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Paradise Lost, Found Or Created? Expectations Between Teachers And Vulnerable Children: Case Study On Peace House Secondary School, Northern Tanzania

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Paradise lost, found or created?
Expectations between teachers and vulnerable children:
Case study on Peace House Secondary School, Northern Tanzania

Kelli Bee
PIM 68

A Capstone Paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master of Intercultural Service, Leadership and Management at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA.

July 2011
Advisor: Paul LeVasseur
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DEDICATION

This paper is for any child who has been invalidated and dehumanized. Specifically, it is for children who are vulnerable, such as Peace House students, or feel as though they are, like children of abusive guardians. They rarely have their perspective taken seriously and see first-hand more often how humiliating or angry life can be when decisions devalue their existence. May the actions of these children and those around them chose a different path and thus reaffirm humanity.
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ABSTRACT

The orphans and vulnerable children of northern Tanzania are offered a unique opportunity of education if selected to attend Peace House Secondary School. The school selects the most needy of this ostracized demographic and offers high quality education by focusing on student-centered techniques.

This study investigates the expectations between students and teachers using ethnographic methods carried out in 2010 and 2011, including student-wide survey, classroom observations and interviews with both teachers and students. Student perspective was intentionally of particular focus in data collection.

The study found that expectations which were shared by all participants revolve around passing exams. Students are additionally expected to respect teachers, which was explained from the backdrop of passing the tests. Many challenges for students to reach these expectations were expressed by all participants. They include language barriers, maturing feeling towards romantic relationships and being able to apply what they learn.

Discourse, however, rose when discussing additional expectations on teachers. Students voiced concerns of fairness, role modeling and whole-person support from teachers. Students, even though they appreciate teachers, have high expectations which are largely unmet.

What started as an inquiry of expectations leads to simultaneously answering the question ‘to what extent does Peace House accomplish their mission’. This leads to an analysis of the Peace House system as it relates to development, pedagogy and humanity. This study highlights how one relatively young organization with high
expectations is implementing low levels of change but struggles to manifest its large mission to its potential. Is paradise lost, found or simply being created?
<table>
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACSEE</td>
<td>Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Exam</td>
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<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Auto-Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>AWF</td>
<td>African Wildlife Foundation</td>
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<td>CSEE</td>
<td>Certificate of Secondary Education Exam</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
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<td>NECTA</td>
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<td>Peace House Secondary School / Peace House School</td>
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<td>TANAPA</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From the countless hours of discussion in the years leading to this research question, or the final editing, I am humbled by the community in which this paper has been cultivated, particularly members of the Peace House community. Getting continuous feedback from you led to enormous reflection for me, whether in late night staff room conversations or debriefs after observations. The Social Life Department, as headed by Brother Anjelo, was incredibly supportive in filtering and fine tuning my ideas and approach, including various translations and logistical issues. Christian was always available for a late night discussion on approach and was a wonderful source of Kiswahili translation. Sam Gibuni for supporting the IT interns in aiding the survey process and giving me moral support by being a ‘calm in the storm’. Above all, I am humbled and inspired by the students of Peace House. Knowing the inequities that exists, they courageously shared their stories with me. It is from these small acts of courage, when combined with others in a larger movement that, in the words of Robert Kennedy, “sends forth a tiny ripple of hope. And crossing each other from a million different centers of energy, those ripples build a daring current that can sweep down the mightiest wall of oppression and resistance” (South Africa 1966).

My deepest appreciation also go to: Mwenge University, namely Father Vicorini Salema, who allowed me access to their library of educational literature, which strongly informed the background and analysis sections; Trish for never ending moral support and surprises of chocolates to keep me going; My yoga class who has taken a similar journey through my own reflections and catharsis in practice; Tait for allowing me to build on her research and SIT capstone on vulnerable children in Tanzania; Thembi, with whom crossing paths was serendipitous - Thank you for being my advisor in reality and knocking me into academic and spiritual shape; Amy for some last minute editing magic; Anna for carrying back a copy of Paulo Friere’s Pedagogy of the Oppressed for me from the states. I am still appalled that I could not find a copy among those I know in Arusha. Perhaps we should have a book club?

The internal journey this process has produced in it’s wake was quite difficult to face at times. Thanks to the simultaneous journey of my sister, Beth, who also served as sounding board when I was stuck and an endless well of moral support from my mother, I remembered to, in the words of Finding Nemo (Disney movie) character, “just keep swimming, just keep swimming, just keep swimming”.

In dissecting the subject of my research, remaining in awe was sometimes a deep challenge. There were moments of too many questions, too much thinking, over analyzing. Yet, action with intention remains necessary. As I often
get stuck in cognitive depth and find the responsibility of action overwhelming. I want to thank “Joker” for reminding me of what it is like to fly, play and come back to life! He helps me to reaffirm my own humanity, from the inside out!

If there is anyone I have forgotten to include specifically, please forgive my short sidedness. It is not intentional. In the words of Paulo Friere “The responsibility for the affirmations made herein is, of course, mine alone”.

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BACKGROUND and RESEARCH QUESTION

Vulnerable Children:

The statistics of orphans and vulnerable children around the world are daunting and especially heart wrenching when looking at sub-Saharan Africa. Tanzania in 2006, had 2.4 million orphans, 44% or 1.1 million of whom were orphans due to Auto-Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) (UNICEF, PEPFAR, UNAIDS 2006). These children become vulnerable to increased poverty not only because more of the resources are used for treatment but also social discrimination due to being associated with an unhealthy person. Combined together, such children who have been categorized as the most vulnerable children (MVC), face decreased nourishment, increased health risks, decreased education or training, and increased stigmatization. This practice goes against the United Nations (UN) convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which in article 2 reads: Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.

“Most of the MVCs are not involved in making decisions on issues that affect their lives, especially the division of deceased family members’ property. The relatives often sell whatever property belongs to the MVCs and divide the money among themselves, excluding the MVCs. Moreover, current laws are not adequate to safeguard the interests of MVCs. Since MVCs have no one to defend them, they are often beaten by the police and militia. They receive no justice at the community level, only discrimination and stigma, which deprives them of opportunities for
development and progress as normal children.” (USAID/Family Health International 2006).

These children are placed with other family members, particularly grandmothers, who are often poorly resourced and are already taking care of other dependent children. (UNICEF, PEPFAR, UNAIDS 2006; USAID/Family Health International 2006) They often find systems of exploitation and corruption because they feel they have no choice but to steal, to do drugs, to prostitute their body or to give sexual favors for basic needs, such as food or clothes. (USAID/Family Health International 2006) These practices go against the UN convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which in article 12 reads:

1. State parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all manners affecting the child, the view of the child being given due weight in accordance with age and maturity of the child.

2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided with the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rule of natural law.

The accumulation of these issues facing MVC is often internalized where their mental health is jeopardized by increased anxiety, depression, sleep disorders, pessimism or sense of failure. (UNICEF, PEPFAR, UNAIDS 2006)

MVC Perspective:
The largest issues for the most vulnerable children in Tanzania which were self-identified in a recent study are lack of food, stigmatization/discrimination, lack of education, lack of shelter bedding, lack of health services, pregnancy, lack of parenting/support, inadequate protection, AIDS/HIV, and lack of income generating activities (USAID/Family Health International 2006).

Tanzanian Economy:

Tanzania ranks 164th of 184 countries in GDP expenditures on education with only a 2.2% contribution and has a per capita of $1,300, which ranks 203rd globally (Central Intelligence Agency, 2010). In essence, Tanzania struggles to compete globally. Its per capita purchasing power parity in 2006 was $800, up from roughly $300 in the 1980s (Central Intelligence Agency, 2007; EconStats, 2007). 75% of the 41 million Tanzanian nationals live in rural areas, far away from resources which connect them to the increasing globalized world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2010). Agriculture accounts for 27% of the GDP and 80% of labor force but relies on only 4.2% of the land in Tanzania which is arable (ibid). Generally speaking, Tanzanians have little cash to make purchases with and work as subsistence farmers. When many Tanzanians have difficulty securing basic needs, the MVC burden seems to be hopeless.

MVCAP:

The Tanzanian Ministry of Labor, Youth Development and Sports under the Department of Social Welfare created an extensive MVC Action Plan (MVCAP)
for 2006-2010 which addressed six major areas in which Tanzania needs to add considerable and intentional effort to support the large MVC population: service delivery environment, household level care and support, education, access to health care services, social protection or security, and psychosocial support (USAID/Family Health International. 2006). This appears to be a step in the right direction to implementing protocols which ensure that the UN Convention on the Right of the Child (1989) article 4 is upheld. It states:

“In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.”

This begs the question: ‘Can MVC in Tanzania be nurtured and given rights, including being heard in decisions which affect them? Furthermore, can MVC be integrated with mutual respect into their community so as to make decisions which help and transform their community?’

**Education:**

Education offers hope, to all children to be nourished intellectually, socially and while exploring how to contribute back to society. It may, arguably, hold the greatest potential for transformation with in OVC/MVC who might gain skills which can help ameliorate their life, or even the lives of their family, friends and community. Hearing stories of remarkable resiliency in youth who create positive change in their communities is inspiring and becoming more common place as youth development, leadership and entrepreneurial skills are
highlighted in current philanthropic trends. If a young person is passionate about making a difference, people tend to listen because their “vision is fueled by determination and unclouded by skepticism. There’s very little that can stand in their way” (Manomay Malathip, Kauffman Foundation Youth Development Board).

EARLY INDEPENDENCE: Education, in a formal sense for Tanzania during colonial rule, was primarily for the colonial elite and was even racially and religiously discriminatory (Nyerere 1967). After independence, education moved away from international curriculums (Cambridge was used until 1968) and assessments to more local ones, such as the East African Examinations Council (EAEC) or the eventual formation of National examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) in 1972 (NECTA, 2004). Despite a significant increase in enrollment numbers at the primary level, which rose from 903,000 students in 1971 to 3,500,000 a decade later in 1981 (Vavrus, 2003), this focus of resources on primary-level education caused enrollment to decline at the secondary level, dropping from 3.2 to 1 percent between 1966 and 1981 (Buchert, 1994).

SELF-RELIANCE: During this time, the first President, Julius K Nyerere, or lovingly referred to as mwalimu (meaning teacher in Kiswahili) introduced a theory called Education for Self-Reliance to push Tanzanians to dispel the colonialist attitudes engrained in the education system. He stated that self-reliance would prepare
people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgments on all the issue affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society, and to implement them in the light of the particular local circumstances where they happen to live or (in other words) learn basic principles and then adapt them to their own context or situation. Only free people, conscious of their worth and their equality, can build a free society’ (1967).

Integrating knowledge into practice, despite the varied ‘circumstances’ of where one lives was essential for Nyerere. Integration is the ability to critique and adapt the applicability of knowledge to a certain situation. Critical thinking is a key skill needed to do so.

Nyerere also wrote to dispel attitudes of entitlement which impede contributions to a free society such as the association that education leads to less manual labor.

Secondary students now have a feeling they and their parents deserve a prize – the prize they expect is high wages, comfortable employment in town and personal status in society...This induces a feeling of superiority and leaves others hankering after something they will never obtain which induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority. This produces neither the egalitarian society we should build nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. (1967)

For Nyerere, there is a disconnect between community and education which fuels this gap between minority and majority, educated and not. He further urges that schools should be fully integrated into a community, rather than remain as a separate institution. By growing or producing goods from the school which can be sold in the community or use community resources such as land or labor to produce such goods, education does not need to increase the already
present wedge between education and community. He envisioned a country where communities worked hard for each other and themselves and where schools were not separate from community but were integrated into the community, sharing resources, labor and expertise to integrate youth more fully. His self-reliance addresses this by laying out how education could be practical by using the resources available (i.e. arable land and work force, both of which were and still are primarily rural) to produce goods which would help Tanzania grow as an autonomous nation. He explained how cooperation and unity with community would be key. There would be mutual respect between elders, who know the natural and social systems as well as their history, and students who are gaining new knowledge and theories. This potential dialectic would, Nyerere envisioned, pull Tanzanians together to flourish as an autonomous state. Nyerere still remains a revered icon for Tanzanians for issues of social justice. Many Tanzanians today smile and respond positively to the word ‘self-reliance’.

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE: The Tanzanian educational system remains with three phases. The first is primary school (roughly equivalent to elementary school in the United States) which consisted of 7 years of schooling, called standards and ends with an exit exam, now called the Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE). Primary school is currently provided by the government but parents need to provide a uniform, paper and writing utensils, which can be a significant amount of money for a family whose purchasing power is below $800 a year. Some schools provide a lunch, which has been shown to increase attendance
rates. Many primary schools cannot afford to offer such beneficial incentives. Many students walk long distances everyday to school, sometimes leaving in the early morning and arriving back at home after dark. For instance, one student accepted at Peace House for the 2011 school year walked 21 km one way through rugged landscapes (few inhabitants, many predators, no roads) to attend primary school. Yet somehow, was able to still contribute to her family as well as do relatively well on the PSLE.

If students perform well on the PSLE, they are allowed into a government Secondary school where fees are 20,000 to 35,000 Tanzanian shillings (Tsh) per term. With current exchange rates, this is equivalent to just over $12 to $22 per term. If they are not given a government school position, they then face either private school fees, which can be more than 300,000 TSH per term ($200 with current exchange rate of 1,500 Tanzanian shilling to $1 USD) or stay at home to help the family or find work. In addition to school fees, families are expected to pay for transportation, uniforms, exam fees, exercise books and other basic supplies, including buckets, sheets and soap for boarding schools. Sometimes these fees far exceed school fees themselves. Secondary school is divided into Ordinary Level (O-level) which consisted of four years of schooling and a exit exam, called the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (CSEE). This allows one to move on to Advanced Level (A-level) which is two years and culminates in the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education (ACSEE).
Acceptance into college or university, as the third education tier, is solely dependent on ACSEE scores. Scores for all exams are public knowledge and even posted in local newspapers and on the internet. Doing well on each stage of the exams means an increased possibility that a student can gain higher levels of education and escape poverty, such as the case with MVC.

LATE 20th CENTURY: In the 1980’s, parents were asked to contribute more significantly to the education of their children, primarily as an effect of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) which asked borrowing nations to deregulate and privatize various services in order to move towards a free-market system. Enrollment numbers remained relatively low for many years. For example, in 1986, there were just over 19,000 national exams at the secondary level, a sign of how many students were preparing to graduate. In 1990, it rose to nearly 29,000 (NECTA, 2004). This same year, the Education for ALL (EFA) conference in Jomtien, Thailand pressed for quality of education through measures of efficiency and effectiveness. Yet, Tanzania still has dismally low enrollment rates and could not yet afford the luxury of concentrating on educational quality.

21st CENTURY: The first 10 years of the century has shown a dramatic change for education in Tanzania. When the UN produced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) at the turn of the century, universal primary enrollment was among those stressed. By 2006, the global primary school enrollment was 83.8% (Rijani, 2006). In 2001, the Tanzanian Ministry of Education
rolled out the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) and in 2002, the Ministry of Education abolished school fees for primary school which led to a dramatic increase in primary school enrollment rates. Enrollment rates have soared and have been and are projected to remain close to 100% (Wils, Carrol and Barrow, 2005). This is an incredible accomplishment and shows that people of Tanzania are indeed hungry for education.

At the turn of the century, secondary school net enrollment rate was a dismal 5% (Rijani, 2006). With PEDP, however, that was about to change. As more students graduated primary, they demanded to continue their education. In 2004, the Ministry released a Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) which, among other things, ensured that 50% of PSLE students could secure a position at a secondary school. Secondary gross enrollment went from 350,000 in 2003 to 675,000 in 2006, nearly doubling (HakiElimu, 2007a) The Tanzanian government constructed 1,084 new government secondary schools to accommodate increasing transition rates from primary to secondary school in 2006 and early 2007 alone (Shuyler 2008).

With dramatically improving enrollment rates, the question of quality entered the dialogue. The Tanzanian government wanted to lay a map for quality of education and created objectives of secondary schools as seen in Figure 1. Increased enrollment rates, both in primary and secondary translates to the need for more teachers. HakiElimu, a watchdog for citizen rights in Tanzania
reported that only 66% of the needed teachers and tutors at secondary level were recruited (2007b). This teacher deficit led to increased class size, which decreased the attention each pupil received from the teacher. Reports of primary schools with over 100, even up to 170 pupils in a class has become common, despite the government cap being set at 40 (Wobick, 2008)! This disconnect between policy and practice has been a hot debate in education, especially for Tanzania in the last 10 years.

**Figure 1: Objectives of Secondary Education (Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2005)**

1. To consolidate and broaden the scope of baseline ideas, knowledge, skills and principles acquired and developed at the primary education level;

2. To enhance further development and appreciation of national unity, identity and ethic, personal integrity, respect for and readiness to work, human rights, cultural and moral values, customs, traditions and civic responsibilities and obligations;

3. To promote the development of competency in linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and in at least one foreign language;

4. To provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and understanding in prescribed or selected fields of study;

5. To prepare students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training;

6. To inculcate a sense and ability for self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in new frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge, and skills;

7. To prepare the student to join the world of work.
These statistics beg the question ‘What learning is happening in the classroom’? Are the objectives of secondary education, as seen in figure 1 being met? Are these objectives robust enough to make a sustained impact on Tanzanian life? Are MVC and OVC able to access such an education?’

ISSUES - LANGUAGE: Julius K. Nyerere, founding father of Tanzania, unified the diverse ethnic groups through implementation of a document called the *Arusha Declaration*. In 1967, he instituted as part of a plan to strengthen socialism, unity and community with the more than 120 tribes in Tanzania, the notion of *Ujumaa*, under which all Tanzanians were to learn Kiswahili, the national language, in order to communicate with others. As a part of this movement, he instituted a teacher placement system where teachers were posted in communities other than their own in order to intentionally mix groups. With forty years of subtle reforms in these two areas, the impact on classroom learning is remarkable. Most of the ethnic groups have a mother-tongue language, separate from Kiswahili. A child will grow up in their household learning and speaking their mother language. The Chagga tribe speaks Kichagga. The Maasai speak Kimaasai and so on. Upon entering primary school, a student’s teacher would often not be from the students’ community or tribe and therefore speak a different mother tongue. The teacher, in primary school, uses Kiswahili as the medium of instruction, which for many students is a new language. The PSLE is conducted in Kiswahili and is the only consideration taken for entrance into secondary school.
During the third year of primary school, students begin to learn English. If they are able to secure a seat in secondary school, they need to be proficient in English because the medium of instruction is English. The students are not only learning a new language but also trying to learn new concepts, some of which are very complicated such as science, in the new language, English. Furthermore, the CSEE is conducted in English. Some students have noted that instruction on the CSEE exam includes directions, such as “refute the following fallacy” when students have never heard of the word fallacy (Shuyler 2008). Parents, teachers and students alike share ideas about the importance of understanding English so as to integrate more completely into the ‘globalized’ world beyond the borders of Tanzania which is a part of ‘competitive integration’ rhetoric (ibid). The complicated dialogue between language and learning, especially in the Tanzanian context, has received much attention in the last decade. One response to this has been an increase in number of private primary schools called ‘English mediums’, where parents pay increased fees to ensure increased understanding of the English language. Because English Mediums are accessible to those with more disposable income, relatively speaking, this allows resourced families to gain a competitive advantage for exam success in Tanzania. In essence, this widens the gap of socio-economic disparity which is already rife in Tanzania.

ISSUES – TEACHING STYLE: The teaching styles implemented in the classroom have traditionally been ‘chalk talk’, where the teacher lectures, or
may just write on the board and the students copy what is written. This style is heavily dependent on rote memorization. Students are rarely given the platform to understand or apply concepts being taught but can recite examples or definitions they have heard. This is all in preparation for the exams, as mentioned above, which are considered critical in order to advance to a higher level. One student stated clearly stated:

“The scope of the exams is vast and intense pressure is placed on students to memorize and perform well on the exams but little is done to make sure the students understand the course material. Thus, students are tested on memorization, sometimes on material as far back as Form One (the first year of Ordinary or “O” level in secondary school), and if a student fails to perform then he is labeled as unintelligent. There can be a case where a student does well on an exam but only because he has an exceptional memory and is not necessarily intelligent. Thus exams are set to measure memory capabilities and are not an accurate measurement of intelligence” (Shuyler 2008).

When asked to tell a story of failing the exam, many students referred to suicide (Ibid). One student in this study responded to the question ‘what are the consequences of not performing well’ with a morbid thought: “My greatest fear is losing my life” (Student C). The exam is not something to take lightly. It is a critical structure in understanding the education in Tanzania, even if it is not an accurate measure of intelligence, as described above. Students, in fact, want teachers to spend more time teaching for the exam (Shuyler 2008).

The evidence is mounting. Education is offered to more and more Tanzanians every year but the quality of education often does not go beyond memorization. Furthermore, the education industry in Tanzania is increasingly
becoming a profit making industry in the private sector. This widens the gap between the affluent minority who can afford such services and subsequently becomes the management or owner strata of the work force. The resource-poor majority of Tanzanians who provide the manual labor but feel limited options are available to them in making choices which affect their life, are of particular focus for this thesis, specifically the MVC and OVC. Education offers great hope for these marginalized communities to have far reaching positive effects, despite the socio-economic factors which make the manifestation of such expectations on education unlikely. This intense faith in education, something which is to be received like a commodity and which transforms poverty into flourishing communities, even when it is not reality, is called education panacea (Vavrus 2003).

Thus, are MVC and OVC demographics in Tanzania transforming their respective community through education? If so, where? Is their perspective taken into account or heard? What are the impacts of any attempts to accomplish this lofty goal, in a seemingly education panacea perspective?

**Peace House:**

Being deeply committed to the dream that an educational reform in which marginalized communities are empowered holistically, I started searching to see if such an institution existed. At first, I didn’t find one so I created one in my head, by way of a business plan for a secondary school which used student-
centered techniques and problem solving in a way which embodies self-reliance. Once I shared this idea with a few friends and family, Peace House was introduced. When looking over their website and promotional materials, it appeared as though education panacea had been found. Peace House’s mission is to “create a brighter future for Africa’s orphans, vulnerable children and their communities through nurturing care, dynamic education, technology research and business development” (Peace House website, 2011). The school is focused on bringing business and entrepreneurial skills to MVC using student-centered teaching techniques while developing the whole student, physically, emotionally, spiritually and intellectually. While at Peace House, I supported teachers in creating a school specific mission which reads “Our mission is to provide an outstanding quality education in a stimulating, compassionate and inspiring environment where orphans and vulnerable Tanzanian youth discover their potential as independent problem solvers and critical thinkers.” I wondered, ‘How does Peace House accomplish its mission\(^1\) with teacher-student interactions in the classroom?’

**BRIEF HISTORY:** Scott Augustine spent a number of his childhood years in Tanzania. He has since left, raised a family and became a medical doctor. He saw problems in hospitals and operating rooms which he wanted to help solve. Having an entrepreneurial spirit, he set out to create new tools and technology

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\(^1\) The critical pieces of the mission statement for this study are 1) links to the community of MVC, 2) compassionate and nurturing environment and 3) dynamic or stimulating education.
which would help. It did. He still wanted to do more. Thinking about Tanzania, he
wanted to help train youth to be entrepreneurs, to create jobs rather than seek
them. His answer is manifested in Peace House Secondary School (PHSS).

Peace House is a private boarding secondary school under the Lutheran
Church. It is funded primarily by its founder, Scott Augustine, who incorporated a
501.c.3 previously to help provide scholarships to various OVC in Moshi, the town
at the base of Kilimanjaro and 85 km east of Arusha. Wanting to support a wider
geographical area, and knowing the secondary school shortage as determined
by low percentage of PSLE students who secured a position at secondary
school, Scott along with his family and the Peace House board decided that
building a school would make the most significant impact.

LOCATION: Peace House broke ground in 2006 on 100 acres of donated
semi-arid land from the Lutheran Church and government. It is located just 8 km
from the heart of Arusha and 4 kilometers from a main highway. Arusha, which in
the 2002 census had 280,000 people (Republic of Tanzania, 2002), is at the foot
of Mount Meru, a dormant volcano which stands 4,566 meters (14,980 ft) high
and is a dominating factor when determining weather patterns and especially
precipitation. The area is at the edge of Maasai land which straddles the border
with neighboring Kenya and is a hub of international business, primarily due to
the many national parks located nearby, including Kilimanjaro, Serengeti,
Taranguire and The Ngorongoro Conservation Area. The safari tourism market is
central to much of the Arusha economics as many head-quarters for ecological and wildlife institutions are in Arusha, such as African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) and Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI). It has also houses the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UNICTR or ICTR), which was established in 1994 and is scheduled to start closing in the later part of 2011.

STUDENT SELECTION: Students are selected in a 3 phase ‘verification’ process to ensure they are not only truly a MVC, but also inclined to thrive in the challenging environment. Peace House gives a small number of applications through community liaisons who can vouch for the students’ vulnerability, character and even academic potential. This task was first delegated to religious leaders in nearby communities, particularly around Moshi and Arusha but is now changing to a deeper partnership with targeted primary schools in order to better ‘track’ the students. The applicants are then first filtered to see if there are any which are definitely not a match. The second phase is a standardized exam, similar to the national exams which Peace House teachers create. With the applications and exam results, Peace House selects a number of students to send multiple Peace House representatives to the home of the perspective student in order to inquire on the economic viability and support as to distinguish whether the family could not pay for school. This house visit is made unannounced. If accepted, the verification team judges how much the family should contribute in school fees, which range from 0 to 30,000 TSH. Once this fee
is determined, it does not change for the remainder of the student’s education at Peace House. Most student families pay 10,000 to 20,000 per term, which is equivalent to $7-15 USD with current exchange rates. All new form one students receive a uniform, shoe polish, soap and toothpaste. Additionally, girls receive hygiene pads. To stay enrolled at Peace House, students must receive a minimum of 45% on the end of year exams. For those who fall below, they are sent to another school where Peace House still pays school fees. It is a truly remarkable opportunity for the students who are accepted.

ENROLLMENT and NUMBERS: In late 2007, Peace House opened its doors to 120 pre-Form One students as a way to prepare students for the rigorous Peace House curriculum which began Form One in January 2008 (the academic calendar for O-level begins in January and ends in December). It accepted an additional 90 students for 2009 and 115 for 2010 respective academic years. The economic crisis of 2009 affected Peace House to the extent that there was contemplation of not even allowing a new class in 2011. The decision was made, however, to allow a much smaller class of 35 students. A total of 360 students have been welcomed onto campus since opening its doors as of 2011. This means that 2011 is the first year of having a complete O-level campus housing Form One through Form Four, the last year of O-level secondary education. New students are not accepted after Form One. Therefore, the Form Four class of 2011 have all been at Peace House since its first year of housing students.
Attrition of accepted students is relatively high. 82 students have left for various reasons. The largest factor in loosing students is due to falling below the required exam score of 45%, of which 70 students have left the school for not reaching the academic standards required, 51 of which were girls. There have been 6 students who left due various disciplinary issues and 3 due to pregnancy (Seuya, personal communication May 9 2011). It is considered highly taboo for a girl to be attending school if pregnant or if already a mother. Peace House gives pregnancy tests to all girls every term. The issue of pregnancy exemplifies MVC poverty cycles as girls who want an education often seek a sponsor, often an older male, who provides various goods, such as school fees, food, clothes or even cell phones. Feeling powerless, if the male asks for sex or even forces it upon the girl, she often does not report it and sometimes continues the relationship. Seeking help for such young and vulnerable youth is an enormous risk. Peace House tries to minimize such risks by providing necessary supplies as mentioned above as well as giving weekly lessons in life-skills, in which topics such as decision making, peer pressure, anger management and romantic relationships including sexuality are discussed.

PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES: The campus has been compared to that of a university (from a parent at the October 2010 parents’ day). It is 100 acres of semi-arid grassland with 19 buildings: one large two-story academic and administrative building which houses eight classrooms, two equipped science labs, teachers office, library with computer lab and teacher resource room, and
administration offices; four dorm buildings, two for girls and two for boys each of which has their own matron or patron, respectively to safety and well-being outside of academic hours; a large dining hall and equipped propane kitchen which is working to use bio-gas created on campus but not operational during this study; six teacher housing duplexes which were designed to house 12 teachers and their families; six other houses designed for volunteers (such as the one I stayed in) and various staff including social life department, volunteer coordinator, estate manager, headmistress or master, managing director; and a maintenance workshop which also houses a school store which was launched in 2010. The perimeter has an electrified fence. Additionally, there is a multi-acre farm or shamba which provides some vegetables for the kitchen as well as an herb garden next to the kitchen. A herd of some 30 sheep wander around campus and are slaughtered from time to time for their meat. There have been plans to have chickens and cows on campus but this has not yet been realized. There is also a black-water filtration system which uses low-impact technology and natural systems to recycle water back to the farm as well as fuel for the kitchen through methane produced on campus. These components have not yet been in operation, however, as of June 2011.

STUDENT-CENTERED TEACHING: The emphasis on hands-on learning and student centered pedagogies is unique. All classes have less than 40 students. Teachers are selected based on passion for the Peace House mission as well as interest and ability to continually be integrating new teaching techniques in the
classroom, in addition to their teaching background. For the 2010 and 2011 school years, 15 full time teachers were employed, including 4 new teachers hired due to the expansion in numbers. No new teachers were hired for the 2011 school year since the intake of new form one students was respectively low. Given the fact that teachers spend a larger portion of time with students than anyone else, recognizing the influence they have on their pupils is a critical step in supporting better learning environments.

My presence at Peace House also shows a dedication as an organization to break the habit of ‘chalk talk’ since my role during the 2010 calendar year was to implement a professional development program with teachers. I was an educational consultant meeting with teachers as a group and individually to help with lesson plans, observe classes, push reflective practices and develop skills and areas of need in critical pedagogies. A weekly professional development meeting occurred every week but in 2010 consisted largely of political discourse regarding organizational logistics and policies. Peace House is incredibly invested in their teachers. They sent all teachers in 2009 and 2010 to a student-centered teaching techniques week long workshop, called ‘Teaching in Action’, which was hosted by a local University in conjunction with two Universities from the United States. Teachers, after the 2010 workshop, expressed a disappointment in the workshop because it was designed for the average Tanzanian teacher who does not have the resources, whether physical, professional or organizational that is offered by Peace House. From this
perspective, Peace House is a leader in educational reform in Tanzania and its teachers are considered cutting edge.

STAFFING: Peace House school employed 65 people during 2010, most of which were cooks, gardeners and guards. All teachers, except for one, who is Kenyan, are Tanzanian nationals. The only non-East African nationals employed by Peace House are the volunteer coordinator(s), estate manager and managing director. At the beginning of 2011, there were three staff in the Minnesota headquarters, who were responsible for fundraising, volunteer recruitment and program development. Operating costs are near $80,000 per month.

Research question:

The Peace House model is a unique and ground-breaking approach to education in Tanzania and arguably the only one of its kind in the country, mainly because it reaches out to MVC/OVC populations to create educational reform in Tanzania through its student-centered teaching in order to create job creators rather than job seekers (Peace House Website 2011). It is therefore a well suited, if not the best site, to study the questions laid out previously in this section. The issues laid out culminate in a practitioner inquiry which revolves around rights and voices of MVC as well as educational reform particularly with teaching techniques and integration of community into educational institutions as heard in Nyerere’s self-reliance.
In synthesizing these preliminary questions, I realized that I wanted to study perceived and real expectations between teachers and students in the classroom setting, particularly regarding students lives when they leave Peace House. Therefore the research question with sub-questions are:

What are the perceived expectations between teachers and students in the classroom setting at Peace House Secondary School?

1) What are the expectations between teacher and students?
2) What are the expectations of post-Peace House life for its students?
3) How are these expectations communicated?
   a) How are these expectations reinforced?
   b) What barriers to communication exist?

In setting out to answer these questions, however, I found that participants perspectives and thus data collected led to a response of a larger question: ‘To what extent does Peace House accomplish its mission?’ This paper is laid out in a way which tracks this diversion of inquiry as I maintain the research question regarding expectations between teachers and students. It is in the later sections of data and analysis where this larger question is broached.

METHODS:

In this section, I lay out how I planned to investigate the research questions.
Ethnography:

In order to approach answering the research question ‘What are the perceived and real expectations between teachers and students in the classroom setting at Peace House Secondary School?’, I conducted a literature review which is embedded in the background and analysis section.

The research presented in this capstone relies on primary sources gathered through written surveys, open-ended semi-structured interviews and participant observation, utilizing ethnographic methods of qualitative research. This methodological style was chosen since I was surrounded by the Peace House culture: I worked as an educational consultant as discussed in the previous section (see subheading Issues – Teaching Techniques) as well as lived on the school campus. Ethnography is a useful method for investigating beyond the verbal responses to questions and into the realm of social interaction. This is the ideal method to investigate any gaps between theory of expectations (what is stated in interviews) and what is practiced in interactions (observations), especially for giving voice to students who culturally have had little room for giving their opinions and perspective (see MVC section in background).

Participants: Students

Peace House Secondary School students are, as explained in the background section, from demographics of extreme economic and social marginalization. As one student explained in an interview, students are taken
“from the streets or picked from the dust-bin” (Student B). All students at Peace House are considered to be MVC. It is thus a perfect site to examine the relationships between teacher and MVC students.

Students interviewed and observed in class were all from Peace House whose guardians gave written permission to participate (see Appendix C for permission form). Looking at the class schedules of the selected students, a number of their teachers were selected as to ensure that classes observed had students which would be interviewed.

SURVEY: Although I had been observing classrooms at Peace House during the 2010 year, the data collected was not focused on this capstone topic. I felt it was necessary to gain the perspective of students regarding expectations of teachers and, therefore, designed a survey to implement at the end of the 2010 school year. It was designed to gain the students perspective of whether or not expectations of teachers set by the administration were being met. It was implemented in June 2010 as a pilot where I learned the importance of the qualitative data. To reduce the transcription time in the qualitative section, we decided to administer the survey in the computer lab with the help of the information technology interns. The survey consisted of 18 quantitative questions of which two asked students to rank how much the student enjoys the subject and how much the student enjoys the teacher while the remaining 16 asked each student to rank various qualities of the teacher, such as punctuality,
clear instructions, and fairness of grading on a 5 point-lichert scale. These qualities were selected based on administrative expectations set on teachers as defined in the teacher professional development program. The three qualitative questions ask for weaknesses, strengths and anything else the student would like to explain. Every student filled out one survey for every one of his or her subject teachers, not including library and computer classes. This means that every one of the 245 students enrolled in November 2010 filled out 11 surveys, one for each of their teachers. Each question was translated into Kiswahili by a native Kiswahili speaker so that the survey was bilingual (see Appendix A). The survey was then compiled into one file for each teacher, by form. Meanwhile, the quantitative data was analyzed using averages. Qualitative data was left in language of origination but coded and analyzed. The qualitative responses were linguistically simple enough to warrant this approach in analysis. There were some conflicting terms used in qualitative responses by students which were further investigated in the student interviews. The results of the survey were presented back to teachers in a meeting in late February 2011 while each teacher received a copy of his/her data as well as the average for the Peace House teachers as a whole. Teachers, administration and myself discussed the findings together.

INTERVIEWS: To gain further perspective of some students, ten were initially selected in November 2010 with help from the Social Life department to represent a wide spectrum of Peace House students (not specific to any
demographic feature such as gender, ethnic, exam performance or age). After talking with the ten prospective student participants as well as some of their parents, five returned with guardian permission of which four were from Form Four students. It therefore seemed appropriate to investigate the Form Four perspective at greater depth through semi-structured interviews which would offer a unique perspective as they had been at Peace House since its first year of operation. Of the four students interviewed, two were female and two were male. On the last day of school in December 2010, I held a preliminary interview in the library with each student (See appendix B). As school was on a holiday break much of December and early January, I conducted second and even third interviews, when necessary, until March 2011. These second interviews were after class observations. Interviews were meant to 1) follow up from the student survey and 2) follow-up from classroom observations with the overall goal of defining the expectations students have for themselves and their teachers and the degree to which these expectations are met. The later aspect of this inquiry, as noted earlier, led to a larger inquiry of expectations of Peace House as an institution and the extent to which they accomplish their mission.

**Participants: Teachers**

Teachers selected were based on students already in the study, which were all Form Four. The goal was to follow one teacher in class and follow-up with both the teacher and at least one student, if not two. In approaching
teachers, many were hesitant to participate, giving reasons of preparation for upcoming exams and pressure to get though the syllabus. It is important to note this as both teachers and students were preparing for the CSEE, which mentioned earlier is a high-stakes exam (see Issues: Language and Issues: Teaching Style in background section). There were a total of three teachers who agreed to participate by being observed once or sometimes twice each, depending on their availability. They additionally agreed to be interviewed, which occurred either formally with digital recorder or informally while multitasking and not digitally recording (see appendix D). At least one teacher was female. Some conversations happened organically in the teachers’ office after working hours, on the bus back to town, on the weekends or even walking home after work. The researcher also kept notes for various other meetings with teachers and administration. Class observations were digitally recorded even though students did not know it. This was to minimize any behavior change which might occur or anxiety in knowing they were being recorded. In class observations focused on expression of expectations, such as greetings, closings, seating arrangements, using names for students, instructions, follow up on instructions, activities which allowed creativity or critical thinking, making the material relevant to everyday life or applicable to the students’ lives as well as reinforcing concepts of social change or expectations of life beyond Peace House (i.e. when students graduate) (see appendix E). The overall purpose of class observations was to investigate how teachers and students
communicated expectations. Interviews of teachers were designed to investigate the teachers’ theoretical perspectives of their expectations. Between the two, concrete links and gaps were then identified.

OVERALL PROCEDURE: Informed voluntary consent forms were signed by all who participated in interviews. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed before coding and final analysis via themes. Since all participants are from one organization, it is important that no names be used to protect confidentiality, particularly due to sensitive material which was uncovered during the research process and which could have had harmful repercussions on participants. To best protect the identity of participants, names are not used in this capstone. Additionally, gender has been altered in the pronouns used unless it is specifically relevant to analysis. This is because of my desire to share this research and findings with the small community of Peace House. All raw data was destroyed upon completion of analysis.

Data for this research consists of notes from the literature review, notes and interviews taken prior to the period of field observation, and interviews with the target population identified above. The interview setting was informal and occurred at convenient times set by the interviewee. For students, weekends worked best while teachers preferred late afternoon. The language medium was English, although Kiswahili translations were available as I have moderate working knowledge of this national language. In summation, 241 students were
surveyed for 11 teachers each totaling 2651 surveys, five classes formally observed (many more were casually observed), three teachers interviewed at least once each and four Form Four students interviewed at least twice (see Appendix F).

**Barriers and Limitations:**

There were many limitations constraining this thesis. Working without research assistants and working full time placed considerable limitations on scope and time. Already being ‘embedded’ in the school for most of the calendar year before starting led to a more precise research question which is applicable to the institution. Although I came with another research question in mind, I quickly realized that it was not as relevant to the organization as I had anticipated, and I would have been pushing my personal agenda on hesitant participants. The research question I came to is a compromise between my desires and the reality of Peace House as an organization.

As a part of my consultant role at Peace House, observing classes numerous times before data collection started allowed exposure to workings and some subtleties of the Peace House system and classroom. It also placed me in an assumed position of evaluation. These observations were designed to support the implementation of hands-on learning and included reflection pieces for the teacher. The tensions between administration and teachers, however, grew throughout 2010 and such observations were perceived by many teachers
as a disintegration of trust between administration and teachers. In feedback for the program, one teacher said that "unplanned observations are for teacher trainees and untrusted employed teachers." This shows not only the level of trust expected from teachers by administration to allow teachers to do their work but also a lack of understanding among teachers regarding the intended to support which such activities can offer. It is likely that teachers observed saw me in a supervisor or administrative role and, thus, used previous interaction as a basis for preparing for lessons observed formally for this research. I attempted to minimize the effects of such adaptation by reiterating the basic research question and stating I was not concerned with academic material but the interactions between teacher and student. This also helped to model and maintain transparency. By doing so, however, teachers could have created subtle interpretations of expectations of my research and, therefore, adapted classroom interactions in order to 'do well' for my research. Scheduling of observed classes was determined by a combination of my availability and teacher willingness to participate.

Ideally, I wanted to observe a 'typical class'. As students and teachers alike mention lecturing as a way to cover material quickly, observations were accepted by teachers only when pressure from exams was minimal, and therefore, lecturing at a minimum. This alone shows the teachers want to 'please' me as a researcher and allow only the 'best' teaching to be observed. This was not the case with all teachers as one confided in me after the class that
there was no lesson plan for the class prior to arriving at school the same
morning. The teacher thought about how to approach the class and tried a
new technique and also asked for simple feedback from students at the end of
the lesson. As an observer, I was impressed with the creativity and clear
direction this teacher showed during class and was surprised to hear that
planning was minimal.

Students may have seen me or felt from the tensions from other teachers
that I was supervisory, especially given the possible evaluation nature of the
student survey for teachers. As teachers play a powerful role in education and
maintain power dynamics which allow them to control the outcome of student
well-being (Shuyler 2009), speaking against such a powerful person is an
incredible risk. One student declined to give a response to the question ‘Is there
is subject you enjoy but have difficulty with the teacher?’. This one response
shows the fear in placing them in any potentially vulnerable position regarding
the hierarchy perceived to be most powerful in ensuring their success. Likewise,
this may be the first time students are asked for input, regarding their education.
They may simply not be used to being asked such questions and giving their
perspective freely.

Recording the interviews could also alter answers as a sense of finality of
what is said is implied. There seemed to be varying levels of comfort with the
interview process, as seen in depth of responses. One student gave such quick
responses that the interview lasted a mere 35 minutes while another talked at length and gave such vivid examples of interactions that there were three separate interviews, all nearly one hour each. There were two points during which the recorder was asked to be shut off by the student being interviewed. One time was due to social interactions of peers coming into the room. We resumed when the peers had left the room. The second request to turn off the recorder was at the end of an interview when I asked the open-ended question ‘Is there anything else you would like to share with me about your experience here at Peace House?’ After turning off the recorder, the student described their perspective on an event which occurred in 2009 on campus, stemming from computers which were stolen from campus. This student gave an incredibly insightful account of various levels of corruption on campus, how the investigation was handled and the ‘fall out’ or action taken by administration. The student told me that many students share the interviewed student’s perspective but none have talked beyond peer groups about it. The fact that this student shared the information with me is inspiring. I admire their courage in risking his/her position and trusting me to treat his/her perspective with care. However, asking for the recorder to be turned off reinforces the notion that fear of consequences in sharing one’s perspective is indeed alive and well.

Some concepts I was investigating may not have been understood by participants. Such was the case in one student interview when I needed to explain at length the concept of influencing decisions which impact students.
Also, the concept of respecting someone younger than you appeared to be unusual, particularly when interviewing teachers. This may stem from the ‘education panacea’ approach I have, which may be too far into the ideological realm and removed from the practical experience of those whom I was interviewing (Vavrus 2003). Taking time to ask if concepts were understood, translating where necessary and/or possible as well as asking for examples to demonstrate their perception of what I was asking helped to minimize this limitation. In a few instances, I tried to ask some additional ‘warm-up’ questions to prepare the interviewee for the question if terms were not understood.

The various differences in cultural perspectives regarding gender, education and age are important to acknowledge as I designed and implemented this process with my own biases inextricably intertwined. To minimize this, many planning sessions included various Peace House staff and teachers as well as others in the field who were in the area and familiar with Tanzanian culture (i.e. Tanzanians, MVC not at Peace House or expatriates who had lived or worked in Tanzania for more than five years). I could not argue that I have a Tanzanian perspective in any form. To expect such would invalidate my research process.

A major limitation was the language barrier. Although I feel comfortable in casual Kiswahili conversations, expressing the concepts of educational panacea and interpreting them in Kiswahili is beyond my ability. I, therefore,
recruited the help of native Kiswahili speakers to have a bilingual survey. Qualitative data remained in its original language for analysis because the Kiswahili was simple. Additionally, interviews were done in English of which Form Four students were very proficient. Only a few times did I need to explain or use Kiswahili in an example to clarify an idea. The second interview with students proved to be quite helpful in asking for clarification on Kiswahili terms used in student responses in the survey.

DATA

Expectations of students and the challenges they face were expressed in similar terms between the students themselves and the teachers. Expectations are to ‘perform well’ and ‘help their community’. Challenges which consistently arose throughout the data were language barriers, romantic relationships, and applying what they are learning. This shows that students and teachers are ‘on the same page’ per se when it comes to these expectations. Differences in perspective between teacher and students arise when reinforcing these expectations and addressing the challenges. Although a common understanding of the expectations of teachers to prepare students for exams, additional expectations from students such as equality and transparency show is discord between students and teachers. This dialectic discourse is the primary focus of the analysis later on. See Figure 2 for a summarized view of
expectations defined in this study, which is the response to subquestion one, ‘what are the expectations between students and teachers?’

**Figure two: Expectations and Challenges on Students and Teachers at Peace House**

**Bold** indicates agreement from all participants (i.e. both teachers and students)

**Italics** indicates source from student perspectives (i.e. not voiced by teachers)

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<td>Prepare students</td>
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<td>Beyond Classroom</td>
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<td>Curriculum</td>
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<td><strong>CHALLENGES</strong></td>
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**Expectations of students:**

PERFORM WELL: There are two aspects to this expectation: one of which is behavior in the classroom and the other is based on exam results.

*Classroom behavior:* Classroom behavior is important and shows respect for the teacher as well. Behaving well in the classroom was described by all...
teachers and students interviewed as not making noise, helping teachers, not disturbing the class and even greeting the teacher. One student commented that when you do these things, it shows respect and then “the teacher will work or want to help students more” (Student C). It is therefore seen that such signs of respect leads to motivating a teacher. This can lead to mutual respect as one student explained: “X is your teacher but you feel like they are your parent. When I have no parents, X takes the role of your parent….If they ask you to do something, you cannot refuse because they respect you and you respect them” (Student B). This was observed in one class, when the eraser fell on the ground and a student picked it up even though the teacher did not ask for help. The student helped anyway. The teacher thanked the student and carried on with the lesson. There was teamwork and mutual respect. The same teacher commented on cooperation saying that they expect their students to “receive what I give them and to behave well, which means that they need to respond to what I am giving… I expect them to cooperate with me with what I have” (Teacher 1).

When students do their work, such as homework assignments, they are better prepared to answer questions in class. Two students mentioned self-reflective techniques in assessing whether they are learning in class:

“When teaching is over and I think ‘what have I learned today?’ and I find an empty head, I will know that I gained nothing … I know I am wasting my time. But if they ask a question and I am capable to answer, then I know I have gained something… We look at our
chart (publically posted exam results) to see if our graph is going
down or going up. What is the change from last month? We know if
we are well planned or not” (Student B).

The class observations showed that teachers were largely consistent with
giving expectations of participation through verbal communication such as “I
like people who try to be the next professor (meaning someone who shares
knowledge and teaches others)” or “It is OK to make a mistake – just try and
give effort” or simply calling out a good example of behavior such as “going
back to the notes is very good!” or “I am happy with the way you have asked
questions and found errors” (Teacher 3). Teachers also explicitly put boundaries
on their expectations such as “I am giving you 10 minutes” (Teacher 1) or “I want
to see people drawing” (Teacher 2) or “go line by line to answer the questions
on the worksheet” (Teacher 1). This in part answers part 3 of the research
subquestions, ‘how are expectations communicated and reinforced’.

Exams: Performing well also referred to exam results. One teacher
explicitly stated that their students are really studying hard and have “promised
that they will perform well on the national exam” (Teacher 2). Another student
expressed that showing respect to teachers is measured by test results: “You
show appreciation to teachers by showing respect and performing well in the
exam” (Student C). Every teacher and student interviewed expressed an
expectation of Peace House students to do well on the exams.
When students are all on task during class, one could say they are participating well. There was one such class I observed where the teacher did not need to raise their voice to give instructions. The teacher was consistently calm and everyone appeared to be on task, even when doing group work. Every member seemed engaged in group conversation – no one was left out. For the expectation of behaving well, this class was ideal. In looking at the exam scores, the academic subject scored the highest of the 2010 national Form Two exam in the school and is consistently high for monthly exams.

In probing the outcomes for performing well, students recognize that with good exam results comes more opportunity such as continued education as long as they maintain a minimum score of 45% to continue at Peace House and even gain CSEE results which allow for further education. This in turn means that ‘their life can be changed’ as one teacher commented. There is a sense that a hierarchy exists in which MVCs and thus students at Peace House are at the bottom and more educated people including business owners, politicians and teachers are closer to the top. Education is seen as a way to move up in the world, per se because success in school “means that you move from the downward stage to the upper stage” (Student A). Comments about becoming managers as noted by a few students in casual conversation and thus not needing to partake in manual labor reinforces this idea. Education is seen as a step up, a step away from traditional farming or rural life, a step towards being modern and ‘developed’, a step away from the less human role of MVC. This
notion of hierarchy and entitlement with education, however, is precisely what Nyerere was working against in his Self Reliance theory (1967).

HELP OTHERS - Two students interviewed talked at length about the expectation of changing their community when they leave Peace House. One in fact compared it to being a ‘song on campus’ since it is repeated many times to students by the staff and leaders of Peace House “will hear that after 10 years, (students) are a managers or Ministers of Parliament (MP) defending people’s rights; a good life that will make the Peace House community proud so that graduates are not just living on the streets” (Student B). One student praises Peace House because it has “given us the knowledge to survive at home. Maybe if we fail now, we still have the knowledge to survive at home. You cannot compare me to the same person who was living in the village. We have life skills and class knowledge and we can use it to study and do some activities so that we can be able to survive in our home place. I have to change my home place” (Student D) Another student said “teachers tell us to work hard so that (we) can help others, usually during announcements. They even say that if you fail you still need to help others” (Student C). One teacher says that he became a teacher so that the life of people could be changed: “If we give students knowledge, then they can change their life...I expect them to use the knowledge I give them in the future as well as perform well on the exam” (Teacher 1). The same teacher described an ideal student was even described as not only a person who “works on assignments by having good discipline, but
a perfect student is also ready to assist others. When you know something, you cannot be selfish with it” (Teacher 1). From the discussions and responses I gathered, it is evident that the general expectations of students are consistent between both teachers and students. This in part answers the second subquestion *What are the expectations of Peace House students after they leave PHSS*, as well as part of subquestion 3, *how are these expectations communicated and reinforced?*

**CHALLENGES STUDENTS FACE:** The barriers in fulfilling these expectations were clearly reiterated from all participants. They are language, romantic relationships and applying what is learned. The following addresses part of subquestions 3 which aims to answer the question, what barriers to communicating exist.

*Language* - As described in the background section, the transition from Kiswahili as the language of instruction in primary to English in secondary is a giant leap for the average Tanzanian, let alone the MVC population of Peace House. Teachers model English use for students and only one survey commented qualitatively that a teacher had issues with English proficiency. Peace House has a strict ‘no English, no service’ policy. The student government even decided to implement a punishment system of cleaning tables for students who are caught speaking Kiswahili. This policy is a hot topic for debate on campus as many feel that it is in the student’s best interest to be forced to speak English, even though
many are quite shy when it comes to speaking this foreign language. On the other hand, many feel it is too harsh and makes learning more difficult:

“Some teachers only use English and they clarify in Swahili only a little bit. It makes it really difficult for us….A Swahili speaker is the same as a poor person. If a poor person steals a spoon and you tell them to buy a car in order to pay for the spoon, it is unequal punishment. Besides, they lose two hours of study time to do the washing. This is a punishment and decision which is oppressing” (Student D).

I rarely saw Kiswahili being used in the classes, although it would be quite possible when group work was assigned that Kiswahili was used among students. Since Form Four classes were observed, it is expected that they are the most comfortable students with English speaking. There was one class I observed where explaining a new vocabulary word turned into a class discussion in which numerous ways to explain the word was used including Kiswahili equivalent. It was the more gregarious students who typically spoke in class and during times of presentation, spoke on behalf of their group. Teachers generally did not call randomly on students so those confident enough to speak, raised their hand and thus were allowed to formally participate.

Pushing students to share speaking capabilities was not observed. In other words, layers of language use were reinforced in class since those confident enough to raise their hands spoke and those not raising their hand did not speak. In this sense, students chose the degree to which they participate rather than teachers setting a standard and motivating students to reach for their set level. The comfort level of the student seems to be the primary guiding factor for
verbal participation. Moreover, the students exercise power and control in this decision, even though it is a subtle relationship. This decisions and subsequent participation in class may reinforce any social hierarchy which exists in English speaking capabilities. Peace House thus needs to consider carefully designed practices to push ALL students to become proficient in spoken English without fear of punishment or social ridicule.

**Romantic Relationships** – Peace House students are of adolescent age where physical and sexual changes are occurring. Peace House is unique in that it offers ‘Life Skills’ sessions once a week where girls are with female teachers and boys with male teachers so that various issues such as decision making, dealing with emotions, relationships, drugs and sex can be discussed. Although teachers did not mention life skills as an important piece of Peace House culture, they have noted the effects of such issues on academics: “if a student engages in a romantic relationship affairs, then they will not be psychologically able to study well. We have some students who were performing well when they came but when they engage in those things, then they start to be broken out” (Teacher 1). This teacher acknowledges the important role the mental health and psychological state of a student plays in academics but does not concretely name the importance of the Life Skills program on campus. Students have made a more concrete link between the two:

“Life skills are the most important thing to learn to cope with your environment. It is not more important than academics but they
depend on each other…If you are performing well in class but you do not know how to live with others, that is a serious problem” (Student A).

At the end of 2010, there was a decision made on campus to separate boys and girls during their daily study hall hours due to teachers observing such distractions. One student commented that apparently the “boys were seen as studying more than when girls were sitting with them” (Student D). The same student later commented that when girls study with boys, they can become distracted and can “get a punishment and it can make their studies shake or be bad. So some behaviors need to be adopted even if there are some disadvantages – we have to go with them…After all, we have life skills here. The decision to separate us was made by staff or head of school, I don’t know. It is oppressing some and it is helpful to some” (Student D). This student again makes the direct link to life skills and also recognizes that decisions make cannot please or support everyone. According to students, most relationships are with someone off campus, perhaps back at home. Often times, girls or MVC in need or want money or various items such as such as juice, food, pens, cell phones or even school fees engage in relationships with people who have more financial resources. One female student commented that such yearning for items “would make me engage into bad group or relationship so that someone can give me money to go buy” (Student D). Of course the most devastating consequence is becoming pregnant and being sent home. This has happened three times at
Peace House to date. This has become such as common practice that many international development agencies have launched public education campaigns to educate people about the issues associated with such relationships.

Applying What is learned – The critical piece of seeing education as practical knowledge and using it to make decisions in everyday life means that both students and teachers need to move together beyond the boundaries of the national exam system. This is, however, much easier said than done. There is a sense from teachers that in preparing students for the exams, teachers are also preparing students for life after graduation, which assumes that the exam itself is the single marker for such preparation. This is seen in teacher responses to questions about self-reliance. When asked if principals of self-reliance are important, all teachers responded “yes”. However, when pressed to explain how it is integrated into their teaching, some paused for a few moments but all noted that asking individual students questions was a manifestation of self-reliance in their teaching. I was a bit confused by this response and pressed a bit further for explanations which unearthed the notion from teachers that individual work or thinking is self-reliance. Independent thinking, such as that needed for test performance, is seen as applying what is learned and self-reliance. Only one student interviewed suggested that self-reliance involves using available resources in a communal fashion to benefit all (Student B). No teacher interviewed voiced self-reliant visions which are synonymous with those
espoused by Nyerere himself. Only one teacher on campus gave insights during a casual conversation on the weekend which aligned with self-reliance as Nyerere stated in 1967.

Students, however, see the potential of Peace House to practice such self-reliant principals. The same student who mentioned self-reliance pointed out that the use of land at Peace House is a lost opportunity since

“here there is 150 acres, which is very big and nothing has been done. The chicken coop has been empty since Form One! We could get some money selling chicks or eggs in the market, not a lot but it could maybe pay the salary of one teacher. But they said ‘oh no!’ People are not working! People are not focusing! People are looking for money. When they come for money, they want to receive, but not give. They are thinking of their side only. They are not thinking about the students” (Student B).

This statement not only demonstrates that at least one student realize the potential of Peace House to apply learning, especially in terms similar to Nyerere’s self-reliance but also are aware of the systems which keep this potential from manifesting into practice.

Three of the four students interviewed spoke to various aspects of practical knowledge from classroom learning while only one teacher mentioned it during interviews. One student recognized the need to see the world beyond the boundaries of the Peace House campus in order to ‘see’ the material learned in class: “Just to pass through town and observe – this is what I am learning! If I am given an exercise about the function of an entrepreneur, when I pass those shops, I know the people who organize them are entrepreneurs. It
helps to go off campus to see examples” (Student A). The sciences, civics, geography and commercial classes were most often described as having practical application. Surprisingly, math and languages were not.

When it comes to the challenge of romantic relationships as mentioned above, one student argued that it is a perfect opportunity to apply life skills: “If we are separated, then we see these people as different than us. At the end of the day, our minds are going to be taking a negative position...If we are separated, it does not bring the good meaning of co-education: let it be a single education” (Student B). In other words, the separation is seen by this student as not allowing students to use skills learned. Perhaps the dual education implied refers to the separation of academics and social on Peace House campus where the student sees them as inextricably intertwined.

One class observed had a short discussion with an example about cooking. This was interpreted by some students as being gender specific because Tanzanian women are the only ones who cook. The teacher talked about the need to change usual ways of thinking and therefore challenge these assumptions of gender roles. The teacher said “you as an educated person in society need to change this way of thinking”. This is a good example of specifically how students can apply their education to their community. The teacher, however, then gave the option for students to choose between the cooking option or a mechanical problem with a bike, which was viewed as a
more masculine affirming action. This allowed students to reinforce their gender social roles. The teacher acknowledged a need to push for change in society but the level of comfort in students to actually change was not matched. It appears as thought he teacher was not equipped with skills to push students critical thinking toward social change issues. This one event shows ambiguity between expectations and how they are reinforced and highlights a gap, albeit a subtle one, between theory and practice which fuels a status quo or commonly accepted truth and therefore stifles creativity, problem solving and thus inspiration for change agents. As seen in addressing the issue of language, some teachers, such as the one observed, appear to not be well equipped to act in a way which can open questions regarding the deeply rooted systematic and even hierarchical thinking of socially accepted distinctions. This example shows inconsistency in theory and practice where teachers are needing support to gain skills in order to push students toward critical thinking about social practices without fear of punishment or social ridicule.

Generally speaking, teachers are clear with their expectations and students know what is expected of them. These expectations, in broad terms, are consistent between students and teachers and were observed in varying detail in classroom observations. Even though the challenges raised in this study are consistent, it appears as though controversy and gaps lie in how to address these challenges, as seen in student perspectives with co-ed relationships and in
class observations in order to concretely address how to apply concepts learned.

**Expectations of Teachers:**

It was commonly expressed and reiterated by all participant that the main duty of the teacher is to prepare students for the exams. This was reiterated from both teachers themselves and students alike. It was a bit surprising, however, that this appeared to be the only consistent expectation among all participants in the study, as noted in figure 2. A closer look at the student perspectives, as seen in the student survey and interviews, reveals additional expectations, coincidentally which are largely not being met. These barriers deal with finding consistency in character development (see figure 2 for overview) and point towards larger organizational expectations which respond to the unanticipated inquiry question ‘to what extent is Peace House meeting its mission?’ This leads to an analysis which is primarily focused on the teacher expectations. To better understand these expectations, let’s first investigate the data from the student survey.

**SURVEY:** Using the administrative expectations as a basis for the questions designed in the student survey, in which every student on campus answered the same questions for each of their 11 subject teachers shows the need for teachers to set an example of excellence, whether in grading fairness, timeliness of handing back work, showing up to class on time or being creative (see
Appendix A). Although some students chose one quality marker (i.e. excellent) for a teacher or even all of their teachers, the majority of student responses had great variability in their answers which shows that they were thinking intentionally about their answers. Overall, teachers scored remarkably high. The teacher qualities which scored the highest frequencies of excellent quality were ‘use of English’ and ‘punctuality’, as seen in figure 3, while the most consistently low quality marker (i.e. poor) were spiritual/emotional support, technology, availability, creativity and handing back work.

Of the 2651 surveys (241 students completed 11 surveys each, one for each of their main subject teachers), 227 included at least one qualitative response. The Form Two students during 2010 as a whole gave minimal qualitative feedback with only 30 surveys including a qualitative response. Of the 227 surveys which included qualitative feedback, many gave encouraging words such as ‘you are blessed’, ‘God bless this teacher’, ‘don’t give up!’ or ‘please keep this teacher – he/she is the best!’ The students showed a clear sense of appreciation for their teachers work to help them. When asked about strengths, many students took quality markers from the survey itself, such as creativity or technology. Some added other qualities such as joking, telling stories, or advising students in various ways. When asked to share weaknesses, varied responses ensued. Some teachers received a number of comments about being ‘angry’ or being late to class. One even received a comment about drinking alcohol too much.
The data for this survey was shared in a professional development meeting in which trends in the data were discussed while copies of individual data sets were given to the respective teacher as well as an overall report and copy of data to administration. The director, once looking at the quantitative data, pointed out one teacher as a ‘gold standard’ and simply stated that if a teacher “is not on the excellent side of the average, then they really need to think about what they can do to change that”, implying that reflection is
necessary for improvement. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of overall averages and qualitative data led to some discrepancy, such as a teacher ‘scoring high’ on punctuality but then the qualitative saying they were often late. Likewise the ambiguity of some comments were confusing for teachers. One teacher said, “Isn’t being polite a good thing? Yet, this student wants me to be less polite (polite). I don’t understand.” Such ambiguity led to conversations about how to use the data as a way to grow as a professional teacher. Some teachers, however, due to such ambiguity, felt that the data was not valid. Teachers also voiced skepticism because the students may not have understood the concepts or questions being asked. Teachers who voiced opinions during the data sharing and ensuing discussion seemed to do so from a skeptical standpoint. I will return to this later in the analysis.

It is interesting to note that the ‘gold standard’ teacher referred to by the director was in fact part of my classroom observations and interviews. The concepts explained during the interviews were directly observed in class. The students see this teacher as consistent and fair. Students love this teacher and mentioned their class as having great examples of applied learning, setting students up for success (as noted that this academic subject was the highest scoring of the national form II exams the previous year). Students were held responsible in class, such as working with assigned groups and not abandoning partners, which happened during class but was corrected by the teacher. Explaining new vocabulary terms brought creativity in multiple ways of
expressing one word. Mutual respect and team work was exemplified in these
classes when various items fell on the floor or needed to be arranged. Without a
prompt from the teacher, a student quickly came to assist. The student wanted
to help the teacher and the teacher wanted to help the students. The teacher
asked many times for questions and directly addressed the questions asked.
Students felt safe to express their curiosity or misunderstanding. There was no
sense of social pressure such as laughing. Every student was engaged and
working as part of a team with the teacher.

It is interesting to note that this is the only teacher which mentioned the
expectation on themselves to reflect on their teaching, such as what went well
and what could be improved. This teacher explained this process in an example
when some students did not understand a lesson and the teacher realized that
he/she was going too fast due to pressure to prepare for an exam. Although
such reflection was directly evident in the classes observed from this teacher,
the stability such reflection brings is directly felt in their students since the teacher
communicates well with decisions made, explains the direction of the class at
the beginning and is generally patient and consistent. This teacher meets their
own expectations, the expectations of the administration and perhaps more
importantly, the expectations of the students. His/her classroom is the
manifested educational panacea for Peace House and its students simply
because he/she exemplifies an ideal teacher for Peace House and its students.
PREPARES STUDENTS FOR EXAMS: The most consistent expectation voiced by teachers of themselves is to prepare students for the exams. This was always mentioned first and talked about at length by the teachers. As explained in the background section, it is understandable why the emphasis on the national exams is so central to education in the Tanzanian curriculum. As explained above in the student expectation of performing well, there appears to be a symbiotic relationship between students behaving well in class and teachers preparing them for the exam. One student simply said that “if I ask a question in class which is on the exam which the teacher does not answer, I know that the teacher must not respect me” (Student D). This notion was reiterated in the survey when one student said a teacher was “always missing some things that are needed in the subject”. Teachers must therefore know the syllabus and be masters of the subject they teach. For the most part, according to the students interviewed, Peace House has teachers who are very knowledgeable about their subject as numerous surveys noted “(he/she) is a master in his/her subject”, or“(the teacher) is very knowledgeable about the subject”. There are a few exceptions and students are very much aware of those teachers as one teacher had multiple comments about “teaching by reading from the curriculum book”. A number of surveys also noted that part time teachers not being aware of what was going on and therefore unable to relate to students well.

CHALLENGES WITH FURTHER EXPECTATIONS: The following addresses part of subquestions 3 which aims to answer the question, what barriers to
communicating exist as well as how are expectations reinforced. They were not voiced by teachers but by the students in the student survey and interviews multiple times. These additional expectations show the idealism students have for teachers at Peace House and are a partial response to the subquestion ‘what barriers to communication exist?’ as well as a response to the unintended and much larger research question ‘to what extent does Peace House accomplish its mission?’

It was evident that Peace House students have high expectations of teachers to act with fairness. This was revealed through numerous themes, such as grading, equal opportunity, inclusivity and consequences. These qualities could be equated to the expectation of being a role model for the students. Although the administration acknowledges this important piece of the teacher-student relationship, teachers themselves did not mention it during interviews. Students, on the other hand, demonstrated a deep commitment to moral and ethical decision modeling and expect to have teachers who model such behaviors for them.

**Equal Access to Opportunities:** Students expect to have equal treatment as an opportunity to connect with the community of Peace House as well as those beyond. One interviewed student explained a perfect teacher as one who

“goes equally – and is not biased. A perfect teacher is willing everyday to makes their students reach and fulfill their goals. The
perfect teacher does not like to see students failing. They give extra
time to make sure students get what you are giving so they give you
extra materials or time. A perfect teacher does not put layers or
differences between two people, students and themselves and ALL
people. Everybody has something different. A perfect teacher
listens to all peoples’ ideas, not just what is implemented…When I
have no parents, he takes the role of your parent. Then you meet
him, sometimes laughing, not all the time angry, sometimes let’s talk
about math and you find that math becomes a familiar part of your
everyday life because the teachers like to see you are improving
and they are very close to your problems. You become friends in all
aspects” (Student B).

Students expect teachers to allow equal opportunity to resources and
various other opportunities. Having ‘teachers pets’ is seen as unfair: “They
always have their favorite people; ‘this is my student’. If you ask for help, you will
not get as much help as their favorite. Maybe it is because they are a tribe mate
or something. One time I asked for a book and they said ‘no’ but I asked a
certain girl to go get it from the same teacher and she came with it” (Student B).
Another student commented on an opportunity to leave campus: “X has been
number one in most subjects and has been leading the top of students.
Teachers probably love him. If there is a trip to go out, they normally remember
him. Other students they see it is unfair, but it is fair. To us students it is unfair but
to teachers it is fair” (Student D). Students feel unfair treatment due to a lack of
communication about how selection for such opportunities are made.
Furthermore, such denial of access to various resources or opportunities shows a
hierarchy of students which is apparently created by teachers, according to the
student interviewed above, where certain students are allowed privileges. The unfairness mentioned by the student could possibly come from lacking understanding of how such decisions are made and includes an element of injustice where privileges of others are gained simply from internal bias in such decisions made.

When interviewing teachers about positive and negative reinforcement, most noted that sometimes books or pens can be given out for exceptional work or remarkable improvement. All teachers also mentioned the importance of giving verbal positive rewards such as "good job". I saw an impressive amount of such verbal positive reinforcement in all classes. Likewise, the opportunity to participate verbally in class was often given to students who raise their hands. If a student did not raise their hand, they were typically not called on. Therefore the more gregarious students receive more opportunity to participate in class verbally. As mentioned earlier, students comfort level often determines their participation and therefore their opportunity for positive reinforcement. Teachers need to be aware of this bias so that equal opportunity and exposure to positive verbal reinforcement is accessed by all students. This approach needs to be systematic and requires an intense level of self-reflection on the part of teachers.

**Inclusivity:** Non-verbal communication is viewed as equally or even perhaps more important to students. Another student explains that "a person
who does not want you to succeed, you can know by looking in their face. Maybe he teaches the students who perform higher than others. You see he is focusing on them only instead of focusing to those who are failing in order to erase them” (Student D). This sense of being invisible to a teacher reiterates that hierarchy exists in the classroom and is constructed by both students and the teachers, which becomes ever relevant when discussing pedagogy to support MVCs as change agents in their country. Other instances of ‘invisibility’ were shared in the survey. One student clearly stated “the teacher does not care about the students’ problems”. An other teacher received two comments sharing student frustrations that the teacher “is not open for us students” while an other student commented on the same teacher that “(he/she) does not listen to student ideas”. These issues of invisibility were taken to a compounded level of embarrassment when during an interview, a student shared:

“Respect is sometimes hard to recognize. You may be oppressed like you are not his fellow human being. I can make a very simple mistake like taking a cup and they speak to me harshly. First, the way they speak I fail to understand. Is it a factor of humanity or what?... You can say that this school is like a prison. People talk about you saying ‘you are an orphan,’. You are not prisoner to those words but students get frustrated. We hear this from teachers, always in front of students. It is normal – it is like a song – it is common. It makes students cry.” (Student B)

The perspective of this powerful student quote was reinforced on one survey which said that one teacher “normally gives bad names to students”, meaning calling the students bad names. The extent to which such demeaning names are used is unclear but data from this study shows that it deeply impacts
students and makes them feel uncomfortable. These perspectives acknowledge a powerful lack of empathy along with an implied hierarchy on part of some teachers towards Peace House students which perpetuates cycles of inequality.

Simple acts of empathy from teachers encourage students. Both teachers and students talked about ‘calling’ students to counsel them on various issues, mostly relating to academics. During one class, an empathetic statement from the teacher validated students’ feelings when the teacher simply acknowledged that students had just had lunch and it was a hot afternoon, which shows that the teacher is relating to their students. This act of empathy and directly communicating it to students is admirable. Although I saw numerous counseling sessions late at night or after classes, this was the only act of direct empathy I observed in classes while gathering data for this study.

There are, unfortunately additional instances expressed by students of teachers placing themselves above students. One student talked about a mocking comment: “Teachers say ‘you are only starting form four and feel like you have many things like that when you have not even reached mock exams’” (Student D). Such comments shows not only that a teachers judges students’ feelings as invalid, but also that the experience of the teacher as an older and more educated person is more valid. It is true that teachers are older and have had more formal education. This however should not invalidate the experience of the younger student. For an MVC who is generally not valued in society as
explained in the background section, to have such feelings invalidated can lead to further internalization of such distinctions which the teacher is making. In ridiculing the students’ feelings, this statement aims to set a difference between teacher and student. It draws a line between one persons supposedly ‘right’ experience and an other as ‘wrong’ and creates distinction between one level of human and an other, as if one is fully human and one is less.

Accepting the whole student, not just the academic piece of one, was also mentioned as an area which needs to be addressed by Peace House. Such organizational inclusivity means that diverse groups can work effectively together and feel welcome, rather than judged and therefore excluded based on gender, tribe, age, religion, sexual orientation and of course academic performance. Such exclusive behavior was explained by one student interviewed as a violation of rights. This student explains that a person should not do something simply

“because of someone else’s ambition. Like, maybe you are a Muslim as a teacher and I am a Christian. You should not convert me to be in your faith. Maybe I should be a Christian. If you force me, that means that you have violated me – you have violated my rights” (Student B).

This students perspective brings up an interesting tension between expectations of inclusivity and practice. The literature and public message which Peace House paints itself through marketing materials is a story or picture about a non-denominational school. The orientation of the Peace House campus, however, is heavily influenced by prevailing homage to the Lutheran church. Devotions
are obligatory and held twice a day in which bible scriptures are read. Teachers meetings and weekly assemblies start with a Christian prayer and often include readings and interpretations from the Bible. The many Muslim students at Peace House are therefore forced to subvert their practice and beliefs. This points to broader issues surrounding a disconnect of what Peace House says is offers (changing lives and communities of MVC through a nurturing environment and dynamic education) and what the lived experience is for their primary clients – Peace House students.

These acts of exclusivity and favoritism, in essence, invalidates the world view of some students. As noted above, invalidating one’s belief or feelings creates a tension between what is perceived as right and wrong. Right has more power where wrong is disregarded, or even at Peace House as seen in the instance of religion, blatantly ignored. This is a lost opportunity to all members of the Peace House community to learn from each other in communicating personal beliefs, sharing the many realities which exist on campus and even shift and/or strengthen some of these perspectives through dialogue. Subverting feelings and beliefs in students, especially MVC such as Peace House, invalidates their own experience and continues the social norm that they are not valued, as explained in the background section. Moreover, it is not a nurturing environment. Although the data shows exclusive behavior is practiced at Peace House, it is unclear to what extent. Regardless, students feel biases of teachers need to be acknowledged, explored and mediated. Such a
professional development opportunity requires a deep level of self-reflection born from a value of addressing such inequities. If such dialogue however, were to be invited to Peace House, it would need to be facilitated by a well trained professional from outside the organization.

Consistency in Marking/Grading: Marking exams and various exercises is a difficult task for any teacher. Being consistent is often easier said than done. Students at Peace House, see inconsistencies in grading. This is reflected in the mediocre ‘fairness of grading’ in the student-wide survey and was also followed up in interviews. Here is what one student had to say:

“A teacher will just judge from the head. Instead of getting 20 over 20, he will give you 17 over 20 and when you ask why, they cannot give you any reason. Then you compare to another student who got the same marks but did not use as many examples or was even OP – out of the point. When you compare the two exams side-by-side, students know, ‘these marks are not right’ “(Student B).

Furthermore, students have noticed a difference in what a score is on an exam and what is reported on the public board every month for exam results in that “sometimes a teacher will change the marks from the test to the paper which they post” (Student A). A few students commented on a gender bias with the change from marking and reporting: “We think that mostly of the people who are given the free marks are girls. We fail to understand. You find that a girl does not struggle but she is given a lot of marks... Even an intellectual person can look at these two and say they are not equal” (Student B). Exam
marking, due to the emphasis on tests in the Tanzanian curriculum and is a determining factor is advancement in the educational system, is taken very seriously in Tanzania and for the MVCs in Peace House and seemingly represents the only way out of the cycle of poverty. Any bias against or even for them, however, is giving false pretense and not honest. Such inequities in the Peace House system does not work for their mission and even works against the youth for whom it is trying to support simply because decisions are made based on false information. Whether intentional or not, teachers’ marking can indeed be biased. It is therefore important that Peace House have diversity trainings with inclusivity to understand their bias and the implications they have in their teaching. Only when the biases of the teachers are acknowledged, explored and mediated can Peace House truly move forward with its mission.

**Fair Consequences:** In a similar vein of equal opportunity and grading, students expect equal and consistent treatment when it comes to imposing consequences of behaviors. Students at Peace House reported many inconsistencies. According to one student, teachers hold grudges: “Something you did two years ago is considered to be today. Now you ask, what is my right? They think, ‘this is a problem maker’ there is no one to defend your rights. You cannot respect a teacher who will not help you but oppresses you” (Student B). Such oppression easily affects dedication and concentration on academic efforts:
“When the teacher gives you a punishment because of a mistake which was not true – you weren’t the one who made the mistake – you make an enemy of teacher. So when the teacher is teaching in the class you will probably not understand (the concept). And when the exam comes, you will fail. In that way, you understand that you will not succeed.” (Student D).

In the student survey, twenty qualitative comments were noted in which student expressed feeling uncomfortable when a teacher is “angry”, “reacting harshly” or “too emotional”. Another student during an interview commented on ‘angry’ teachers implying that their anger on another situation should not be taken out on students: “I would advise (teachers) to leave anger outside so that students can understand them and not fear them” (Student A). Another student explained in detail that when “the teacher has psychological stress like fighting with a wife or something and he is coming to finish the anger and you put your book down and they say ‘why have you put your book down?! You are stupid!’ You have not done a mistake but are treated like you have done a mistake” (Student B). From the student perspective, teachers are quick to make judgments of students which often manifest in unfair consequences. A student shared a story of a teacher of such an instance:

“I answered but she did not become helpful for what I answered, even though it was right. She ended up telling ‘You are lazy! You are prideful! You have this and that...’ My friend, collected my exercise book, not knowing in class. The teacher asked why he had collected his friend’s book. My friend said “I didn’t know. I thought it was mine”. The teacher called us to the front and asked us to carry chairs above our head for many minutes and then took us down to the second master. From that day on, I decided to escape her. So when they come, even if they are speaking, I have to act as if I am not there.” (Student B)
This student has acknowledged the need to be invisible in order to survive the teacher-student relationship where power is placed in a teacher who seemingly makes unfair decisions.

When students see a mistake being made, it is often turned quickly into a judgment upon which a teacher is often notified. This reaction was explained by an insightful student who said that some

“teachers become light or happy when students make a mistake. So they (the teachers) unfortunately take it to the office, another simple mistake and announce to all teachers ‘today, a certain student has done X’. Later, they will come to the assembly of the entire student population and announce ‘this student did like this’ Do you think the student who made the mistake to begin with will respect this teacher? No! The teacher dishonored the student. Why can’t the teacher call the student first, if they really want to help us? If you have announced my name, it means that you are not ready to help me. It means that you are not playing the part to help. You are playing the part to make sure I go down because if you announce like that, how will others see me? It is ashaming (sic).”
(Student B)

Jumping to conclusions and making a judgment often ends in shame for students, according to this account. When a teacher ‘calls on a student to counsel them’, it shows that they are prepared to support the student in a respectful way. Being aware of social implications of quick judgement is thus important. Taking time to counsel students is well respected by students.

There were many stories from every student interviewed of unfair punishment from quick and uninformed decisions. Here are a few which show various pieces of inconsistency with in Peace House regarding the student
expectation to have fair consequences. The first is a case of a student being late for breakfast, in which students drink porridge. The late student asked to have a cup set aside for him. This was noticed by another student who quickly judged it as stealing. When they reported to teachers, word quickly spread about ‘porridge stealers’. Rumors spread that the students would be suspended and sent home for their crime. A student recalls the day’s events starting with the headmistress saying:

“‘Today I will chase the porridge stealers away from the school’.....The whole day I was not happy in class. At anytime I could be called and taken home. So I went to the second headmaster and asked ‘if I am chased away from school as the headmistress says, can you write a letter to me, but write that ‘we are chasing this boy from school because he has stolen porridge?’ he said, ‘No! You cannot be chased away from school for porridge, only porridge.’ Then he told me to go to class. I came to the class and all students were saying the teachers are all talking about ‘the porridge stealers’. Is this how to talk about this? But I said, let me accept the critics. Let me ignore them. Let me hate myself for being late – even though I had a reason, but let me change from here so that I can be proper next time so that I do not get this problem again. What happened there was a poor investigation because the headmistress could not put things into action. She could not follow the question ‘did these people steal or what?’ Was this respect? No! There was no respect.” (Student B).

The lack of investigation, as the student says, led to intense fear of being kicked out of school for a small mistake. The day’s lessons were obviously interrupted for the student and respect, as mentioned, was undermined. From this story, it is clear that students see unfairness when decisions are made by jumping to conclusions without evidence.
Another story of recent drug activity among students reiterates this point when a student notes that “someone can say anything, a very stupid point but then you find all people are becoming mad for something which does not really exist, like the students are using marijuana. It is guess work – even if caught. We cannot understand that. What are the facts? Give us the facts.” (Student B).

As mentioned earlier, the challenge of language on campus has been addressed with a punishment if caught speaking Kiswahili. One student was punished the day prior to being interviewed from such an instance and explains what happened:

“Someone may have a beef with you or take it to other leaders. It happened with me yesterday. I was passing by the kitchen where students were washing. The cooks asked me to talk to the students to ask them to stop. The cooks do not speak English so I used in Kiswahili and unfortunately someone punished me just because of that. I was slashing (cutting grass with a machete) for one and half hours.” (Student A)

These numerous stories of unfairness point towards discrepancies in expectations and reinforcement of such expectations. Although the extent to which they are practiced is unclear, the students’ perspectives cannot refute their existence.

An intriguing event occurred in one class with a teacher who is well respected by administration. The survey noted responses from students which said “need to change otherwise students will not appreciate (them) again” and the teacher is” very angry”. I was perplexed by such responses as in conversations with the teacher, a deep commitment to the Peace House
mission, personal reflection in teaching and education as panacea were expressed. Where as the ‘gold standard’ teacher showed seemless theory and practice, this teacher was misunderstood by students.

One event in a class observed showcased this difference between teacher perception and student perception of fairness. Students were lethargic at the beginning of class, which occurred just after lunch break. Some students had their heads on the desks. As the teacher walked into the class and set-up for the lesson, they noted “Are you here?” The lethargic response from students provided impetus for the teacher promptly reply, “This will not work” and the teacher asked students to take a brisk walk outside and return to class quickly. As an observer, I appreciated the quick response in the teacher to address the class morale with a clear solution, particularly since a link between increased concentration on academics was made to physical activity and being outside in fresh air. I was, subsequently, intrigued when a student reflected on the same instance as being chased from class with little explanation as if it were a punishment:

“Do you remember that one day in the class (the teacher) asked us to go out the class? (They) said go out and told them ‘out’. Is that a way to solve? Now you can say it is mkale (harsh) because the only instruction was to go and come back. For this, the only thing to do is to explain why you are doing this and talk to the students to say you have done this wrong – you have disobeyed. But to chase them from class is like a punishment.” (Student B).
Another teacher noted that sending a student outside is a punishment but also noted that sending a student outside should instigate a reflection in the student to think about what mistake they made: “When they see that I have told them to go out they feel like ‘(the teacher) has become angry’ so they change. Going outside is like a punishment. Sometimes I ask them to stand outside for a few minutes” (Teacher 2). In this way, the class observed felt like they were being punished but did not understand what mistake was made. It was unfair. The difference in perception, as manifested in quick judgement and subsequent action with not enough explanation to understand and thus respect the decisions made, created a gap between teacher and student. By communicating the observation made by a teacher and explaining any decision made, such an instance could create mutual respect rather than a perception of unfairness. Communication about such issues was central in these cases.

Throughout the lesson, however, the teacher was quite transparent about decisions being made. This even included various levels of reflection such as ‘perhaps I have been too fast’ and then addressed a question by breaking it into smaller pieces or ‘I had prepared questions but since you are going beyond what I asked you to do, my questions have already been answered! Good job!’.

Even though this teacher is respected by administration for their high level of expertise in their subject and push to excel towards critical thinking with various creative approaches in the class, students in the survey commented on the
class being too fast, or too harsh. The event in class provided a small window into the dichotomy of perspective between teacher and student where slow communication of observations and explanations of decisions is needed for student understanding. Even though this teacher provided such demonstration of transparency throughout class, the one event which started off class was more remembered by students than those during class. We can then infer that students expect a high level of consistency. Whether or not the student’s expectation is realistic is not a piece of this capstone. It is however, relevant to label the expectation and note the issues in communication and reinforcement. The difference in perspective between teachers and students is not unique to Peace House but needs deeper acknowledgement so that Peace House can grow stronger with empathetic teachers to better model a microcosm of a fair and just world.

The sum of these accounts of inconsistency in consequences leads to confusion and fear among students. With the added stress of being an MVC, emotional blocks to learning created by reinforcing differences between teacher and student, or respectively educated and non-educated MVC, fuel difficulties for students.

‘Walking the talk’: Inconsistencies were also seen in various expectations set by verbal communication from the Peace House organization. Two instances speak to fulfilling promises set by the institution. The first, is an account told from
one student who was given the opportunity to stay at school during a holiday break to work and earn some money. There was a point scale of work completed which corresponded to money earned:

“So we were able to calculate ourselves what we had earned. To pay us properly, they should have come with 800,000. But they only came with 200,000. They did not give us our money... For three days of work I got 2,000 (equivalent to $1.30 with current exchange rates). It was painful! We went home because we are orphans so we can’t complain.” (Student B)

The second account comes from a decision in early 2011 to close the scholarship program in Moshi, which had offered school fees to a number of students who were not at Peace House Secondary School. This decision created fear among Peace House students in that

“according to me I don’t think Peace House will stay longer for helping...Our worry is that maybe Peace House will tell us they have told our friends (the scholarship recipients). They have made a promise but the promise was broken after sometime. Even us- they promised but maybe the promise will not be there. What will we do?” (Student B).

There is a feeling from the students interviewed that inconsistencies lead to lack of security and increase in fear. Some students are questioning what exactly will Peace House provide. When teachers say one thing and do another, what lesson does this teach the MVCs who have expectations to find role models in the teachers? In the MVC world of injustice and invalidation, as
explained in the background section, having adults who listen and care about their experience is incredibly powerful.

There is hope, however, in that students were able to name Peace House staff both current and previous as role models. Each student interviewed mentioned different staff as being role models which shows the diversity both in student needs and expectations as well as staff diversity in connecting with students. Role models ranged from teachers such as one who is an orphan to previous administrators.

It is clear that a number of students are disappointed with lack of organizational consistency, as seen in the above accounts. Even the comment from the student about the porridge incident and not being able to complain, speaks volumes. When inquired about this statement, the student noted that as an orphan, they are unable to protect themselves 100% all the time. They even admitted that the Peace House administration has quite a lot of power in that they can decide if or when a student is expelled. The repercussions of such a decision are enormous for Peace House students. The student voiced a sense of loneliness in not being able to feel like anyone will ‘stand on your side’.

When asked about the ability for students to have influence on decisions made, many noted student government made the decision to clean tables for being caught speaking Kiswahili. One student observed the lack of power:
“The student government should defend the students’ rights. A teacher punishes you if you made a mistake. It is a very simple mistake for the student government to sit down and decide. If you jump, then the student has done a mistake, and before involving the student government, you go straight to the teachers’ meeting. It exists, but it is not valued. It has been given power but is not allowed to use its power. No one is allowing you to practice the power you have been given.” (Student B)

It is clear that students feel Peace House faul ters when providing follow-through and therefore consistency of expectations it sets. This difference in what is said and what is done leads to a lack of trust and increasing uncertainty in students. This is in part a response to the unanticipated research question ‘to what extent does Peace House accomplish its mission?’

Transparency: Students want to see transparency from the organization and teachers. As noted in the event of sending students outside, communication in decision making is a necessary piece to building mutual respect, as exemplified in the ‘gold standard’ teacher’s class. Misunderstandings can be avoided by simply talking to students, as seen in the observed event where, due to the lack of communication, student interpreted the event as a punishment. When I asked students to explain when the Kiswahili term *mpole* (polite) is not respectable, students spoke about teachers not talking to students about mistakes made as if teachers hide such issues. Students later hear teachers talking about the same student mistake: “Why didn’t he/she call me if what I did was not correct?” (Student B). Even though students prefer
one-on-one counseling, this student perspective showcases how a student wants feedback, even if it is in front of their classmates rather than not being counseled at all.

A student explained their wanting to share their perspective in an investigation by stating that decision makers of Peace House

“should ask us, ‘please investigate this, if it is true or not but please give us the evidence.’ But if you are not involved, what is your work? But we are not involved... If you are leading Peace House, I would say that you need to be very close to students because here, the main purpose is that teachers are here because of us. If we were not here, teachers would not be here. The problem that is facing students, people are not considering very much.” (Student B)

Students are the mere bearers of decisions, they carry them out and feel the repercussions but are often not involved and therefore often do not understand. This student voices a sense of alienation and loneliness from Peace House. Clearly stated, “they (the administration) don’t tell us - they hide. They have the answers but they don’t like to expose them outside. It is like a secret while we see things are going randomly” (Student B). As seen in the many examples expressed by students, transparency is respected and desired by students. This hints again at a larger organizational disconnect between wanting to provide a nurturing and compassionate environment and actually doing so.

In summation, the expectation for teachers to prepare students for the exam is shared by all participants. Even though some examples of role modeling
were seen in classes, more is expected from teachers to demonstrate moral and ethical decisions. This manifests in the following expectations as seen from students: equality, inclusivity, consistent marking, fair consequences, ‘walking the walk’ and transparency. Challenges in meeting these standards include not valuing student perspective, making judgment, holding grudges, maintaining hierarchy, not involving student perspective and voice in decision making and not communicating decisions when made. From the student perspective, Peace House provides an incredible opportunity but has difficulties maintaining the expectations of its own mission. The mission and subsequent message to students is that Peace House is a wonderful place. Yet, one student interviewed equated it to a ‘prison’.

The capacity to manifest paradise, as the Peace House lofty mission aims, according to the perspectives of students in this study, has yet to be consistently attained. The standard of communication to students is low and inconsistent which leads to confusion, insecurity and fear. In order to not lose the paradise envisioned in the Peace House dream, the values expressed by students in their expectations of teachers (and therefore the organization as a whole) should be instilled throughout the organization and need to be exemplified in the leadership of the school in order for students to be the agents of change in their community and country.
Aside from the issues raised by students, Peace House remains on the leading edge of educational reform in Tanzania. Students recognize the power of the opportunity and appreciate their teachers deeply, as seen in encouraging qualitative feedback on the student survey. Even though Peace House is not paradise, as many hope it would be, it is relatively close. Interviewed students commented on other schools where “they draw a line – no food no books or maybe they have only 2 teachers and you see a teacher in the class only once a month” (Student B). Peace House is indeed not perfect but students are aware that it could be considerably worse!

**ANALYSIS**

There were many pieces of data which when synthesized, creates a vivid picture of the state of Peace House and its MVC student population. Through the following brief analysis, I recognized that Peace House is indeed a golden opportunity for education for its students, who are expected to do well on the exams and help others. Teachers are indeed above par compared to the Tanzanian average. Peace House students’ idealistic expectations are admirable, though. Where the idealistic expectation of students meet the reality of teachers as humans creates a platform on which the following analysis takes place. Teachers have many pressures to balance like all humans, have bad days. Teachers are human and we must recognize that Peace House teachers are indeed remarkable for being selected and for the most part, continuing to
help lead educational reform. That said, the presence of modernization in systems of Peace House as well as a change of perspective regarding Nyerere’s Self-Reliance was seen and perplexing to me. Moreover, I found a dependency model alive in the minds and hearts of Peace House which must be acknowledged so that Peace House can extend beyond the classroom and academic learning and reach into the realm of social change.

Modernization theory believes that different levels of development exist to which becoming ‘modern’ is a higher level. This is based on the theories basic principal that there is a hierarchy of levels in which humans should strive to reach the top. Such a hierarchy places ‘traditional’ lifestyles, such as those experienced by Peace House students prior to arriving on campus, at a lower and less developed level. Subsistence farming, wearing traditional clothes and not being educated fall into manifestations of this category. In Tanzania, when one reaches a certain status to be able to help others, such as the expectation on Peace House students, there is a silent implication that they will not need to perform manual labor but can afford to hire others to do such work for them. Manual labor was equated to punishment and accepted by some students only if the punishment was fair. One group of students when casually asked about their punishment responded that it was not fair since they are here to “learn and not clean”. They then added a comment equating graduating from Peace House to being a manager where doing such ‘dehumanizing work’ will not be relevant. This is arguably a piece of what one student refers to when success
was defined as “moving from the downward stage to the upper stage” (Student A). In essence, manual work becomes a piece of the past. Students often talked about having a nice lifestyle, where a nice house, good job and physical luxuries implied a sense of freedom from worry about necessary items such as food, water and health.

The ensuing entitlement assumed by an educated person in Tanzania, as displayed in these comments and actions at Peace House goes directly against what Julius Nyerere was working for in his *Education for Self-Reliance*:

Secondary students now have a feeling they and their parents deserve a prize – the prize they expect is high wages, comfortable employment in town and personal status in society…induces a feeling of superiority and leaves other hankering after something they will never obtain which induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority. This produces neither the egalitarian society we should build nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. (1967)

At Peace House, often times punishment is manual labor such as cutting long grass, washing tables, or working in the farm. Many students resent such punishment, as seen in the consequences section above. Some even commented that such punishment is not appropriate ‘because when (students) graduate, they will be managers and won’t have to do such work anymore’. This expectation sets up a self-perpetuating system of hierarchy where education is seen as a stepping tool to move up the ladder of ‘development’. The basic assumption here is that students have a deficit which needs to be
filled. Such a deficit model is seen when issues arise and personal responsibility or blame is placed on the student, such as ‘Why are you so prideful?’ where the student is an object of pride rather than asking reflective questions ‘How did this situation arise?’ where the student is a subject in their own reality (Davie and Galloway, 1996).

When relating to Nyerere’s self-reliance, personal independence was highlighted by interviewed teachers. Teachers said that they incorporate self-reliance when they ask students to do work individually or call on individual students rather than cooperative learning. This is quite different than the proclamation in Nyerere’s *Education for Self-Reliance* which calls on cooperative and community learning, using the resources and strengths within a community to be autonomous. One teacher advocated for self-reliant principles on campus during many casual conversations after work hours. This same teacher was mentioned in a student interview for such passion in seeing Nyerere’s theory applied to Peace House. It was this same student who recognized the potential of Peace House campus to produce some needed materials such as food from the *shamba* (garden) or livestock and have been disappointed by the lack of structure or consistency around being able to efficiently use these resources:

“We, African people, why should we depend on all of things from the outside? Peace House assists us – yes! You want to tell me that Peace House failed to make sure to produce things which will help instead only depending 100% on donations from America? We can
start our project like bringing cows, bringing goats and maybe
growing beans, also chickens maybe. We can sell chickens or even
vegetables to get money” (Student B).

The theory of doing so is rooted in Nyerere’s Self-Reliance and works against
modernization, deficit and dependency. With the economic crash of 2008-2009,
Peace House has had to re-evaluate their financial planning and has called
upon the campus to increase autonomy rather than rely on donations from the
US and thus step into a realized effort of Nyerere. This will take a concerted effort
by many on campus, which despite the administration wanting to implement,
few who will actually implement it understand, respect and therefore will ensure
its reality. With so few working for such a large task of paradigm shift in nature, I
am afraid it is not set for success quite yet.

The power dynamic between teacher and student relationships is
perpetuated with-in Peace House. Namely, the innate power of teachers in the
Tanzanian system to dispense knowledge to students in order for them to
‘perform on exams’ creates a bottleneck of power in the teacher. In other
words, the teacher dispenses knowledge needed to ‘do well on the exams
‘which is the ‘only way to move up’ from one level to a higher one. The teacher
is the gateway to a higher level in society and thus holds incredible power.
Without addressing the larger issue of the national curriculum, this issue will
inevitably persist. Regardless, students are well aware that pleasing a teacher
and showing respect is key to receiving knowledge from them in order to
‘perform’. One student simply stated that “education is the transfer of
knowledge” (Student A). Without the source of the transfer, the teacher, education does not happen. Teachers are the catalyst for such transactions. The fact that one student did not answer the question asking to name teachers which did not motivate them to study hard shows the sense of vulnerability in such a relationship. In order to maintain security in the relationship, the student felt it importance to not name any teachers which would potentially show disrespect. Davie and Galloway admirably states that “experience has shown that children will not talk about their innermost feelings to parents and teachers unless they are given strong signals that it is safe to do so” (1996).

The perpetuation of this power relationship between teacher and student, however, in which the teacher is viewed as a sort of demi-god, creates a gap between teacher and student. Paulo Friere, a well known progressive educational theorist, notes that in order to maintain this superiority relationship, those on top, in this case the Peace House teachers, will invalidate the perspective of the inferior, the students (1970). This could be seen in the reaction to the student survey in the debrief meeting with teachers and administration where teachers who voiced their opinions, were doing so in disagreement with the data, design or mere principle of the survey. Linda Pollock quotes from Francis that “teachers who are not aware of the importance of learners’ understandings and feelings about the nature and significance of learning tasks are unlikely to see that there may be a fundamental lack of agreement
between their own and their students’ conceptions” (Davie and Galloway, 1996). Michel Marland says that

“we can be motivated to ignore or discount the other’s point of view. At other times, this neglect occurs because we undervalue potential outcomes from listening to others’ comment about our performance in the workplace or elsewhere” (ibid).

He furthermore states that exercises which “listen to and respond to pupils views, opinions and suggestions on school matters... are unlikely to be well-received by those supportive of more traditionally dated practices where pupils remain subjugated to the whims and wits of teachers” (Ibid). This was indeed directly observed in the student survey debrief meeting. An other study on community initiatives for OVC in Tanzania notes that “typically, the relationship between those seeking empowerment and those with power is fraught with suspicion on both sides. On the one hand, those with power quite reasonably want to protect their resources in the name of accountability” (Lundy Foundation, 2008).

As the teachers have not received additional data presented here taken after the survey from me, the critical pieces of equality and transparency in the data may assumedly incite similar responses. Such a response shows, however, that teachers prefer to maintain a position of authority and power over students.

Such a pedagogical relationship is highlighted by Paulo Friere, who places social class awareness at the crux of his theories, coined the term ‘bank account’ on such pedagogical relationships, where knowledge is placed in the ‘empty account’ (i.e. the student) by the ‘full account’ (i.e. the teacher) in
order to later be transferred to an external source (i.e. the exam). Until the
subject of education and learning itself become central to the dialogue of
education and thus curriculum in Tanzanian, status will play perhaps the largest
role in education. Again, this goes directly against what Nyerere hoped
education in his country would attain where a sense of entitlement follows in the
wake of receiving an education (1967).

Such a system reiterates teacher, student and exam as objects for
education rather than subjects with education. For Friere, the object-subject
naming is key because an object indicates separation, and in Friere’s words “in
order to regain their humanity, objects must cease to be things and fight as men
and women” (1970). The term object is key here in that when someone does
something for someone else; it is done from a differing level and therefore
perpetuates hierarchy, or in other words, a distance between power and
powerless. For instance, when one ties a shoe lace for someone else, they do so
implying that the ability of the person who does the action is more capable of
the one for whom the action is done. If they were to tie the shoe with the other
person, the two would be working together as subjects in a didactic relationship
of equality where both took on student and teacher role. In other words, with
the context of the Tanzanian educational system is built on a foundation of
hierarchy leading back to colonialism, Peace House by using the Tanzanian
curriculum, was built for MVCs, rather than with them. The banking system is alive
and well in Tanzania and also at Peace House. This is the first layer of
perpetuation of hierarchy within Peace House by way of cultural status and entitlement which is engrained in educational expectations of Tanzania. Peace House must be very intentional with its practices if it wants to address this dynamic. It, meaning Peace House staff, must be diligently patient with attempting to create such remarkable but still tangible change.

It is my opinion that in order to support MVCs, who have experienced incredible inequity simply by virtue of being a MVC in Tanzania, to become creative problem solvers and job creators (as Peace House states), solidarity with them must be established, as modeled in the ‘gold standard’ teacher’s classroom: Teacher and student moved together. There was never a comment about this teacher being unfair. In fact, they were often mentioned as the example for fairness in that they counseled students first before giving a punishment. The example of sending students out of the classroom shows a lack of solidarity between student and teacher. Eventhough it was not the teachers intentions, the lack of communication and ensuing misunderstanding in students fortified the teacher-student hierarchy. The lack of genuine solidarity, as seen in the lack of emotional and spiritual support from the student survey as one of the lowest overall scores for Peace House teachers, among other issues raised in expectations of equality, fair marking, consistent consequences, ‘walking the talk’ and transparency, reiterates the idea that students are an object of education rather than subjects of the educational process. The belittling comments which Peace House teachers have made about the MVC status of its
students add an additional wedge to the perceived status differential between student and teacher.

An inferiority complex is built and sustained when those whom are perceived to be ‘lower’, are taught not to be trusted, to not trust their own feelings and are simply invalidated. Once again, this puts the teacher in a self-proclaimed position of greater importance in the learning process, which induces a feeling of right-wrong, high-low and subject-object, all of which add to the dehumanizing morale of Peace house’s students, who are already in an assumed position of powerlessness due to their MVC status. Although Peace House is trying to move against this current of invalidation, it is clearly still imbedded in the perspective of some teachers and thus perpetuated in their practice.

I do not believe these practices are intentional perpetuated by teachers, who are doing a remarkable job, relatively speaking. The Peace House teachers, being the first wave of change agents for MVC education are products of the Tanzanian education system and its associated hierarchy. It may therefore take a few generations of children to experience a unique and ‘dynamic’ Peace House education for a few to become teachers themselves and thus continue the slow march to a manifested educational system where MVC and their communities are changed through a nurturing environment and dynamic education (Peace House mission).
That said, teachers are caught in a unique predicament at Peace House. They place themselves higher in the hierarchy when compared to students, but have openly admitted to not having the answers when talking to American counter-parts and thus place themselves lower in the hierarchy. In observing classes, teachers desperately wanted me to tell them what was right and what was wrong rather than engage in the reflective tools which supported teachers looking at their own strengths and weaknesses. In talking to the headmistress, the exact words, “inferiority complex” were used to describe such a relationship.

I heard no stories of needs assessments conducted with MVC or including their perspective in planning Peace House or even continued projects on campus. For Friere, this is a symptom of ‘false generosity’. This is because the ‘help’ of Peace House comes from a position of power, both intertwined in the Tanzanian educational system through its teachers, as just discussed, as well as the modernization perspective on Peace House founder, funders and decision makers. Decisions appear to be made in the states by a few non-Tanzanians without the valued input of staff on the ground. It is as though the United States, and in the case of Peace House, the Minnesota office, have all of the answers. Rather than form a plan with the MVC population, decisions are simply made for them. I wonder how Peace house would be different if Scott Augustine (the founder and primary funder of Peace House) were a Tanzanian MVC? Decisions need to have ownership in the people who carry them out. In other words, the MVC and their communities need to demand and work for their needs to be
met. Perpetuating the hierarchy that the US or Minnesota have the answers keeps the funders and current decision makers in power and those on the ground at Peace House, powerless. This second layer of hierarchical perpetuation with an international context needs to carefully acknowledge in order to flourish in the fullest potential their mission has to offer.

Teachers are at a unique crux at Peace House and thus have power to choose which direction Peace House will move. In taking the radical stance of solidarity with its students, Peace House teachers can transform their own reality and those around them towards pedagogy of freedom in a didactic process where teachers and students are no longer objects but lively co-creators. This means that they need to not only abolish their own inferiority in the modernization theory but also dispel their own superiority over the MVC and to a large extent their students. Taking risks to create such change is scary. Teachers would need to feel supported and safe. Additionally, this would demand intense self-reflection on part of the teachers which requires mentorship, modeling and savvy facilitation of experienced conscientious leaders. In maintaining hierarchy, however, teachers would reiterate the need for dependency on outside sources and thus maintain their own internalization of relative superiority which enforces the MVC level as below teachers and thus disempowering the idealistic youth. This, however, simultaneously plays a double standard where such hierarchy as explained in the modernization theory, places developing societies in a lower role. Therefore, on the one hand, teachers would be paced
above their students but below those from more ‘modern’ status (i.e. educated or developed countries, such as the United States where most of the volunteers from Peace House, like myself come from). The future of Peace House thus rests in the perspective and practice of its staff, particularly its teachers.

These issues raised on campus bring up a subtle but critical point: What will happen to Peace House students when they graduate? In other words, will they in fact be equipped to ‘help others’ as the expectation has been laid out? A study on community initiatives for OVC in Tanzania notes “those seeking empowerment must not only learn how to effectively interface with outside interests that control needed resources; they also must learn to deal with power relations operating within the communities where they work (e.g., a faith-based effort that is viewed with suspicion because all community members do not subscribe to the faith delivering the service) (Lundy Foundation, 2008). Two pieces are subsequently needed: 1) both technical and soft skills in leadership as well as 2) respect and yearning from their community to work with the graduate. Arguably, Peace House is fulfilling a small portion of these needed components. They are indeed providing an education and some skills. With the focus on the exam however, due to the structure of the Tanzanian curriculum, practical skills in being able to apply what is learned is a challenge, as noted above. This is once again a missed opportunity where Peace House can connect with various agencies, locally and internationally, to help students put their education to work, whether in small on campus projects, projects in the neighboring
communities or even tackling national issues or international ones through the rich resources offered by the Peace House network. Students applying what is learned is indeed a barrier to success.

The second critical component is a deeply imbedded social-cultural issue of Tanzanians respecting children and furthermore, respecting the humanity of those less privileged, such as MVCs. When one students commented “What can we do, we are orphans?” (Student B), the internalization of such systems of hierarchy are reinforced by issuing a subtle proclamation that those who are powerful will remain so while those who are powerless, will remain less than human.

In setting out to investigate expectations between teachers and students, participants uncovered deeper issues which extend beyond the teacher-student relationship. Their responses pointed toward an underlying current of embryonic organizational mission skepticism. Peace House Secondary School was started in 2006. 2011 was the 4th year of housing students. There has been steep growth physically and organizationally which has left staff and students in a wake of unfilled promises set out by its mission. Three areas of the Peace House mission addressed by this study in varying depth are creating change in MVC and their communities, providing a nurturing environment and offering dynamic education. By way offering education to MVC, they create change in this demographic. What kind of change and how deep into their communities the change will transpire, is yet to be determined. As the first graduating class of
Peace House prepares for the next chapter in their lives, the extent to which Peace House accomplishes this aspect of their mission can be further defined. Peace House does offer a relatively dynamic education. They have some of the best trained teachers in all of the country. That said, as being the first wave of change agents on the front line, Peace House teachers need an incredible amount of systematic support to affect the desired change Peace House aims to achieve. Peace House is a haven for its MVC students. Basic needs are met, such as food, water, physical safety and medical attention. Some students, as seen in survey responses and interviews, are quick to point out deeper levels of instability by way of unfair grading, exclusivity, favoritism and unfair punishments. Although relatively safe, these issues need to be addressed before Peace House can claim that they indeed offer a truly nurturing environment. Peace House offers the hope of paradise and is working with mediocrity toward its lofty goal but must embody their mission completely to make the sustained impact the promise of paradise offers.
Recommendations

The following recommendations were generated in order to help Peace House push beyond the barriers to fulfilling expectations found in this study and thus ensure manifestations of the Peace House mission and expectations with greater consistency at all levels. They were created from data gathered as well as analysis offered and then combined with the necessary pieces of a ‘listening school’ who regard their learners as co-creators of their experience rather than invisible objects which are judged and need to be shaped (Davie and Galloway, 1996). These are also created out of a backdrop of various other studies done which show failures in community efforts to support OVC and thus what can be done in a effort to create best practices with them (Lundy Foundation, 2008). The list of ten items which follow are NOT in prioritized order as such decisions are beyond the scope of this study alone.

1) Attitudes: The inferiority complex has to stop being perpetuated by both sides. This means that teachers must recognize their precipice of inferiority-superiority within development of an free nation, as Nyerere urged. Children need to viewed as respected treasure. These are deeply imbedded cultural practices but can be addressed by Peace House through inclusivity training where identifying inequities of ones personal judgment and behaviors as well as those of society are reflected on;

2) Structures and staff roles: The Peace House organization, as group of people working on the campus in Tanzania rather than a few living in distant
Minnesota, needs to create expectations, roles, policies and structures from their own concept and vision of the school. This can be done in a thorough strategic planning plan of which experts from the business field come to facilitate an in-depth month long, or extended six month strategic plan vetting process. The key is to have facilitators who are sensitive to the constraints and benefits of cultural issues at Peace House but are able to inspire staff to create the plan themselves. If the people of Peace House school create the plan, they own the ideas and will therefore carry them out. In other words, having a few administrators or even worse, the Minnesota team, create the plan for staff at the school to implement, it will go no where and indeed paradise will be lost!

3) Staff skills: Staff need to have the skills to carry out the strategic plan once they are aware of their own and societal strengths and weaknesses. This not only should include follow-up inclusivity trainings, but also communication, teamwork, counseling, active listening and mediation trainings in which role playing and practicing the skills are heavily emphasized;

4) Curriculum: The confines of the Tanzanian curriculum need to be analyzed and weighed against any other viable option. Conducting an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the curriculum will help identify where Peace House should focus its efforts. Teachers, as one unit, could decide to 1) find an other curriculum, 2) keep the Tanzanian curriculum but supplement it with rich experiences to extend learning beyond the test, or 3) maintain the curriculum as
it is. Regardless, the choice needs to be informed by thorough analysis and
dialogue from Peace house community;

5) Use or Create Resources: Use resource on campus and local
community as Nyerere dreamed, to embody sustainability, decrease
dependency, deficiency and inferiority. The garden is producing a fair amount
of food and should continue to grow. Livestock should be incorporated into
campus life and students should be expected to help maintain their well-being;

6) Listen: Incorporate students and take their perspective into account in
major decisions or investigation which requires defining of roles and policies
based on an internally created strategic plan. This could include a carefully
planned student government where roles and responsibilities are clearly
articulated (as to avoid false expectations such as the ‘shadow’ explained
above by a student interviewed);

7) Transparency and Accountability: Create mutual transparency and
accountability across all stakeholders, particularly those who implement ideas
and concepts and especially students’ home communities through policies
generated from a strategic plan. A communication plan for these policies and
having systems in place to carry them out as well as staff trained on the systems
is critical. This point was highlighted by a case study of an OVC community
center in Tanzania where communication and protocol around the issues of
transparency and accountability led to violence, arrests and closure of the
center (Lundy Foundation, 2008). Building trust among ALL stakeholders is key if we are to affirm our own humanity along with OVC;

8) Exit Strategy and Transition to Tanzanian Leadership: Create a long term exit strategy for the next ten years with Tanzanian staff so that the US organization can withdraw and allow leadership to blossom from within Peace House. The financial owners of the school should not and do not run the school. Staff are the real owners who run the school. If the school is to survive, Tanzanians must demand their humanity, stop systems of inferiority and take responsibility with their MVC children;

9) Apply Learning: Integrate students into their communities through a carefully scaffolded plan, where students explore increasing levels of autonomous problem solving on campus and then at home in meaningful ways (i.e. entrepreneurial projects, mentor-ship, internship, peer counseling….). This could be done with increasing autonomy each year and culminate in a graduation project which is implemented after Form Four.

10) Extend listening to children beyond Peace House boundaries: Arguably, the community from which the PHSS students come from and will assumedly return to are the largest stakeholders in the PHSS mission but are dismissed from the discourse. Even if Peace House can become the paradise it states in its mission, when students leave, they will return to the communities from which they came, where children of their MVC demographic are not valued.
For real change to occur and be sustained, these communities need to be involved in the social change which is at the heart of Peace House. Their perspective needs to be heard and included in decisions. They need to be brought into the many conversations of community integration and planning to apply learning. Without these critical stakeholders, Peace House can continue but will be one small institution in the sea. To create a larger mission of true pedagogical impact where social change is implemented at ALL levels in students’ lives, support beyond the boundaries of Peace House walls is imperative.

CONCLUSION:

In a world where children’s perspectives are often discounted, MVC have little hope to be ‘heard’. Peace House, whose mission is to change the lives and communities of MVC in Tanzania by way of a nurturing environment and dynamic education, in allowing the student survey of this research to take place, takes a bold step toward solidarity with its MVC student population. The formation of this decision did not come from within the organization however and could thus be argued that it was done for the organization and thus for its MVC students. To be able to truly listen to the perspectives of its students, Peace House, meaning its staff (not just a few) must be ready to listen and involve
students, much like the few who are ready to campaign for self-reliance on campus through gardening and livestock projects.

Listening to students, however bold of a step in the context of Tanzania and MVC, is not nearly enough to create systematic changes. So far, students have internalized their own less-than-human status. If they do not see themselves as valuable stakeholders in the transformation of their own learning and are able to act accordingly, how will the graduates of Peace House ever be valued by their home community and create the change which is instilled in the Peace House vision?

It is not surprising that opinions differ from students to teachers, as seen in this study. It is, however, fascinating to contemplate the optimistic nature of students who ask for ideal role models in their teachers. This shows that students have a moral compass, despite the inequities they have already experienced as MVC in Tanzania and expect the world to be a place of increasing freedom. The question arises then, is Peace House meeting the expectations of its students? Although these expectations are not explicit, they could be vetted by a further investigation. As Form Four students prepare to graduate from four years of Peace House living, are they ready to return to their homes? Has Peace House adequately trained them to be the respected member of their community so that they can indeed be listened to and solve problems? One student comments about the difficulties of returning home because of
“the challenge again to change those (people at home). Maybe they don’t have the knowledge about a certain issue and then you tell him or her it is very difficult for him to catch up. It is a difficult time to convince them to change their mind. When I leave Peace House it will be difficult to maintain the same level of control because of other people” (Student A).

One must however be reminded that Peace House is indeed an incredible opportunity for its students. Students genuinely appreciate their teachers and for the most part, teachers care about their students. I was personally inspired by the many comments on the student survey which noted how encouraging and empathetic students are to the teachers: ‘keep going’, ‘Never give up’, ‘I pray for your strength to continue’. There is, however, room for improvement, but as students compared Peace House to other secondary schools, they were largely impressed. One guardian even commented that Peace House is more of a University than a secondary school. Peace House is doing good by virtue of its existence. Change occurs simply by providing a relatively safe place with food, water, clothes and education.

“(Teachers) really want us to succeed. Despite the fact that some student are low learners, they are failing or are down, Peace House have achieved to give us the knowledge to survive at home. Maybe when you fail at Peace House, you still have the knowledge they give. You cannot compare me to the same person who was living in the village there. We have life skills and class knowledge and we can use it to study and do some activities so that we can be able to survive in our home place.” (Student D)

This student notes that their survival is directly linked to their experience at Peace House. This assumes that survival was in question before their Peace House
experience. With teachers such as the “gold standard” teacher, students are indeed exposed to instances where respect and dignity are not only seen, but experienced. Change is happening. Positive change is helping Peace House students to survive. In this sense, we could say that paradise is slowly being created.

The deeper question is then, how deep of a commitment to creating ‘paradise’ (i.e. a world where 1) MVC views are respected and heard and 2) inferiority and dependency are no longer needed) does Peace House want to work for? A more meaningful change, as laid out in the data, analysis and recommendation is possible. Peace House currently accepts the relative change which is occurring as adequate, but as the student quote above provides impetus, is surviving the expectation of Peace house graduates? Peace House can indeed push for students to thrive and create change in their community and can create a ‘paradise’ which is more consistent with the ‘gold standard’. Peace House itself, meaning the staff of the school, in order to answer the call of such critical consciousness and praxis, needs to slow down and really think about the larger picture and their role in it. Meaning, they must stop accepting directives which perpetuate them as objects and demand the unification between those in power and those who are not. As seen in the Lundy Foundation’s study of a similar case study, “When this relationship works, communities feel empowered to develop means to support their OVC and they have access to external resources. When this relationship fails, those with the
power to provide external resources end up undermining local initiatives or creating local initiatives that are not truly owned by the communities they are designed to serve” (2008). Peace House must unify on concrete strategies, as outlined in the recommendations, in order to reaffirm the humanity of not only the students of Peace House, but their own humanity of a person living in Tanzania.

Of course, under the convention for children’s rights, the best interest of the child must be central to any decision made. We must therefore ask: are decisions made for them as objects of the choice; or rather can decisions be made with them as subjects of creating the world they wish to live in?

Furthermore, can students and citizens of Tanzania, in reinforcing their humanity, demand that decisions are made with them and not for them?

Remaining Questions (recommended research):

- What is the mission and vision of Peace House as generated from its staff? What is the prioritized and concrete plan to carry these statements out?
- Who are the decision makers and how are decisions made? What are the explicit roles, responsibilities of various stakeholders?
- How can accountability be sustained for Peace House Secondary School?
- How can mutual accountability be created and sustained?
- What does Peace House equip students with in order to return to their home community to implement change?
- How can Peace House create a link between education, and community decision making, implementation, collaboration and planning?
• To what extent are Peace House students respected in their home community? Can their perspective be heard in their home community after leaving Peace House?

• How can Peace House help overcome the ‘invisibility’ of their students in their home communities?

• How can the process of answering these questions be transparent to all stakeholders?

• What is the best way to incorporate the home communities of the students as valued stakeholders?
References


HakiElimu, 2007a What has been achieved in Primary Education: Key Findings from Government Reviews. Dar es Salaam.


Lundy Foundation, 2008. Power and Empowerment: Fostering effective collaboration in meeting the needs of orphaned and vulnerable children. Retrieved from Lundy Foundation Website April 2011


Peace House guardian at the October 2010 parents’ day


Seuya, Theopista. personal communication. May 9 2011


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A – student feedback survey on Peace House teachers

We need your help to support Peace House to be the BEST school in Tanzania. This feedback form is anonymous (strictly confidential). Do NOT put your name on this paper. Please take your time and answer honestly. Your answers will not affect your class grade or exam marking. There are no right or wrong answers.

Name of teacher ______________________________________ Form _______________ Subject _______________________

Please put a tick in one of the following boxes: Not at all A little Somewhat Very much

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

How much do you enjoy this subject?

How much do you enjoy this teacher?

Please circle one number per question to indicate your response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rate the following qualities of this teacher</th>
<th>Very Poor</th>
<th>Fairly Poor</th>
<th>Adequate</th>
<th>Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punctuality (kuwahi darasani/vipindi)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability outside of class (upatikanaji wake nje ya darasa)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work load given (utoaji wa kazi)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness of grading (usahihishaji wake)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands back homework in a timely manner (Usahihishaji wa kazi za nyumbani na hurudisha kwa wakati)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role model (ni mfano wa kuligwa)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/emotional support (msaada wa kiroho/ hisia)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear instructions (Maelekezo yake yanaelweka)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of English (Matumizi ya kingereza)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student centered teaching (anashirikisha wanafunzi katika ufundishaji)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery of the subject (kabobea katika kulifundisha somo)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creativity (ubunifu)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical thinking (umakini)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making material relevant (utoaji wa mifano hai/halisi)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspiring students to learn (anavutia wanafunzi kulipenda somo na kushiriki kujifunza)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of technology in classroom (matumizi ya teknolojia)</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This teacher’s main weaknesses are (udhaifu wake ni):

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

This teacher’s main strengths are (uwezo wake zaidi ni):

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

Is there anything else you would like to tell us or explain one or more of your answers in greater depth? (please use the back of this paper if you need more space) (jambo jingine lolote ungependa kusema juu ya huyu mwali mu, tumia upande wa nyuma wa karatasi hili kama nafasi hili haitoshi):

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________________
Appendix B – Student Interview Questions

PRELIMINARY

- What does your family expect from you after you graduate from Peace House?
- What do you enjoy most about PH?
- What do you least enjoy about PH?
- What are your career plans for the year following your last year at Peace House (i.e. form 4 graduation) - what sort of job do you want?
- What do most Form 4 graduates want to do?
- How prepared do you feel RIGHT NOW to secure a job like you just described?
- What skills do you still need to develop to secure this job/livelihood?
- What sort of job would you ultimately like to have?
- What process do you take to solve a problem or challenge you face here at Peace House?
- Regarding your future, what most worries you?
- Regarding your future, what most inspires you?
- How much control do you have over your everyday life here at Peace House?
- How much control did you have over your everyday life before you came to Peace House?
- How much control do you believe you will have over your everyday life after you leave Peace House?
- Who is your greatest inspiration in life? What about this person inspires you? What can others learn from this person?
- Who is your greatest inspiration at PH? What about this person inspires you? What can others learn from this person?
- How much influence/control do you have in accomplishing your goals in life?
- How will life outside of Peace House be different than life while here?

SECOND/THIRD Interview with students (after classroom observations and survey)

- Do different teachers have higher expectations than others?
- Do you prefer teachers who have higher expectations or those who have lower expectations?
- Do you work harder for those who have higher expectation or those who have lower expectations?
- How do you know if a teacher wants you to succeed?
- How do you know if you are succeeding?
- How do you know if you are NOT succeeding?
- What are the biggest obstacles for your success?
- How do your teachers help you to overcome these challenges?
- After your schooling is complete, what do you want to do?
- How much influence do you have on making decisions about things that affect your life here at Peace House?
- For classes, how free do you feel to come up with new ways of approaching a problem or expressing your opinions?
- How do teachers encourage creativity? Do some encourage more than others?
- What are the consequences of not reaching a teacher’s expectations?
- Do some teachers allow you to make mistakes as long as you learn from them? Do you feel safe making mistakes in this way?
- What does PH do as an organization to share their expectations with you?
- What are the consequences of not keeping up with these expectations?

Appendix C – Participant Permission Form

Dear __________,

Mpendwa______.

I am a Peace House volunteer and graduate student of the School for International Training in Vermont, USA. In order to complete my degree requirements, I must conduct a research study.


The subject of my research project is “What the expectations between teachers and students at Peace House”. People like you who volunteer to participate will be interviewed and asked a series of questions. Your name will not be written on any questionnaires unless your signature or if you are a student, signatures of both you and your guardian via the permission form offered are provided. Interviews will take about 30 minutes. If you indicate at any time that you would like to stop the interview, you will be thanked for your participation and the interview will stop immediately.


There are no known risks for participating in the study. The data collected may lead to increased understanding of what services are most effectively reaching the children of Tanzania. If you would like to have a report of the study upon its completion, please indicate at the bottom of this form.

Lakini, hakuna hatari kwenye masuali. Ni kwa ajili ya utafiti tu. Majibu ambazo ninakusaigne, zinaweza kuwasaidia watoto yatima kama wewe, yaani kuongeza huduma ya watoto yatima baadaye. Ukitaka copy ya utafiti wangu, wandike mambo hilo hili. If you have any questions about the research, you may contact me, Kelli Bee, at # 0789 116 338. Furthermore, if you have any questions about a child’s rights as a research subject, you may contact the Sponsored Programs Administrator, Kanthie Athukorola, at the School for International Training at # 18022583510.

Pia, kama unasuali yoyote kuhusu utafiti huu, unaweza kunipigia simu (0789 116 338). Na kama una masuali mwingine kuhusu haki ya watoto kama somo ya utafiti, unaweza kumpigia simu Kanthie Athukorola, supervisa wa programme, pale “School for International Training” (18022583510).

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. Please sign and return the attached permission slip if you are willing to participate. Your support is greatly appreciated.

Ushirikiano yako ni bila kulazimishwa. Tafadhali, kama unataka kushirikiana, uweke sahihi yako chini na uirudishe fomu hili. Nakushukuru sana kwa msaada yako.

Sincerely,
Yako,

Kelli Bee
Program in Intercultural Service, Leadership and Management Candidate, SIT
____________ agrees to participate in the research study conducted by Kelli Bee called “How Peace House Expectations Between teachers and students”

Name of the child/(Jina la mtoto) amekubali kushirkiana kwenye utafiti kwa Kelli inaitwa “Shule ya Peace House, inatanya nini kuwa mwenzewote tendon a wanafunzi wake”.

Participants Signature/Sahihi ya mtu ___________________________ Date/Tarehe ____________

Guardian Signature/Sahihi ya mzazi ____________________________ Date/ Tarehe ____________

APPENDIX D – Teacher Interview Questions

How do you measure success in your students?

How do your reward success? Explain/Give examples

How do you reinforce success? Explain/Give examples

How do your students know when they are successful in your class? Explain/Give examples

What do you think is the biggest obstacles for student success?

How do you help students overcome these obstacles? Explain/Give examples

To what extent are you able to help students overcome such obstacles? Explain/Give examples

What are your expectations of your students after they finish Form 4? Are students able to meet these expectations?

What are your daily behavioral expectations of students in your class? Give examples. Are students able to meet these expectations?

Explain your most ideal students – what qualities do they have?

How do you communicate these expectations to students? Give examples/explain

How do your students know they are reaching your expectations? Give examples/explain

What are the consequences of not reaching expectations?

Tell about an occasion when a student performed differently than you expected …

How important is it for students to have opportunities to be creative in class? Give examples

How do you define self-reliance?

Do you use principles of self reliance in your class? If so, explain by giving examples

How do you define respect? Do you consider yourself to respect your students?
## APPENDIX E – Classroom Observation Sheet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Form/Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Greeting

### Names

### Instructions

### Positive Reinforcement

### Facial Expressions / posture / eye contact

### Creativity/Critical Thinking

### Applicability/Practicality/Beyond Peace House

### Closing

### Seating arrangement

### Other
Appendix F: Methods of Data Collection Timeline

May-June 2010: Survey Design and Pilot

November 2010: Survey implementation (n=2651, 241 students filled out one survey each of their 11 subject teachers)

December 2010: Preliminary Interviews with student participants (n=6, not all students interviewed were observed in classes and therefore did not have follow up interviews))

February-March 2011: Classroom observations (n=5, two Form Four classes observed twice, one class observed once)

March-April 2011: Follow up interviews with teachers (n=3, three teachers each had one follow up interview)

March-April 2011: Follow up interviews with students (n=8, four Form Four students: one with one follow up interview, two students had two follow up interviews, and one student had three)
APPENDIX G: Demographics and Socioeconomic Indicators of Tanzania

- Population 42,746,620 (July 2011 est.)
- Age Structure (2006 est.):
  - 0-14 years: 42% (male 9,003,152/female 8,949,061)
  - 15-64 years: 55.1% (male 11,633,721/female 11,913,951)
  - 65 years and over: 2.9% (male 538,290/female 708,445) (2011 est.)
- Population growth rate: 2.002% (2011 est.)
- Birth rate: 32.64 births/1,000 population (2011 est.)
- Death rate: 12.09 deaths/1,000 population (2011 est.)
- Net migration rate: -0.53 migrant(s)/1,000 population (2011 est.)
- Sex ratio (2006 est.):
  - at birth: 1.03 male(s)/female
  - under 15 years: 1.01 male(s)/female
  - 15-64 years: 0.98 male(s)/female
  - 65 years and over: 0.77 male(s)/female
  - total population: 0.98 male(s)/female (2011 est.)
- Infant mortality rate total: 66.93 deaths/1,000 live births
  - male: 73.7 deaths/1,000 live births
  - female: 59.95 deaths/1,000 live births (2011 est.)
- Life expectancy at birth: 52.85 years
  - male: 51.34 years
  - female: 54.42 years (2011 est.)
- Total fertility rate: 4.16 children born/woman (2011 est.)
- Literacy (2003 est.):
  - Definition: age 15 and over can read and write Kiswahili (Swahili), English, or Arabic
  - total population: 69.4%
    - male: 77.5%
    - female: 62.2% (2002 census)
- GDP (2010 est.):
  - real growth rate: 6.5% (2010 est.)
  - GDP (purchasing power parity): $58.44 billion (2010 est.)
  - GDP (official exchange rate): $22.67 billion (2010 est.)
  - per capita: $1400
- GDP (Gross Domestic Product) composition by sector (2006 est.):
  - agriculture: 42%
  - industry: 18%
  - services: 40% (2010 est.)
- Population below poverty line (2002 est.): 36%
- Labor force (2002 est.):
  - Total: 19.35 million (2006 est.)
    - agriculture: 80%
industry and commerce: 20%