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TEEA TUTORS AND SIX PRIMARY TEACHER
TRAINING COLLEGES IN EAST AFRICA

by

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ABSTRACT

TEEA TUTORS AND SIX PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES IN EAST AFRICA

Donald Arthur Knies

Teacher Education in East Africa (TEEA) was a program to provide experienced and well qualified American teacher-educators to the teacher training colleges of East Africa. These TEEA tutors taught as instructors in pre-service and in-service courses, and participated in the planned expansion of teacher training which took place in the latter half of the 1960's. The preparation of primary school teachers had become a focus of popular and political interest, and the seven year lifespan of TEEA was a period of growing emphasis on this kind of education. What role did the American tutors play during this period, what was the extent of their influence and why did they have more or less of an impact upon their colleges?

Case studies of six representative primary teacher training colleges in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were carried out to investigate these questions. The colleges had had a succession of TEEA tutors on their staffs over a period of several years. Africans and Europeans who had served with the Americans and students who had been taught by them were asked to evaluate their work, their attitudes and their

accomplishments. Interviews, observations and written records were used to draw a picture of each college and how it had grown and changed. The record of the TEEA tutors, as seen through the eyes of others, was examined for implications which might apply to any group of teachers working within an alien educational system.

TEEA did play an important role in the preparation of African teachers. It was not primarily as educational innovators that the Americans made their contribution, but as ordinary members of staff helping to do the multitude of jobs which needed to be done. Whatever were the hopes of distant planners, the realities of East African education shaped the dimensions of the program and defined the achievements of the tutors. The attitude of the college principal, and the degree of firmness in which traditional ways were entrenched, were key elements in the acceptance or rejection of new ideas. In time, the more enterprising tutors did manage to introduce changes, and some of these changes were continued by their colleagues after the departure of the Americans. Those who were most effective as innovators first became successful participants in the existing system.

The American tutors frequently developed close personal and social relationships with their colleagues, but they had little opportunity, and probably less inclination, to exert professional influence on them. They left their strongest impressions and made their most lasting impact on individual students. Their examples of good teaching, their professional attitudes and commitment to teaching, and the demonstration of their own personal values were remembered by their former students.

Teacher Education in East Africa was a realistic program which provided the kind of manpower the Africans wanted and needed. It allowed tutors to do their teaching without much help, but also without interference. It was a human program, concerned with people, and perhaps for this reason more successful than most technical assistance projects. However, TEEA itself did not change the process of teacher training in East Africa. In Kenya and Uganda, although the educational establishment became Africanized, the traditional philosophy underlying education and the basic structure of institutions remained essentially unchanged. And in Tanzania self reliance in education meant that the Tanzanians would make their own changes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Teacher Education in East Africa (TEEA) was a program to provide experienced and highly qualified American teacher-educators to the teacher training colleges and institutes of education of East Africa. These TEEA tutors¹ and institute staff members taught as instructors in pre-service and in-service courses, and participated in the planned expansion and hoped-for improvement of teacher education which took place in the latter half of the 1960s. Between mid-1964, when the first group of Americans recruited specifically for the colleges arrived, and the program's termination in December 1971 some 160 tutors served at least two year, and in some cases four and six year, teaching contracts in East Africa.

The preparation of primary school teachers, recovering from a period of benign neglect during the rush to expand secondary and higher education, had again become a focus of popular and political interest. The seven year lifespan of TEEA was a period of growth in the number of teachers produced by the colleges, as well as a period of growing emphasis on upgrading the importance of teacher education itself. A number of internal and external factors contributed to the upgrading process, and one of these factors was the introduction of American teachers into the system. What kind of role

¹The term "tutor" is used in East Africa for a member of staff at a teacher training college.

did these tutors play, what was the extent of their influence and why did they have more or less of an impact upon their colleges?

Case studies of six representative primary teacher training colleges in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were carried out in an effort to find answers to these questions. The colleges had had a succession of TEEA tutors on their staffs, usually two or more at a time, over a period of several years. Africans and expatriates² who had been at the colleges with the Americans were asked to evaluate their work, their attitudes and their accomplishments. This information was compared with feelings and expectations expressed by the same Africans and expatriates about themselves, and about each other. Interviews, observations and written records, when available, were used to draw a picture of each college and how it had grown and changed. The six colleges were compared for differences and similarities, and their activities placed in a wider framework of national educational objectives. Finally the record of the TEEA tutors, as seen through the eyes of others, was examined to see if there might be implications for any group of teachers working within an alien educational system.

The East African Setting

The British East African territories of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar stood on the threshold of political independence as the decade of the 1960s began. Tanganyika, under the enlightened leadership

²"Expatriate" in East Africa means a person who comes from abroad to do a job for a specific period of time. The expatriate is thus differentiated from the European "settler" whose intention had been to take up permanent residence.

of Julius Nyerere, had already been granted internal self-government by Great Britain, and Uganda was grappling with the problems of tribalism as her last major barrier to independence. Even Kenya, with the racial-political conflicts of the Emergency both recent and bitter, was moving rapidly toward the dream of Uhuru (freedom).

The coming of political independence brought with it a greatly accelerated demand for education. In the eyes of politicians and ordinary citizens alike, education had come to be accepted as the instrument for achieving the common goals of economic and social development, the means by which society itself could be uplifted. A prominent African educator remembers the dazzling vision of the future:

There was a spirit of hope, of optimism at what education could achieve. It was fervently believed that, of all inequalities, none was more intolerable than the inequality of access (to education)... universal primary education became a popular slogan for party manifestoes. Education, to the politicians, was not merely a matter of filling gaps in the leadership cadre; it was not merely a matter of economics. It was almost a religion, a superstitious, if touching, faith in the magic of knowledge in itself....³

The educational systems which were called upon to produce the new utopia were ill-prepared to play such a role. In each territory the schools had grown from modest missionary origins, and although progress in recent years had been significant, education beyond the primary level was still available to only a tiny fraction of the people. From a combined territorial population then estimated at 22 million (actually it

³Arthur T. Porter, "African Universities: Our Needs and Our Priorities," African Studies Bulletin, Vol. XII, No. 3, December 1969, p. 248.

was considerably higher), just 1600 African students completed secondary school in 1960.⁴

There had been marked differences in the rate of educational development in the three territories. In Uganda Africans owned the land and their cash crops paid the fees for the beginnings of post-primary schooling. At the same time conservative social traditions among the educated elite, particularly in the central kingdom of Buganda, restricted the rate of educational growth to a slow, careful pace. In contrast, Kenya during the colonial period was dominated by European settlers who deliberately limited educational opportunities for Africans, and expansion was further disrupted during the crippling years of the Emergency. However, after 1958 political and economic upheaval in Kenya resulted in extremely rapid growth in education, and within four years Kenya had surpassed Uganda in the number of students enrolled in school at every level.⁵ Tanganyika - largest, poorest and most populous of the three territories, since World War I a political step-child first of the League of Nations and then of the United Nations -- had the least developed educational facilities. Great distances and poor communications, widely scattered population and lack of local resources combined with inadequate government revenue to contribute to Tanganyika's lowly position.

⁴Makerere College Staff, "A Preview of Residential Life at Makerere College and Teaching in East Africa," May, 1961, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

⁵Sheldon Weeks, Divergence in Educational Development: The Case of Kenya and Uganda (New York, New York: Teachers College Press, Center for Education in Africa, 1967), p. 23.

In spite of differences in rate of growth and stage of development, the schools themselves throughout East Africa were similar in structure and purpose, and now they faced the same educational crisis. An alarming shortage of secondary school teachers was threatening to destroy hopes for expansion and even cripple the existing schools.

There were a number of reasons for the shortage. Long-term expatriate staff, uncertain about their future with the approach of independence, were leaving the educational services. At the same time, professional career opportunities in government service and the private sector, heretofore reserved to expatriate or Asian officials, were now open to Africans. Formerly barred from these positions, qualified Africans found themselves actively sought for choice jobs as the process of Africanization began. Often the only suitably educated Africans were secondary school teachers because teaching had been one of the few professions to freely admit Africans. And who would not leave the classroom for the chance to become a cabinet minister or an ambassador? The sudden demand for qualified local people further reduced the already scarce supply of teachers, and highlighted the urgent need for rapid expansion of the schools.

Economic prosperity in the 1950s, caused by a boom in the demand for agricultural products, had resulted in more money being available for African education. There had been an increase of some 350 percent in secondary enrollment during the decade.⁶ A final factor contributing

⁶P.C.C. Evans, "American Teachers for East Africa," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 6, No. 1, June, 1962, pp. 69-70.

to the shortage was the negligible production of local teachers for the secondary schools. Teacher training colleges and a diploma course at Makerere prepared small numbers of non-graduates to teach forms one and two (9th and 10th grades); a few more primary teachers were upgraded through in-service courses. The supply was pitifully inadequate. The Makerere Institute of Education was the only place in East Africa where university graduates could take the Diploma in Education to qualify as secondary teachers. In 1960 there were exactly seven local graduates taking this course at the Makerere Institute.⁷

The problem could not be solved within East Africa because there simply were not enough teachers. Significant help would have to come from the outside. Fortunately the United States was just at this time becoming the urgently needed new source of supply. Segments of the American people and foreign service branches of the government had "discovered" black Africa in the 1950s. Afro-Americans, meeting African students and aspiring political leaders for the first time, sought and found ties of identity. The interest of both liberals and conservatives was aroused by an awareness of growing ferment in the African colonies under their placid exterior of European rule. Whether they saw events in Africa as offering new opportunity and responsibility for the U.S., or as signaling a threat to American security, they were no longer able to ignore the continent. As colonial ties loosened, so American interest quickened. People were beginning to realize that Africa represented more

⁷David Scanlon, Education in Uganda (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1964), pp. 68-69.

than a vast emptiness between their vague notions of pyramids in the north and gold mines in the south. By the time that John F. Kennedy was elected president, there were some American officials and educators who were prepared to take an active role in assisting African education.

In December, 1960, American, British and East African representatives met in conference at Princeton, New Jersey, and proposed a crash program to provide American teachers for East Africa.⁸ Teachers College, Columbia University was asked to recruit, select and prepare 150 young Americans for this program. Those who were trained as teachers would be assigned to their schools in two groups during the summer and autumn of 1961. The third group, university graduates untrained in teaching, would take the Diploma in Education course at Makerere University College in Uganda before beginning their teaching. This was the birth of the Teachers for East Africa (TEA) program which became a unique example of Anglo-American educational cooperation for developing countries and eventually sent almost 500 American teachers to the schools of East Africa.

Background of the Primary Teacher Training Colleges⁹

The preparation of teachers for primary schools was a diversified and largely uncoordinated activity throughout East Africa during the pre-independence years. Teacher training had a very low priority in the eyes

⁸ Report of Conference on "Education in East Africa" sponsored by the Africa Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education (Princeton, New Jersey, December 1-5, 1960), pp. 9-10. (Mimeographed.)

⁹ Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) are institutions below university level which prepare non-graduate teachers. Depending upon their classification, primary TTCs accept either post-primary or post-secondary students.

of government. Both departing colonial authorities and newly emerging African leadership saw the most urgent demands for education at secondary and higher levels, and concentrated their limited resources and scarce trained manpower where the shortages were most acute. Even as primary schools increased in number, many of the teachers were untrained young men and women, straight out of primary school themselves, unexposed even to the rudimentary instruction of a TTC.

Primary school teaching was viewed as the refuge for academic failures, for those who had failed to score high enough on the primary leaving examinations to secure places in secondary schools. Since the secondary schools could accommodate less than 10% of the pupils leaving primary schools, there was a plentiful supply of unsuccessful candidates available to attend TTCs. Thus the primary teacher began his career as a disappointing second choice, and could look forward to very little in the way of rank and pay in the rural school. But even a teacher at the bottom of the salary scale, earning \$250-\$300 a year, was making roughly five times the average per capita income. His tumble-down, tin-roof, mud and wattle school, partly open to the elements, lighted only by the sun, crowded and noisy, dusty and fly-blown, lacking in the most basic teaching aids - an altogether appalling place in the eyes of an outside observer - represented secure employment in the midst of subsistence farming and unemployment. His illiterate neighbors viewed him as a person of substance and learning. Although he had little status in government service, the primary school teacher was an important person at the village level.

Before independence, the typical teacher training college was a small, isolated institution, run by a Christian voluntary agency,¹⁰ encapsulated in a world of its own a couple of miles or so from the nearest town out in the country. Its single story brick and corrugated iron-roofed buildings -- sturdy, rambling and rather shabby -- occupied a quadrangular compound with classrooms along one side, student dormitories opposite, and an imposing mission house at the top, or scattered staff housing across the playing fields. Classrooms were sparsely furnished, and except for a blackboard and a few of the tutor's own books on his desk, usually bare of teaching materials. The library was small, dark and forbidding, the books kept in cases which were locked most of the time. The books themselves were mostly about British life and the culture of the West. There was no science laboratory, but the chapel stood in a prominent position.

The college was a largely autonomous unit, free of most forms of government regulation and responsible to the hierarchy of its own religious denomination. Founded as a mission school and still run by the local church, the college depended upon government assistance to pay staff salaries and to provide grants-in-aid for operating expenses, but retained control of its own administration and policy making. Inspectors of the ministry of education exercised some supervision of syllabus content and assisted in examination of teaching practice, but their influence was sporadic. There was no system of external examination like the Cambridge

¹⁰"Voluntary agency" is a neutral term to cover not only Roman Catholic and the various Protestant denominations, but Hindu, Muslim and other religious groups as well.

Overseas School Certificate examination which dominated the life of the secondary school. Primary teacher training colleges emphasized the three Rs, moral training and religious instruction, practical handicrafts such as woodworking or sewing, and simple methodology to enable students to teach these subjects in the nearby village schools. The vernacular language policy in effect in Kenya and Uganda limited practice teaching -- and most subsequent employment -- to the region where a particular vernacular was spoken. Even in Tanganyika, where Swahili was the national language of primary instruction, financial constraint and the need for tutor supervision restricted practice teaching to the surrounding area. From rural home to local college and back home to teach -- there was little in the TTC experience to increase students' awareness of the rest of their own country, much less the outside world.

The isolated and parochial atmosphere of the college was further reinforced by the composition of the staff, the background and attitudes of the tutors, and their methods of teaching. These tutors were both Europeans and Africans, usually few in number, and generally long on teaching experience but short on academic qualifications. The Europeans,¹¹ most of whom were British and many of whom were missionaries, had spent years teaching in Africa, often in secondary schools, before becoming primary college tutors. Some had served as primary school headmasters or had other administrative or inspectorate experience on the primary level. Although a few were university graduates, the majority had come

¹¹In East Africa "European" generally means a white person and includes American and Canadian as well as Australian. Black Americans and West Indians are also called Europeans.

from teachers colleges or technical schools in the United Kingdom, and did not hold degrees but had worked their way up through the education ranks. This was especially true of tutors of technical and vocational subjects. The principal of the college was a European minister or priest who might well be the only university graduate on the compound.

The European tutors were a homogeneous group, dedicated in their work and inclined to be conservative and provincial in their outlook. Although they had learned Swahili and/or the local vernacular and tended to remain a long time in one place with the same people, the Europeans did not meet socially with their African colleagues and certainly not with their students. Their houses, surrounded by hedges and luxuriant gardens, proclaimed not only the Englishman's love of privacy but a definite racial exclusiveness. An unspoken but clearly understood color bar kept European and African tutors apart except where professional matters were concerned.

Of the two groups of tutors, the Africans were usually in the minority on a European-dominated staff, and were inevitably at the bottom of an educational hierarchy which was overwhelmingly controlled by Europeans. Most were themselves products of local teacher training colleges. They were former primary school teachers who had risen to positions as tutors through hard work, up grading efforts and faithful adherence to the prevailing system. Almost all of them had far less in the way of formal qualifications than their British colleagues. They owed their success to their ability to adapt to, and become part of the status quo. The Africans were even less likely than the Europeans to be educational innovators.

Both groups of tutors used similar traditional methods of teaching. They lectured in class, wrote notes on the blackboard which their students dutifully copied, gave the students quantities of prepared material which they were expected to learn and drilled them hard for examinations. Tutors asked many questions in class but did not overly encourage discussion or disagreement. They showed films if available, and used, somewhat sparingly, whatever books were to be found in the library. This was the extent of student exposure to audio visual aids and out-of-class resources. Tutors practiced rote learning and taught the way they had been taught themselves, if not throughout their education, at least in their primary schooling.

Traditional methods of teaching were believed to be the most effective way of preparing students to be primary teachers. Audio visual aids, textbooks and reference books, even paper and pencils and enough desks for all the children would not be available in most village schools. There would be little or no money for school supplies of any kind. Even if resources were available at college, what was the point of exposing student teachers to methods and materials which they would never be able to use? This would only cause discontent and frustration. It was better to concentrate on recitation and memorization, methods which required either just a blackboard and a piece of chalk, or no teaching materials at all.

The students themselves were mostly members of the one or two dominant tribes in the area. Where several tribes were represented in one college, the students tended to segregate themselves by tribe or by

vernacular language. They were usually members of whatever religious denomination ran the TTC, and had attended a primary school of the same affiliation. Colleges were not co-educational, and in line with the pattern of education at every level, there were fewer facilities and less places for women than for men. Students ranged in age from teens to late twenties. Although a few were secondary school dropouts, most had completed only seven or eight years of primary school.¹² They were serious about their studies, accustomed to rote learning, limited in experience, disciplined and unsophisticated.

Colleges maintained boarding facilities for all students. This was not only because their homes were widely scattered, but because only in a boarding school atmosphere could the young men or women be kept under the constant supervision which the strict missionary traditions required. The college compounds were compact and self contained, and out-of-class activities were highly organized, so that students need never venture into town except for a Sunday afternoon walk during the one free time of the week.

In Kenya and Uganda, and to a lesser extent Tanganyika, the Christian voluntary agency teacher training colleges proliferated during the years following World War II. The usual pattern which evolved was for the Roman Catholic and one of the Protestant denominations to each establish a college in a vernacular language area. If there were training

¹²The contradiction in many students between advanced age and relatively few years of formal schooling could be explained by social and economic conditions. Children started school at all ages; their education was interrupted when school fees could not be paid; they repeated the final year in an effort to do better on the crucial examination; they returned home to work or tried unsuccessfully for more auspicious opportunity before entering the TTC.

facilities for women, the same denomination might have two colleges in one locality. These rustic and miniature institutions, hardly "colleges" in the accepted sense of the word, were quite separate from each other even though the Catholic and Protestant compounds were often close together. Physically and psychologically they resembled the tight little community of the British boarding school on which they were modeled. But this model, like so many other concepts and practices in East African education, was based upon the English public school as it had existed between the wars. Education in Great Britain itself was changing radically in the post-war years. However, the practitioners in Africa, through lack of contact with the new developments and remembrance of their own schooling, perpetuated a system frozen in memory of the past.

In 1952 there were 42 little teacher training colleges in Uganda alone, more than were to be found in the whole of England and Wales. Some of them had only fifteen or twenty students.¹³ By 1960 a total of 44 equally small "teacher training centres" had grown up in Kenya... "most of them poorly equipped and short of money." In many of them, four members of staff had to try to teach fourteen different subjects. What was needed, said the ministry of education, was 25 larger, better-equipped colleges.¹⁴ Not one of these Uganda or Kenya colleges for Africans were under government management. Only in Tanganyika was the

¹³ Carnegie Corporation Project, Interview with Karl W. Bigelow, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1968, p. 14.

¹⁴ Arthur J. Lewis and L. V. Lieb, eds., A Report of the Conference on Institutes of Education, January 27 - 30, 1964, Mombasa, Kenya, East Africa. Sub-Appendix 1: The Development of Teacher Training in Kenya, p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

preparation of primary school teachers not left completely in the hands of voluntary agencies. Tanganyika had been a German colony and the Germans had a definite preference for state rather than church control. Some of this influence remained, and there was more secular education. In 1957 Tanganyika had 21 voluntary agency and five government-run colleges.¹⁵

The Beginnings of the Teacher Education
for East Africa Program

As long as the attention of governments and educators alike was focused on post-primary education, the TTCs remained the poor relations of the system. While the secondary schools and the new university colleges of the University of East Africa were strained and buffeted by expansion pressures in the early 1960s, most TTCs were still backwaters of tranquility. Although they had seen modest growth, construction of some new buildings and increases in enrollment, the staffing patterns and the overall way of life at these institutions had been little affected by winds of change sweeping through other levels of education. The influx of graduate teachers and foreign volunteers into secondary schools had not yet happened to the TTCs. Except for a few new tutors from outside the normal sources of supply,¹⁶ changes in staff represented

¹⁵ John Cameron, The Development of Education in East Africa (New York, New York: Teachers College Press, Center for Education in Africa, 1970), p. 56.

¹⁶ Out of a total of 380 American TEA teachers sent to East Africa in the first three years of the program, not more than 10 or 12 were assigned to primary TTCs.

the kind of rotation among similarly qualified members of the same group which had long prevailed. After periods of home leave European tutors normally returned to the same post for repeated tours of duty. When they did move, it was either to another college of the same denomination or on promotion to a principalship or to the inspectorate. The African tutors, unlike their better-qualified secondary school teaching compatriots, had not been lured away by more glamorous jobs. Even more than the Europeans, they were likely to remain a permanent fixture on the compound.

Virtually all of the colleges were still run by expatriate principals, former civil servants of the colonial governments, now somewhat uneasily continuing to serve the new African regimes. At the end of 1963 Kenya and Uganda each had no more than one or two African TTC principals. The rest were all Europeans, except for three or four Asian principals at town colleges. British education officers still comprised the majority of staff at most colleges. These tutors knew well the teacher training system as it had existed up to this time, generally approved of the way it functioned, and looked with suspicion upon those who would change it. The colleges were, after all, their creation, and in the more placid days of the colonial past they had produced the kind of teachers required. But more than just conservative and negative feelings were involved, for the older tutors were often genuinely baffled by the newcomers they encountered. Being out of touch with educational developments both at home and abroad, they felt that young graduate teachers fresh from the U. K. were almost as difficult

to understand as were the Americans with their strange and alien ways. They could not see how newly arrived tutors, of whatever nationality, could prepare Africans for teaching when they had no local teaching experience themselves.¹⁷ And if young Europeans from non-missionary backgrounds were hard to take, the new African teachers -- self confident, out-spoken, better educated, and determined to break the color bar in all its manifestations -- could be even more disconcerting. It is not surprising that European staff members might have felt beleaguered and defensive when the first TEEA tutors arrived on the scene in August, 1964.

One significant change which had been taking place in all three countries was the consolidation of a number of the smaller TTCs into larger and more efficient units. During the pre-independence decade Uganda abolished teacher training in vernacular languages (substituting English), and in the process managed to reduce the number of its colleges from 42 to 26.¹⁸ With average enrollments of 130 students, these colleges were still considered to be too small, and in 1963 the Uganda Education Commission recommended a further reduction in number and a corresponding increase in size of the remainder.¹⁹ Kenya had advanced

¹⁷An experienced TFA social studies teacher, sent to a Tanganyika TTC in 1962, was put in charge of the college farm, although he had no agricultural background whatsoever. The principal later explained that this had been done because he had to be given some duties, and they simply did not know what to do with him. After a probationary period of one term on the farm, the American was allowed to teach.

¹⁸Lewis and Lieb, eds., A Report of the Conference on Institutes of Education, January 27 - 30, 1964, Mombasa, Kenya, East Africa. Teacher Training in Uganda, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹Uganda Government, Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963 (Entebbe, Uganda: Government Printer, 1963), p. 47.

consolidation at a faster pace, within three years cutting the total of TTCs from 44 to 35, and at the same time concentrating development in the ten leading colleges. ²⁰ Tanzania ²¹ was emphasizing expansion of its Grade A colleges, the highest ranking non-graduate institutions for teacher training. It was planned to convert three of its lower ranking Grade C colleges to Grade A status. ²² The process of consolidation was everywhere being hastened by government pressures to form co-educational institutions, usually by absorbing the smaller womens' college into the mens' college of the same denomination. In spite of strong church and missionary reservations, this was happening throughout East Africa. The five Grade A colleges in Tanzania were all co-educational.

Consolidation efforts were only the forerunners of more momentous change. Events were moving very rapidly in East Africa and trends which might have taken decades to develop in other places were compressed into a few short years. Thus by 1963-64, while secondary school growth was still attracting most attention, educators were feeling increasing concern for the condition of primary education and for the quantity and quality of teachers being produced for primary schools. The same kind of crisis which has beset the secondary schools four or five years earlier now afflicted the TTCs; departure of experienced staff coupled with

²⁰Lewis and Lieb, eds., Sub-Appendix 1: The Development of Teacher Training in Kenya, p. 9.

²¹In April, 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined together to form the United Republic of Tanzania. This study deals only with mainland Tanzania (the former Tanganyika).

²²Tanzania Government, Teach in Tanzania: The Expatriate Teacher's Guide to Schools and Colleges in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Ministry of Education, 1965), p. 10.

mounting pressures for expansion. Again the only solution was to look to external aid.

One of the objectives of the original Teachers for East Africa contract had been to:

Assist with planning, developing and implementing programs designed to increase the number of African teachers at both the pre-service and in-service levels to serve in the secondary schools of East Africa.²³

But the main emphasis of TEA had been teacher supply to the secondary schools. Assistance to secondary teacher training received low priority compared to this overriding need. The TEA contract was not concerned with primary education, as such, although a few TEAs had been sent to primary TTCs.

In January, 1964 the University of East Africa sponsored a conference to consider the establishment of an institute of education in each country to serve the teacher training colleges. At this conference representatives of the three ministries of education met with American and British educators and aid officials to discuss the problems of staffing the primary TTCs. It was agreed that the East African governments would request the United States and the United Kingdom each to provide a group of experienced tutors for teacher training.²⁴ USAID approved the request made to the American government and authorized Teachers College, Columbia University to recruit and select a first

²³Contract Between the United States of America and Teachers College, Columbia University, Contract No. AIDc-1911, Appendix B - Operational Plan, February, 1962, p. B-1.

²⁴L. V. Lieb, ed., "A Report of the Conference on Teacher Education for East Africa, April 5-7, 1965, University College, Nairobi, Kenya," p. III. (Mimeographed.)

contingent of tutors.²⁵ In 1964 there were twenty two. That year the tutors were added to the number of secondary school teachers already being supplied under the TEA contract. Later as Teachers for East Africa was being phased out and replaced by Peace Corps, Teacher Education in East Africa became a separate entity.

The purpose of this new TEEA program was:

To provide technical assistance to teachers' colleges, Institutes of Education and Faculties of Education in East Africa, which assistance is designed to help these institutions to produce graduate and non-graduate teachers at the secondary and upper primary levels, to up-grade serving teachers and to engage in curriculum building and reform.

The duties to be performed by the tutors included:

To demonstrate modern teaching methods and assist in improving the curriculum at the teachers' colleges (and) to collaborate with higher level personnel... in promoting these improvements...²⁶

The contractual requirements were expanded upon in communications between Teachers Colleges, Columbia and USAID, Washington. Professor Karl Bigelow described a "desired...contribution" of TEEA in a statement on the project:

Provision of staff members for key teachers colleges, not (as in the case of TEA) to fill all vacancies, but to serve as a lever through demonstration of superior skills and provision of appropriate advice and assistance relating to...teacher education (and requiring) relatively high levels of professional training and experience.²⁷

²⁵Contract Between the United States of America and Teachers College, Columbia University, Contract No. AID/afr-420, Appendix B - Operational Plan, June, 1966, p. B-2.

²⁶Ibid., pp. B-1, B-5.

²⁷Letter from Karl W. Bigelow, Teachers College, Columbia University to Robert Van Duyn, United States Agency for International Development, July 21, 1964.

Thus both American educators and AID officials thought of the tutors as innovators and agents of change. They visualized the TEFAs as bearers of new ideas, exponents of a more modern method for the preparation of teachers. They hoped that the tutors would provide examples which others might follow.

The name Teacher Education for East Africa symbolized the hoped-for new approach. The British and Africans had always spoken of "teacher training," while Americans were saying that their purpose was the education, not just the training, of teachers. To them teacher education meant changing the traditional way of preparing teachers. Different attitudes and values -- an implied criticism of what had gone on before, coupled with an implied confidence that a fresh technique would be successful -- were represented in the choice of words.

British and African officers in the ministries of education, confronting shortages of staff and demands for more teachers, were pleased to find a new source of tutor supply in TEEA. They knew that these tutors had teaching experience in America and had earned masters degrees in education. Their concern was not with what Americans were saying about innovation. They were faced with the urgent necessity of sending the best qualified tutors available to the TTCs. Questions of methods, goals and differing ideologies could wait, or be sorted out at the local college level.

College principals, facing on a day-to-day basis pressing problems in keeping their institutions functioning, were even less concerned with long-range questions. They needed people to teach classes, and although

they would have preferred to have British staff who were familiar with the system and with whom they would feel comfortable, these principals knew that they could not be particular. They were ready to accept any qualified personnel. But, of course, they expected new tutors to conform to the rules and regulations, to fit into the existing college structure and to play the game as laid down in written word and unwritten custom. It simply was not done for new staff to introduce disruptive influences into the orderly society of the teacher training college.

Differing conceptions of the role of TEEA tutors and differing expectations on the part of Americans, Africans and others could only be resolved as the program evolved. When the Americans began to teach, no one knew what their impact would be.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

This paper is a descriptive study, based primarily upon interview data collected from participants. Weiss and Rein discuss both the advantages and limitations of such a study in the evaluation of a broad-aim program (like TEEA), and warn about the kind of technical problems likely to be encountered.¹ These include the problem of developing evaluative criteria, of dealing with a situation which is essentially uncontrolled and treatment of data which are not standardized. They go on to call for a more appropriate research design for the evaluation of a broad-aim program, and outline what they consider to be a more effective method. Their suggested method would be... "much more descriptive and inductive." It would consider a sequence of events, and the reactions to, and consequences for, individuals and institutions involved in these events. "It would lean toward the use of field methodology, emphasizing interview and observation, though it would not be restricted to this. But it would be much more concerned with learning than measuring.. (and it needs to be) a more qualitative, process-oriented approach."² This was the kind of method used by this writer.

¹Robert S. Weiss and Martin Rein, "The Evaluation of Broad-Aim Programs: A Cautionary Case and a Moral" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 385 (September 1969), pp. 134-140.

²Ibid., p. 142.

Other social scientists have defined this method as participant observation or direct fieldwork. Among the characteristics of direct fieldwork are the use of mixed techniques of interviewing and observation in preference to any single method, a design which is intentionally unstructured so as to maximize discovery and description rather than systematic theory testing, and the collection of qualitative data instead of the quantified scores which lend themselves to statistical analysis.³ The interview technique used in this study combined elements of the structured interview, using mostly open ended questions, with the more flexible "focused" interview.⁴ The structured format ensures that the same questions are asked of all respondents, and gives a similar framework to each interview, while allowing the respondent to answer in his own words, and permitting the interviewer to expand upon or explain more fully if necessary. Historian Philip Curtin affirms that "a systematic series of interviews repeating the same question" will develop into a useful, concentrated body of data on the subject.⁵

The focused interview as described by Merton is a technique of concentrating the attention of the respondents upon a particular

³George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, eds., Issues in Participant Observation (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), see particularly the Preface and the final chapter on "Comparison of Methods," pp. 322-341.

⁴For a discussion of different types of interviews, see Chapter 7 on Questionnaires and Interviews in Claire Selltitz et. al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, revised edition, 1965), pp. 235-278.

⁵Philip Curtin, "Field Techniques for Collecting and Processing Oral Data," Journal of African History (Cambridge, Massachusetts, IX, 3, 1968), p. 375.

situation in which they have been involved. The interviewer has some familiarity with the situation in preparing his interview guide, and focuses his interview upon the subjective experiences of the persons in an effort to ascertain their definitions of the situation. The interviewer's prior analysis of the situation helps to give him more flexibility to explore his respondents' beliefs and feelings, and to gain greater depths of understanding.⁶ The cross cultural nature of the study added weight to the cautions enumerated in the writings on direct fieldwork.⁷ The interviewer must be able to establish rapport while maintaining his objectivity. He must always be conscious of the effect of his own values, interests and orientation, while at the same time aware of the inhibiting effect that he as interviewer or the interview itself may be having upon his respondent. He must keep in mind possible distortions in testimony due to lapse of time, as well as all the possible reasons that his respondents may have for wanting to tell him what they think he wants to hear. And he must remember that the barriers of language may contribute both to his respondent's inability

⁶Robert Merton, Marjorie Fiske and Patricia Kendall, The Focused Interview, A Manual of Problems and Procedures (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 3-5.

⁷Some of the "threats to interview data" are discussed by Morris and Charlotte Schwartz in "Problems in Participant Observation," McCall and Simons, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-105. John Dean and William F. Whyte in the same publication discuss the accuracy of data, and emphasize that the interviewer is not trying to find the one and only truth, but is asking what the respondent's statements reveal about his feelings and perceptions, and what inferences can be made from them about the actual events. "How Do You Know If the Informant Is Telling the Truth?", pp. 105-114.

to explain fully and clearly, and his own inability to understand completely. In the East African setting the clarity of language, the straightforward question, the full explanation to others, the avoidance of educational jargon and American colloquialism assume special significance.

The six colleges selected for this study were typical of those throughout East Africa during this period in roughly doubling the number of students enrolled, and in raising the standards of admission while making efforts to improve the quality of instruction, in order to produce better qualified teachers. They were also a representative cross section of TTCs in size and location, composition and educational background of student body, longevity of the institution and continuity (or lack thereof) in leadership and in service of members of staff, and government or voluntary agency establishment.

In Uganda the women's Grade II, post primary college is Roman Catholic in origin and maintains its religious atmosphere and control, while the co-educational, Grade III, post secondary college is Protestant foundation but a thoroughly secular institution today. The two Kenya colleges offer contrasts of a different sort. One is the oldest government teachers college in the country, the epitome of the educational establishment, while the other is one of the youngest, opened in 1965 and as modern in its facilities as it is receptive to new ideas. Both prepare the same grades of teachers, and both have African principals, although men of quite different outlook. In Tanzania both the colleges are Grade A level and long-established; in other ways they are quite dissimilar. The principal of the Roman Catholic institution, a man of

national stature, is a long-serving leader in formulating the government's philosophy of education. The government-founded college, in a more typical situation, had a succession of principals during its association with TEEA. The degree to which ideas of education for self reliance had been implemented gave an unusual perspective on these Tanzanian colleges. The kind and amount of exposure to American tutors was as varied as were the colleges themselves. One TTC had had three TEEAs on its staff, with each of the tours of service of the second two overlapping that of their predecessor by approximately one year. Another college had a tutor whose contract was terminated early, another who was transferred, and three in succession teaching the same subjects but never serving on the staff together. The other four colleges had had a total of as many as nine TEEAs, with up to four on the staff at the same time. When this study was carried out, all except two of the TEEA Americans had completed their contracts and left.

East African protocol was carefully observed in planning the college visits. Permission was first secured from the authorities, and letters of explanation were sent to the principals. During June and July of 1971 the writer visited the six colleges, spending three or four days at each. The principal and all available members of staff who had served with the Americans were interviewed.⁸ A special effort was made to

⁸The numbers and nationalities of staff interviewed were as follows: Kinyamasika: three Africans, two British, two Irish sisters, one English sister, one African sister, and one American priest. Canon Lawrence: five Africans, two British, one Italian priest, one Indian and one American. Kagumo: six Africans, two British and two Canadians. Kisii: seven Africans, two Kenya Asians, one Canadian and one American. Morogoro: five Africans, two Tanzania Asians, one African priest and one Dutch priest (Tanzania citizen). Mpwapwa: seven Africans.

discuss theories and practices of teaching with tutors who had replaced TEEAs in teaching the same subjects. Using records available in the TEEA office in Kampala and observations and reports made by the American tutors themselves,⁹ attempts were made to trace what had happened to innovations introduced and teaching materials supplied by the TEEAs. Each college had at least two or three tutors, usually older Africans or missionaries, who had served many years at the same post and had seen the Americans come and go. Their long-range perspectives were especially sought, as were the perceptions of former senior tutors and principals who had left the colleges before 1971. In order to contact members of the latter group, visits were made to other colleges and ministries and institutes of education in East Africa, as well as to key people in retirement or in graduate schools in the U.K. and U.S.A.¹⁰ Additional interviews were held with government or university officials who had been in administrative and policy-making positions during the TEEA years.

⁹"Tutor Professional Activities Questionnaire," Teacher Education in East Africa, P.O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda. (Mimeographed.)

¹⁰Other colleges: two ex-principals (one African, one British), and six ex-tutors (four Africans, one Dutch, one Irish). Ministries of education: two ex-principals and one ex-tutor (all Africans). Institutes of education: three ex-tutors (one African, one British, one American). In England: one ex-principal and three ex-tutors (all British). In United States (graduate schools): one ex-principal (West Indian) and two ex-tutors (one African, one Dutch). Additionally, written replies to letters and questions were received from eleven ex-TTC people (four African, three Canadian, two British, two Dutch) in East Africa, the United Kingdom and Canada.

One other group of people were interviewed at each college. These were the former students who had been taught by the TEEAs and were now teaching either in the local demonstration school or in nearby primary schools. The writer spoke with an average of seven of these young men and women from each TTC. Of all the persons interviewed, these former students supplied the most unique information and perhaps the most accurate assessment of teaching ability. It is paradoxical that in East Africa students who probably know both the strengths and weaknesses of their teachers better than anyone else, are rarely, if ever, asked their opinions. Although their perspectives were necessarily limited, most of the ex-students expressed themselves forcefully and well. At times they offered shrewd insights, vivid and detailed descriptions of certain tutors, and refreshing, even surprising, candor. One might question how candid primary school teachers would be with an unknown European interviewer, but judging from the frankness of some of their comments, they were not at all reluctant to say exactly what they felt. If praise was at times extravagant, criticism could also be sharp and unsparing.

Interviews with principals and tutors provided the main body of data for this study. Interview guidelines were followed, and these consisted of broad outlines for discussion within which certain standard questions were asked.¹¹ There was no intention to restrict discussion only to those topics within the guidelines. Persons being interviewed were asked a series of general questions about teacher training and...

¹¹See Appendix A: Interview Guide: Tutors and Interview Guide: Principals.

their opinion of how expatriates could best be prepared for service in TTCs. They were then questioned more specifically about the TEEAs with whom they had served, and asked to comment about their teaching methods, preparation, contributions and/or innovations, their activities outside the classroom with students and colleagues, and their impact on the college. The general questions to tutors and principals were the same, but in talking with the principals about specific TEEAs, an effort was made to draw upon the wider perspectives that the leader of a college might be expected to have. Comparisons were sought, between the Americans as well as with other tutors, and there was discussions of the spread of ideas beyond the immediate environment of the college itself, and speculation about the lasting effect of these ideas.

In order to learn how the colleges had changed during the seven years of TEEA, principals and long-serving tutors were asked a third set of questions.¹² These dealt with changes which had occurred in composition and qualifications of staff, numbers and preparation of students, courses and syllabus content, and physical facilities and teaching materials. This interview information was supplemented by whatever records could be found in the college files -- principals reports, inspectorate reports, college circulars and circulars from the ministry of education, syllabuses and schemes of work, college publications and correspondence. Additional material from or about tutors was available in the TEEA offices at Makerere and Teachers College,

¹²See Appendix B: College Report, 1964/65--1971.

Columbia University. But in most cases, the total of written records was sparse and incomplete and this lent major importance to the interview data.

The informal interview approach was important, and should be mentioned. Tutors were interviewed in staff rooms, or often, and whenever possible, in their homes. Talks with primary school teachers were frequently held outside their classrooms under the trees. The respondent was asked if he would object to notes being taken of the conversation. Frequently the writer had met the tutor on previous visits, and points of common interest and mutual friends were discussed. The writer stressed his role as an observer compiling data on a group, not on any particular individual. He was not working for the ministry of education, nor was he gathering information for any kind of government rating or report. Nothing that was said would be used in any way which could be personally or professionally damaging to anyone concerned. With assurances such as these, an effort was made to create an open and relaxed atmosphere where the respondent would speak freely to an interviewer who was at the same time familiar and neutral.

A final source of data was the elusive but important element of the writer's own observations. A visitor to a college is invariably taken on a tour of the building and grounds. Having visited each of the TTCs at least two or three times during previous years, the writer could see certain things which had changed and others which had not. Personal observations can, of course, be superficial and misleading, but they can also illustrate a situation more eloquently than other testimony. A farm project thrives months after the founding tutor's

departure, while on the other hand, electronic equipment purchased by TEEAs has disappeared from the classroom. Sights such as these show better than anyone's words both the lasting and the transitory nature of tutor innovations.

CHAPTER III

THE UGANDA COLLEGES

Kinyamasika and Canon Lawrence, the two teacher training colleges visited in Uganda, are a study in contrasts. Kinyamasika is a Grade II college for women which offers a four year primary teachers' course. Most of its students have completed only primary schooling themselves.¹ Although a few of its girls have had one or two years at a secondary school, the college policy is to give as many places as possible to primary leavers each year. Kinyamasika, TTC enjoys an ideal location in the verdant foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains, three miles outside Fort Portal, western Uganda's principal town. With its temperate climate and its lovely surroundings, a cosmopolitan population of teachers, civil servants and tea planters, and sophisticated amenities including a fine golf course and two European-style hotels, Fort Portal is the most popular upcountry post for expatriates in Uganda.

Canon Lawrence TTC in northern Uganda stands in sharp contrast to Kinyamasika, both educationally and in its physical setting. It is

¹ Admission to Grade II colleges formerly followed eight years of school and completion of a junior secondary leaving examination. As a result of changes in Uganda's educational structure, primary schooling was reduced from eight to seven years and students are admitted to Grade II colleges with a seven year primary leaving certificate. Uganda Government, Education in Uganda: The Report of the Uganda Education Commission, 1963 (Entebbe: Government Printers, 1963), pp. 6-7.

one of four Grade III colleges which take students who have completed four years of secondary school and give them a two year teacher training course. Groups of experienced primary school teachers are also up-graded from Grade II to Grade III status in a two year course. Canon Lawrence is a co-educational institution with girls comprising about one-sixth of the student body. The relatively small number of young women who finish secondary school, particularly in the north, accounts for the low percentage at the college. The principal explained that only twelve out of seventy-nine first year students were girls, and to get even that many it was necessary to accept girls who had scored lower than boys on the school certificate examination.

Founded by Protestant missionaries, Canon Lawrence no longer has the religious orientation in the management of its affairs which is still evident at Kinyamasika. In 1971 the principal was a layman, as were the five Ugandan tutors. Although three British tutors had missionary backgrounds, an Italian priest recently transferred from a nearby Catholic college was the only tutor member of a religious order. Compared to the lush vegetation and mountain backdrop of Kinyamasika, Canon Lawrence lies in hot and dry, flat and sparsely populated countryside at a mission station five miles outside the town of Lira, headquarters of Lango District in northern Uganda. Although Lira and Fort Portal are more or less the same distance away from the capital city of Kampala, Lira is a smaller place with fewer facilities and a stronger feeling of rural isolation -- much more the typical "bush station" than is Fort Portal. The limited number of expatriate teachers, Asian merchants

and educated Africans (most of whom are civil servants), adds to the sense of a secluded community, of necessity dependent upon its own resources.

Both colleges were established in the 1920s to train vernacular language teachers.² Kinyamasika was started by White Sisters of the Catholic Church, and during the TEEA years was run by the Ladies of Mary, most of whom were British or Irish sisters. The staff increased in size as enrollment grew, and the percentage of Ugandan tutors also increased, but not dramatically. In 1963 two out of ten staff were African, and by 1971, five out of sixteen.³ Of more significance was the decrease in the number of teaching sisters. Seven out of ten staff in 1963 were members of the religious order, five of them Europeans; today only five of the total sixteen are sisters.

During the same period student enrollment doubled from about 120 in four single-stream classes to 240 double-stream in the four classes. There has also been a change in the religious composition of the student body. Until recent years colleges were quite independent in their selection process, and chose students of their own Catholic or Protestant affiliation. Kinyamasika's enrollment was almost 100% Catholic. As long as students had received a certain mark on the junior leaving examination, principals had virtually complete discretion in selection. After independence the government took steps to end voluntary agency control of

²Ministry of Education, Brochure of Uganda Secondary Schools and Colleges (Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education, no date), pp. 42, 52.

³Ministry of Education, "Teacher Training Colleges: Staff Lists, 1963 and 1971," Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education. (Mimeographed.)

education, the ministry began to assist in the selection process, and colleges were obliged to accept students of other denominations. Kinyamasika absorbed a smaller Protestant voluntary agency college in the mid-1960s as part of the program to consolidate teacher training facilities. As a result of these changes, approximately one-third of the present enrollment is non-Catholic.

Canon Lawrence College was part of the Lango Church Missionary Society mission, an affiliate of the Anglican Church. Originally known as Lira Normal School, it was re-named to commemorate Canon T. L. Lawrence, the Australian founder of the mission.⁴ During the seven years that TEEA tutors served at the college, the size of the student body changed hardly at all, but its composition was thoroughly altered as Canon Lawrence evolved into Grade III status. In 1964 there were four classes of Grade II students, and 35 experienced teachers taking the upgrading course from Grade II to Grade III, for a total enrollment of about 190. Few of these students had had any secondary schooling. After 1964 no more Grade IIs were admitted, and the college began accepting its first intakes of Grade III students. These had spent four years in secondary schools, although most had not passed the school certificate examinations. By 1971 all students were either Grade III intake or upgraders being raised to Grade III level, but the total enrollment stood at only 199.

⁴Robert Atterbury, ed., "Canon Lawrence Teacher Training College," p. 1. (Mimeographed student yearbook, no date.)

Both Kinyamasika and Canon Lawrence improved the quality and variety of their instructional materials during the TEEA years. More of the improvements can be attributed to the presence of the Americans at the former college than at the latter. The Kinyamasika library expanded with many American books; maps, charts and atlases were provided by a geography tutor; two TEEA science tutors added considerably to the teaching materials in the science laboratories; overhead projectors were supplied to the college and used by the Americans, and at least four tutors continued to use these overheads after the TEEAs left. At Canon Lawrence, however, most new equipment appeared to have come from UNICEF grants. In a discussion of teaching materials, the principal spoke of various electrical and battery-operated machines, all supplied by UNICEF for upgrading courses. He said the library had benefited from TEEA book grants and math textbooks also had been provided, but the only American equipment he mentioned was an overhead projector. A Ugandan member of staff commented that ... "students objected to impractical machines like these projectors which could not be used in primary schools."

At Kinyamasika there had been new building in the mid-1960s to accommodate the increased enrollment. A dining hall, classroom block, library and science laboratory were added to the compound, and new staff housing also was built. Plant facilities at Canon Lawrence had changed very little since the college was upgraded but did not increase in size. Minor improvements were made in student dormitories and extra rooms and indoor plumbing were added to several staff houses. The cost of

these refinements were squeezed out of the operating budget of the college because no capital grants for construction had been made by the ministry of education.

Over a ten year period Kinyamasika had one TEA and seven TEEA tutors on its staff, six of whom were single women and the other two married men. None served longer than an extended 27 month contract. Both men and the last woman wanted to remain for a second two years, but they were not permitted to do so because the program was ending. Others had wanted to stay on, but left when they did for personal or professional reasons. The college had its first TEA tutor as early as 1961, and she started a mostly positive and well-remembered line of American staff members. With two exceptions, where difficulties could be traced to personality clashes rather than teaching problems, their legacy was a most impressive one.

A British tutor of long experience said, "I was really pleased with the professional contribution (of the TEEAs). Their standards were high, they expected more of the students, and the girls responded to this." An American priest made the same point, speaking of their professional pride and commitment, and how they worked to transmit these values to the students. "The TEEAs were highly qualified and at the same time adaptable," said an English sister. "They were our best members of staff, and we were so sad to see them go." The principal commented, "They were thoroughly prepared, and always in place at the right time to teach their classes. They set a good example for the African staff" ... an instant's pause and she added ... "for all the staff." The principal spoke emphatically of the TEEAs' personal

interest in the students, and wrote in a later letter, "Each devoted tutor is bound to have long range effects on students, and as Kinyamasika has had some of the best TEEA tutors, I think I can safely say that they have had great influence upon many of our students."

Kinyamasika TTC changed during the 1960s from a conservative religious environment to a more open and liberal atmosphere. Reasons for the change were complex and included declining church influence, greater government participation and direction in college affairs, a clash between traditional and progressive sisters which resulted in new college leadership -- as well as the TEEA presence. But the American tutors did see their less formal ideas of student-teacher and inter-staff relationships become more acceptable. The former principal said that they had ... "helped to modernize the general atmosphere." A Ugandan woman, educated in U. K. and U. S.A., who had known all the TEEAs, described in articulate terms how the Americans had helped to break down the traditional expatriate patterns of behavior at Kinyamasika:

We knew them as people, as friends, not as a separate group of Americans. They visited our families -- PG even brought her parents to my village. We were not embarrassed or ashamed to show them anything, we could discuss any topic with them. We were so free with them. We miss them now ... More American influence would be good for Uganda.

Another Ugandan tutor put it more simply. "Personally I found them easy to get along with, not all that formal. We were always in each others' houses." However, the TEEAs were also described as too idealistic. "They come with preconceived notions," said one Ugandan, "and expect too much of others and of themselves." In speaking of one

of them, one person used the expression, "God's gift to Africa," and another said "...coming out to save Africa." The result was disillusionment, at least in the early stages of their work. "They did have a language problem," explained a British former tutor. "The English of the girls was limited and it was hard for them to express themselves. Tutors often misunderstood. And so much was incomprehensible on teaching practice where one is really dealing with the vernacular."

Among the early Americans, tutor MR was the first trained librarian the college had. "She kept the library open every evening and spent a lot of her own time putting the books in order," remembered one of her former colleagues. A British tutor remarked that ... "She had a difficult accent but always spoke slowly and learned to speak clearly." The TEEA tutor who succeeded MR as librarian worked extremely hard, but unfortunately developed a strained relationship with the principal. "She built a magnificent library and fought with Sister P to use it properly," said an ex-tutor. "The library did become an open place, used by everyone, and it was exciting to see how the girls learned about books." However, the clash of opinions between TEEA tutor and principal was not settled. "She was not happy here because she did not get on well with Sister," explained a Ugandan tutor. "Others kept quiet, but she disagreed with things at staff meetings. Sister did not like staff to disagree." An African sister on the staff suggested that ... "she may have been tired and overworked." After a year at Kinyamasika, the American woman was transferred by the ministry to

another TTC in Uganda. She completed her contract and returned there for a second two year tour.

Two TEEA women were assigned together to the college, and the initial British reaction was "...terribly enthusiastic and energetic. They made snap judgments ... (at first) there was a total lack of asking questions." Later more of a dialogue developed between these Americans and the experienced tutors. "The girls loved AP," said a Ugandan colleague. "The science laboratory she started was in constant use. Students were always busy collecting tins, jars, bits of wood -- anything that could be used to make science apparatus." Another tutor said, "She was with the girls straight away and could sense their difficulties. AP took things at the right pace. Nothing ruffled her ... day or night she was always available." Tutor PG was described as a perfectionist who thought the students capable of doing more and was disappointed when they failed to meet her expectations. She was a creative person who made puppets out of paper bags, and these became a feature of English teaching in the college. One of the sisters commented, "PG taught phonetics to first year students, and the standard of English is better in this class. I can see the difference."

Geography tutor JB was labeled "sheer energy" by an ex-colleague. He engaged his students in many projects: map making of the area, surveys of local farms and markets, a study of land utilization, field trips around Fort Portal. He started a geography club but it did not continue after his departure. His Ugandan replacement had no opportunity to teach together with him, but found the materials he left behind very helpful.

"I follow his schemes of work," she said, "and use the geography books he gave to the college." Another member of staff reported, "The students say they miss him a lot. They say that (the present tutor) does not work so hard."

One other TEEA tutor had personal difficulties which arose from the dispute between conservative and liberal elements at Kinyamasika. In her case she was said to have been very close to some of the sisters and a great friend of the former principal. "She was not the same after Sister P left," said a colleague. "She was an excellent teacher," stated one of the sisters, "and she could really drill English into the first year girls." But the same person went on to say that she had been ill and appeared to lose interest toward the end of her tour and was anxious to leave. She seemed to have been too closely associated with one side in a conflict between factions, and her own morale and ability suffered as a result.

At Kinyamasika two TEEAs in particular left lasting accomplishments behind. Tutor LC was a quietly effective woman who not only demonstrated a remarkable skill in improvising teaching aids from local materials, but managed to pass on some of this skill to her students. One of them remembered, "The tutor before LC used only books and the chalkboard, but she made things like flashboards and taught us to do the same. She could make use of anything, even grass or sticks or banana fibers, and I follow her example in my school ... We were very upset when she left." An African sister said, "I still use apparatus that she made." Another Ugandan explained how she had taught students to collect waste materials for making visual aids, and the girls now did this without being told.

LC was a math tutor and she gave a series of in-service courses to introduce the metric system to local primary school teachers. A most experienced colleague described her in this way:

LC had a gift for teaching in Uganda. She was always with the African staff -- they said she was different from other Europeans. She was older and wiser, a sensitive person. She could just listen. Her generosity was African -- I mean she wouldn't intrude her generosity without permission. She really fitted in ... LC was one of the best exports you ever had.

The way in which LC organized a student council at Kinyamasika was a good example of her technique. She spent a term and a half learning the background and discussing the problem before taking any action. She enlisted the support of other tutors and was sure of the principal's backing. The result was lasting impact upon the college. For the first time the girls had a forum where they could take an active role and discuss any question, and this helped both to ease the authoritarian pattern of control and to heal divisions between Catholic and Protestant students. The ministry of education later recommended that colleges which did not have councils organize them along similar lines.

The other outstanding American at Kinyamasika developed an agriculture education program of irrigated gardening, poultry and goat raising which was certainly one of the most noteworthy TEEA innovations, and which continued to flourish under the principal's guidance after his departure. The regional inspector of schools was ... "very keen to make this project a demonstration facility for local farmers..." and people in the area had adopted some of the methods used on their own farms. The college had also appealed to the ministry of agriculture and to USAID for help in continuing the model farm, but at the time of this

writer's visit financial aid had not yet been received. Tutor RT had suffered a considerable degree of frustration during his first year on the job ... "he really had a hard time adjusting to the level of the students" ... and he only saw the agriculture scheme and primary science projects take hold during his last two terms at the TTC. "RT's model farm is really bearing fruit today," said one of his colleagues, "but he left too soon to see the results."

The same TEEA tutor developed two kinds of home-made teaching equipment which were widely used and copied. The first was a collapsible wooden easel which students made and took with them to primary schools where there were no blackboards. The other was a simple jelly-pad duplicator, easy to make and popular in schools without duplicating machines. RT also improvised a variety of teaching materials, and did things like making childrens' swings out of old tires for the demonstration school. The annual inspectorate report had this to say about his science teaching:

The work done in Science in this College continues to be of a high standard. The laboratory, the science library, the animal house, the weather station, the small gardens, and the improvised equipment -- all these bear witness to the good work and inspiring work done in the College,...

The students' notebooks showed that they actually recorded the results of their own experiments. Although the job of writing their own notes is initially a painful experience ... its continuation is strongly encouraged.⁵

⁵Uganda Inspectorate, "Kinyamasika Teacher Training College, Report of 1970: Science," Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education. (Mimeographed.)

The demonstration school at Kinyamasika stands on one side of the compound and serves the college more actively than do most attached primary schools. Tutors and their students use its classes continually for observation, while the demonstration school teachers are included in both professional and social activities of the TTC. The head teacher and five members of her staff were interviewed. Originally as students and then as teachers, they were well acquainted with the work of all except the first one or two Americans, and had good things to say about each one with a single exception. The exception was a case of the tutor taking no active part in demonstration school activities, rather than reports of poor teaching or bad relations with students. "I greeted her only twice or thrice during all the time she was here," said the head teacher. "She did not bring her classes to our school. I think she kept mostly to herself."

In speaking of the others, the good feelings positively bubbled forth. The young womens' faces glowed and their eyes sparkled as they described the multiple activities of RT, the science projects of AP, the astonishing energy of JB, the ingenuity of tutor LC. One of them said this about RT:

All the teachers in science went to him and he gave them his own books and teaching aids. Our teachers were always free to use reference books in his science room and to visit his farming scheme. He brought his students to our classes to teach nutrition and at the same time improve the diet of our children. The students used to pick green vegetables from the farm and cook them right here at the school for childrens' lunch.

Asked whether this useful activity had been continued, she explained that at present there was no tutor interested in carrying it on. Another teacher said that RT had organized a voluntary upgrading course for local primary teachers in the late afternoons after school hours. "At first there was quite a good number - about eight teachers - but later some stopped coming because they lived far from here and it was difficult for them to get home." One of RT's former students said that he stressed the discovery method in science... "we explored and experimented ourselves rather than just talking about things. I still remember the 'ant lion' (a unit in the African Primary Science Project), and I teach my class to collect 'ant lions' and we study them in the same way."

Several teachers used similar phrases - "kind to everyone, very helpful, very active" - to describe tutor AP. An older woman, she was remembered by one of her students as... "a lively lady, just like the young ones. She always used apparatus, not just books, and made me do a lot of selfwork - so many experiments from which I gained a lot." As another former student put it, "She aroused my very great anxieties (interest) in science study. I worked so hard to prepare myself to be a scientist." AP explained her outdoor laboratory for nature study to demonstration school teachers, and helped them set up science corners in their own classrooms. "She was always busy in the science room at the college, and students could come to her for help at any time." Tutor PG gave special help in English to teachers from nearby primary schools, and assisted the demonstration school staff in introducing a new English course for grade five. "I have a good memory of her," said one teacher,

"but we were only together for three months and then she left. It is a pity that these Americans do not prolong their stay." An ex-student spoke of language problems:

Americans are hard to understand at first, but after one or two months they change and learn to speak correctly. In my first lesson with RT I could not understand any word that he said. But later it was alright and we could learn very nicely from him.

Two themes ran throughout the demonstration school interviews at Kinyamasika. One was the enthusiasm and vigorous activity of the TEEAs. In speaking of JB one young woman commented, "I don't know how he had time to do so many things." The head teacher, recounting RT's various projects, concluded with a sympathetic smile, "He was exhausted before he left." The teachers and students had an interesting theory to explain the tutors' energy, as suggested in a letter from the former principal. They observed the Americans... "always on the go, rushing against time... and attributed their over-exuberance to the results of specialized vitamins or eating lots of meat."

The other theme stressed repeatedly was that the TEEAs were "social." Ugandans used this term to describe the innumerable kinds of relationships and activities which characterize the closed society of the boarding school. Being social meant helping students pay school fees and providing transportation in urgent situations and having a home which was open to the girls. It meant being called... "a very easy person... she liked Africans," or as was said of another tutor... "he was a good gentleman." The TEEA influence on personal relationships at Kinyamasika was strong and exemplary. It was the most clearly defined

example anywhere among the six colleges visited of how a succession of Americans could and did contribute to change in the environment of a TTC.

The first two TEEA tutors were sent to Canon Lawrence in 1964, and they were followed by five others, the last of whom served until the program terminated at the end of 1971. The college had a Ugandan acting principal in 1964-65 who then became deputy under a British principal. The new man, a Cambridge graduate and former school inspector in northern Uganda, was unusual in that he served at Canon Lawrence for the next six years through the ending of TEEA. During this time tutor innovation in methods and activities was possible and was encouraged, although not always firmly supported, within the practical and financial limitations as seen by this principal.

The former deputy commented about the first TEEAs in a letter to this writer:

MK was well prepared to teach at the College. It did not take her time to settle down. This is because she had training in U.K. ... MK got on very well indeed with students. Her temperament and personal relationships with students and tutors was first class. (In contrast) SM had very hard going throughout. He could have been better prepared if he had a short course (in teacher education) before entering classroom...

I personally tried hard to keep MK for more than two years but American Government did not consider it necessary.

Although two TEEAs at Canon Lawrence did serve second two-year tours, contributing the benefits of continuity so rare in East African schools, it was two single women, MK and HW, who are remembered as exceptional. This was particularly noteworthy in northern Uganda where

traditional attitudes of older male students toward female teachers often made a woman tutor's role a difficult one. Although two TEEA teaching wives at the TTC did experience these difficulties, in one case to the point of also affecting the husband's work, both MK and HW were able to establish themselves with... "less trouble than other women."

Tutor MK left Canon Lawrence in 1966 and HW departed the following year, but they were remembered more vividly by former students than were some tutors of more recent date. Their personalities and teaching methods were recalled in considerable detail with enthusiastic approval. It was clear that these two women had been more than just excellent teachers. They had demonstrated cross cultural understanding of a high order in their relations with Ugandans. The six primary school teachers interviewed at the college demonstration school were familiar with the work of all the TEEAs, having been taught by the earlier ones and then in recent years having their own classes used for demonstration purposes. They were also better acquainted with the Americans than were most present staff members, since only one of five Ugandan tutors at the TTC in 1971 had served with the early TEEAs. And the former students were unanimous in their praise of MK and HW.

MK was a specialist in "infant methods" (teaching the first three grades). "She would bring our classes to the demonstration school and teach us using real children," said one teacher. "Today tutors send their classes to observe children but they don't come themselves." The head teacher commented, "You can still see her teaching aids being used

in the classrooms of this school." "After I started teaching at the college school," related another teacher, "MK would pop into my class to see if I was still doing what she had taught us. And she used to bring her students over to paint the tables and desks and she painted right along with them." The head teacher remarked, "Generally speaking, she was a merry maker." Others said that... "she was approachable and always smiling... students liked her lectures too much." MK visited students' homes where she... "ate our food, drank tea and even 'pombe' (home-brewed beer), did everything." The head teacher of Lira Infant School told how MK had organized a voluntary upgrading course for infant teachers in the district:

On Saturdays we went to primary schools in her car and taught those teachers reading methods, numbers, story telling. You see, they were mostly untrained teachers. We collected local materials like empty tins and bottle-tops, and showed them how to make simple apparatus at no cost. Our course was very successful and many infant teachers took part. MK paid all expenses for our food and transport herself.

In addition to her innovative work in infant methods at the demonstration school and on in-service courses, MK wrote a reader for teaching English in 2nd grade. Her co-author was an African teacher at the college school who went on to do further writing for the publishing company. Five years later her reader was still being used in Uganda.

Although initially disturbed by the up country isolation of Lira, tutor HW also left an impressive record at Canon Lawrence. She was in charge of mathematics and introduced new math to students who had no exposure to it. "She worked very hard and showed considerable ingenuity in this task," wrote her principal, "and she won a good response from

people who are apt to be suspicious of innovations." One of her ex-students said, "I still use the maths books she gave me and the models she taught us to make. How can we forget her?" HW had experience in American teacher education, and the principal described her as "really first rate" and "the most professional teacher" he had ever known. One of her colleagues said that the students had been "fully satisfied" with her work. Another said, "She would go flat out on whatever needed to be done." A third person commented that... "her hospitality was much appreciated. She was a valued member of our community." HW became the college librarian and started the training of student librarians, a practice which has continued most successfully. "She spent a great deal of time -- five or six evenings a week for months -- and effort and more than a bit of her own money in improving the library," said the principal. He went on to say that she wanted to spend a second tour in a larger town, and had transferred to Machakos TTC in Kenya. "But if she had asked to come back here, I can assure you that the other staff and the students would have been very glad to see her return."

HW's continuing influence on mathematics education was borne out when this writer paid an unannounced visit to Lira Infant School. The head teacher was found making a math chart, and the walls of his tiny office were covered with similar charts of numbers and decimals. (This was particularly striking when compared with the bare walls of so many primary classrooms.) "I use her methods to help my own staff make visual aids," said the head teacher. "HW always had time for students. If a student explained that he did not have a good foundation in maths, she gave him special instruction."

Four male TEEA tutors were described in mostly positive and favorable terms. Tutor FP had been engaged in many out-of-class activities, and former students detailed his work as dramatics society sponsor, softball coach and "patron" of both the debating and music societies. He was the moderator of the student council and helped the council draft a new constitution which gave more freedom and responsibility to the student body. The principal called this student activity "the most successful of the last two years," but one tutor remarked that FP had spent so much time with the council that he had neglected his duties as college librarian. The inspectorate team had been disappointed with the library, saying it was "disorganized."

One TEEA introduced the teaching of art at Canon Lawrence and his successor, tutor RC, carried it on for a second two year period. RC in turn was replaced three months after his departure by a Ugandan art tutor. "RC left me schemes of work and many notes which have been helpful," explained the Ugandan. "His art room was very rich -- so many art supplies, tins of paint, all kinds of tools, art magazines that are not available here." He went on to describe his own art technique as realistic, as compared to RC's more abstract approach, and implied that the students found this more practical. RC had organized a mobile art show in Lira which included exhibits from other schools in the north. He had hoped that exhibitions would be held in other places, but there had been none since his departure. However, the Ugandan tutor had continued to sponsor the art society which RC started.

Three of the male TEEAs had been very active in sports, coaching basketball, softball and track and promoting a busy "games program." While stressing his own belief that Americans spend too much time on sports, an Indian colleague said that tutor CP... "took more interest in games than the games tutor himself." Since both CP and the physical education man were leaving the college at the end of the year, the future of the active sports program was very much in doubt. The same Indian colleague said that CP and FP had helped him a great deal in his science teaching with visual aids, loaning books and providing films. He described their departure as... "a great loss to the college."

In marked contrast to the more successful TEEAs, a fifth male tutor was characterized by former students as... "a very complicated man ... whose standard was too high for us." One demonstration school teacher said, "We did not understand his teaching. He was too brief and did not take time to explain. Students told him, 'We can't understand you,' but he took no notice." Another teacher was less polite in stating his opinion. "He was a lazy man. Instead of teaching us, he only gave our class references for reading the whole year long." This TEEA was said to have been more comfortable with the Grade III students than with the less advanced Grade IIs. A high school social studies teacher, he evidently had been unable to adjust his teaching to the required level, and consequently left some of his students with unhappy memories. However, the principal described him as a "calm and stable individual" who mixed well with local people and visited students' homes during school holidays. The principal had no comment about his teaching.

Professional influences of the Americans at Canon Lawrence were seen as positive and helpful by others at the college. One tutor said they encouraged students in practical ways of teaching and in... "not being afraid to try something new... Theory is not as useful (to the students) since they have trouble putting theory into practice." Another tutor remarked that the TEEAs were more involved with students... "on teaching practice they didn't just write comments and then leave -- they liked to discuss the lesson with the student after class." The principal said, "They were prepared to take up whatever came along and get on with the job... They fought me to get things done," he added with a smile. "They wanted more staff meetings and more discussion of programs among the tutors." A Ugandan staff member said, "The Americans were very keen on co-curricular activities. Honestly, most Africans don't take as much part." As the principal pointed out, whatever influence the TEEAs did have upon other tutors would be widely defused because there had been so much rotation of staff.

While some American innovations at Canon Lawrence were accepted, not all of the TEEA projects met with approval. Tutor SM tried to start a young farmers' program where students could earn money for growing crops. "The Grade IIIs wouldn't join in because they already had pocket money, so the scheme failed," explained the principal. "His idea might have been before its time. Today students might be more receptive." Tutor RA had organized a student tutorial system which was carried on successfully by some of the other tutors for a year or two after his departure. "But today the tutorial system is dying out," said a colleague, "because there is a lack of continuing leadership." Tutor

RC started a ceramics project and built a kiln for baking pottery... "but the present art tutor is not using it," said one of the ex-students.

Some TEEAs and/or wives were... "shattered by coming upcountry," commented the principal's wife. "I don't think they felt as fortunate being in Lira as we felt in having them." Lira's isolation and lack of amenities made it a difficult post for some families, particularly when there was no appropriate schooling for the tutor's own children. Most Americans object to sending their children to boarding school, but at Canon Lawrence the choice was between doing this and teaching them at home with correspondence courses. Two TEEA families never found a satisfactory solution to the schooling problem, and in one case this was the main reason for not seeking a second tour.

All new expatriate tutors had some degree of difficulty in adjusting to the African situation and understanding the background of the students. Ugandan staff members at Canon Lawrence commented about this. One said that Americans should have had a chance to "survey the district," seeing schools and their surroundings before starting to teach. Another said it was unfortunate that TEEAs gained most of their early impressions from contact with fellow expatriates, not Africans. "This way they may pick some colonialist ideas." A third Ugandan commented that it would be easier in future for Africans to work with Americans, after the TEEA experience. "Now I have plenty of American influence," he added cheerfully.

A veteran European tutor suggested that the TEEAs came with pre-conceived ideas about African TTC students. At first the Americans

tended to treat them intellectually as if they were university-level. Then the tutors became disillusioned with their lack of response and low degree of sophistication, and reacted in the opposite manner, treating the students like children. "It often took (the Americans) some time to get a realistic balance between these extremes."

In spite of many differences between the two Ugandan colleges, there were three points about TEEAs on which tutors and principals at Canon Lawrence and Kinyamasika were in virtually unanimous agreement. The first was that relevant teaching experience was the most important professional skill for a successful tutor to have. On this topic, sharp comparisons were drawn between "mature, trained TEEAs" and "young, untrained Peace Corps Volunteers." Kinyamasika's former principal said her college once had a volunteer... "a youngster, lacking in experience, who just couldn't cope. We had to have her transferred." The priest at Canon Lawrence stated his own feelings:

It is a pity that you dropped TEEA and continued sending us Peace Corps. These young men -- they know nothing about teacher training. What they do is drink too much and sleep with African women, and they set a very poor example for their students.

The second point was that the TEEAs had brought an energetic, practical and refreshing perspective to both TTCs. Their tours of service had been beneficial in a number of ways to those with whom they had worked. And finally, these Americans had not stayed long enough to make their best contribution. At Kinyamasika this meant remaining for a complete cycle of four years to see one class all the way through. At both colleges it might be considered the ultimate tribute... they could have done so much more.

CHAPTER IV

THE KENYA COLLEGES

Kagumo and Kisii are co-educational training colleges of approximately the same size which prepare the three grades of Kenya primary school teachers.¹ Neither have a religious background which, in itself, is an unusual point in common for Kenya. They stand in similar locations, each being close to a major administrative and commercial center in a heavily populated, agriculturally rich, scenically magnificent area of the Kenya highlands. Both in theory and in ministry rating they are the same kind of institution. In fact, the two colleges stand at opposite extremes of the educational spectrum because of historical circumstances and differences between people in leadership positions.

Kagumo was the first, and for many years the only, government-operated primary teacher training college in Kenya, having started with ten male trainees in 1944 on the site of an intermediate boarding school founded in 1933.² Within the brief span of Western education in East Africa, Kagumo has venerable traditions. Many prominent Kenyans,

¹P-3 students have had only seven or eight years of primary schooling themselves, but have scored well on the Kenya Preliminary Examination (KPE), and many have experience as untrained teachers. P-2 students have completed at least two years of secondary school. P-3s have had a full four years of secondary school, but scored poorly on the school certificate examination, thus curtailing their opportunities for higher education. All three grades of students take a two year teacher training course.

²"A Brief History of Kagumo College," Kagumo College Shield 1970. (Mimeographed student yearbook.)

including senior government officials and at least one cabinet minister, studied at the college during early stages of their careers. Solid and conservative in its standards, reluctant to venture into the unknown and thus slow to change, proud of its position and secure in its reputation, reasonably well-satisfied with its present program, Kagumo is the kind of institution where short-term expatriate staff will usually leave little impression behind.

Built in the foothills of the Aberdare Mountains at an elevation close to 6,000 feet, Kagumo College is located about six miles from Nyeri town and 85 miles by paved highway north of Nairobi. Nyeri is the administrative headquarters of Central Province, the biggest town in the Kikuyu tribal area, a bustling center of commercial and tourist activity which boasts good shops, banks, cinemas, two modern hotels and an active social and sports club. During the TEEA years there was a considerable expatriate population in the area and an English medium primary school, originally for European children, in the town. In the eyes of most Europeans, Kagumo would be considered the ideal up country post.

The college itself has grown from an enrollment of 190 men in 1964 to 485 men and women in 1971.³ Upgrading courses for serving teachers are taught during school holidays. As part of the government consolidation program, Kagumo became co-educational in 1965 when it

³A. N. Getao, Principal, "Kagumo College Annual Report for 1964," pp. 2-3. (Mimeographed), and interview with J. Mambo, Principal, Kagumo College, July, 1971.

absorbed the women students of a small, neighboring voluntary agency college. The students are roughly equally divided between the three grades, with a slightly larger number of P-1s. The appearance of the compound is old fashioned and comfortable rather than modern, with rambling cinder block buildings and lovely gardens. Classrooms are plain and bare, the library small and cluttered, the dormitories more spacious than most and divided into study-bedroom cubicles. Although Kagumo has never had a religious affiliation, there is about it, as in so many East African schools, a disciplined missionary flavor: the atmosphere of benign authoritarianism, the carefully enforced rules of student behavior, the chicken wire fence around the girls' dormitories, the strong moral convictions expressed by some members of staff.

A total of eight American tutors served at Kagumo from 1961 through 1970 with as many as three on the staff at the same time, yet after the program had ended, only one of that number was remembered with widespread professional respect and personal affection. Two of the others left quite favorable reactions toward the work they had done, and one of these in particular had established close personal ties with some of his colleagues. But in general, tutors at Kagumo in mid-1971 remembered the TEEAs, especially the last group of three, with an unusual amount of restraint. Although there was selective praise and positive feelings about certain accomplishments, both Kenyan and European colleagues as well as former students tended to view the Americans more critically than did persons at any of the other colleges visited. The overall impression gained was not that most of them had failed to do

their teaching jobs, but that they somehow lacked the extra degree of commitment which sets apart the superior teacher from the merely adequate; also in attitude and action they frequently clashed with others on the compound. In order to understand this unusual state of affairs, it is necessary to consider the TEEAs individually and to discuss certain factors which may have been more influential at Kagumo than elsewhere.

Kagumo in 1961, when the first American arrived, was a closed society with a predominantly British staff who looked upon intruders from the outside with a mixture of suspicion and resentment. The two Americans posted to the college before independence were TEA teachers, neither of whom had had any experience in training teachers. The first had taught high school English in America for two years, the other had come straight from the Diploma in Education course at Makerere and had no teaching experience whatsoever. Considering these handicaps, both did better than might have been expected. Tutor TH found teaching very difficult in the beginning, according to the ex-deputy principal, but he was serious and hard working and did a fine job in the library. "I have seen worse teachers," was the ex-deputy's comment. His principal wrote about the other American that for the first few months he had been frankly astounded by the manner of this "brash young chap," but that in time the young man became quite a useful member of staff. After initially disapproving this tutor's request for an extension of his tour, the principal reversed himself and gave him a "strong recommendation for retention" (The TEA did not, in fact, extend his tour).

In August, 1964 the first official TEEA tutor came to Kagumo. About a month earlier, a momentous event had occurred at the college:

the appointment of its first African principal. The new man was an able and far-sighted graduate of Makerere who had taught both at the college and the near-by secondary school. If not the very first, he was definitely among the earliest Africans to head a major educational institution in Kenya. Tutors of all nationalities who served under him were unanimous in their praise of his even-handed leadership.⁴ It was a difficult period of transition, and although he did not transform Kagumo's orthodoxy, he did provide a confident base for his staff to get on with their work. The possibilities and achievements of the TEEAs during his three and a half year tenure reflect, to some extent, the quality of this principal's leadership.

The first TEEA, an experienced elementary school teacher, was a quiet man who worked closely with his students, and reportedly was especially good at giving individual help on teaching practice. He started a music program at Kagumo whose success culminated in the college choir winning first prize in a nation-wide competition. After two years he was replaced by another TEEA music tutor, but there seems to have been little continuity in the music program. The second tutor arrived a month or so after the first had departed, and had difficulty piecing together what his predecessor had been doing. One of the TEEA objectives was to start activities which African colleagues would hopefully carry on, but

⁴This statement is based, not upon interview data, but upon the writer's recollections of four or five visits made to Kagumo between 1964 and 1967.

at times the Americans showed a regrettable inability to coordinate their work even with their own countrymen.

The second music tutor enlarged the scope of the program to include the teaching of traditional music and the playing of African instruments. He was a dynamic person and a very hard worker, but what he did was not always comprehended. A former student now on the college staff said that the students could not understand his teaching. His theory was too advanced so that... "not one of us came to know what his music really was." A P-1 teacher at a local primary school stated, "Most of us didn't like music. We didn't understand the way he spoke ... too hurriedly ... and he didn't explain. He knew a lot of music but students had trouble." Colleagues with whom this TEEA served said that he had good relations with the staff, he was easy to talk to and exchange ideas with, and he mixed well with Africans. He took a special interest in Kagumo's model school,⁵ and made plans for its expansion and greater utilization. He enlarged classrooms for demonstration teaching, put in cement floors, and persuaded the Ford Foundation to pay for some new equipment. Unfortunately no one else at the college continued his work with the model school. He also designed a new auditorium and library for Kagumo, but his plans were not approved by the ministry, probably for financial reasons. He spent a great deal of time in the college workshop, repairing farm machinery and helping students make visual

⁵In Kenya model schools are not attached directly to the teacher training colleges as are the demonstration schools in Uganda. Since model schools are run by local authorities rather than by colleges, principals are not able to staff them with teachers from their own colleges.

aids for teaching practice. One is tempted to call him a renaissance man in the wrong setting.

The outstanding TEEA tutor at Kagumo was described by the people with whom he had worked as an exceptionally able and dedicated teacher. Two of his colleagues used the same words to characterize him, "He was always with the students." Others said ... "very devoted to work .. spent extra hours with students ... spent all his time with them ... of all the Americans, he got on best with the students." A British tutor said that GE had entered wholeheartedly into college life. "He was always on time and never missed classes" ... with the implication that some did not behave this way. In discussing the brevity of a two year tour, an older tutor added that in her opinion, "GE did more in one year than any of the other (TEEAs) did in two." Tutors who had not served with him repeated compliments that they had heard from students or other members of staff. His principal said that GE raised the standard of mathematics teaching and produced "schemes of work" for new math. In the evenings he taught classes in advanced math to students preparing for higher level examinations. Tutor GE did so well at Kagumo that after one year he was transferred to the Curriculum Development Center in Nairobi to help write new math textbooks. In speaking of his departure, the deputy principal remarked, "We were so sorry to lose him. I thought of him as a friend, not as an American." One of his former students, now a P-2 teacher, had this to say, "We didn't have a math tutor after GE left, but we remembered what he taught us and almost all of us passed the examination." Particularly in contrast to some of the feelings expressed by the same people about other TEEAs, GE earned a remarkable tribute.

By the time that the three TEEAs arrived together at Kagumo the former principal had been promoted to the ministry, his replacement had lasted only a few months, and a third Kenyan had taken over. The new Americans got off to a bad start because only one of them was expected, the other two had not been requested and were not really needed. Part of the trouble was caused by lack of communication between the college and the ministry. In addition, one of the new tutors, a man with four children, had initially been assigned elsewhere, but refused to go when he heard of the isolation and lack of schooling facilities at the other post. So Kagumo found itself with an extra tutor in history, an area of specialization in which it had qualified Africans.

In contrast to the solidarity of all the staff at other colleges ("community spirit" was the expression used by the American priest at Kinyamasika), these Kagumo TEEAs referred to themselves as "the American tutors." And others saw them in the same way, as a group of outsiders. They were criticised for doing no more than the minimum assignments, for reacting adversely to local authority, for being "safari tutors" more interested in travel than in teaching. All tutors were expected to teach in-service courses during holidays, and one Kenyan colleague commented that ... "the Americans spent too much time on safari, they should have been willing to do more." Both African and British tutors expressed resentment toward better-paid Americans ... and Canadians. One in particular was criticised for being ostentatious ... "the rich American" ... and out of touch with Africans. Another of the earlier TEEAs was chided for finding it necessary to make repeated trips to

Nairobi to take care of personal affairs. In addition to what was considered to be wasted time and money, it was said that he sometimes missed lessons and set a bad example for his students.

Former students, too, were unusually critical, saying that certain Americans were not much interested in students, did not spend extra time with them ... "when the bell goes, they leave class" ... and compared them unfavorably with the Canadians. "In my opinion," said one, "the Canadians were better teachers. The Americans were more harsh... XY lost his temper so quickly. Sometimes when the students asked questions they thought that the students were trying to fool them and got very angry. The Canadians did less lecturing and asked more questions." A P-1 teacher added, "We liked the Canadians and they liked us. We felt that we could go to them for help." Another local primary school teacher explained that the Kagumo students had argued among themselves about these Americans. "At first we thought they were not so well qualified. Some students asked how they could be trained teachers, and others thought they must have been jobless at home. Later some of us decided it was better to have British or Canadian or African tutors." In contrast to these opinions, a model school P-2 teacher was extremely positive about one member of this TEEA group. "He was a very popular teacher. He gave me confidence and taught me to express myself. Before criticising, he always listened first. I use his methods in all my subjects and try to copy him."

The fact that a few of the TEEAs did not appear to have been on friendly terms with their Kenyan fellow tutors is unusual in itself. Kagumo was the only place among the six colleges where there were definite feelings of racial animosity, exclusiveness and separation. Two African

tutors spoke of color barriers which still existed, and patronizing and superior attitudes which persisted among some members of staff. One blamed his own anti-European feelings on his background of colonial days, the other had found whites more human and friendly abroad than they were in Kenya. In speaking of the TEEA group, a woman tutor said, "We were not invited to their homes. We did not see them socially." This writer sensed at Kagumo a gap between most Africans and Europeans which, if it existed elsewhere, was deeper beneath the surface. Professional relations were correct, but there seemed to be missing a certain warmth of personal relationships. One reason for racial tension in this part of Kenya may be traced to the Emergency and its aftermath. Kagumo College lies in the heart of the Kikuyu country. The Kikuyus fought the colonial power in the black-white confrontation of the 1950s, and some of the bitterness of this conflict remains.

According to all accounts, the one TEEA who left a strongly negative impression among everyone who had known him was one of the last Americans to serve at Kagumo. This man had taught previously in West Africa where he may have acquired his reportedly "old colonial" outlook. The students nicknamed him "wagettla," (Swahili for settler), because of his similarities to the European farmer. The deputy principal described him as ... "different from the others, he had difficulties with both tutors and students." Another Kenyan said, "He was head of our department but we did not discuss teaching, or share ideas. He thought of himself as professor and stayed aloof from us." "All he did was complain," said a third tutor. However, his most serious problem was with the principal with whom he engaged in an acrimonious dispute in

writing. The trouble arose over his being absent from classes; the principal said without permission, the tutor claimed to go to Nairobi for medical reasons. "Chronic absenteeism" was the description used by the deputy. "We always have such people from our own country," he said, "but we never expect this from TEEA tutors." The principal reported that he had asked the ministry to transfer this man, but nothing happened. "I had to put up with him for one tour, but I knew it would not be longer because the ministry would not have renewed his contract." A Canadian colleague shook his head in disbelief, "I don't see how he ever could have been selected. Bad memories of XY will last for years while the good things that people like GE and HC did are soon forgotten."

Another of the three-man group was the third TEEA music tutor in succession to serve at Kagumo. The college might have been expected to have a flourishing music program, but this was not the case. The Americans had provided many music books and tape recordings, some instruments and electronic equipment, but much of the teaching had simply been too advanced for the students. The third music tutor held a degree in musicology and was a college instructor at home, and if he realized that he was teaching over their heads, he was either unwilling or unable to adjust. "He made lovely recordings of traditional songs," said one of his former students, "but we failed to understand him in class." In contrast, this tutor's wife, an experienced elementary teacher, elicited warm praise from the principal. "She taught the New Primary Approach in English and did a first rate job. She converted an old workshop into an NPA classroom, and we used to take visitors round to see her room. This makes us remember her." A third TEEA was popular with the students ...

"because he was young and friendly," and got along "very freely" with everyone, but he left no strong mark upon people at the college.

There is no evidence to indicate that the tutors at Kagumo were anything other than a typical cross section of TEEA, yet they were less successful as a group than most of their fellow tutors. What was the difference? A major reason certainly lies within the differing personalities of individual tutors and members of their families. One type will learn to overcome barriers and fit into any situation. The other kind of person can never make certain adjustments, remains boxed in by his own background, and is so stubbornly and thoroughly a product of one culture that he cannot really adapt to another.

There may have been other factors, peculiar to colleges like Kagumo, which curbed the effectiveness of the TEEAs. The orthodox atmosphere and fixed routine in the college, particularly in the beginning and again toward the end of the program, was difficult for individualistic Americans to accept. Without incisive leadership, the traditional majority of the staff were reluctant to tamper with the status quo. "Most African tutors will not take the lead in pushing for change," said one of the Canadians, "and expatriates cannot do it and make it stick." He told of the new curriculum, introduced with the support of several of the European tutors, which allowed students a choice of subjects in their second year. After one year of experimentation with the new curriculum, the majority of the staff decided to return to the old system where the students took all subjects. Some tutors blamed the college's poor results in teaching practice on the new system, but for whatever reason, the innovation did not survive.

The advantages of Kagumo's location and the very fact of its accessibility may have been misleading and disorienting to some Americans. The large expatriate community may have lessened both inclination and opportunity for social contacts with Kenyans. Tutors at distant colleges, unable to easily run back and forth to Nairobi, might have been more likely to shrug off their peripheral problems and get on with their jobs. A couple of Kagumo people suggested that one TEEA tutor at a time might be more successful than having several together on a staff.⁶ "When there is more than one they move in a group," explained one of these tutors. At some of the isolated up country colleges it was true that one, or at most two, TEEAs did become well-integrated into local communities, were able to devote their energies constructively and wholeheartedly to college activities, and were not distracted by the lure and frustration of the city. Elsewhere in Kenya (Kenyatta College, for example), larger groups of expatriates of any nationality did tend to become clannish and insular.

The Canadian government has had a program at Kagumo similar to TEEA for a number of years, and the evidence from those interviewed indicated that Canadian tutors, by and large, had been more successful in training teachers than had most of the Americans. Since the educational background, qualifications and experience of the two nationalities were very similar, the Canadian achievement might be related to improved

⁶A suggestion made by TEEAs in their self-evaluation reports (Tutor Professional Activities Questionnaires) proposed the opposite remedy: assign enough American tutors to one college so that their numbers will be bound to have an impact on the institution's programs and administration.

features of their program. The most readily apparent difference was in the length of typical contracts. The Canadians came initially for two years, but could renew for one year at a time up to a maximum total of five years. Five Canadians at Kagumo had stayed for the full five years. None of the Americans had served for more than 24 month contracts, the minimum time allowed by Kenya government, and at least four of them had tried unsuccessfully to get permission to depart earlier. Limited leaves of absence from home schools and the desire to travel before returning to the U.S. were valid reasons for going when they did, but nonetheless their colleagues might be excused for wondering about American priorities. A number of tutors commented on how briefly the TEEAs had been there, and the principal, in pleasant tones of recrimination, said that the program had been ended without warning, and the government of Kenya could not replace the departed tutors. "Where are we to find staff?", he asked.

Administratively and financially the Canadians were quite independent of the ministry of education, and from their point of view this was a distinct advantage. They avoided most of the salary, income tax, work permit, baggage delivery problems which, to some extent, harassed all American tutors. The TEEA program had no administrative personnel in Kenya, only the country chairman who was a full-time tutor or staff member. The USAID office in Nairobi took no interest in their bureaucratic affairs, so the tutors were mostly left to fight their own battles with the establishment. The latter part of the 1960s was a period of turmoil and strain within the ministry of education, as veteran expatriates were replaced by inexperienced Kenyans. Particularly during this

time, TEEAs had difficulties coping with administrative complexities within the ministry, and their frustration certainly affected their work.

It had been an article of faith with TEEA that one of the strengths of the program was the tutor's role as an employee of the local government.⁷ While the value of this arrangement may have been more apparent to ministry officials and program administrators than it was to the people actually concerned at the colleges, it did provide both strong justification and financial commitment from the African side. However, the Canadian tutors were also considered to be government education officers, so they might have been enjoying the best of both worlds -- their own administrative control within the accepted framework of the establishment.

A final point in the Canadians' favor, but one over which no program has control, is the fact that Canadians, unlike their fellow North Americans, are not controversial. Canada has been involved neither in world power politics nor in the highly emotional racial and political issues of Africa. Whether Canadian neutrality contributed to personal tranquility, and thus to professional productivity, is a matter difficult to determine.

* * * * *

In contrast to Kagumo, Kisii College provided real scope for initiative and innovation because of its very lack of tradition, the advantages of its imaginatively designed plant, and probably most importantly,

⁷TEEAs were appointed as government education officers, with the same duties and responsibilities as other civil servants, and their basic salaries were paid by ministries of education. See the Project Agreements between the U. S. Agency for International Development and the three East African governments.

the energetic and far-sighted qualities of its two principals, the first European, the second Kenyan. Kisii town, center for the tribe of the same name, is located in the hills of western Kenya, east of Lake Victoria and more than 300 miles from Nairobi. The town boasts shops, a club, a hotel of sorts, government and police offices, a hospital and two secondary boarding schools, but it is small and of minor importance compared to Nyeri.

Kisii College, on the outskirts of the town, is one of the newest and most modern primary TTCs in the country, built after independence with a capital grant of about \$550,000 from the British government.⁸ The college was established in 1965 in temporary quarters at the local community development center with 50 men P-3 students and a staff of five tutors, none of whom were graduates. Over the next three years the college grew to its full complement of 250 students, 150 men and 100 women, in grades P-1, P-2 and P-3.⁹ During the early months of 1967, the college took over its new buildings piecemeal as they were completed by the contractors. The first principal had had the rare opportunity of collaborating directly with the architect in designing the compound. He said that they planned open, interconnected classrooms to encourage tutorials (seminars) and practical work, and to get away from the traditional methods of lectures and examinations. They tried, he explained, to build facilities for a ...

⁸"Kisii College Information." Mimeographed Circular No. 5/69, B9F3, February 1969, p. 2.

⁹Kenya Institute of Education, "Output of Non Graduate Teachers," Circular KIE/90/45. (Mimeographed.)

"more professional preparation of teachers." The main college complex consists of double and single story wings around a quadrangle, and includes five hostels, each accommodating 50 students in study-bedrooms. There is a large and comparatively well-stocked library, and a generous supply of teaching equipment such as tape recorders, film and overhead projectors. Staff houses are located in a landscaped area beyond the main buildings, and the entire compound lies along a ridge overlooking a deep wooded valley.

The first TEEA tutor arrived at Kisii in mid-1967, just as the college was getting fully organized. He became head of the arts department, was extremely interested in African music, and left impressions of modest accomplishment. He was described as "a bit quiet," a reserved man who felt that the educational level of the students was very low, and who was ... "perhaps too advanced for them." His wife had been a 5th grade teacher at home and taught on local terms at the college. In written comments made for the TEEA office, the tutor expressed his own feelings:

I believe that (my wife) is much more effective than myself because of her experience in elementary teaching. As all my experience has been at secondary and university level, I found it extremely difficult to shift to the students' level.

Kisii College had a total of only three TEEAs on its staff, but the second two made original and significant contributions to the TTC. Tutor RH was described by his European principal as "the ideal chap for teacher training who had useful ideas on everything and could turn his hand to anything." The African principal under whom he served the latter

part of his tour had this to say, "He was the best science tutor I have ever known. We are still (six months later) reaping the fruits of his projects." RH had taught previously in a Kenya secondary school, and from the time he arrived at Kisii he was engaged in a flurry of activities.

He introduced a new science curriculum into the college using discovery methods and African Primary Science Program materials. Two of his former students testified that they took their primary school children outside for nature study "discovery," as he had taught them to do. A colleague said that his attempts to demonstrate these methods to local teachers in science workshops had been less successful. "Those teachers felt they could not teach for the examination that way, so they did not accept the new method." Tutor RH was placed in charge of re-organizing the model school, revising its curriculum, and building and equipping classroom additions to make it more suitable for demonstration teaching. He served as secretary to the primary science panel revising the national primary science and agriculture syllabus for publication by the Kenya Institute of Education. Working with an African crafts tutor, he initiated a project to help each student put together a kit of simple teaching aids made from local materials. He started a community service program in which students spent a week of their holiday doing such things as teaching adult classes, working on local self-help projects, and assisting in the Kisii hospital and youth center. Unfortunately ... "there was no one to carry on this program after he left," explained a Kenyan tutor.

Probably the most unique among RH's projects was the wildlife education unit. Integrating the teaching of zoology, conservation and ecology into the science curriculum, he established a wildlife center, tried to raise funds from government and private agencies, built an aviary, and planned a fenced animal compound to be stocked with game. Neither financial support nor the necessary personal commitment were available after his departure, and only a wildlife club was still functioning under student leadership. "The Peace Corps had promised a volunteer to continue the project," explained the principal, "but the ministry did not approve the idea."

Tutor RH was said to have been a man of boundless energy, intense and outspoken in manner, a perfectionist. These attitudes caused resentment among some of his African colleagues. Two of them described him as "hot-tempered." "He had less patience," said another, "and had less sympathy for those who did not understand." In a measured appraisal, the senior Kenyan tutor said, "He worked hard and wanted everyone to work hard. He was very frank, and would just tell you. This made him a bit unpopular with certain members of staff." But even those who resented his manner praised his multiple accomplishments. "RH did too much for this college," said an African woman tutor. "He showed students what they could do, if only they tried." "The good students will remember and carry on with his methods," said another. Six months after he departed tutors were continuing to make use of the model school for demonstration lessons. "This college will never go back to the old ways of teaching science," affirmed the principal. RH had the unusual opportunity to teach general science together with a local tutor for one term before

the Kenyan took over the classes. "He was not an easy man to work with," said the Kenyan, "but his methods were very creative. In fact, I inherited his discovery methods and materials, and used some of his techniques." However, there was little visual evidence of the creative approach in the science laboratory. It looked bare and forlorn, except for exhibits of specimens and animal skulls in some of the cases which had obviously been there for some time.

Tutor AC, while not as prolific in the range of his activities, was better at working with people. His sensitive appreciation of, and concern for, individual students, and his skills as a master teacher come through clearly from almost every Kisii interview. A Kenyan colleague commented on ... "his very human approach, he spent a lot of time with weak students." Another said, "Yes, he got on very well indeed with students. He knew them thoroughly and what they were capable of. He was friendly, but at the same time had good discipline." His manner was open and informal, yet the students did not take advantage of this, as they might have done with an inexperienced teacher, because of his maturity. His principal described him as ... "a man who will go an extra mile for the students."

Tutor AC also left his mark upon the structure of Kisii College. He revised and perfected a flexible six-day timetable for all TTC activities, which the principal said would surely be continued and might spread to other colleges. He created a new and imaginative English teaching program in his first year, and the tutor who replaced him in English said that he had continued to use AC's selection of books and

materials. As advisor to the student council, he guided the writing of a student constitution which established a less authoritarian pattern of relationships at Kisii. The students seemed more mature than before in the new atmosphere at the college, said the principal. "This year students will admit they have made mistakes, and this used to be unheard of."

The TEEAs supplied Kisii College with instructional materials, and the audio visual tutor, a Kenyan Asian, provided a graphic description of the difficulties of maintaining American electronic equipment at an up country location:

The bulb blew out on our overhead projector. I suspected a short circuit, tried to fix it and blew another bulb. A new bulb costs 275 shillings (about \$38), and I cannot ask the principal to buy three or four at that price. The only service is in Kisumu (about 80 miles). Tutor AC ordered a film strip projector and after 14 months it arrived, two weeks before he left. Our other projector is 110 volts and must be used with a transformer. One day someone will not use the transformer, and BAM!

Kisii suffered the same problems as other colleges, such as rapid turnover of staff. A Canadian said, "After I was here for 15 months, only 25% of the original tutors remained." Another tutor said that he was the third head of his department in one year. Every tutor interviewed at Kisii expressed regret at the untimely departure of the Americans. The principal said that the government was attempting to make up the loss by recruiting more from U.K., ... "but we don't want to depend on one source of supply as in the old days. It is better to have expatriates from several countries." In speaking with the senior Kenyan tutor about the termination of the program, he said:

Now let me ask you a question. Why is this TEEA discontinued, and the Peace Corps not? I have seen both kinds (of Americans), and I don't understand why you are stopping TEEA. Your people are better teachers, more mature. The Peace Corps mix too much with the students and cause strikes. They roam around the country. The TEEAs are still needed. Did the East African governments know that TEEA would end?

The writer spoke of policy decisions and inter-government communications, but these were the difficult kind of questions to answer.

The staff at Kisii appeared to have worked well together, and to have maintained good rapport with the students. "This college is exceptional because of our principal," was the opinion of one tutor. "In other places there is so much frustration caused by administrative incompetence." The principal, in turn, spoke in praise of staff solidarity. "Often you will find a group divided between expatriates and Africans," he said. "Our disagreements are on personal or professional grounds between individuals, not one group against another." African tutors at Kisii did seem unusually candid in speaking about the shortcomings of some of their fellow Africans, and comparing them unfavorably with the hard-working TEEAs. One woman tutor spoke of the "lazy attitude" of certain colleagues. Another said that some members of staff would avoid doing anything that was not absolutely necessary. In speaking about the Americans the principal said, "I wish we had more tutors who were willing to try new things. There is only one (local man) who measures up to those two. RH's departure has really left a vacuum."

Two expatriate colleagues made interesting points about the TEEAs at Kisii. A Canadian who had served with all three wrote, "They always had new projects going ... however, their biggest contribution lay in

their ability to work within and improve existing programs." The other said, "In a way, their talents were wasted in a TTC. They should have been demonstration teachers, running in-service courses for other tutors. AC's skills could not really be absorbed here. He should have been showing, not telling, Kenyan tutors."

Every tutor hoped that someone else would carry on his work after his departure, but too seldom did this actually happen. It did seem to be the case with at least some of the TEEA projects at Kisii. Tutors also hoped that some of their ideas, actions, dreams would stick in the minds of students, perhaps even of colleagues. This, too, seemed to have happened at Kisii. A combination of able and energetic tutors with a most receptive and supportive principal produced the closest example among the six colleges of the kind of setting and results for which TEEA had been envisioned. A tutor who had served with the three Americans summed up his feelings, "In my opinion, the TEEA personnel and program were the most impressive in-depth projects of their sort at our college ... You would be well advised to duplicate your experiences at Kisii wherever the opportunity presents itself."

CHAPTER V

THE TANZANIA COLLEGES

Both Uganda and Kenya had worked since independence to expand and improve their existing educational systems. Neither had formulated long-range policies for fundamental change in their schools or in their way of life. Tanzania, however, had embarked upon a bold and radical program, using education as a major tool in helping to create a new society. President Julius Nyerere stated the aims of his government and the role of education in his writing on Education for Self Reliance:

We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none.

Our educational system (must) foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good ... to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of society ... Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past.¹

The Tanzanian colleges of national education reflected the country's struggle for self reliance. The white educational system was being re-organized to advance the aspirations of Tanzanian socialism, and the colleges were in the forefront of change. Thus teaching became more challenging, perhaps more difficult, for expatriates than it was elsewhere

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 5-7.

in East Africa. Rather than being exponents of innovation in a tradition-bound system, TEFA tutors sometimes found themselves lumped with other Europeans as representing the colonial past and the status quo.

Certain TEEAs seized unusual opportunities to produce teaching materials which could and did have a nation-wide impact. Others who could not adjust to the new realities were more or less by-passed, left to teach their classes but do little else until their contracts expired. The new government policy was to staff colleges of national education with Tanzanian citizens, and as the TEEAs finished their tours during 1969 and 1970, most were not replaced. A few exceptional ones, however, were asked to renew or extend their contracts and continue the work that they were doing.

* * * * *

In Tanzania the colleges visited were Morogoro and Mpwapwa. Morogoro College of National Education is tucked into the lower slopes of the Uluguru Mountains, built on an early mission site in a location breathtakingly beautiful even by East African standards. Morogoro town is 120 miles inland from the capital of Dar es Salaam, and is an important commercial and farming center on the main road and rail routes to the south and west. It has two western-style hotels, a cinema, a sports club (now defunct), district government offices, and other schools including the national agricultural college. Compared to the isolation and limited amenities of most of Tanzania, it is an extremely well-supplied and situated location.

Morogoro College was founded and run by Holy Ghost fathers, but in line with government policy, it has long been under ministry of education control. For more than ten years until the mid-1960s, the nucleus of the teaching staff was a group of young and progressive Dutch priests who contributed a great deal to the college's achievements. A British colleague described them as "a wonderful team of priests." Morogoro also benefited from a large scale \$700,000 building expansion program, financed by the Tanzanian government and various overseas agencies, which added new classroom blocks with science laboratories and a large library, an assembly hall, a kitchen and dining hall, staff houses, and seven new dormitories providing study-bedrooms for every two students. In 1961 Morogoro became co-educational and multi-racial. By 1966, with 360 Grade A students,² 120 of whom were women, it had become the largest and most modern TTC in Tanzania.³ Today Morogoro College is also without doubt the first ranking institution in prestige and accomplishment among the Grade A colleges. The person most responsible for this position is the principal, a Dutch priest now a Tanzanian citizen, who has been a leader of national stature in articulating and implementing the government philosophy of education. He has been at

²Tanzania has two levels of teacher training -- Grade C for students who have had only primary education, and Grade A for those who have completed four years of secondary schooling. Both grades take a two year course. During the TEEA period the government was emphasizing the development of Grade A colleges, and all the American tutors were assigned to these institutions. (In a few instances, they were sent to Grade C colleges which were in the process of being raised to Grade A status.)

³"Tanzania's Biggest Teacher Training College," Sunday News Magazine, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, September 11, 1966, p. 12.

the college since 1948, and its principal since 1954, a record of longevity unequalled in East Africa. Experimentation with new ideas has for many years been the cornerstone of his college policy, and in more recent times staff and students have been urged and encouraged to put ideals of self reliance into practice.

From 1962 through 1969 one TEA and eight TEEA tutors served at Morogoro. First were two single women who taught different subjects, and whose two year contracts did not coincide. Then two groups of three each were on the staff together, and the ninth was at the college such a short time between transfers that he left no impression behind. None of these tutors stayed longer than two years. Two of the TEEAs were given very high marks by everyone interviewed who had known them, and two others were rated highly with somewhat less unanimity and enthusiasm. Tanzanian opinion of the other four might be characterized as ranging from lukewarm to negative.

The best two must have been very good indeed, among the most successful TEEAs to serve anywhere. Both put in long extra hours with students, worked during holidays, and were clearly dedicated to their task. "Attitude is the most important thing," said the principal, "and they both had the right attitude." A long-term Tanzanian staff member commented, "Those two really impressed us ... for example, every morning WS cleaned the hall with his students. Some of the others just told people to do things, but did not do it themselves."

Tutor JM designed and supervised "student research projects" which demonstrated that students could carry out simple yet valid studies,

learning to collect and interpret data without a great deal of special training. One of these projects, "A Study of Educational Values of Teachers in the Morogoro Region," was published by the college at the request of President Nyerere. JM's research concept was incorporated into the Grade A college education syllabus. However, a Dutch former tutor pointed out that "research" was really the wrong term for these projects. Students simply asked the questions, and neither designed nor evaluated the studies. He said that JM's education courses were popular with the students. There was ... "big psychology talk about education. Students liked to discuss child behavior." Another tutor said that JM made the students work hard. "We were very sorry to lose him. He wanted to stay on, but I think his wife wanted to go home." A British colleague who described himself as an "enthusiastic amateur" in educational psychology, testified that this TEEA had been most helpful to him in professional matters. The deputy principal said that JM had excellent relations with everyone, including people of the local community.

"The most important contribution made by any American at Morogoro," was the way his principal described tutor WS's writing of the new national education syllabus. This syllabus was adopted as the program for all Grade A colleges, and was being translated into Swahili. WS also revised the character assessment form used in Tanzanian colleges, helped to prepare the national education examination, and was reportedly one of only two non-Tanzanians teaching national education in the country. In a written statement the principal described WS as follows:

He has done splendid work in the implementation of the country's new philosophy in the educational field. If you need a good ambassador for your country it is him. Though very young he is academically mature and more expert than a dozen university "professors" I know personally. The Tanzanian government is fully aware of his great contribution. If he wished he could stay on here indefinitely in spite of all programmes!

Tanzanian tutors were equally enthusiastic, although perhaps not so eloquent, about him as was the principal. "He was one of us," said an African priest. "I am not sure how much he believed in our ideals (Tanzanian socialism)," said a tutor, "but he worked for them." WS was urged to return to Morogoro for two more years, but did not do so, reportedly because of inadequate medical and educational facilities for his family.

Both the single women tutors were well-remembered. The first was a shy and dedicated person with five years teaching experience in American elementary schools. "EC really started the course in child psychology," said one of her colleagues. She also supervised the affiliated primary school, arranged tutorials for its teachers and sometimes taught demonstration lessons with the children herself. The other woman introduced art as a separate subject to the college, held the first art exhibitions, and developed methods of teaching art in primary schools using nothing but local materials. She established art as a definite part of the curriculum, and her program was continued by other tutors. A group of former students who had returned to the college for an in-service course spoke about her. "We still remember Miss B's teaching after five or six years," they said.

The TEEAs who left little mark at Morogoro never seemed to become part of the vigorous team spirit of the place. They remained generally competent teachers but perennial outsiders. The deputy principal described them as "teaching tourists ... when holidays came, off they went, all over Africa and even overseas to Europe." A former tutor added, "They rushed off to meet other Americans. We stayed more at the college; partly, I suppose, because we could not afford so much travel." Another said, "Their job ended in the classroom, they did not spend much time outside class with students."

Being over-qualified was another problem. A European ex-tutor wondered, "Can a university lecturer like YZ ever bring his teaching down to the level required for a primary TIC? Why were such people recruited for primary training?" One TEEA reportedly wanted to introduce the teaching of ancient history because it was his speciality. "When we are short of staff," explained a Tanzanian Asian, "tutors must be able to take on new subjects and be familiar with all primary teaching." Some TEEAs could adjust -- WS held a doctorate in psychology and came from an American university -- while others never seemed able to really communicate with their students.

Unlike the situation in Kenya or Uganda, lack of Swahili was a definite handicap in Tanzania. A British tutor with six years at Morogoro said that some of the Americans knew more Swahili when they arrived than when they left. Three Dutch former tutors each stressed the importance of Swahili in establishing closer contact with Tanzanians. "Students react more naturally when you know Swahili," said one, pointing out that

Dutch priests used African ways of speaking in stories and proverbs in their teaching. "On teaching practice," said another, "we knew exactly what was going on. Everything was in Swahili and we understood the childrens' reactions. It was difficult for the Americans, or for any new person."

Of the less successful TEEAs, two were husband and wife, both appointed as tutors on overseas contract terms. He had been a school principal in America, but found he had no influence at Morogoro. "Father X (the college principal) never asked his advice; perhaps he felt threatened," suggested a Dutch ex-tutor. "And he (the TEEA) was terribly overqualified to be third ranking member of staff in the maths department." The same Dutchman explained that the wife was very outspoken and always did the talking, while he was quiet and unassuming. "This relationship was perplexing to Africans, and may have influenced the opinions of them." A British colleague said they became discouraged because ... "they had come to save Africa, and found it didn't want to be saved." The Tanzanian deputy said, "They were not bad people. They were friendly with everyone. It was not that they did any harm, just spent their time and left nothing behind."

The other two less successful TEEAs served at the same time with the last group of three at Morogoro. Both were described as keeping aloof and remaining uninvolved. "They took no part in Ujamma (nation building) projects," said a Tanzanian tutor. "They taught their classes and then went home." One of them seemed to have been seriously handicapped because he did not sympathize with Tanzanian socialism. "Why did

he come here if he could not accept the policies of this country?," asked one colleague. The principal said, "He talked about democracy, then refused to take part and do his share. Just words -- no action." In a more charitable appraisal, another Tanzanian said that he was "...a careful person who did not want to interfere." However, a lab assistant who had known this American well, said that he had been a friend of the students and they had never complained about his work. A young tutor who was new at the college and taught the same subjects said that ... "this man was very helpful in getting me started." And the American tutor's wife was described as someone who did a lot for people on the compound. "She learned to speak Swahili very well, even with the correct accent."

The second TEEA was praised only for his relaxed nature and friendly behavior. "He was a jolly man, full of humor," said one Tanzanian, adding that "...he was an old man and a bit set in his ways..." which implied that he had little energy. An Asian colleague stated, "He was a moderate worker, not a person to kill himself at his desk." A British tutor described him as ... "adequate, nothing more." No one spoke of any contributions he had made to college life, or of any particular impressions left upon students.

The group of Dutch tutors who had been so influential at Morogoro were widely scattered by 1971. They were contacted in person in Nairobi and New York, and by mail in Holland and in western Tanzania. From their own long and varied experience in African education, they tended to view the TEEAs both positively and from a wider perspective. One of them wrote:

My impression was that the TEEAs were much more concerned with their students and with children than with subject matter. In this they profoundly differed from many of their colleagues ... They attempted a more personal approach which is very difficult to fit into the impersonal, content-centered system which prevails here in East Africa. I do hold that they were well prepared to train teachers, and that they had a lasting effect on those individuals whose natural wisdom and confident personality could not be curbed by the rigours of an inflexible system.

However, they arrived and served during a time of increasing self-assertion and growing resentment of outside influences (in Tanzania). This put them in a difficult position... (especially the ones) who were constantly confronted with friendly hostility and intellectual blankness.

Another Dutch tutor said that he thought the more sophisticated students liked the "liberal American treatment," but in class some took advantage of the TEEAs. "They might have been less utopian, and not quite so impressed with what they were going to do. Their expectations were too high and sometimes they fell very low." The same tutor added, "I was pushed (by the Americans) in my own teaching. I remember vividly using more visual aids -- maps, charts, illustrations -- in African history." He said an interesting thing about them was that they acted the same way both inside and outside the classroom. A third Dutchman remarked, "The Americans were able to put ideas into Father X's head which influenced his own philosophy. Perhaps some never realized that he did use the ideas of others in formulating his programs."

Another veteran expatriate had pertinent comments to make about the TEEA Program:

Your M.A. requirement had absolutely nothing to do with effectiveness in Africa. Only wazungu (whites/Europeans) with originality and depth of interest are able to get

through to the students. Instead of requiring five years of teaching experience, you should have rejected anyone with more than seven years. Some of the older TEEAs were hopeless.

The old colonial system was based on the premise that people can't really think for themselves. Teachers must be told exactly what to teach. The Africans who inherited this system know no other way, and because of this, they are afraid of any kind of change. We can only hope to reach a few, usually younger ones, whose minds are still open.

By mid-1971 all the staff at Morogoro were Tanzanian citizens except for one black American wife of a citizen, and three North Koreans. In spite of its active role in promoting national educational development, the college suffered from the same kinds of afflictions which beset lesser institutions. In speaking of antiquated methods of teaching, the principal mentioned another priest who ... "is teaching Foundations of Education from the same book I used in the seminary 30 years ago." Discussing the value of primary teaching experience, the deputy principal spoke disparagingly of immature new tutors who were recent graduates of the University of Dar es Salaam, and who had ... "neither experience nor high academic standards nor the right attitude." The principal added that a poorly trained Tanzanian could do more harm than a merely ineffective expatriate. An African priest regretted that the teachers' course in a Grade A college was so short. Five months of national service, teaching practice in distant schools, late starts to terms, holidays, etc., reduced a two year program to barely one year at college. In commenting on any impact TEEAs might have, a former tutor, now principal of his own college, wrote that "...there would be lasting effects if their African counterparts were left in the college, but

they have been dispersed so much that there is hardly a member left." An Asian tutor of English lamented the absence of native English speakers. "Today the standard of English teaching is not very good. Practically all British tutors have gone. Formerly we could consult with British as well as Americans. Now all that are left are some Scandanavian teachers of English in secondary schools." The people at Morogoro had been learning the practical difficulties of living with self reliance and sacrifice for the social goals of Tanzania.

* * * * *

Mpwapwa College of National Education is undoubtedly more typical of Tanzanian Grade A colleges than is Morogoro. The town of Mpwapwa is an authentic up country station, located 150 miles by dirt road inland from Morogoro and 75 miles by equally rough road from the regional center of Dodoma. It has a busy open market, numerous small dukas (shops) and one larger Asian-owned store which catered for Europeans, police station, district hospital, sports club, and no hotel but a government rest house at the nearby agricultural research station. Mpwapwa is in the arid central part of Tanzania, a land of hot plains and rocky hills. It has not been the easiest place for expatriate families to live, and during certain periods of the mid-1960s, it was the scene of political unrest.

Mpwapwa College and a secondary boarding school comprise a small educational complex in this isolated community. The college is a government institution, with no religious background, which was founded in 1926 as a training center for the equivalent of Grade C primary school teachers.

⁴"Historia Fupi Ya Chuo Cha Ualimu Mpwapwa," Moto Moto, Mpwapwa Teachers' College Magazine, December, 1968, No. 8, p. 17.

During the 1950s it began admitting students with secondary schooling, and in 1958 the college became co-educational. By 1964 when the first TEEA tutor arrived, Mpwapwa had 230 students, all Grade A level or upgraders, and about 40 of whom were women. Over the next six years the enrollment grew to almost 500, and in 1970 Grade C students were again admitted in addition to the Grade As. The scattered yellow brick and red tile buildings of the compound were becoming increasingly crowded during this expansion. In 1967 new dormitories and a dining hall were built, and in 1970 an assembly hall and more classrooms were added.

Unlike the valuable and unique continuity of leadership at Morogoro, Mpwapwa College had six different principals and acting principals during its six-year association with TEEA. The first in 1964 was British, the rest were Tanzanians. The most recent Tanzanian, the principal interviewed in July 1971, was transferred to Dar es Salaam in August. The major changeover in staff came in 1970. At the beginning of that year there were 18 Tanzanian and eight expatriate tutors. The latter group included British, Canadians, one Dane, one German, and the last American TEEA. By the end of the year only the Danish tutor remained, and he left the following February. When this writer visited Mpwapwa there were 30 members of staff and all of them were Tanzanians.

Of five TEEAs who served at the college, one man was there for only one term before being transferred. A second American, a single, middle-aged woman, had her contract terminated by the Tanzanian government in a dispute over health problems, unauthorized leave and travel. She had been at Mpwapwa for less than nine months when she left abruptly during term time to consult with her own doctor who happened to be

visiting Ethiopia. Her principal and a ministry of education officer had, she claimed, given her permission to go. She was away for about three weeks, and ministry officials were upset by what they considered to be irresponsible behavior and "gross neglect of duty." They said she had been absent without leave and had left her classes unattended. Testimony was confusing and conflicting about what had actually happened, but the local government had ultimate authority and terminated her services.

The other three TEEAs were men with families (the first had four children) who, from most reports, settled well into the college and the rural community. Each served tours of 21-24 months,⁵ and taught the same subjects of history and geography. Although they provided continuity by following one after the other, there was no overlap between the departing and the incoming tutor. The third TEEA did have the opportunity of working together with a Tanzanian counterpart, a bright but inexperienced young geography tutor who spoke enthusiastically of the American's guidance. But in spite of the good example, tutor PC's schemes for teaching improved methods of agriculture were discontinued. "PC tested soils with the students," said the geographer. "I haven't done this because I am not familiar with the method. He hoped I would continue teaching agriculture, but it is not easy when the apparatus is not adequate. Now we have a special tutor in agriculture, but I haven't discussed this with him."

⁵TEEA tutors were on standard two year government contracts, which in Tanzania could mean as little as 21 months on the job.

Tutor WS was the first history/geography man at Mpwapwa. He had experience working with student teachers in America. WS was described as a "first class teacher" who used many visual aids in class, and spent lots of time making teaching aids with the students. The former deputy principal said he was very interested in local history, and taught his classes to collect information about the area. "They even went to look at old mission records in Dodoma." WS built a weather station with "...a windvane, a rain gauge made from a bottle and instruments borrowed from the meteorological department." The next TEEA carried on the weather station, but sometime after that it fell into disuse. "Now it is finished," said a veteran local tutor, and there lay the forlorn remains, a patch of broken concrete overgrown with weeds and some scraps of wood. WS's family became part of the community, taking part in church activities and attending social affairs such as dances and Indian festivals. His wife joined the mothers' union, and two of his sons went to the local Aga Khan school. "In a small place like Mpwapwa," said an ex-principal, "everyone knew them and they got on very well in town and at the college."

Tutor RS, the second TEEA, was said to be very active in extra-curricular activities and in organizing field trips to historical places. "He even climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro with his students," remarked one tutor. "RS started a photo club and a geography club," said another Tanzanian, "and that photo club is still going on." He managed to get government funds to buy a chick brooder for the college farm, but unfortunately it was "now out of order" and there was also a shortage of chicken feed. His children attended Mpwapwa primary schools, and the family was reported

to have "...mixed well and learned fluent Swahili." A colleague said that RS worked with students on Ujaama projects, clearing land and planting crops. On the other hand, one of his former students said that RS did not take much part in the nation-building program. "The principal and African tutors directed these activities. Europeans did little outside classes. RS went home early from college to be with his family."

PC, the third history/geography tutor, was described as extremely energetic and involved in a variety of activities. He taught games -- basketball, volleyball and girls' netball -- which were popular with the students. "The basketball team still plays and wins games," said a primary teacher in the affiliated school. "I often saw him on field studies with his students," stated a former colleague. "He did not just depend on books." A Tanzanian history tutor said that classes still did outdoor studies, but that "...today it is difficult to make excursions because the college has only one Lorry." Another tutor said that PC always volunteered for work at the Ujaama village, and supervised the teaching of the primary school children. "He tried hard to learn Swahili, but I'm afraid that he did not speak very well." Working with a Canadian colleague, PC combined the teaching of history and geography into a social studies course. "It has not been easy to continue this because the present tutors are too specialized," explained a staff member, and the combined course did not survive. PC was called active and outspoken in staff meetings... "critical in a good spirit" ...but he was "always willing to listen to others." He served at Mpwawa

during an exciting period when earnest efforts were being made to implement self-reliance, and he seemed to have easily done his share.

PC went on block teaching practice for three weeks with one other tutor. "We cooked our own food and shared all our meals together," remembered the Tanzanian. "There were no comfortable places to stay - we were way out in the bush - but he liked the rural areas too much. We became good friends during that time." Another African said, "We don't have problems with Americans like PC. They join in with us, go right to our villages and eat our food. This is not true of other Europeans." However, the principal recalled that on PC's last teaching practice around Dodoma, he had done very little supervision because he had been busy with personal affairs.

"I could call PC an easy-going chap with students," said the deputy principal. "Here in Tanzania we are more strict with them. But he maintained good discipline and they liked him." Three of his former students, now teachers in the affiliated school, confirmed his popularity. "He was very cooperative with us, always ready to help, a social man. He spoke simple English and we understood him easily. Students used to copy his style of dress -- colored shirts, strange shorts and sun glasses -- and his way of speaking. All of us said he was a good teacher."

The three history/geography TEEAs had supplied many books and other instructional materials to the college library. Three Tanzanians mentioned how useful the books were in their own teaching. RS had provided photographic equipment which was still in use, and PC an overhead projector and transparencies which he taught other tutors to use. "The

other geography tutor would not bother with it," said the young Tanzanian who had worked with PG. "He said the students would not have these machines in their primary schools." The same young man continued:

The overhead is a very handy machine. I had been using it until last May when the lamp was broken. We ordered a new one from Dar es Salaam, but they said it had to come from USA. We did buy a bulb, but it was the wrong size. There is no technician here who can fix these things. I would like to continue using the overhead if it could be repaired.

At Mgwapwa the principal and members of his staff stressed that all tutors must understand the Tanzanian philosophy of education, and that it was essential for expatriates also to appreciate the doctrines of Tanzanian socialism. The principal spoke of changes in TTC staffs:

Before (African) tutors were big men in ivory towers, mostly trained by expatriates. They had elite feelings, colonial feelings. Now they must provide leadership for what this country is trying to achieve. They must express the right attitudes and set an example for their students. I am always asking tutors, do they have faith in what they preach? It is like teaching religion.

Outwardly, there were definite signs of the new philosophy in action at Mgwapwa. This writer arrived at the college on a Saturday during the middle of term, and there were no students to be seen. The first year class was away from the college doing its five months of national service, and the second year students were all spending the day working at a nearby Ujaama village.

One of the problems discussed at Mgwapwa was that of language. One Tanzanian emphasized that not knowing Swahili had been the greatest handicap for new tutors. Others said that teaching was both easier and better now that it was being done mainly in Swahili, with English as

the subsidiary language of instruction. On the other hand, the principal and one Tanzanian in particular spoke of the decline in comprehension and use of English at all levels of education. "Some people are complaining that the standard of English has fallen in secondary schools and even at the university," said the principal. "The Danish tutor (the last expatriate at Mwapwa) had to teach English and it was a bit difficult and embarrassing for him." The Tanzanian tutor, who taught English himself, spoke with high praise and a touch of nostalgia about two TEEAs who had been at other colleges:

DS and JS helped to develop the new English syllabus and write course books and teachers' guides. I worked with them on the English panel, and we were such good friends. JS came to stay with us here on holiday, and I visited DS several times in Korogwe and Dar. They both knew so much about teaching English and worked very hard. We don't have English tutors like them any more.

One Tanzanian asked why the TEEA program had ended and then commented, "We still need these people to teach technical subjects like science, maths and agriculture." Other Mwapwa tutors were in general agreement that the right kind of experience was more essential for teacher training than academic qualifications. "Practical skills are needed at this level of teaching," said a Canadian former tutor. "Ironically, the system pays far too much attention to paper qualifications, and the ministry does not recognize the value of some of its best people who don't have degrees." In speaking of any lasting effects which TEEA has had, two or three Tanzanians mentioned games, with softball and basketball still being played by students.

The picture which emerged at Mwapwa College was one of three able and conscientious Americans who had left a favorable impression but little in the way of long-range influence upon the life of the college. After a period of experimentation with out-of-class activities, local field trips had become rare. An American-type social studies course had reverted to more traditional classroom lecture methods, with history and geography again being taught as separate subjects. Various agricultural improvement schemes had disappeared from the compound. Mwapwa had changed, certainly, but most TEEA innovations had not been accepted as contributions to the process of education for self-reliance.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Teacher Education in East Africa program did play an important, perhaps even a critical, role in the preparation of teachers between 1964 and 1971. However, it was not primarily as educational innovators that the Americans made their contribution, but as ordinary members of staff helping to do the multitude of jobs which needed to be done in the colleges. Whatever were the hopes of distant planners, the realities of East African education shaped the dimensions of the program and limited the achievements of the tutors. Ministry of education officials and hard-pressed college principals welcomed the TEEAs mainly to alleviate serious and continuous shortages of staff. Other results of their being at the TTCs were outgrowths of this most urgent purpose.

In time the more imaginative and more fortunately placed tutors did introduce changes in the teaching programs or the daily activities of their colleges, and some of these changes were continued by their colleagues after the departure of the Americans. Those who were most effective in bringing about change did so after first becoming successful participants in the existing system. They were the ones who waited at first and then moved carefully, who listened to others and observed what they did and asked a lot of questions, who demonstrated their own skills before trying to influence others. They were patient and cheerful and not easily

discouraged. They learned as much as they could about a situation and the reasons why a particular thing was done the way it was, before suggesting changes. And they were always careful to observe the rules, follow correct procedures and keep the principal informed.

An essential factor in gaining acceptance for innovation was getting the backing of other tutors, and preferably not just of other expatriates. The art of tactful persuasion and the ability to demonstrate the value of an idea to others were more important qualities for TEEAs to have than were curriculum development skills as such, since there was ample evidence to show that changes which were introduced without the involvement or at least the interest of one's colleagues lasted only as long as their sponsors remained. The abandoned weather station at Mpwapwa, the futile efforts to make greater use of the model school at Kagumo, and the special upgrading course for village primary teachers at Kinyamasika which never really ended but just faded away, were examples of projects which died from lack of local support. "People must understand the reason for change," observed a Kenyan tutor. "Expatriate ideas need the support of Africans."

Even when African tutors knew about an American effort and were enthusiastic about carrying it on, there was the critical matter of finances which might prevent continuation. College budgets allowed little extra for travel and materials. American tutors had money, and frequently were willing to spend their own for TTC-related activities. Their successors simply could not afford to do this. Tanzanian tutors of history and geography approved of the field trips their TEEA predecessors had taken students on, but they had neither automobiles nor funds

to pay for the same. The wildlife project at Kisii became defunct not through any lack of college enthusiasm, but because it was dependent on extra personnel and outside resources which never materialized. Supplies for the fine arts program at Canon Lawrence, and the cost of art exhibitions, were paid for out of the pockets of TEEA tutors.

The attitude of the college principal, and the degree of firmness in which traditional ways were entrenched, were key elements in the acceptance or rejection of new ideas. A case could be made that the quality of leadership provided by the principal was the single most vital factor in the tutor's experience because so much else stemmed from this. At Kisii both the founding principal and his African successor quite clearly provided the setting and the support for the considerable achievements of the TEEAs. Without this kind of leadership the same tutors might have suffered the frustrations and disappointments of some of their colleagues. At one of the Uganda colleges a change in the administration opened wide vistas of new opportunity in the eyes of some members of staff. On the other hand, more conservative leadership coupled with a reluctance on the part of senior staff to tamper with the existing order, could make solidly supported changes no more than temporary gains. The new course of study at Kagumo, introduced by Canadians and backed by other tutors, lasted only one year before staff pressure forced a return to the old curriculum. A strongly traditional environment proved more than able to withstand or nullify alien pressures.

However, by the time TEEA ended there was an atmosphere of greater receptivity to new ideas at some TTCs, and this was in part a result of the program. At both the Uganda colleges the Americans added an energetic

and stimulating element to what had been a rather limited and parochial environment, and most of the present staff members said that there was now more openness and greater flexibility in college life. While there had been little change at the more traditional Kenya college, the other had become fertile ground for innovation. Here similar-thinking principal and tutors seemed to have spurred each other on in bold new directions. In Tanzania the TEEAs did not help to create the new educational climate, but some of them were able to benefit from it. At Morogoro, the college which led the others in setting national standards, a paradoxical situation developed. While certain TEEAs were restricted and inhibited by political events so that their contributions were reduced to just teaching their classes, others were able to make a truly national impact by preparing educational materials which were used throughout the country. The college at Mpwapa, while not enjoying the same potential for dissemination of ideas, did also provide a testing ground for implementing proposals on nation-building.

The contributions of tutors were made by them as individuals, not as a group, since there is no evidence of a cumulative American influence on any aspect of the teacher training process. At the colleges the TEEAs were viewed as education officers, like any others, and not as a group of expatriate experts. Their collective opinions were sought by neither principal nor ministry because this was not their function. As an American who had worked in science education for five years in Tanzania observed, "No foreign program can expect to change an African system, but attitudes of individuals within a system can be changed. If enough people can be converted to a new approach to learning, they are the ones who will make the changes. The problem is how to really convert them."

TEEA tutors frequently developed close personal and social relationships with their colleagues. This is one of the most persistent themes running through the interview data. Personal contacts often involved families, wives played major roles in getting to know African and Asian families, and the variety of leisure time associations ranged from repairing college farm machinery together to playing chamber music. Where contacts were strong there was much visiting back and forth in homes, and some of the Americans ate local food, went out to the villages to see families and generally behaved in a manner quite different from that of the older expatriates. The same tutors opened their homes to the students which was also unusual behavior. The TEEAs were, by and large, friendly Americans, and many of their colleagues spoke of social relationships with them with warmth and genuine feeling.

However, the TEEA tutors had little opportunity, and probably less inclination, to try to exert professional influence on their colleagues. Their role was to teach, not to advise teachers, and they had few chances to demonstrate their methods to others. The staff meeting was the only forum for the discussion of ideas, and it was usually devoted to more mundane matters. Normally there was no coordination between the teaching of different subjects. Each tutor and his classes were a separate entity, and there was neither participation nor interference from anyone else. Even the principal, with his highly centralized leadership and control, only observed a tutor's classes or offered advice in times of crisis. Teaching practice usually provided the only opportunities for two or more tutors to work together with students. But in spite of limited official

interaction between tutors, ideas and attitudes undoubtedly spread both ways from personal associations.

Occasionally an American tutor did have the opportunity to work directly with an African appointed as his replacement in the same teaching field. Given staff shortages and the rate of turnover, this happened infrequently, but when it did, the TEEA had an unprecedented period of time to influence his successor and to establish some continuity in teaching. Even when tutors overlapped there was, of course, no assurance that the new person would carry on any of the projects or methods initiated by the other. But interviews indicated that there was considerable carry over and adoption of ideas, and at the very least, the African tutor was given a clear indication of what had been taught and was able to make a well informed choice about his own program.

With master's degrees in education and a minimum of five years of teaching experience, the TEEA tutors brought a high level of professional preparation to their colleges. In many instances they were the most highly qualified members of staff. However, their academic credentials were tempered by their lack of East African experience, especially pertaining to the realities of primary teaching. In addition, a number of the Americans had taught only in secondary schools, and had neither primary nor teacher training experience at home or abroad. Asked to choose between the importance of relevant teaching experience or professional qualifications, a majority of the TEEA colleagues stressed how essential experience was for primary teacher training.

"A tutor in a primary college must have taught in primary school himself in order to do his job properly," was the emphatic opinion of a Kenyan tutor at Kagumo. Others felt that elementary school experience in the States made adjustment both easier and quicker so that new tutors could soon be doing their best work. They pointed out that secondary people were more subject-oriented, and that sometimes TEEAs were over-qualified or over-specialized for the broad needs of the TTC and found it difficult to bring themselves down to the primary level. Several colleagues stressed that experience by itself was not enough, that it must be the right kind of experience, preferably gained in rural or boarding schools. In three cases, wives of TEEAs who had taught at the same colleges on local terms were pointedly described as having been more successful than their husbands. In each instance, the wife was an experienced elementary teacher, while the husband had taught at high school or higher level. There was a certain feeling that TEEA academic requirements had been unnecessarily high, with a wrong emphasis, and there may also have been an element of resentment, on the part of some, toward the Americans with their post-graduate degrees.

A minority view was expressed by certain colleagues, mainly older expatriates and Asian tutors, and this was the vital importance of academic qualifications in maintaining standards in the colleges. They pointed out how weak many of the students were in subject matter, how much they had to learn above and beyond teaching methods, and how the students objected to being taught by tutors whose qualifications were not far above their own. These tutors and principals usually coupled their defense of standards with the explanation that time and experience were needed to gain real

understanding of the students. As one Kenyan observed, a tutor with experience alone may know what is wrong but not what to do about it.

Certain kinds of adjustments were made more easily than others by newly arrived American tutors. Different accents, use of slang, speed of speech were minor language problems which could be overcome in time; a more basic difficulty was mutual misunderstanding, perhaps never clarified, between students and tutors because of the students' limited English. People who knew vernacular languages said that at times the Americans missed important signals and subtleties within the student body, and remained forever unaware of certain meanings because of the language barrier. During teaching practice the lack of vernacular was a particularly serious handicap. In Tanzania a knowledge of Swahili became essential as this language was being adopted as the medium of instruction in the colleges.

TEEA tutors were usually pleasantly surprised by the comfortable houses, spacious gardens and generally high quality of staff living on the college compounds. They quickly found the way of life congenial, but adjusting their teaching to the limited background and lack of sophistication of their students was a more complex matter. They often came to East Africa with high ideals and unrealistic expectations ("Did they really hope to change the world in just two years?" wondered a bemused Englishwoman), and they suffered disappointment and frustration when their aims were not achieved. They had to wait patiently and "unlearn" some of their previous experience and proceed at a whole new pace. The result could be a reaction against things African, and the substitution, at least temporarily,

of resignation and indifference for their idealism. More than one of the ultimately most productive TEEAs went through early periods of reaction like this before learning how to make the best of the existing situation and going on to real satisfaction and accomplishment.

One of the features of the TEAA contract was the provision of funds to each tutor for the purchase of books, audio visual aids or other instructional materials for his college.¹ Libraries were expanded; recent editions of text and reference books, often copiously illustrated, were added to old and meager stocks; kits of teaching materials, particularly in English and science, were supplied; science laboratories were given precious equipment. This kind of aid was practical and widely appreciated. A number of the tutors used their money to buy sophisticated electronic instructional materials, and this type of equipment, while useful to the TEEAs themselves and to certain of their colleagues, did not have the hoped-for widespread and lasting effect. TTCs had neither the personnel nor the funds to make continuing use of these machines. The writer found them gathering dust in storerooms, immobilized by lack of replacement parts, particularly expensive bulbs. The young woman tutor in Uganda was probably typical of many when she explained that ... "I was taught how to use the overhead projector¹, but I have not started yet." If the contract would have permitted, the money would have been better spent for the purchase of local materials for the preparation of improvised teaching kits.

¹Contract Between The United States of America and Teachers College, Columbia University, Contract No. AID/afr-420, Appendix B-Operational Plan, June 1966, p. B-5.

The recruitment and selection of TEEA tutors in the United States was a process developed and refined by people at Teachers College, Columbia University over a period of years. They realized that above all other considerations, a tutor's performance and degree of success or failure were shaped by elusive personal qualities in himself. They were looking for that rare individual who combined teaching expertise with an ability to create the kind of congenial atmosphere in which he could do his best work, while at the same time appreciating and making every effort to understand his surroundings. The job of the selectors was to identify such a person, while program administrators cooperated with local authorities to try to make the best use of his talents. The interview data points to certain criteria and cautions which might be followed in a future program of this kind.

Solid elementary school classroom experience should take precedence over other professional qualifications. Post graduate degrees in education and other types of experience should be secondary to this major consideration.

Previous overseas teaching experience by itself is not necessarily an advantage. The only TEEA at any of the six colleges who left a thoroughly negative impression with his principal, his colleagues and most of his students interviewed, had taught before at a West African school.

The isolated up-country TTC can be a lonely and difficult place for an older single woman, especially if her colleagues are mostly married, young bachelors or members of a religious order. The evidence from these six colleges suggests that single women at rural posts

represent both higher risk and the greatest potential success. At the two Uganda colleges principals and colleagues clearly identified three women as among the top four American tutors, and other women here and elsewhere were ranked with the best. On the other hand, only two tutors encountered personal problems serious enough to culminate in transfer or early termination of contract, and both of them were single women. Future assignments of female tutors should be done with the help of experienced women, instead of as an all-male exercise.

Special care should also be taken in the selection and posting of families with older children. Schooling was a real problem since most Americans do not like to send their children to boarding schools. College compounds could become lonely and boring places if there were no other youngsters of the same age. Adolescence would seem to be the most precarious age for uprooting American children from familiar surroundings and transplanting them into a different environment. Young children, however, appeared to thrive in the fresh air and sunshine of the compound, and were often the catalysts who brought African and American families together.

In addition to the kind of special circumstances mentioned above, every stage of selection, orientation and assignment of tutors should be a cooperative venture between Americans and Africans. Knowledgeable Africans should be available to help in interviewing candidates, and a portion of the tutors' orientation should be conducted by Africans in a rural area of the country where they will teach. Especially for Tanzania, it is essential that newcomers be prepared for their assignments by people who clearly understand and are in agreement with the national philosophy.

Most educational problems in East Africa do not lend themselves to easy solutions, but in two areas of dealing with expatriates African authorities could make relatively simple and painless improvements. Most importantly, ministry officials could assure that TEEA types were sent to serve under their most enlightened and dynamic principals. This would require nothing more than advance planning, and might result in impressive benefits. Another way would be to improve communications between the ministry and the TTCs, so that people would know what others were doing and might be able to help. This would also alleviate such problems as tutors arriving unexpected at their posts, and coming to teach subjects which were already being taught by others. Poor communications are not, of course, confined to educational circles, and are a problem of very wide magnitude, but even slight improvements would make a real difference to the lives of tutors.

The TEEA tutors served standard two year government contracts, and this relatively short time on the job limited their effectiveness. Every principal and former principal interviewed made the point that two years is not long enough for a person to learn and do his best work. The many benefits of extended or multiple tours by valuable tutors were frequently mentioned. It is a widely expressed belief that an expatriate, or indeed any new teacher, needs up to a full year to settle into a TTC and begin making his maximum contribution. Then as he becomes increasingly effective, it is time to begin preparations for departure. As one principal pointed out during both the first and the last six months of a tour, a tutor is preoccupied by adjustments and personal affairs, and it is only during the middle year that he is free to concentrate on

his work. Holiday and examination periods, term delays, ministry decrees, and acts of God which are frequent in East Africa, will further reduce his classroom time. A Kenyan tutor remarked, "They never see the end of what they start. Just when something is working properly, off they go."

At the end of two years the more perceptive tutors realize how much there is to learn of cultural differences and language and genuine understanding of the students.² Although a number of TEEAs served second and even third contracts, at five of the six colleges visited none stayed longer than a 27 month single tour. Ironically, during the last two years of the program several tutors in Kenya and Uganda wanted to return for additional two year contracts, but they were not allowed to do so because TEEA was ending and they would not have time to complete standard tours of service.

The Americans were not the only ones to come and go in the colleges. The turnover among all staff, at certain periods particularly among the younger Africans, caused one of the most severe problems faced by every principal. Not only did this turnover diminish the likelihood of the TEEAs influencing their colleagues, but it gave little opportunity for professional relationships of any kind to develop. Europeans went on home leave or left the country permanently. Africans were posted by the ministry to other colleges, the inspectorate or institutes of education, or left for further education themselves. Often it would seem

²Between tours would be the best time for holding short, intensive cross cultural workshops, at each college with local participants, but this would be an impractical time for everyone concerned.

that the only stable element in the TTC was the student body. They were the only people who were not continually on the move, and even their time was brief. Although some of the students did a four year course, many who had been to secondary school (and Kenya P-3s with only primary schooling) were at the training college for just two years.

The termination of the TEEA program while the need for expatriate tutors was still great, caused widespread disappointment in East Africa. Almost without exception, principals and African tutors in Uganda and Kenya asked why a successful program was ended while the task remained unfinished. A few added, more pointedly, while other less useful programs were carried on. A British tutor of long service summed up this feeling, "They provided a marvelous, refreshing shot in the arm to the crusty old missionary colleges, but then they dropped out so suddenly and there were no Ugandans to replace them." Even in self reliant Tanzania, tutors and primary school teachers expressed regret, saying that good expatriates were still needed very much, especially as native English speakers, and to teach subjects like science and math.

European tutors, particularly the British, tended to view the TEEAs as birds of passage who arrived on short notice, engaged in a vigorous flurry of activity and then disappeared. They came glowing with enthusiasm and expecting results, and when things did not go as swiftly or as well as hoped for, they became discouraged. What these Europeans considered to be the abrupt termination of TEEA reinforced this viewpoint. The Americans with their self-imposed deadlines simply did not have enough patience or perserverance to finish the job. The

Europeans saw themselves as better prepared and more dependable for what had to be done for the long run.

After TEEA the colleges continued to cope with shortages of staff, as they always had done, but an opportunity had been lost. It was ironic that while the Americans were departing, certain TTCs had gained the kind of confident and experienced leadership which encouraged and supported real innovation. The TEEA change agents had perhaps come too early, and were certainly leaving too soon.

TEEA tutors probably left their strongest impressions and their most lasting impact on individual students. Their examples of good teaching, their professional attitudes and commitment to teaching, and the demonstration of their own human values were points that were emphasized by former students. The best TEEAs were "social" and approachable, their homes were open and their time was available to students. They made real efforts to know their students as individuals, and their interest and informality was combined with a genuine curiosity about East African life. They were willing to spend a great deal of extra time both in and out of the classroom, to tutor students in the evenings and on weekends, to keep libraries open longer hours, to not only sponsor existing clubs and societies but to start new ones. A willingness to work long and hard does not guarantee success if skills are inadequate, just as a wealth of American teaching experience will not compensate for a lack of understanding of a local situation. But the best-remembered accomplishments were invariably the result of the commitment of extra hours. The residential life of the primary TTC demands full time participation -- evenings, weekends, part of vacation periods -- if one aspires

to leave behind more than the fleeting memory of a "safari tutor."

Primary school teachers explained that they had always welcomed American tutors because they were known as hard workers and were always there to help. Since these impressions were strong among the random sampling of teachers interviewed, it can be inferred that similar feelings would be expressed throughout East Africa among the many thousands whom the TEEAs had taught. In general, expatriate tutors gave modest and rather pessimistic assessments of long-range impact which they thought the program would have. They did not believe that American influence would last very long after the TEEAs had gone. While admitting benefits to individuals, they spoke of frustration and disappointment in plans which failed or never even started, of unrealistic expectations, of how slowly things moved, and the amount of resistance to new ideas from those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. They tended to agree with the Canadian tutor who said, "This college will not and cannot be changed by outsiders." On the other hand, a number of African tutors and primary teachers and several principals of varied nationalities stressed continuing benefits from work TEEAs had done. These people might have been too generous in their estimates, but they also might have been showing evidence of a wider perspective. Expatriates may be inclined to compare limited and isolated gains against the broad scope of what they know still needs to be done, and as a result, feel that little progress has been made. However, Africans may consider the sweeping changes which have already taken place in a very short time among the educated segment of the population, and give credit to external forces like TEEA for laying the

groundwork for these changes. Thus they would see the long-range impact as nebulous and hard to identify, but as real nevertheless. Another factor which Africans might understand more clearly than short-term expatriates was the effect of delayed reactions. Proposals might be rejected or ignored at one time, only to be picked up at a later date and put into action, with or without credit to the originator, by another person. That this had, in fact, happened was mentioned by more than one local tutor.

Teacher Education in East Africa was a realistic and down-to-earth program which provided the kind of manpower the Africans wanted and needed. It placed tutors on the staffs of TTCs where the action was, and allowed them to do their work without much help, but also without interference. It was a human program, concerned with people, and perhaps for this reason more successful than most technical assistance projects. Most of the tutors did a creditable job of teaching and for this they will be remembered. However, TEEA itself did not change the process of teacher training in East Africa. The thrust of real change, here as elsewhere in the developing world, must come from local people themselves. Until both the centralized core of the system (ministries of education) and the local leadership (college principals) reach general agreement as to the necessity and acceptability and objectives of change, it is unrealistic to expect individual tutors of whatever nationality to have more than a scattered and strictly limited impact. Although the educational establishment in Kenya and Uganda became Africanized, the traditional philosophy underlying education and the basic structure of institutions in these countries remained essentially unchanged during

the life of TEEA. The leadership has dealt piecemeal with problems, and has never defined what the methods and goals of an indigenous system should be. In Tanzania self reliance in education today means exactly what it says. But as the last expatriates left the teachers colleges it was unclear how the new Tanzanian model would look, and the only certainty was the long and difficult road which lay ahead.

If a future program to provide specialists at the teacher training college level is meant to do more than fill vacant staff positions, there would have to be clear decisions between ministry and donor as to what the people might be expected to accomplish, what kind of support they would receive, and how far they would be permitted to go. Bold improvements in the education of teachers could make the educational systems more responsive to the needs of the people during the second decade of independence. Expatriates like TEEA tutors could play a useful role in this, but it would have to be a role within an on-going African process, carefully defined and vigorously implemented.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE: TUTORS

Name of college

Name of tutor

Nationality

Educational background

Date joined college

Previous experience at other college(s)

Subject(s) taught

Two kinds of questions/Your opinions

1. About teacher training and TTCs
2. About American TEEA tutors

Part I

1. How would you describe most important duty of a tutor
2. What skills and experience should successful tutor have
3. Is there one skill more important than others
4. What is greatest difficulty new tutors have
5. Are there any special requirements that expatriate tutors should have
6. Which is more important for TTC: previous teaching experience or academic qualifications
7. What is most valuable contribution that tutor can make to college

Part II

1. Which TEEA tutors served on staff with you
2. Were these American different (professionally) from other tutors
For example -- ideas about teacher training
ways (methods) of teaching
3. Do you think they were well prepared to teach at _____ (college)
4. Do you think they got on well with their students
5. Did any TEEAs start new activities at college (Consult TEEA innovations)
Examples: games/societies
use of dem. school
use of library
courses/ syllabus/ schemes of work
6. Did they use new methods of teaching which were of interest to you
teaching practice
in-service/upgrading courses
7. Did they bring a/v aids or books or make apparatus which you use
8. Will there be lasting effects

Individual TEEA tutors

1. Were there any TEEAs you knew particularly well
2. Did you spend time together outside teaching hours
Visit each other's homes
3. Did you work together on teaching practice/upgrading courses away
from college
4. Did you exchange ideas about teaching/college
5. Do you think he had trouble becoming accustomed to teaching in
_____ (country)
6. Do you feel you knew him as friend as well as colleague

INTERVIEW GUIDE: PRINCIPALS

Personal data and Part I questions same as on Interview Guide: Tutors

Part II

1. Which TEEAs have served on your staff
2. Was this your first association with American teachers
3. Were they well-prepared to teach at _____ (college)
Easy/difficult to adjust?
4. Do you think they got on well with their students
5. As you look back, how did their work compare with what you had expected
6. How would you say their work compared with that of other tutors
7. Is there any one TEEA who has been especially valuable member of staff
Can you explain why
8. Contributions of other TEEAs
9. Have any of their ideas spread to other colleges
10. Will these be common practice in five years time
11. What lasting effects (if any) will TEEAs have

APPENDIX B

COLLEGE REPORT, 1964/65--1971

Tutor/Principal interviewed

Name of college

Grade level

Written reports, circulars, publications, etc.

	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1971</u>
1. Composition of staff		
Qualifications		
Africanization		
2. Students		
Enrollment		
Preparation		
Examinations		
3. Syllabus/course content		
4. Facilities		
Classrooms		
Laboratory		
Library		
Dormitories		
Capital expenditures/ Recurrent costs		
5. Teaching aids/equipment		

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