not lead to a similar failed result in Afghanistan.

The Status of Education in Pakistan, 2006, With International Aid

According to the numerous studies and reports by sources listed here, education including teacher education in Pakistan has been greatly in need of reform (Blomeke, 2012; Boyd & Ross et al., 2009; Brouwer & Korthagen, 2005; Desimone et al., 2002; Djalil & Anderson, 1989; Hatton & Smith, 1995; Henry et al., 2012).

The quality of education provided by the public sector in Pakistan has been poor due to low levels of teacher competence, lack of classroom—based support for teachers, poor quality of textbooks and learning materials, lack of systems to assess student-learning outcomes, uneven supervision, insufficient resources for critical teaching and learning materials, and weak sector governance and management, significantly influence school improvement, and eventually pupil learning. Literature also suggests that the quality of a teacher is generally dependent on the quality of his/her education, training, and availability of post-training support.

Pakistan has been well advised over the past decade by local, international, and donor agencies of what is not working with regard to its public teaching system and its provision of professional development for teachers. The issues such as lack of accountability, lack of incentives, little hope of a career track, and lack of motivation are all highlighted as problems confronting teachers. Moreover, these issues appear to be widespread resulting from the failure of the system itself (led by government institutions) which over the years has struggled to cater to teachers one of the largest cadre of employees in the country. Coupled with the proliferation of teacher training institutions in the last decade (over 200) that have also been observed to be

ineffective, service delivery appears to be currently failing. Some grand attempts have been made at improving the professional development institutions such as the ADB program in the mid-1990s that supported the establishment of the Provincial Institutes of Teacher Education (PITEs) and other outposts of training. However, programs like this one resulted more in the installment of infrastructure than improvement of quality education. Even large injections of international resources have been unsuccessful in significantly changing Pakistan's education sector (Warwick & Reimers, 1995; Winkler& Hatfield, 2002; World Bank, 2003).

The Pakistan National Education Plan (NEP) 1998—2010 contained six objectives and sixteen strategic actions. These are surprisingly similar to the goals and the language in the strategic plans developed in Afghanistan. In summary the goals of the Pakistan education plan were to match teacher supply and demand; to develop and implement national policies to improve in-service and preservice education and training including attention to training school administrators and educational leaders, as well as to develop policies and incentives for the recruitment of the talented graduates into teaching (Ministry of Education of Pakistan, 1998).

More recently in 2014 the UNESCO Education For All (EFA) National Plan of Action (NPA) for Pakistan made recommendations regarding teacher education that appeared to address realities of limited resources. For example, easing professional requirements for teachers in remote areas; planning for continuous and mobile in-service training through professional development centers; improvement of teacher colleges; and finally, revision of curricula and textbooks (Ministry of Education, Pakistan, 2014).

Previously, the USAID (2006) report on Pakistan said:

The approach of asking the 'institution' or the government in this case to solve its problems is inherently flawed when the institution is part of the problem—a problem that cannot be simply solved through the provision of hours upon hours of preservice and in-service training programs off the shelf.

The key aim of the project is stated in UNESCO's (2006) proposal summary, "a key element of this [project] is to move away from the traditional notion of teacher training to the broader concept of teacher professional development."

The principle objective of the UNESCO overarching project is to improve the quality and professional development of teachers and teacher training institutions in Pakistan through the development of a strategic framework for policy formulation and dialogue with a view to building consensus and mobilizing support for teacher education; effective coordination interventions in teacher education, including field-based teacher education activities; and standard setting for teacher certification and accreditation. These objectives also are all part of the narrative for teacher education and accountability in the national strategic plans developed for Afghanistan.

In Pakistan (as in Afghanistan), the donor community stepped in setting benchmarks for the improvement of student enrollments, literacy rates, teacher training programs and school buildings to address the symptoms of poor quality of education and its delivery.

The 1998 World Bank report on teacher education in developing countries (Craig et al., 1998) states that whatever background experiences and qualifications teacher education staff come with, the quality of teaching in the program will be strengthened if staff:

- Have a clear concept of how adults and children learn best;

- Can impart subject pedagogies;

- Are active in classroom and school research to be current with issues and changing demands for teachers;

- Model good practices in their own learning; and

- Take time to reflect with students about teaching practice in conjunction with school observations. (Craig et al. ,1998, pp. 54–56)

According to a review of education in Pakistan (Hussain, 2015) an expressed millennial development goal, far from being achieved, was Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment. It was aimed at eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005 and in all levels of education not later than 2015. There is a stark disparity between male and female literacy rates. The national literacy rate of males was 71% while that of females was 48% in 2012–13. Provinces reported the same gender disparity (A. Hussain, 2015).

Other Issues of Concern About Teacher Education In Pakistan Linkages, or Lack of Links, Between the Institutions

There exists a wide communication and collaboration gap between the provincial training institutes. Instead of working towards sharing good practices, research and experiences, they have worked more or less in isolation.

Teacher Selection and Employment

Not selecting teachers on merit, lack of proper screening and relaxing of qualification requirements have jeopardized the end objective of providing quality education. Job descriptions and performance appraisals are lacking. Research has shown that the performance of students who had teachers with 12 years of formal schooling was better than students whose teachers had a matric qualification (Takbir, 2011; Warwick, 1991). This leads to the conclusion that student performance and understanding is directly related to the years of formal education of teachers. Hence, by compromising on the competency of the educator, a compromise on the standard of education will inevitably result.

Curriculum Revisions, An Ongoing Need

The current curricula being taught do not focus on nurturing a creative and learning environment involving questioning and problem solving. Subject matter is not regularly updated to keep pace with recent subject advances. There is no attempt to integrate subject knowledge with pedagogical skills. For most programs, teacher trainees employ rote learning to pass the examinations. Not enough emphasis is given to learning practical teaching skills; instead, the emphasis remains on theory. Also, there is hardly any focus on making teachers efficient in improvising and creating low-cost learning aids. Familiarity with use of modern information and communication technologies is also not given due importance.

Teacher Educators and New Methods

The various levels of teacher educators themselves are caught in the same cycle of poor teacher quality and delivery. They administer their classes in the traditional teaching style of lecture giving, dictation and notes. Trainers fail to cultivate any creative thinking, inquiry and problem solving among their trainees.

Most of them are not aware of how to improve their own knowledge and skills or to bring themselves up to date with modern advances in teacher training. An endless cycle of these ritualistic and poor teaching methods thus engulfs the teacher education system. Also, teacher educators refrain from group work and interactive learning techniques because they have concern it spoils class discipline. This is indeed one of the major reasons that Pakistan has not been able to bring up its educational level and standards.

Teacher training is seen by trainees as just another degree or certificate to fulfill the criteria (a degree chasing exercise) rather than an opportunity to enhance one's pedagogical

skills and gain deeper understanding of the subject. Moreover, very little resources are set aside for follow-up, which is less exciting and more difficult and time-consuming than training.

Subject knowledge is not integrated with teaching skills. Training programs for various levels of teachers are not properly assessed and lack adequate materials and delivery aids. Training specialists and master trainers often themselves are not qualified, competent or motivated enough to make much difference in improving the knowledge and capabilities of the trainees.

A supportive school organization typically is not present in Pakistani schools, where internal politics, lack of resources, disinterest in pupil learning and school improvement by management result in demotivating and ignoring the teachers. Such a culture also inhibits teachers from taking the initiative to introduce new techniques in teaching and apply whatever new skills they learned in their training. There is no central or provincial database to keep track of the number of teachers being trained, the courses attended by them, current enrollments and school contribution.

Incentives and a Career Path

Promotion is currently based on seniority rather than performance. Low salaries characterize the profession. There is a dire need for recognition of performance.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Almost all training programs lack a systematic follow up to gauge the performance of their trained teachers. Since evaluation is not as exciting as the training component of the program and is more time consuming, little attention is paid to this aspect of the teacher training. With little guidance, monitoring and follow up, teachers suffer from a lack of feedback, which eventually causes them to continue inferior teaching practices. Moreover, the performance

appraisal system of teachers known as the Annual Confidential Reports (ACRs) is merely a formality. It fails to provide any useful feedback or insights to a teacher's performance.

In addition, for future donor driven interventions rather than re—inventing the wheel each time, the organizations should learn from previous projects and initiatives and modify/tailor them to the current needs of the time and devise strategies accordingly. Donor agencies should avoid initiatives that only help in the short-term.

Challenges include overlapping donor agendas and large donors unwilling to coordinate with smaller ones. The government should take the lead in donor coordination.

There is no institutionalized approach to financing TPD as part of an embedded costing mechanism to meet the needs of upgrading human resources and quality assurance. In addition, budgetary constraints and conventions of low or ad hoc budgetary provision for TPD have constrained provincial and district governments in planning for regular in-service training of teachers as part of non-salary recurrent budgets. These budgets could be determined on a per student or even per school/institution basis (Jamil, 2004). The ratio of salary to non—salary budgets shows a lack of skills in planning and management of TPD. The high unit costs are due to an imbalance in the teacher-pupil ratio, while budgetary allocation for the availability of teaching aids, technology, supplementary reading and reference material, maintenance and monitoring are neglected. The education departments should also be provided a recurring budget to facilitate filling up training vacancies through their heads of education institutes so that teachers are allowed to avail training opportunities

Teacher Quality and Competence

Two challenges have been underscored in literature with regard to the much needed attention on teacher quality in Pakistan. These also apply to other nations including Afghanistan.

First, it is apparent that student outcomes are more closely related to the level of general education of the teacher rather than professional qualifications/ in-service training. Some programs encourage teachers to enhance their academic qualifications through provision of scholarships. However, only a small number of teachers are able to avail this facility and training programs have still to adequately address the dilemma of weak content knowledge. Second, available institutional mechanisms to ensure teacher training of quality on any significant scale, or any significant cumulative impact over time, are lacking.

Teacher Credentialing and Professionalization

Pakistan was encouraged by international evaluators to develop clear policies and procedures for institutionalizing teaching as a licensed profession through a credentialing process based on evidence of preparation and performance.

In summary, the education challenges facing teacher education in Pakistan in 2006 and existing even today are as follows:

1. Teacher training institutions are facing budgetary and financial constraints and are not adequately equipped to meet the requirements of a dynamic system of quality education

2. The teacher training institutions face shortage of facilities such as buildings, equipment, furniture, teaching aids, library books and other reading materials

3. While there have been improvements over the years in the examination system, it still requires further changes. Essentially external in nature, the systems need to be strengthened in terms of students demonstrating creativity and leadership qualities.

4. Teacher absenteeism, ineffective management, lack of supervision and accountability practices are some of the major issues that need to be addressed in the teacher education programs.

5. In-service training for teacher educators is almost nonexistent. There is no institutionalized arrangement for providing regular training to teachers and teacher educators. The sporadic, one—time training opportunities tend to be lacking in quality. (Bashir & Shami, 2007)

Of the five items above, the first three resonate with problems of Afghanistan. What is missing in the Pakistan list are the issues of recruiting female teachers, issues of upgrading the TTC instructional staff, and issues of security and geographical barriers in remote and isolated areas. No mention is made of the issues of ensuring regular salary payments which is a frequent problem in Afghanistan.

According to Lynd (2007), it is clear that Pakistan is still a long way from achieving universal primary enrolment. He reports that over 35% of the population 5 to 9 years of age is not in school. Given a population of 5 to 9–year–olds of about 19.5 million, this means that about 7 million children aged 5 to 9 are out of the education system.

The Development of Standards in the Asia-Pacific Region: Main Concerns

Pakistan's situation is comparable to that of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Pakistan is not the only country that is facing challenges regarding promotion of literacy and meeting EFA and MDGs commitments. Education is still a subject receiving little attention in the whole South Asian region. A UNDP report (2014) suggests that there has been an improvement in other elements of human development such as life expectancy, per capita income, and human development index value (in past 3 years); but there has been no progress in the number of

schooling years. The expected average for years of schooling in 2010 was 10.6 years but the actual average of schooling remained 4.7 for all South Asian countries. In the year 2013 the expected average of number of years increased to 11.2 but the actual average of years of schooling of South Asian countries remained 4.7 years (A. Hussain, 2015, p. 15).

Vacant teaching posts and untrained teachers affect the quality of education provided to Pakistan's youth. In 2005/06, basic education had a vacancy rate of 6.5%, though the higher secondary level had the largest vacancy rate, with over 9% of the teaching positions remaining unfilled. Many schools need better facilities to improve the teaching environment. For example, 9% of primary schools do not have a blackboard, 24% do not have textbooks available for the children and 46% do not have desks for the students.

Private primary schools are better equipped with desks and blackboards, but almost one quarter of primary schools in both the public and private sectors do not have any textbooks. Only 36% of the public primary schools in the country have electricity (Lynd, 2007, pp. 7–9).

Teacher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region

In the broader Asia-Pacific region we find those countries grappling with common problems familiar to Afghanistan. One of the major findings of a published report on the *Status of Teacher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region* (UNESCO, 2009) pointed to a regional trend regarding the lack of meaningful standards and/or the ability to enforce them. The countries in the Asia-Pacific region, while extremely diverse, indicated the common problem of minimal standards and the problem of teacher preparation. In terms of teacher education institutions, (universities, teacher training colleges, or in-service providers) there is a severe lack of accreditation procedures and standards to ensure quality inputs into teacher education. In addition, another major problem is that of large disparities in terms of teacher education

institutions in terms of the qualifications of their own faculty, facilities, etc. The result is that a lack of standards for teachers implies a diverse range of qualifications in terms of the teaching workforce.

The issues named needing attention across nearly all countries in the Asia-Pacific region are clearly articulated in the 13 points from the executive summary of the report (IRA/UNESCO, 2008) as summarized here. (These issues are also the major challenges in Afghanistan.)

1. The Fragmentation of the Teacher Education Infrastructure: Responsibility for teacher recruitment, preparation, development, and continuing development is fragmented across multiple agencies with minimal coordination and lack of overarching policies. This fragmentation would seem to raise considerable challenge to the process of introducing and managing a significant reform of the teaching workforce.

2. Capacity of Curriculum Agencies: The data reflected that shifts in educational objectives (whether to educate more children, to accommodate linguistic diversity, to provide new cognitive and technical competencies) are putting pressure on existing or traditional processes and practices of becoming a teacher. To the extent that central bureaus of curriculum lack sufficient capacity to manage changes in teacher education and retention future innovations in instruction, assessment, and the development of effective instructional materials will be introduced by foreign experts. Can curriculum bureaus in the economically developing countries become more than the consumers of imported expertise?

3. Deployment of Teachers: Nearly all countries identified problems with the deployment of qualified teachers and the problem of insuring uniform access to qualified teachers. In some countries, there was great disparity in quality between rural and urban teachers. But disparities also exist in the access to both male and female teachers (some countries report too few females, others report too few males), disparities among teachers competent in languages that match their students', or in some country's competence in the national language of instruction. Central education ministries use a variety of schemes from forced deployment, teacher rotations, and wage differentials to address the disparity in access, but conditions remain critical

4. Lack of Meaningful Standards and/or the Ability to Enforce Them: The countries reporting data generally expressed minimal standards applied to the education process in general and to the preparation of teachers in particular. For teacher education institutions (universities, teacher education colleges, or in-service providers) that means there are no standards for the qualifications of teacher educators nor any sort of rigorous accreditation procedure to ensure quality inputs in teacher education. Teacher education institutions differ widely in terms of the qualifications of their own faculty members, physical plants, and access to reliable sources of electricity, connectivity, library facilities, and so forth. For teachers, the lack of standards (including a rigorous assessment of preservice teacher graduates) suggests great variability in the quality of the teaching workforce.

5. Retention of Qualified Teachers: In many of the countries teaching remains a low paying and low prestige occupation. At the same time, teachers receive few monetary or motivational incentives to remain in the workforce. Teacher attrition and difficulties attracting new teachers remain significant problems. Given the overwhelming trend across countries to recruit new teachers, few countries seemed to have well articulated plans for retaining teachers who have been trained and shown to be effective in promoting student learning. Since quality teacher education is a time consuming and costly enterprise, national ministries in developing economies especially might be wise to develop such plans to retain veteran teachers or to help qualified individuals re-enter the teaching workforce after leaving to raise a family or to try a different career. Other countries reported concern about a "graying" teaching workforce and problems associated with recruiting new teacher candidates.

6. Inclusive Education: The preparation of teachers to address the needs of students with cognitive learning disabilities, linguistic difference, emotional problems, and physical challenges is either minimally addressed or entirely omitted.

7. Low-Priority for Pre-School Teachers and Adult Education Specialists: In many of the countries pre-primary teachers were not considered in the teacher education scheme. Despite the overwhelming research that suggests that effective pre-primary education is an essential component of quality education attention of many education ministries within the region do not

give this level of education the same degree of urgency that it gives to primary and secondary education.

8. The Role of Professional Associations: In most countries of the AsiaPacific region professional associations and civil society groups do not play a significant role in teacher education. Some such organizations exist but it remains unclear what their role is and how they contribute directly or indirectly to improving the quality of the education workforce. Teacher Unions, professional networks, and parent-teacher organizations can be effective in identifying specific needs, promoting national priorities, articulating professional standards and enforcing codes of ethical conduct, even directly providing in-service professional development.

9. The Contribution of Research on Teaching: Countries within the AsiaPacific region differ considerably in their access to local research institutions. Some countries have elaborate networks of research institutions but it remains unclear whether these institutions have any direct link either to teacher education or to actually classroom practice or if their focus is more academic, theoretical or political. Countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore are notable exceptions in that their research institutions seem to have a direct impact on informing government policy and practice. Other countries have yet to develop strong traditions of pedagogical research that aim to contribute research bases for practical innovations. Along the same lines, the nature and practice of teacher as researcher appears to be an emerging concept.

10. Private versus Public Education: In some countries such those in South Asia,

private education is reaching the status of an alternative system to

government –funded public education. Private schools are often not required

to follow government policies, especially in terms of standards for teachers.

It is clear from this broad review of teacher development in other countries in the Asia Pacific region, even though limited, that Afghanistan does not stand alone in isolation with unique problems limited only to its own government and citizenry. The major issues in educating a nation are common to all nations in the region, and even elsewhere in the world although the complexity of those issues may vary. There has been, and continues to be, much cross fertilization of ideas and practices from one country to another partly by sharing professional consultants and advisors, partly through direct visits of professional teams, students, and families as well as through available literature on curriculum, curriculum updating, and teaching practice. Most of the major challenges, as well as recommended solutions, are similar across these nations regardless of religion and culture. Each nation recognizes the effects of limited resources, of illiteracy in the population, and of the tensions between conservative elements and "modernists" or progressives.

It is important to acknowledge that the new ways of teaching and learning being introduced (such as "Best Practices" that will be discussed in this chapter) are not regional in nature but are international. Also, it would be naïve to ignore the impact of western research reported in English, and of the influence of western education on all nations. The influences stem from the incentives of funding from foreign government aid as well as from international nongovernmental sources. However, notable influences that may be less direct, but powerful, are the effects of international travel and study as they introduced new ideas. New technology has

created diverse global methods of communication and instantly available information is also having a dramatic effect.

Foreign aid for civil society programs, health, education, judiciary reform, and economic development has been available to many of the countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Afghanistan has benefitted from unprecedented amounts of international aid in fiscal terms as well as human resources. The educational reforms of the past decade have been dependent upon this assistance. However, even though the international support has been and continues to be essential, it is not without some difficulties that are predictable and perhaps unavoidable. Those difficulties are linked to beliefs about change and how to implement change, attitudes about leadership in a context of cultural differences, and too hasty dismissal of the seriousness and power of conservative traditions.

In an earlier chapter on the history of education in Afghanistan, numerous examples are given of hasty implementation of change without adequate assessment of obstacles or potential resistance. Expediency in place of judicious caution is all too often the product of haste, of over enthusiasm, and of arbitrary deadlines with respect to funding or reporting dates demanding results. However, currently the demand for educational accountability is a global theme as government want verification that limited resources are strategically spent. One of the ways verifications is sought is through assurance that teachers are thoroughly qualified and that the institutions in which they are trained are also upholding standards articulated and approved by the government agencies. Universities are being subject to evaluations by external agencies. Thus, I will explore institutional accreditation as well as teacher credentialing.

Institutional Accreditation for Teacher Preparation

There are basically two models of quality assurance in teacher education. The first is University Affiliation and the second is Accreditation by an independent body. Afghanistan is attempting to implement the second pattern; therefore, I am by passing the first model and going directly to the independent accreditation system.

Independent Non-University Credentialing and Program Accreditation

There is a global shift towards a model of accreditation that exists in the United States and now is the case in much of Europe, accreditation by an independent body. In countries such as the United States, the UK and India, the accrediting agency grades and/or ranks institutions so that the public knows which ones are deemed best.

The external evaluation is carried out by an agency, committee or independent body acting on behalf of the public authorities, and evaluators are peers and/or evaluation experts. The main documents which have to be used to establish the scope of evaluation are legislation on higher education and a list of evaluation criteria. These external evaluations look at the content of teacher education curricula provided by individual institutions or programs. In addition, teaching and assessment methods are also considered. External evaluation tends to consider student performance and student attitudes and opinions are considered in half of the countries. External evaluation is normally based on a site visit which often includes interviews with the management and academic and administrative staff. Regulations also often provide for interviews with students. The frequency of external evaluation varies widely from one country to the next. In the cases where this frequency is regulated, evaluations take place annually at one extreme and, at the other, once every 12 years.

All countries except France, Cyprus, Lithuania, Malta, Austria, and the United Kingdom have official regulations on the accreditation and/or evaluation of providers. However, in several countries, regulations may only apply to some of the existing providers. Normally the analysis of a written plan is stipulated in regulations as the main procedure along with the analysis of the provider's self—evaluation report and a site visit. However, in several countries the latter is conducted only on an optional basis. Accreditation or evaluation is often carried out by an evaluation agency/committee or the ministry of education (Hayward, 2006; Ingvarson et al., 2006; Van den Brule, 2008).

In many countries, there are limited or no regulations on teacher college accreditation and/or evaluation of teachers. Where regulations exist, the aspects covered most are the content of activity and teaching methods, the competences of trainers, infrastructure, participants' opinions and compliance with educational aims.

However, even without formal systems of accreditation and credentialing nearly all nations have been influenced by Western models leading to more regulation of education, specifically the training of teachers. Industrialized and technology advanced countries have introduced models for teacher credentialing and accreditation of teacher education institutions that have been explored by less developed nations including Afghanistan.

Although India and Pakistan are close neighbors with much in common with Afghanistan, a more successful and appropriate model may be Malaysia. The Teacher Education Division (TED) is a section in the Malaysian Ministry of Education, which oversees teacher training in Malaysia. This is similar to the model in Afghanistan. The Malaysian TED has various units that help in its operations. For example, the Planning and Policy Unit plans and determines the direction of teacher education in Malaysia. The Curriculum Unit determines

the curriculum for the different course offered in the teacher training colleges; the Assessment

Unit handles the setting of examination questions and marking of answer scripts as well as the

awarding of the student teachers' grades, the Student section Unit conducts the aptitude tests

and the interviews and selects the candidates for the teacher training colleges. Basically, all

administration with regards to teacher education other than the training are administered by the

TED (Kasim & Furbish, 2012)

Although the MOE is solely responsible for primary school teacher education and

training and the MoHE is responsible for the secondary school teacher education and training,

all other affairs in relation to schools and teachers, whether it is secondary or primary schools

or teachers fall under the jurisdiction of MOE the same in Afghanistan.

Over the years teacher education in Malaysia has gone through many changes to meet the

challenges for modern times. Thirty years ago, college graduates were conferred certificates in

teaching after attending a two-year preservice training program. Twenty years ago the training

as extended to three years and the students were awarded a Diploma in Teaching. In the last

five years efforts have been made to award a degree for those students who pass the courses and

the training program has been extended to five and half years.

Teacher Education Institutions in Malaysia (ITE): Preservice

There are 27 ITEs which are strategically located in all 14 states of Malaysia which

provide both preservice and in-service coursed. In the past, the teacher training institutes were

referred to as teacher training colleges. However, with the upgrading of the teacher training

programs from offering diplomas to degrees, the status of the colleges has been raised to

higher education institutes and since 2006 they have been referred to as teacher training

institutes.

In-Service Teacher Training

As for in-service training for practicing teachers, some of the teacher training institutes do plan and organize short-term courses, seminars and conferences for those teachers to enhance their teaching abilities and their professional and personal development, as well as increase their knowledge.

However, the shift in focus on learning from the conventional to the constructivist perspective has presented Malaysian educators with serious challenges. As in Afghanistan, traditional "chalk and talk" methods of teaching were used for decades in the Malaysian educational system and are not easily abandoned. The literature reveals that the preferred teaching methods in most classrooms of Malaysian secondary schools are still teacher centered approaches or at best a mixture of both student-centered and teacher-centered (Fauziah, 2005, 2007). These studies suggested that classroom learning environments were far from what is envisioned in the Malaysian philosophy and mission statements of the Ministry of Education.

What is most useful, although somewhat discouraging, is to see that education issues and the education of teachers as conceived in the adaptations of western models is almost universally limited. The seeds planted by external experts are slow to take root. The actual outcomes of the planting and nurturing nearly always has resulted in a process for different from the intended model. Yet, all of these efforts have many elements in common including translation problems, cultural contexts in which transplanting ideas and processes is unrealistic, competition for limited resources, limited leadership and limited human capacity. In the next chapter, the concluding chapter, the basic questions and goals described in the introductory chapter will be addressed. Themes of leadership, change, gender, the education of teachers in the Afghan context, and issues of future challenges will be discussed.

CHAPTER VII: OUTCOMES AND CONCLUSIONS
LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE: SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EDUCATIONAL
EQUITY

This chapter addresses the initial research questions listed in Chapter I, especially the underlying question exploring the critical leadership strategies and organizational frameworks that promote or impede institutional change and that overcome (or capitulate to) barriers to change in teacher education in a conservative Islamic society.

This concluding chapter brings the themes together with special attention to issues of marginalization, social justice and inequities as they impact progress in education, especially through leadership and change in the education of teachers. The needs and conditions of poor, disadvantaged and remote provinces with contrasting cultural, economic, and language differences, as well as the gender inequities and unmet urgent needs for female teachers will be highlighted. Hidden agendas resisting change along with the need for leadership in promoting change, without imposing it arbitrarily or directly attacking cultural traditions, will be discussed.

This chapter was written in 2018 and appears here with minimal editing. The dissertation was submitted in final form in late 2021, with a Taliban government once again in power. The warnings embedded in this chapter were, sadly, prescient. While the story of emerging leadership for an enlightened, literate, technologically skilled nation may now seem as little more than a footnote in the arc of Afghanistan's history, the lessons learned are too crucial to be forgotten.

The complications of international funding tied to often incongruent international priorities will be summarized within the framework of the primary dissertation questions.

Finally, the meaning and importance of this study for national (Afghanistan) and international policy makers, educational leaders and scholars will be proposed.

Revisiting the Basic Research Questions and Goals

In the first chapter, I identified my major research question, "What are the critical leadership strategies and organizational frameworks that promote or impede institutional change and that overcome (or capitulate to) barriers to change in teacher education in a conservative Islamic society?" Gender issues, focusing on the education of girls and women and their opportunities for leadership, were always a priority, however they were not the driving theme on the surface of the dissertation.

Eliminating gender discrimination was (and is) a priority value as stated in Afghan official government documents, including the Constitution as well as in official statements, and as evidenced by the government signature on CEDAW, the United Nations Convention on the Discrimination Against Women. Gender equity is also a theme and a commitment in all projects in teacher education undertaken by the Ministry of Education. Finally, as the only woman in a leadership position in the Ministry of Education, and as a woman who understands (who has experienced and witnessed) gender bias both in the West and in Afghanistan, I have a burning passion to root out injustice against women and girls; to clear away barriers to their equitable progress and to provide educational opportunities enabling them to be full participants in a civil society both in the private and in the public spheres.

While my professional job makes me responsible for shaping and executing policies to improve the competence, skills, and knowledge of teachers it is also my moral and ethical responsibility to advocate and lead for the advancement of women who can teach and who can lead others. Therefore, gender has clearly been a thread throughout the dissertation.

Subsumed within the fundamental or overarching question are numerous other critical questions to be explored. Each is explored in some way in the study, but each is not fully

answered. All uncertainties are not resolved. In the end, although questions are examined in the context of the study, many more questions are raised.

The additional questions, linked to the overarching theme and research question of the dissertation, need to be separately addressed to complete the interpretive dimensions of the case study. I will discuss them later briefly, but individually, even though the answers are foreshadowed or explicitly found as threads running through the fabric of the dissertation.

1. What factors or events in the history of education in Afghanistan reveal the barriers to be addressed, and the possibilities to be realized, in creating a new and internationally reputable system of education, especially in the education and training of teachers?

2. What are the factors that shaped the vision of goals and the processes of change in educating teachers?

3. What were the sources of intervention and support in the change process, and in what ways did the interventions entangle and interfere with, or facilitate, reaching the change goals?

4. How were leadership styles and principles of leadership exhibited during the decade examined, and what were the effects of differences and change including gender in teacher education policies and practice?

5. How does the story of the struggle for educational progress in Afghanistan, especially leadership in teacher education, validate, challenge, or reflect theories of leadership for change in a context of gender and cultural collisions?

6. Where and how has change evolved; where has it stalled; and where will it take

7. Afghan education in the future?

8. What may be the value of this research and documentation for Afghanistan and a wider international audience of policy-makers and educators?

Themes underlying and running through the dissertation research are central to this Interpretative Case Study methodology and include issues of social justice, power, culture and educational equity with particular attention to gender equity and the importance of equitable education for girls and for women. In the context of this case study, the education of female teachers is especially critical.

The results and conclusions to be drawn from this study will cover a discussion of lessons learned, implications for the future for Afghanistan, and relevance for policies and practices beyond Afghanistan both for developing nations and for highly industrialized and technology rich countries.

However, the major question needs to be repeated and more clearly addressed here, before analyzing and answering the subsidiary questions.

The Primary Question

What are the critical leadership strategies and organizational frameworks that promote or impede institutional change and that overcome (or capitulate to) barriers to change in teacher education in a conservative Islamic society?

Chapter IV set the historical background against which to understand the processes of change in Afghanistan, especially as related to barriers to educational change and the sources of leadership. Afghanistan does not have a history of representative government or democratic government by the people as practiced for more than two centuries in many Western nations. A rugged mountainous, geographical landscape contributed to regional social isolation with leadership by local and regional tribal groups. The concept of nationhood for a political unit

called Afghanistan, ruled by a central government, was an unknown and foreign concept until the last century. Although the culture of Aryana that covered most of Central Asia produced poets, philosophers, mathematicians and other memorable scholars in urban centers of the broader region, the general population in what is now Afghanistan was illiterate and uninformed about the wider world. As the religion of Islam spread throughout the tribal areas, this became a vitally strong common belief system unifying groups across language barriers and tribal affiliation even without yet a national identity. Formal education for the masses was minimal, almost nonexistent. Where it existed outside the cities, it was a religious education for boys based on memorizing Arabic versions of the Holy Quran. Universal, free education for girls and boys was not a concept or a desire for the people or in the minds of their leaders.

Chapter IV provided a chronological presentation of how certain enlightened leaders used their positions and their power to make change. Their first targets were not for universal education, but for the education of sons of the social and political elite. Girls' education gradually followed, but only as a trickle not a major stream.

The crucial point here is that educational change in Afghanistan over the centuries was dependent upon the will of those at the top of the political leadership struggle; change for educational progress did not come from the urges of the populace or from a revolutionary uprising. The opposite trend is seen in the history of educational leadership and change within Afghanistan; resistance to change by the nongovernment citizens and their local/regional leaders has been the common pattern. The resistance frequently has been strong enough to overpower, to de—throne, rulers and their families who had broken with convention and tradition by introducing radical change. The barriers to change were not only based on power struggles among rivals but on dramatically different views of what was good for society. It was a struggle

repeatedly between conservative traditionalists and leaders who ordered and imposed modern progressive change that they saw in western industrialized and economically strong nations.

These changes were introduced, not through humble servant leadership such as that of Gandhi in India, but through self-assured autocratic leadership of patriarchs who frequently displayed progress through rich accoutrements such as private cars and short railways, changes in dress for both men and women in the ruling family, and other western appearing customs that shocked and offended the unentitled, often poverty stricken, people under their rule. Not even those in power were speaking for the needs of the lower classes and unempowered when they created new opportunities for education. The changes introduced were to benefit the image and lives of an aristocratic few, even when education was extended to girls and women of the aristocracy.

The leaders directing the changes did not consider introducing a nationwide system of universal education. They failed to sufficiently cultivate the support of tribal leaders, regional warlords or even a supportive grass roots following for the change process they initiated. Instead, in many instances instead of showing appreciation and support, the people were outraged. In the face of resistance, sustainability was almost impossible, and regression was more frequently the case.

Progress in providing education for the privileged, mimicking more advanced nations, did provide a few new institutions (even introducing a faint concept that educating teachers was desirable), and left behind a footprint of what a modern system could look like. But the upheavals from overthrown governments, and interventions and occupations by foreign powers especially the Soviet Union, precipitated the devastating decades of upheaval and destruction in Afghanistan described earlier.

The patterns continue to be repeated. For example, the values and motivation of the 19th century and early 20th century rulers of Afghanistan were well intended but uncoordinated with the religiously conservative population who did not benefit from the largess enjoyed by the wealthy who violated many precious Islamic values and customs even though they shared the tribal heritage.

However, with the interference of the Russians, the scene became even more unacceptable for the conservatives. The new Russian influence on the Afghan political leaders, chosen by the invaders for puppet leadership roles, became intolerable. Mandates regarding education violated long held religious and cultural beliefs. For example, gender equity was advocated by the Soviets and was implemented by orders dictated from the top for co-education. Textbooks were rewritten and published with examples drawn from Russian education. Behavioral boundaries between male and female were breached socially and were flagrantly exhibited in clothing and hairstyles that violated Afghan customs. Technology threatened traditional ways of working and living.

These were issues that turned the country against the Soviet occupation, but they were obvious visible cultural symbols that provided the impetus for the struggle for political power between Afghan tribal groups, their government leaders, and the common enemy, Russia. It was not unpredictable that the religious group Taliban (religious students) promising a return to Islamic values and peace would prevail. The Taliban were using persuasion, coercion, and terror in their determination to wipe society clean any signs of modernism.

While there was a period of solidarity against the Soviet occupation as tribal leaders formed alliances in the north and in the south, territoriality and bitter competition prevented the formation of a unified front. Therefore, the northern and southern alliances fought each other in

the civil war that allowed the Taliban to enter and defeat both sides. Although the Taliban did not create this ancient rivalry, they were able to take advantage of the maxim "Divide and conquer."

In reviewing these examples of leadership for or against change, and the shifting landscape of Afghanistan regarding education progress and regression, it is obvious that without an empowered enfranchised people, the rule of the people was in the hands of a powerful elite even if their power was temporary. Leadership and power go together; change, however, is neither linear or positive, nor necessarily sustainable. Change occurs even in the absence of leadership.

Leadership styles, and theories of leadership, are academic when applied to the history of Afghanistan in the past two centuries. The story cannot be distilled into characteristics or styles of leadership. It can be reduced to issues of power, blood, intrigue, and isolated protected privilege.

Education and progress have been pawns on this stage of battle for control and protection of tradition. What is sobering in concluding this part of the analysis is that, although one may learn from the past, it is also all too common that lessons from the past are ignored. The old mistakes continued to be repeated after the defeat of the Taliban. The Soviets and the Taliban were in retreat but were replaced by an international coalition of well-intentioned, determined, problem solving, controlling but not coordinated groups of problem "fixers" both military and civilian. Before long, these problem solvers began to be viewed as another group of invaders/occupiers whose goals were more political than humanistic and whose interest in rescuing Afghanistan had multiple agendas. The initial sincere interests in restoring Afghanistan

to a civil and prosperous society were subordinated to immediate measurable targets set by separate international aid organizations.

Although the new coalition following 9/11 knew it was critical to begin with an Afghan base, an understanding of Afghan history, customs, needs and resources, this knowledge was hard to put into programmatic practice. Coalition members and donor representatives spoke and wrote consistently of working with and for the Afghan people, of letting Afghans lead the way and of developing human capital. Yet, they repeatedly proposed and demanded approaches that reflected their own experiences in a completely different set of circumstances. They knew best. Without awareness of the underlying judgment and prejudice of their words, or the fact that the language barrier was impenetrable therefore giving the internationals de facto power and control, among themselves ex-pats described Afghans as being childlike, ignorant, incapable, uninformed, and incompetent and even stupid. These views were well known to Afghan colleagues working with foreign aid contractors and technical assistants. Demeaning, negative, even insulting, views were openly expressed by foreign project staff even in the presence of Afghans.

These views were not held by all international workers or their chief administrators, but were sufficiently expressed openly across many aid groups from the chiefs of party (COPs) to the lowest ranking paid foreign technical assistant. Although not every foreign aid employee shared those views, the comments were made loudly and clearly by those who did. In the ex-pat exclusive compounds and the popular venues where foreigners gathered for socializing and eating and drinking the topic often turned to contempt for Afghanistan and its ignorant people. Afghan colleagues, in many cases, almost believed this assessment of their capabilities. They internalized low self-esteem in comparison to the English speaking specialists, and for a while

accepted the beggar status assigned to them. Funding for projects, programs, and government success was essential and was in the hands of foreigners. Those receiving financial support knew they needed to be grateful, and compliant.

Following the enthusiastic rush in 2002 to reconstruct and reform Afghan education, the old processes of aborted plans for change led by mis—guided, and poorly informed (though well intended) leadership were to be repeated. Mistakes of every kind, competing agendas, confrontations of differences in values, clashes of different experiences and assessments of desired outcomes; all have plagued the past decade of planning, funding, and implementation in teacher education.

Even in the best of circumstances where leadership seemed strong, and positive progressive change was in the wind, continuity was weak. Changes and turnovers were frequent in project personnel, both among the Afghan leaders as well as among key international leaders and the ex-pat employees in charge of programs. For example, in the years between 2004 and 2014 the Ministry of Education had four different Ministers as well as changes in key offices in the Ministry. In the offices of directors and within staff of every donor organization, or international NGO, changes in persons in leadership positions were made on the average of once a year or even sooner. It was rare to have someone in a leadership position in the international community who lasted on the job for more than two years. Living in Afghanistan was (and is) difficult for many foreign aid workers, although they are often paid and pampered more than they could have been in their home countries. It is considered a hardship post and is financially compensated as such, even when time after time those hired did not have the background experience or appropriate skills to accomplish the tasks expected. This was all too true in many of the programs for which I was responsible but in which outcomes and results were under the

hegemony of international specialists. Multiple examples could be cited. The resulting lack of continuity, and obvious confusion created by incompetence and inexperience on the part of the "experts" led to a loss of trust, loss of hope, and cynical attitudes on the part of many Afghans who saw a trail of unfilled promises, changes in plans after projects were already underway, confusion resulting from changes in leadership and different approaches by new personalities, and even funding cuts that seemed arbitrary and dependent upon the funder's shifting priorities.

This is not to deny, however, that educational progress in Afghanistan is one of the remarkable success stories of this past decade. Despite the mistakes and missteps, there is a blueprint for progress and change, and there are substantive though not perfect achievements. More students are enrolled in school from primary grades through the university than ever before in history. The equitable education of girls and women is written into law and is showing strong progress.

More teachers are employed than ever before, and more of them are actually qualified at the educational level required by law and are also trained and educated with professional knowledge and skills. Teacher Training Colleges expanded in number and in enrollment; instructors in those TTCs are expected to understand the principles of learning and teaching as well as be uptodate and fully informed about their discipline. In order to build their skills and knowledge programs were implemented including master's degree programs as well as workshops from TED and various special groups (such as UNICEF) for particular teaching content and methods of teaching.

Some of those interventions are more useful and welcome than others. One that seemed off track from the outset was the effort to apply the standards and competencies for public school teachers directly to the Teacher Training College (TTC) instructors as competencies they should

be able to demonstrate. The lack of synchrony and relevance was immediately obvious. An example was the TECAP revised competency list that included expecting the TTC instructors to be in close contact with parents of their students and to be involved with community organizations. Not those standards and competency for TTC faculty are unimportant, but rather teaching adult teachers about teaching and learning does have a different content from what teachers of children and youth need to be able to do. The TTC students are adults, and even in a family—oriented society like Afghanistan, it would be inappropriate to require the college instructor to have close contact with a student's parents as part of teaching competence.

At least that is how the Afghan TTC faculty viewed it. They felt patronized by the teacher training workshops related to these standards.

Subsidiary Questions

Finally, I turn to the questions that underlie the major question discussed above of leadership and change.

1. *What Factors or Events in the History of Education in Afghanistan Reveal the Barriers to be Addressed, and the Possibilities to be Realized, in Creating a New and Internationally Reputable System of Education, Especially in the Education and Training of Teachers?*

The answers to this question have been described sufficiently. History and culture are significant factors to be understood. International concepts, systems, practices, even values cannot be superimposed on another nation with such dramatically different conditions, economic history, and current resources.

A critical discourse analysis reveals where barriers rooted in word use, vocabulary used by the dominant group, can be impediments to accomplishing joint goals. Language, interpreted with different meanings; concepts introduced that have no shared basis in experience, can inhibit

forward progress in teacher training. Teachers can become confused, resentful, and dismissive of ideas that are perceived as international and visionary but are not applicable to the teaching and learning conditions of Afghanistan.

2. *What Sources Shaped the Vision of Goals and the Processes of Change?*

This is easy to understand both historically and contemporaneously. For those introducing radical progressive change, a vision for change with sense of urgency coupled with a belief that change can be ordered by fiat, are seen in the story of past leaders within the nation as well as the efforts of foreign occupiers and international supporters both past and present.

However, the case study focuses on the recent past decade and changes introduced. The major thrust of changes in education policy, procedures, materials, knowledge and methods came from outside sources, predominantly Western from North America and Europe. Principles, practice, philosophies and structures familiar to education experts in advanced countries were to be implanted in Afghanistan in hopes of dramatically, efficiently, and speedily reforming and revolutionizing the entire education system. The Afghan government leaders, as well as leaders responsible for education redevelopment, welcomed this opportunity for assistance in bringing universal education, literacy, and modern career opportunities to Afghanistan. The big picture was one of optimism and confidence. The Devil was in the details.

It was a modern Western procedure to create projects framed by statements of visions and goals; statements of inputs and outputs, timelines and detailed objectives, time driven requirements for assessment and accountability. These goals are reassuring, even inspirational, when put into print, but when implemented in the field all too frequently gaps occurred between vision, goals, timelines and actual reality. Many conditions in Afghanistan prevented projects from being completed as planned on time, and within budget allocations. Those conditions

included many variables but some were the climate of hot summers and unbearably cold winters, different school schedules in different parts of the country, insecurity crises that occurred unexpectedly, and most frustrating were the frequent delays in disbursements of project funds by the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Finance, and even the World Bank who seemed to be entangled in red tape and enamored of checking and revising already committed project budgets.

3. ***What Were the Sources of Intervention and Support in the Change Process, and in What Ways Did the Interventions Entangle and Interfere With, or Facilitate Reaching the Change Goals?***

Unfortunately, the intervention and support came from outside the country and outside the education system itself. Multiple and dissonant voices were dominant in determining the changes that needed to be made. Much of the language of pedagogy inserted unfamiliar and untranslatable vocabulary. This problem is related to critical discourse analysis since words themselves have power even if interpreted differently across cultures. Many of the misunderstandings over words and concepts were not acknowledged or understood by the foreign program writers or teacher trainers.

The fact that the Afghan trainers and teachers were eager to learn and were generously polite to those international specialists who were giving the training is a tribute to Afghan traditions of hospitality to visitors and strangers. This warm behavior, however, often disguised their unenthusiastic reception of some presentations and some ideas. Afghan educators being trained with materials that engaged them in techniques of game playing, as icebreakers in workshops, at times felt their time was being foolishly and childishly wasted. As educators and teachers they valued learning and respected those with advanced degrees, an indication of

superior knowledge. To spend time playing "telephone" and other interactive games that seemed unrelated to the workshop content felt patronizing.

However, it is unquestionably clear that Afghanistan could not have made the amazing progress in education that is evident today compared to what existed in 2001 without the intervention of other nations. The contributions of the international community in terms of education structure, education planning and priority setting, educational support through advisors, experts, and human intellectual and personal assistance, as well as the enormous sums of money given directly to Afghanistan cannot be downplayed or discounted. The generosity, the humanitarian effort, the expertise of highly skilled professionals as well as other less skilled but willing foreign staff all helped to bring national education to the forefront of a new Afghanistan. The enormous efforts and contributions to teacher education, both in-service and preservice are of inestimable value. Yes, there were too frequent glitches and even failures in communication, delivery of services, and outcomes; even though the overall picture is one of enormous success. The big picture is one each participant and donor organization can claim as a success for its particular role, yet the standard report by project administrators to their parent funding organizations is habitually overinflated by highlighting successes and downplaying mistakes and failures.

4. *How Were Leadership Styles and Principles of Leadership Exhibited During the Decade Examined, and What Were the Effects of Differences and Change Including Gender?*

Leadership styles in the administrative structure of the government of Afghanistan and the various ministries, followed age-old traditions of authoritarianism and top-down decision-making. Respect for authority, respect for people with higher education and impressive titles, and respect for the elderly as a rule, are part of Afghan culture. Those signs of respect are given

to people in power and are given to foreigners as a standard custom whether or not the persons are deemed worthy. These customs give an unofficial license to a kind of leadership that does not need to question or modify its style of leading; neither does it encourage mentoring or deliberate inclusion of many others in decision-making. Orders given are expected to be carried out regardless of reasonable excuses. This was not only true among Afghans, but all too often became the modus operandi of the internationals working with Afghans.

Similar contexts and behaviors apply to leaders of foreign missions. Those leaders of international compounds, embassies, and contracted projects are also soon modifying their leadership styles to fit the expected Afghan autocratic model no matter how personal the individual chief of party or director of program may be. This pattern trickles down through the ministry departments and through the offices of missions. Leadership and power are viewed as stemming from positions not from personal capabilities.

Regarding gender, although appearances have changed by giving lip service to the goal of advancing women as leaders, women are limited as leaders in today's Afghanistan. In reality little has changed for decades. In fact, regression may have occurred, and may be continuing to occur despite widespread verbal commitment to women's participation in all spheres of society. Although under the new Constitution a quota for women in parliament was framed by law, those positions are not fully filled and women parliamentarians have limited power or respect compared to men. President Ghani vowed before being elected that he would place a woman attorney in the Supreme Court. Parliament rejected his appointee, and he did not propose another woman. Women leaders in the government are rare, although two Ministries do have women ministers appointed by President Ghani. This is about the same as with President Karzai.

In the Ministry of Education, the only woman in the leadership is the Director General of TED and it is clear in meetings that the sixteen men present would prefer a full male component. In this capacity I have often found it difficult to have my voice heard and my opinions considered seriously by my male colleagues. At the same time, I have urged and even demanded that women be made Directors of the TTCs, that women be at least 50% of the head trainers in the teacher training (DT3) programs. I have tried to create a TTC policy that female instructors should be promoted as heads of departments of TTCs and given priority in advanced professional development programs such as master's Degrees, especially females from TTCs in remote and disadvantaged areas. These efforts take time, energy, persistence, and commitment and often it seems two steps forward are taken and in the next step we slide back.

Conservatism appears to be taking root worldwide, not only in Afghanistan. Women, clearly, are a long way from attaining full and valid equity around the globe.

5. ***How Does the Story of the Struggle for Educational Progress in Afghanistan, Especially Leadership in Teacher Education, Validate, Challenge, or Reflect Theories of Leadership for Change in a Context of Gender and Cultural Collisions?***

The story of educational progress in Afghanistan, of leadership in developing teachers who can see themselves and can be seen by others as professionals, and the expansion of women's roles as leaders throughout this system is a story of struggle, of challenge, of frustration, and a story of slow progress and stubborn hope for the future. Yes, there have been, and may continue to be, cultural collisions over practices considered "best," and cultural collisions over gender policies and appropriate roles for women. Yet, during the past decade while the nation was trying to find itself again, trying to design a path for the future while holding the past close to its heart, profound changes have taken place.

6. ***Where and How Has Change Evolved; Where Has It Stalled; And Where and How It Will Take Place in Afghan Education in the Future? What May be the Value of This Research and Documentation for Afghanistan and a Wider International Audience of Policy-Makers And Educators?***

The map for education for the future has been drawn. Its roads lead into every crook and cranny of the nation, but the roads to those destinations may have rocks, potholes, and barriers. All the goals for an ideal system of education may not be reached for many generations. However, this generation has stumbled and struggled and built a strong foundation. Children and youth attend school in unprecedented numbers. Teachers entering classrooms each year are better prepared than ever before to help students learn independently and creatively and to live productively and peacefully.

When international support diminishes dramatically and Afghanistan is left to fund its own progress, there will be setbacks. But once a nation has tasted the fruits of its efforts to educate its people, it cannot lose that appetite. It will not be perfect, but it will be far better than before, and it will be the pride of the nation.

The story presented in this case study offers an example, and a few lessons, for work in assisting developing and war-torn nations rebuild the infrastructure of essential institutions especially their education infrastructure including the education of teachers.

The examples of strategic errors, of too detailed and rigid planning, of poor coordination and follow-through, of cultural hegemony, of pre-emptive power can be found on the part of international as well as Afghan leaders, throughout the case study. Examples also can be found of excellent work, wise planning, competent implementation, revisions of mistakes, amazing

progress, and promising practices across the broad spectrum of improving the education of teachers.

Social Justice and Educational Equity

The case study has included the ever present cultural themes that are part of life in Afghanistan. These themes included issues of marginalization, social justice and inequities, economic disparities affecting the poor especially in disadvantaged and remote provinces; contrasting cultural, economic, and language differences, and gender inequities with unmet urgent needs for female teachers. The case study also revealed hidden agendas, as well as blatant opposition, resisting change. The story includes efforts, not always optimally sensitive, to provide leadership promoting change without imposing it or directly attacking cultural traditions. A key cultural struggle reported was leadership efforts to balance international (Western) mandates regarding women's education and equity in the face of traditional practices where much meaning was lost in translation.

Lessons Learned, and Projections for the Future

The leadership and change process in the story of Afghanistan past and present could be a textbook case of the ways human beings, with enormously different perspectives, struggle to work together, (painfully, awkwardly, angrily, and humorously) in real time toward theoretical goals without being burdened by the clean anesthetic of theory.

Many lessons can be learned from this decade-long process as reflected in the case study. The destruction of a nation and the tragedies of life and society that are the consequences of war are far too common in today's world. The rebuilding of a war-torn country through international support is also not uncommon, but Afghanistan is a unique case. It has its own unforgotten history of emerging leadership through resistance to invaders, centuries of living through foreign

occupations, tenacious preservation of cultural traditions including providing friendship and hospitality to strangers, protecting pride and honor in sometimes horrific practice, enduring severe hardships as a test of valor and as the inevitable gift of life.

Lessons to be learned may be hard to accept when viewed through a changing kaleidoscope that fractures assumptions and conclusions before one's eyes. For example, the lessons learned must include reflecting on the question of when does help, assistance, and acts of philanthropy to a nation in need, shift to control and dominance running too far ahead of capacity? How does a nation on its knees begin to stand on its own feet and take charge of its own steps forward? When resources are limited and must be used efficiently, what does this case study suggest can be done to conserve and focus resources (human, financial, and material) to get the most productive outcome at the least extravagant cost? How can leaders eliminate corruption when some types of "pay-offs" are a cultural way of life shocking to outsiders, accepted by insiders? How can leaders convey an awareness of the necessity to do better by "making do," and by doing the best possible under impossible circumstances? How can leaders lead for effective change without making "the perfect be the enemy of the good"? Is it giving up and judging a project a failure when it doesn't match the intended outcome but is transformed along the way into something understandable and manageable by the people in the field and on the ground?

Although all who review the educational progress in Afghanistan remark on its current level of achievement both in depth and breadth, such as numbers of students enrolled and teachers employed, and variety of bold initiatives courageously pursued. The hidden story yet to be evaluated is in an actual cost analysis of these achievements. Lessons can be learned about

how to allocate and fairly account for enormous investments that often seem scattered, poorly coordinated, in disarray, and even subject to corruption.

The disparity and inequities in project funding were not concealed from the resolute men and women who worked to fulfill project goals and move forward reforms in teaching. Clearly salaries for ex-pats were enormously greater than those paid to nationals through the government. Living and transportation arrangements were vastly different since many of the foreign advisors, even at the lowest levels, lived in expensive, obsessively secure, guarded compounds with television and Wi Fi and cell phones, where cooks and cleaners provided basic needs, and the project advisors were usually restricted to transportation in armored vehicles with drivers and armed guards. Few Afghans on the professional staffs of the government ministries could live in comparable luxury. Some NGOs with a long history of living and working in Afghanistan understood the impact of these cultural and economic gaps and had developed a style of being and living that was compatible with their Afghan colleagues, but that was not the case with the new groups appearing after 2002.

Another factor that could have been negotiated at the outset was who would be in charge of setting the schedule for the work week. Westerners were accustomed to working Monday through Friday, from 8:30 or 9:00 until 4:30 or 5:00, five days per week. However, western academics were accustomed to a much more flexible and independent working schedule with irregular working hours and long lunch breaks. Afghan office workers, in the early years of reconstruction, were expected to work six days a week, from 8:00 until 5:00 although many were allowed to leave at 4:30 because of group transportation. Even with this possibility they had to leave home by 7:00 a.m. and would not arrive at their homes in the evening until about 7:00 p.m. Transportation for locals was a major problem and a daily uncertainty.

A major disruption, however, was the out of sync work week that began for Afghans on Saturday, the beginning of the Westerners' weekend. Afghan employees for a long time had only Friday as their weekend day. It was also the day for going to the Mosque for the Friday prayer as well as for doing all the domestic chores for the week. The Afghan workers were allowed to leave work at noon on Thursday, eventually even letting both Thursday and Friday be weekend nonoffice days only for few years. But the Western work schedule did not change except to benefit at times from lighter work responsibilities on Thursdays and Fridays when Afghans tried to stay out of the offices.

Nevertheless, the Western managers maintained the right and privilege of scheduling meetings and expecting their Afghan counterparts to attend on Thursdays and Fridays. These differences created some inconveniences for all, but also reflected the fact that the Western schedule was tied to the work week of their home countries and could not be adjusted to the practices of the host country. This example of authority and power, with minimal compromise, may serve as a small lesson with great significance for others working in international development.

The Afghan civil and religious holidays were a source of frustration and even humor for many westerners. They often joked that there were more holidays than workdays in Afghanistan, without awareness of the frequency and length of western holidays, and how confusing those customs were to Afghans. Of course, the Holy month of Ramazan is another source of despair for non-Islamic internationals who often see this month as lost to work because of shorter work hours for the Afghan workers.

The Way Forward and Implications Beyond Afghanistan

The outcomes and achievements were not all that were hoped for in the early days of enthusiasm and optimism for the work to be done to improve teacher competence and professional development. Yet, the remarkable progress cannot be dismissed. The glass is half full, rather than half empty. Thousands of teachers have been trained and are continuing to be trained to teach children in respectful, humane, and competent ways. Teachers are learning what it means to be a professional—what it takes to be a truly qualified and fulfilled teacher. Teachers and administrators are learning how to work collaboratively as partners in making schools learning communities for both students and teachers.

The next generation of teachers, students in the Teacher Training Colleges, are learning those teaching attitudes and skills, as well learning the most uptodate academic knowledge. A new stream of women teachers will be filling classrooms to ensure a widened pipeline for girls through the entire education system and into the nation's civic life.

The National Education Strategic Plan III (NESP III) now maps the way forward to at least 2020 with targets for achievement in every area of education including continuing to emphasize the importance of a growing and well-educated teaching force. The plan incorporates the requirement that the teaching credential system be developed and implemented and that the TTCs have increased responsibilities in ensuring that teachers are qualified and competent. NESP III includes the small, but vitally important, number of teachers in community-based schools (CBS) that are not currently part of the government school system. The CBS are often started by an NGO or aid group, but the teachers are chosen by the local village and are often paid from village/community resources. The teachers are usually local residents, and often have minimal education barely above basic literacy. These schools are found in remote areas, in

villages usually without access to government primary schools because of distance and insecure conditions, but the children who finish the lower primary grades in Community Schools are encouraged to continue their schooling in the nearest government school. The next wave of teacher education will be to bring these schools and their teachers under the umbrella of government support and government teacher requirements. The in-service training packages, and trainings given by NGOs to CBS teachers will be assessed for comparability with course content in the TTC diploma program in order to give all teachers a path toward full certification under the new plan.

There are challenges ahead, practical barriers to overcome, and much work to be done to lift teachers to the level of professionalism envisioned by NESP, EQUIP, TED, the Ministry of Education and the international donors who have given so much to assist Afghanistan. The opportunities abound, the road map for the future is clearly designed, the momentum is here; time will tell if the nation moves forward on this path or will be stopped by conservative regression and by losing the attention of international partners.

Many of the lessons learned have implications for transfer to other educational systems internationally. The implications for international aid projects, international intervention, goal setting, and project continuity are quite clear. Sadly, many of these lessons did not need to be learned once again in Afghanistan. They were well known, but inevitably not employed.

For example, the importance of involvement in planning, project ownership, development of human capital, and accountability on the part of the local constituency is a textbook principle, well known in international development. Consistency and continuity of programs/projects, and reliability of funding or support is another basic principle that was not sustained in Afghanistan due to the constant turnover in international leadership and their staff.

The turnover in Afghan leadership in the Ministry of Education was also troublesome, but actually less disruptive than the international turnover because the day to day work done by Afghan staff remained stable in ministry programs.

Understanding of cultural differences along with knowledge of a nation's history, its resources and economic challenges are vitally important for international development workers. Respect for pride in a national legacy, and appreciation of current national struggles are essential attitudes for success in development work. Because of security concerns many international workers never experienced Afghanistan beyond the confines of their embassy compounds or walled protected houses.

The lessons learned include awareness of the enormous difficulties in working for change on such a massive scale, and the re-enforcement of the fact that lasting change does not occur quickly without dramatic revolution. Planned change takes time with steady leadership. Unfortunately, progress is not linear and the move toward change is not inevitably positive. From this case study of teacher education in Afghanistan, I have presented the big picture encompassing many segments of educational change across just over one decade of effort to build the educational system from scratch with unprecedented international support. I have been part of this picture as a participant-observer and a clinical critic. I can claim responsibility for attempting to execute and even initiate to improve the competence of the nation's teachers. However, I cannot take direct credit or responsibility for either the remarkable successes or for the acknowledged missteps as efforts to recruit, train, and deploy teachers into classrooms and schools still managed as 19th century models, not yet ready for the progressive philosophies and practices of an unfamiliar and foreign modern world. To have come as far as we have, given the inherent obstacles, in only a bit more than a decade, is an amazing achievement. For this

progress and for the promise of a brighter future for a new generation of students and teachers, Afghanistan does, indeed, owe an immeasurable debt to all national and international players who have greatly contributed to this progress.

References

Abu-Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others. *American Anthropologist*, *104*(3), 783–790.

Afghanistan Interim Administration [AIA]. (2004). *National development plan and budget 1383–1385*. Kabul, Afghanistan.

Ahmed-Ghosh, H. (2013). A history of women in Afghanistan: Lessons learnt for the future. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *4*(3), 1–14.

Ahmed-Ghosh, H., Chatterji, A., & Choudhury, L. (Eds.). (2012). Afghan women: At the intersection of local and global oppression. In *Contesting nation: Gendered violence in South Asia* (pp. 169–187).

Alber, R. (2015, February 27). *5 Highly effective teaching practices*. https://www.edutopia.org/blog/5-highly-effective-teaching-practices-rebecca-alber

Altai Consulting. (2014). *Critical administrative constraints to service delivery improving public services in Afghanistan's transformational decade*. World Bank.

Ardichvili, A., & Kuchinke, K. P. (2002). Leadership styles and cultural values among managers and subordinates: A comparative study of four countries of the former Soviet Union, Germany, and the USSR [*Human Resource Development International*]. http://www.tandf.co.univ/journals

Arendale, D. (2013, November). *What is best practice?* http://www.besteducationpractices.org/what-is-a-best-practice/

Australian Council for Education Research [ACER]. (2016). *Monitoring trends in educational growth in Afghanistan: Class 6 school factors 2013*. Melbourne, Australia: ACER Australian Council for Education Research. https://www.acer.org/gem/key-areas/system-strengthening/mteg

Ayotte, K. J., & Husain, M. (n.d.). Securing Afghan women: Neocolonialism, epistemic violence, and the rhetoric of the veil. *NWSA Journal*, *17*(3), 112–133.

Baize, Y. (2013). *Education in Afghanistan*: *Developments, influences and legacies since 1901*. Routledge.

Bajoria, J. (2009). Pakistan's education system and links to extremism. Council on Foreign Relations. http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/pakistans-education-system-linksextremism/p20364

Bashir, T., & Shami, P. A. (2007). Education policies in Pakistan. https://doi.org/10.26634/jsch.2.4.816

Basiri, S., Strand, A., & Olesen, G. (Eds.). (2005). *Afghanistan: Findings on education, environment, gender, health, livelihood and water and sanitation*. CMI: CHR. Michelsen Institute.

Bass, B. M. (2006). *Transformational leadership* (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Belenky, M. C. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing*. Basic Books.

Bem, S. L. (1993). *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality*. Yale University Press.

Bentz, M., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research*. Sage.

Bergman, J. Z. (2012). The shared leadership process in decision-making teams. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *152*(1), 17–42.

Bevir, M., & Kedar, A. (2008). Concept formation in political science: An anti-naturalist critique of qualitative methodology. *Perspectives on Politics. 6*(3), 503–517.

Blomeke, S. (2012). Content, professional preparation, and teaching methods: How diverse is teacher education across countries? *Comparative Education Review*, *56*(4), 684–714.

Bloom, A. (1968). *The Republic of Plato* (2nd ed.). Basic Books.

Boyd, D. J., Grossman, P., Hamilton, L., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2009). Teacher preparation and student achievement. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *31*(4), 416–440.

Brouwer, N. (2005). Can teacher education make a difference? *American Educational Research Journal*, *42*(1).

Burke, W. W. (2002). *Organization change: Theory and practice*. Sage.

Central Statistics Organization, Afghanistan. (2008). *Women and men in Afghanistan: Baseline statistics on gender*. United Nations Development Fund for Women. (UNIFEM) and Ministry of Women's Affairs (MOWA).

Charlesworth, H., & Chinkin, C. (2002). Sex, gender, and September 11. *American Journal of International Law*, *96*(3), 600–605.

Clance, P. R. (1978). The impostor phenomenon in high achieving women: Dynamics and therapeutic intervention. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice*, *15*(3), 241–247.

Connell, T. A. (Ed.). (2005). *Machiavelli, the prince, with related documents*. St Martins Press.

Craig, H., Kraft, R., & du Plessis, J. (1998). *Teacher development making an impact*. World Bank Publications/USAID.

Cummings, T. G., & Worley, G. (2001). *Organization development and change*. South-Western.

Daniels, H., & Bizar, M. (1998). *Methods that matter: Six structures for best practice classrooms*. Stenhouse.

Denscombe, M. (2008). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects*. Open University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). *The handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Desimone, L. M., Porter, A. C., Garet, M. S., Yoon, K. S., & Birman, B. F. (2002). Effects of professional development on teachers' instruction: Results from a three-year longitudinal study. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *24*(2), 81.

Djalil, A. (1989). Impact of a research-based teacher training program on Indonesian teachers, classrooms, and students. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *5*(3), 165–178.

Drucker, P. (1959). *Landmarks of tomorrow*. Harper & Row.

Dunbar, H. B. (2014). *Student learning in South Asia: Challenges, opportunities, and policy priorities*. World Bank Publications.

Dupree, L. (1973). *Afghanistan*. Princeton University Press.

Dupree, N. (1989). *Women in Afghanistan: A preliminary needs* assessment (UNIFEM occasional paper).

Dupree, N. (2011). *Afghanistan over a cup of tea 1995–2010*. Swedish Committee for Afghanistan.

Dupree, N., & Rahimi, F. (1986). *Women of Afghanistan*. Stiftung-Foundation.

Education Commission of the States. (2003). *Eight questions on teacher preparation: What does the research say?* Education Commission of the States.

Educators Technology. (2012). *10 Teaching practices for 21st century teachers*. http://www.educatorstechnology.com/2012/06/10-teaching-practices-every-21st.html

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In *Discourse as social interaction: Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258–284). Sage.

Fauziah, A., Parilah, M. S., & Samsuddeen, A. A. (2005). Choice of teaching methods: Teacher centered or student-centered. *Journal of Educational Research*, (7), 57–74.

Ferrance, E. (2000). *Action research*. Regional Educational Laboratory at Brown University.

Fraenkel, J. (1996). *How to design and evaluate research in education* (3rd ed.). McGraw-Hill.

Gardner, W. C. (2011). Authentic leadership: A review of the literature and research agenda. *Leadership Quarterly*, (22), 1120–1145.

Ghani, M., & Ghani, A. (2012). *Afghanistan: A lexicon*. http://www.kabul-reconstructions.net/mariam/texts/Lexicon_v4_imgs_e.pdf

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*: Harvard University Press.

Golby, M. (1993a). *Case study as educational research.* Fair Way Publications.

Golby, M. (1993b). *The case study*. University of Plymouth: Faculty of Education.

Government of Afghanistan [GOA]. (2004). *Securing Afghanistan's future: Accomplishments and the strategic path forward.* Kabul: GOA Government of Afghanistan. http://www.af/resources/mof/recosting/SECURING%20AFGHANISTANS%20FUTURE.pdf

Hatton, N., & Smith, D. (1995). Reflection in teacher education: Towards definition and implementation. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *11*(1), 33–49. https:/doi.org/10.1016/0742-051x(94)00012-U

Hayes, D. (2006). *The case study*. Faculty of Education University of Plymouth.

Hayward, F. (2006). *Accreditation and quality assurance in university education in developing countries: insights and lessons from experience.* [unpublished]. Presented at the First International conference on Assessing Quality in Higher Education, Lahore, India.

Heifetz, R. (1998). *Leadership without easy answers*. Harvard University Press.

Helgesen, S. (1990). *The female advantage: Women's ways of leadership*. Doubleday.

Hendricks, C. (2006). *Improving schools through action research: A reflective practice approach.* Pearson.

Henry, G. T., Kershaw, D. C., Zulli, R. A., & Smith, A. A. (2012). Incorporating teacher effectiveness into teacher preparation program evaluation. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *63*(335). https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487112454437

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Holdaway, E. A., Johnson, N. A., Ratsoy, E. W., & Friesen, D. (1994). The value of an internship program for beginning teachers. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *16*(2), 205–221.

Holliday, A. (2007). *Writing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Hussain, A. (2015, March 2). *Education system of Pakistan: Issues, problems and solutions*. Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI).

Hussain, I. (1998). Raping the libraries of Kabul. *Diplomat Magazine*, *8*(6-8).

Ingvarson, L., Elliot, A., Kleinhenz, E., & McKenzie, P. (2006). *Teacher education accreditation: A review of national and international trends and practices*. Australian Council for Education Research. http://research.acer.edu.au/teacher_education/1

Institute of Social and Policy Sciences [I-SAPS]. (2015). Report on third party review of the preservice and in-service teacher training programs (NPITT, DT3, TTCs) of the teacher education general directorate. World Bank.

International Medical Corps. (2005). *Afghan family health book: Final report*. Los Angeles, CA.

International Reading Association . (2008). *Status of teacher education in the Asia-Pacific region.* UNESCO.

Jamil, B. (2004, December). *Teacher education in Pakistan: A (Draft) position paper*. Presented at the National Conference on Teacher Education for \ The Academy for Educational Development, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Javidan, M., & House, R. J. (2001). Cultural acumen for the global manager: Lessons from project GLOBE. *Organizational Dynamics*, *29*(4), 289–305.

Johnson, C. & Jolyon, L. (2004). *Afghanistan: The mirage of peace.* Zed Books.

Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking, fast and thinking slow*. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

Karras, K. G., & Wolhuter, C. (Eds.). (2011). Issues and challenges for the teacher profession. *International handbook on teacher education worldwide: Comparative education review,* (Vol. 55). University of Chicago Press.

Kasim, T. ,& Furbish, D. (2012). *Transforming Malaysian teacher education for a sustainable future through student-centred learning*. Refereed paper presented at 'Teacher education for a sustainable future', the annual conference of the Australian Teacher Education Association (ATEA), Townsville, 4–7 July.

Keith, K. M. (2012). *The case for servant leadership* (2nd ed.) Terrace Press.
.
Killian, S. (2017). *Top 10 evidence based teaching strategies for those who care about student results.* http://www.evidencebasedteaching.org.au/

Kissam, E. (2007). *Competency concept mapping.* USAID/BESST/CAII.

Kissam, E. (2008). Strategic objectives for Ministry of Education initiatives. *Teacher standards, credentialing, and accreditation*. BESST, Kabul, Afghanistan.

Kotter, L. P. (2013). *Leading change*. Harvard Business School Press.

Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science; Selected theoretical papers*. Harper & Row.

Lewis, J. (1997). Afghanistan—gender roles. In *Encyclopedia of women's history*. Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress.

Lewis, J., & Ritchie, J. (2008). *Qualitative research practices: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Sage.

Lippitt, R. W., Spalding, W. B., Watson, J., & Westley, B. (1958). *The dynamics of planned change*. Harcourt, Brace & Company.

Lynd, D. (2007). *The education system in Pakistan: Assessment of the national education census*. UNESCO.

Mansory, A. (2011). *A study of the DT3 program:Teaching quality and students' learning achievements*. Kabul, Afghanistan: MOE.

McIntyre, D. (2005). Bridging the gap between research and practice. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *35*(3), 357–382.

Mertler, C. A. (2011). Action research: Improving schools and empowering educators. Sage.

Meyerson, D. (2008). *Rocking the boat: How to effect change without making trouble*. Harvard Business Press.

Mills, G. (2006). *Action research: A guide for the teacher researcher*. Pearson.

Mills, M. A., & Kitch, S. (2006). Afghan women leaders speak. *NWSA Journal*, *18*(3), 191–201.

Ministry of Education. (1968). *Education in Afghanistan during the last fifty years: Primary, secondary and vocational Education*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2004a). *Education as catalyst*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2004b). *National development plan.* Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2004c). *National report on the development of education in Afghanistan*. Presented at the 47th session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva.

Ministry of Education. (2006). *National strategic plan for education in Afghanistan-2006–2010*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education Pakistan. (2014). *Pakistan: education for all 2015 national review, Ministry of Education, trainings and standards in higher education*. Islamabad: Academy of Educational Planning and Management. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002297/229718E.pdf).

Ministry of Higher Education. (2010). *National higher education strategic plan 2010–2014*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Higher Education.

Mitchell, E. (2009). *Competencies framework and performance standards for school administrators*. Kabul, Afghanistan:TED/BESST/SCUS.

Mojumdar, A. (2007). *Afghan schools' money problems* [BBC News]. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6533379.stm

Morse, J. (1994). *Critical issues in qualitative research methods*. Sage.

National Board for Professional Teaching Standards [NBPTS]. (2014). *National board core standards.* www.nbpts.org/national-boardstandards

National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers. (2010). Standards for the accreditation of teacher preparation institutions. Washington, DC: National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers.

National Education Association [NEA]. (2006). *Best practices: Learning and teaching*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.

Northouse, P. G. (2013). *Leadership theory and practice* (6th ed.). Sage.

Poullada, L. B. (1973). *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919–1929; King Amanullah's failure to modernize a tribal society*. Cornell University Press.

Primary Schools Task Force. (2004). *Standards for teaching practice in primary schools 2004*. Kabul, Afghanistan: TED/MoE.

Rashid, A. (2008). *Descent into chaos*. Viking.

Rashid, K., & Mukhtar, S. (2012). Education in Pakistan: Problems and their solutions. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, *2*(11), 332– 341.

Razak, N.A., Fauziah, A., & Pariah, M. S. (2007). Perceived and preferred teaching styles (methods) of English for specific purposes (ESP) students. *Journal of E-Bangi*, *2*(2), 1–20.

Richter, L. (1991). Exploring theories of female leadership in south and southeast Asia. *Pacific Affairs*, *63*(4), 524–540. https://doi.org/10.2307/2759914

Rogers, R. (Ed.). (2003). *An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education*. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rosener, J. B. (1990). Ways women lead. *Harvard Business Review*, *68*(6), 119–25.

Rostami-Povey, E. (2007a). *Afghan women struggle and resistance*. Zed Books.

Rostami-Povey, E. (2007b). Gender, agency and identity, the case of Afghan women in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. *Journal of Development Studies, 43*(2).

Rostami-Povey, E., Afshar, H & Eade, D. (Eds.). (2004). Women in Afghanistan, passive victims of the Burqa or active social participants? *Development, Women, and War: Feminist Perspectives, A Development in Practice Reader* (pp. 172–87). Oxfam GB.

Rotberg, R. I. (Ed.). (2007). *Building a new Afghanistan*. The Brookings Institution Press, The World Peach Foundation.

Rubin, B. R. (2002). *The fragmentation of Afghanistan: State formation and collapse in the international system* (2nd ed.). Yale University Press.

Sadat, M. H. (2004). *History of education in Afghanistan.* http://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/history-education-afghanistan

Saeed, M. Z. (1995). *Women in Afghan history*. Peschawar: Katib Publishing Services. http://www.scribd.com/doc/30234527/

Saikal, A. (2012). *Modern Afghanistan: A history of struggle and survival*. I.B. Taurus.

Saleema, I. (2010). *Pakistan education: Problems and solutions of Pakistan education*. http://www.einfopedia.com/pakistan-education-problems-and-solutions-ofpakistan-education.php

Samady, S. R. (2001a). *Education and Afghan society in the 20th century*. UNESCO.: unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001246/124627e.pdf

Samady, S. R. (2001b). *Modern education in Afghanistan*. UNESCO.

Samady, S. R. (2013). *Changing profile of education in Afghanistan*. UNESCO. http://www.pedocs.de/volltexte/2013/7798/pdf/Samady_2013_Education_Afghanistan.pdf

Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead*. Knopt Publishing.

Sarvi, J. (2003). *A new start for Afghanistan's education sector*. Asia Development Bank.

Schafly, P. (1964). *A choice not an echo*. Pere Marquett Press.

Schein, V. (1996). Think manager—think male: A global phenomenon? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *17*(1).

Senge, P. M. (1990). *The fifth discipline*. Doubleday/Currency.

Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction. (2016). *Primary and secondary education in Afghanistan: Comprehensive assessments needed to determine the progress and effectiveness of over $759 Million in DOD, state, and USAID Programs* (SIGAR 16-32-AR/U.S. Efforts to Support Afghan Education). https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/audits/SIGAR-16–32-AR.pdf

Spink, J. (2002). *Teacher education. situation analysis*. Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU).

Spink, J., Karyar, A., & Atmar, Z. (2004). *Teacher education and professional development in Afghanistan*. Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU).

Stake, R. E. (2010). *Qualitative research: Studying how things work*. Guilford Press.

Takbir, A. (2011). *Understanding how practices of teacher education in Pakistan compare with the popular theories and theories and narrative of reform of teacher education in international context*. Aga Khan University, Institute for Educational Development.

Tarr-Whalen, L. (2009). *Women lead the way: Your guide to stepping up to leadership and changing the world*. Berrett-Kahler.

Taylor, K. M., & Tyler, J. (2012). Can teacher evaluation improve teaching? *Education Next*, (4).

Teacher Education General Directorate (TED). (2010). *NESP II revision, teacher training*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Teacher Education Directorate/Ministry of Education.

TED. (2007). *The Afghanistan teacher competency framework: An analytic framework for conceptualizing, observing, and assessing teacher competencies*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

TED. (2011). *Psycho-Social project for Afghan teachers* (Project Assessment) (p. 20). Kabul: TED/UNICEF.

TED. (2012). *Uruzgan report*. Kabul, Afghanistan: TED/MOE.

TED. (2015, November 17*). NESP III Plans: Situational analysis and strategic plan 2015 through 2020.* (internal document). Kabul:TED

Teacher Education General Directorate. (2010). *Teacher training: National education strategic plan (NESP II 2010)*. Kabul, Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Thiele, S. (2011). *Closing the gap: Teacher education department (MoE) strategic approach to achieve gender equality in teacher training.* Basic Education Program for Afghanistan (BEPA), Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).

Thomson, G. (2007). Afghanistan: Worldmark Encyclopedia of Nations. http://www.encyclopedia.com/places/asia/afghanistan-political-geography/kabul

Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering world politics: Issues and approaches in the post-cold war era*. Columbia University Press.

Tileston, D. (2000). *10 Best teaching practices: How brain research, learning styles, and standards define teaching competencies*. Corwin Press.

Tomsen, P. (2011). *The wars of Afghanistan: Messianic terrorism, tribal conflicts, and the failures of great powers*. Perseus Books Group.

Udall, A. (2013). Five best practices for improving teacher and student learning. https://www.nwea.org/blog/2013/five-best-practices-improving-teacher-student-learning-post-two/

United Nations Development Programme [UNDP]. (2005). *Afghanistan's future holds promise and peril.* http://www.undp.org/dpa/pressre;ease/2005

United Nations Development Programme [UNDP]. (2014). *Education: Governance conundrum.* Development Advocate Pakistan 1 (2). http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/library/development _policy/development-advocate-Pakistan—volume-1-issue-2.html.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]. (2006). *Strategic framework for teacher education and professional development:Pakistan*. UNESCO.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]. (2009). *Needs and rights assessment. Inclusive education in Afghanistan*. Kabul, Afghanistan: UNESCO.

United Nation Children's Fund [UNICEF]. (2016a). *Assessment for learning: Teacher reference manual (Formative Assessment)*. UNICEF/TED.

United Nation Children's Fund [UNICEF]. (2016b). *Inception report: Capacity building of primary teachers on assessment for learning (Formative Assessment)*. Kabul, Afghanistan: UNICEF.

United Nations Secretary General. (2000). *The implementation of human rights with regard to women: Report of the secretary-general on the situation of women and girls in Afghanistan.* (Report of the Secretary-General on the situation of women and girls in Afghanistan. No. Submitted in accordance with Sub-Commission resolution 1999/14 (E/CN.4/Sub.2. New York: United Nations:). UN Economic and Social Council.

USAID. (2014). *Promoting gender equity in national priority programs* (PROMOTE). https://2012–2017.usaid.gov/news-information/fact-sheets/promoting-gender-equity-national-priority-programs

USAID. (2016, January 3). *U.S. government supports Afghan educators and future leaders.* https://www.usaid.gov/afghanistan/news-information/press-releases/usgovernment-supports-afghan-educators-and-future

Van den Brule, J. (2008). *Good practices and international trends of teacher accreditation and certification with analysis and recommendations for Pakistan under the strengthening teacher education in Pakistan (STEP) programme*. USAID.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Blackwell Publishing.

Wahab, S., & Youngerman, B. (2007). *A brief history of Afghanistan*. Infobase Publishing.

Wakefield, S., & Bauer, B. (2005). *A place at the table: Afghan women, men and decision-making authority*. Afghanistan Education and Research Unit (AERU).

Wang, A. H., Coleman, A. B., Coley, R. J., Phelps, R. P., & Educational Testing Service (2003). *Preparing teachers around the world*. Educational Testing Service Research and Development Center (ETS).

Wang, J. (2003). Learning to teach toward standards-based writing instruction: Experiences of two preservice teachers and two mentors in an urban multicultural classroom. *Elementary School Journal*, *104*(2), 145–175.

Wardak, S., & Mitchell, E. (2013). Why women are missing: Women's leadership in Afghanistan's education policy and practice. In J. Rajasekar & L. Beh (Eds.). *Culture and gender in leadership: Perspectives from the Middle East and Asia* (pp. 275–296). Palgrave-MacMilllan.

Wardell, S. B., & Baralat, G. (2002). Exploited by whom? An alternative perspective on humanitarian assistance to Afghan women. *Third World Quarterly, 23*(5), 909–930.

Warwick, D. P., Reimers, F., & McGinn, N. F. (1991). *The implementation of educational innovations in Pakistan: Cases and concepts*. Harvard Institute for International Development, Harvard University.

Wilbur, D. (1962). *Afghanistan*. Yale University Press.

Williams, H. W., & Engel, L. C. (2013). How do other countries evaluate teachers? *Phi Delta Kappan*, *94*(4), 53–57.

Wilson, M. (2004). *Closing the leadership gap: Why women can and must help run the world*. Viking Press.

World Bank. (2004). *Securing Afghanistan's future. Technical annex on education*. Kabul:Afghanistan.

World Bank. (2005). *Country gender assessment, Afghanistan: National reconstruction and poverty reduction—The role of women in Afghanistan's future.* World Bank Publications.

Yin, R. (2003). *I* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Young, A. (2007). US buys teaching gadgets instead of medical supplies. *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.176.2429&rep=rep1&type=pdf