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Women's Access to Secondary Education in Colonial and Postcolonial Tanzania and Rwanda

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO SECONDARY EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL
TANZANIA AND RWANDA

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BY

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Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.
-Nelson Mandela

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ABSTRACT

This paper will examine how the politics of colonialism and independence during the twentieth century, as well as the culture of each country, have created and limited secondary educational opportunities for women in Tanzania and in Rwanda. I will argue that the English and Belgian colonizers' goals of the education systems in colonial Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi – how much education they thought was appropriate for women to have and their overarching goals in creating the education systems in the colonies – shaped the place of women within Tanzania and Rwanda today. I will argue that English and Belgian colonizers imposed a western, Christian, patriarchal social organization upon native African societies and used schooling as a tool to shape the place of women within these societies, leading to the second-class citizenship of and lack of access to educational opportunities faced by women in contemporary Tanzania and Rwanda.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the past century, the native inhabitants of the lands that compose the present-day nations of Tanzania and Rwanda have been governed by multiple entities, each with their own policies related to the education of women: autonomous tribal communities, the Germans, the British and the Belgians, and evolving postcolonial independent governments. In this paper, I examine the ways in which the colonial governments of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi determined the role of women within their societies through the amount of education each government made available to girls. I will look at educational policy in Tanzania and Rwanda during three time periods: the colonial era, the immediate postcolonial era, and the present day. As I examine educational policy during each period, I will answer the following questions: *What did the government view as the appropriate role(s) for women within that society? How did the government's educational policy mold women to fit that role? How did this educational policy impact women's positions within their societies in the future?* After examining educational policy during each period, I will conclude by looking at the ways in which the present-day education systems in Tanzania and Rwanda departs from their colonial influences, and the ways in which the European colonizers' views about the appropriate role of women and the development of educational systems to mold women to fit those roles

persevered into the modern postcolonial era. Despite the fact that Tanzania and Rwanda have had different colonial and postcolonial histories, and despite vast social and political differences that persist to this day, women in both countries face many of the same barriers to educational attainment. The various social roles that have been viewed as appropriate for women in Tanzania and Rwanda—first by the colonial administrations, and then by the Tanzanian and Rwandese governments themselves—have shaped the place of women within the education systems and have created two systems in which a postsecondary or even a secondary-level diploma is viewed as largely irrelevant and unnecessary for the average young woman to possess.

In order to understand why this is the case, it is necessary to first explore the colonial and postcolonial histories of Tanzania and Rwanda: to understand ways in which the colonizers imposed their cultural beliefs about women's place in society upon the native Africans, to explore the goals of the colonizers in creating the education systems, and to understand the goals of the post-independence Tanzanian and Rwandan governments with regards to women and education.

To this day, issues related to widespread cultural misogyny prevent many young women in both nations from being able to attain a secondary-level diploma. In this paper, I will argue that problems of access to education for women in contemporary Tanzania and Rwanda are the result of the ways in which women's roles in each society were viewed, first by the English and Belgian colonizers and then by the Tanzanian and Rwandan governments themselves. In particular, I argue

that notions of female inferiority were introduced to and engrained within Tanzanian and Rwandese society by the European colonizers, and that the current barriers to women's education result from the misogynistic legacy of the colonial governments.

Research Methodology

My thesis is a socio-historical analysis that examines the ways in which policy and culture as they have shaped the place of women within the education systems of Tanzania and Rwanda. The purpose of this paper is twofold. I will compare the Tanzanian and Rwandese educational systems, and the place of women within them, from the colonial years to the present day. This paper will also provide a framework for understanding the ways in which colonial and post-colonial history and culture have defined the role of women within these two societies.

In this paper, I will answer the following questions at three points in time: the colonial period, the immediate postcolonial era, and the present day. What did the government view as the appropriate role(s) for women within that society? How did the government's educational policy mold women to fit that role? How did this educational policy impact women's positions within their societies in the future?

In order to provide a foundation for my research, I will examine studies that provide ways of analyzing educational policy as it relates to conceptualizations of women and womanhood within colonial and post-colonial Tanzanian and Rwandan contexts. To do so, I chose primary and secondary sources that examine the education systems in Tanzania and Rwanda during three specific time periods: the

colonial era, the immediate postcolonial period, and the present-day. I include primary sources that comment on education from the vantage point of each period, as well as historical analyses that reflect upon the legacy of colonialism as a whole.

I will examine the establishment and development of missionary and government schools in each country, paying particular attention to *why* the schools were being established and *what* the schools sought to teach African children. I will examine post-colonial education in Rwanda and Tanzania and look at the ways in which each postcolonial government departed and did not depart from colonial educational traditions. I will draw on historical research about women in education in these societies to understand the place of women within the education systems in their societies.

Literature Review

As this paper is a socio-historical analysis of educational policy regarding women during three specific time periods in Tanzanian and Rwandan history, it is necessary to examine what the existing body of scholarship states about education for women during each time period. It is also necessary to gain insight from the body of literature about the ways in which women and their appropriate societal roles were viewed by each government during each time period. Finally, I look at the ways in which the literature explains the legacies of the colonial era, and the ways in which those legacies were carried over – or not – into the postcolonial period.

Crawford Young (1986) defines colonial legacy as “patterns of state behavior and structure that arose out of the character of the colonial state.” One of the

principal legacies of colonialism is the role of capitalist elements within African societies. Rodney (1982) discusses the ways in which colonialism introduced capitalism to Africa, noting that the precolonial communalist way of life was destroyed when it came into contact with European capitalist system. Principally, “when capitalism came into contact with the still largely communal African societies, it introduced money relations at the expense of kinship ties” (Rodney 1982). The ways in which the capitalist system in Africa hindered the educational attainment of African women will be discussed later in this paper.

Another legacy of colonialism is the way in which the education systems in Tanzania and Rwanda were modeled by the colonizers to suit their goals, and to resemble European education systems. In precolonial Sub-Saharan Africa, children were largely educated by tribal elders and by their parents, from whom they received training in skills that would enable them to fully participate in their communities (Sudarkasa 1993). The colonial era brought changes to the structure of the education system, and it also changed the aims of education. Rather than educating children to participate in their own local economies, the Europeans educated African children to suit European needs (Vander Ploeg 1977).

Overall, there were two primary goals of education during the colonial era: that of the colonizers who needed a steady supply of labor and wished to educate the Africans to fill roles as laborers and colonial administrators, and that of the missionaries who wished to bring Christianity to native Africans. Both used education as a means of reaching these goals (Vavrus 2002). Missionary schools

indoctrinated young Africans into the Christian ethos of the value of hard labor, and the education of women-in an interesting contrast to common modern beliefs about the effect of women's education on birthrates in developing countries-taught women about hygienic and health practices, the knowledge of which the colonizers hoped would allow more African babies to grow into adult laborers (Vavrus 2002; Hunt 1990).

During the early colonial era, both Tanzania and Rwanda were part of Deutsch Ostafrika. The German colonizers, like other European colonizers, viewed the African people as inferior to Europeans, and the German colonial administration wished to educate the native Africans to become a strong labor force (MacLean 1918).

Another important colonial legacy is the spread of Christianity within African societies, and the ways in which traditional Christian notions of femininity and the appropriate social roles of women influenced the education system. The German government relied heavily on mission schools to educate the African population, which meant that Africans were indoctrinated into traditional Christian views about the appropriate place of women within society (Cohen 1993; Vander Ploeg 1977). While some students attended schools that were run by the German government and which trained Africans to be interpreters, clerks, teachers, and to fill other administrative functions within the colonial government, these opportunities were almost completely unavailable to young women (Vender Ploeg 1977). Missionary education was also a prominent feature of the Belgian colonial system. Educational

policy in the Belgian colony of Ruanda-Urundi was completely dominated by the Catholic Church. Missionary schools were established in large numbers, and these schools prepared women to lead lives as wives and mothers (Harris 1946). Women were not expected to participate in the economy in any direct way, and they received only the most rudimentary academic educations (Hunt 1990). The ways in which the Belgian education system perpetuated a second-class status for women will be discussed later in this paper.

Mahmood Mamdani (1996) discusses the British system of indirect rule, which utilized African men as both laborers and midlevel officials within the colonial administration. The British system of indirect rule heavily emphasized the “three C’s that Livingstone claimed would together rejuvenate Africa: cotton, Christianity, and civilization” (Mamdani 1996). In Tanganyika, the British colonial education system was dominated by state-run schools that provided education to the African male elite in order to train them to hold administrative positions (White 2006: 13).

By creating a capitalist society in which men received training to participate in the economy but women were not, British colonizers reduced authority of women by creating a society in which women’s traditional sources of authority – their reproductive and productive roles – were undermined by the recruitment of men into civil service positions and the cash-crop agricultural system (Adams 1996). While some girls received secondary and university-level education in the later years of the British colonial era, the vast majority of women did not (Adams 1996;

White 2006). The British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies published the 1925 *Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*, which among other recommendations, suggested that, “the education of girls should be given more attention.” However, the vast majority of women were not given the opportunity to attend secondary school, as the British colonial educational system emphasized the training of elite members of society rather than education for all (Read 1955).

The legacies of the colonial era persisted in postcolonial Rwanda, where the education system was still largely dependent on missionary schools (Duarte 1995). In Tanzania, however, socialist president Julius Nyerere endeavored to uncouple the people of Tanzania from British colonial traditions, and sought to educate women in traditional domestic skills to prepare them to be the wives and mothers of farmers in the new self-reliant Tanzania (Nyerere 1967; Stambach 1996). The modern era in Rwanda has seen a great departure from the Belgian educational traditions. This is largely due to the genocide of 1994, after which the entire education system of Rwanda was rebuilt by the new government and has allowed women to attain higher levels of education and establish careers outside the home (Huggins and Randell 2007). In Tanzania, however, while levels of education attainment have improved, Nyerere’s socialist legacies persist, and home economics continues to be a large part of the curriculum for young girls (Stambach 1996).

With the colonial legacies of capitalism, Christianity, and an education system that largely excluded women in mind, I will now examine the ways in which colonial

legacies were either reinforced or weakened by the postcolonial Tanzanian and Rwandese governments. I will analyze the ways in which educational policy during each period: colonial, immediate postcolonial and present – have shaped the place of women within Tanzania and Rwanda.

CHAPTER TWO

PRECOLONIAL AFRICA

Although precolonial Africa falls outside the scope of this paper, it is important to have a rudimentary understanding of traditional gender roles in Africa prior to the arrival of the colonizers in order to analyze the role that the Europeans played in defining the role of African women through the education system. For purposes of this paper, there are two key concepts about precolonial Africa that must be understood in order to effectively analyze the societal changes that came about under the influence of the Europeans. First, it is important to note that a flourishing education system existed before the first Europeans set foot upon the African continent. This education system was largely characterized by instruction from parents and tribal elders.

Additionally, it is important to note that, while gender roles were well-defined in precolonial African societies, the role of women were viewed as different from, yet equal to, that of men. Men and women bore different responsibilities in their societies, but those responsibilities were viewed as equally important. In *Sex roles, education, and development in Africa*, Sudarkasa (1992) discusses sex-role differentiation in precolonial Africa, arguing, “the occupational roles of women were different from but complimentary to the roles of men... There does not seem to be a basis for holding that women’s occupations were considered *inferior* to those of

men” (Sudarkasa 1992). While men and women each held different roles, each with a set of specific tasks, these roles were seen as complementary and equally vital to the functionality of society. Education of both women and men served specific purposes directly related to the needs of their particular communities. Thus, the subjugation of women was not a notion advanced by education systems in precolonial Africa. Rather, it was a new concept introduced to the Africans by the European colonizers, who used the education system in various ways as a tool to advance a second-class status for women in African society.

In *Women’s and Gender Studies in English-Speaking Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of Research in the Social Sciences*, Ampofo, et. al. argue, “[C]olonial women’s education was designed to prepare women as housewives and subsistence farmers. In contrast, education in precolonial African societies served a conceptual and practical purpose designed to fit the needs of the social and physical environment.” This observation is critical: while precolonial education served to prepare women to be citizens of their *own* environment, colonial education prepared women to be cogs in the colonial machine and citizens of the European colonial system. When native African culture collided with and was subjugated by the culture of the colonizers, the role of African women began to be defined by the European colonizers. Rather than educating children to fit the needs of the social and physical environments of their native communities, children were educated to fit colonizers’ needs.

With a basic understanding of women’s roles within precolonial African society and how education prepared women to fill those roles in mind, I now turn to

the colonial years and the ways in which the colonizers developed education systems and used those systems to define the societal role of women. Colonial education in Africa represented a complete departure from the precolonial years. Instead of women and men being educated to fill different, but equally important societal roles, as they were prior to the arrival of the colonizers, women in colonial Africa were educated to fill a role that was viewed as inferior to that of men. This tradition is heavily rooted in Christianity. Throughout the colonial era, European colonizers-in particular the Germans and Belgians-relied on missionaries to educate the African masses. These missionaries brought with them traditional notions of woman's appropriate place within society: filling the role of a good Christian wife and mother. The colonizers also wanted to educate women to raise children who would grow up to fill specific roles within the colonial system. The colonizers – first the Germans and then the Belgians in Ruanda-Urundi and the British in Tanzania – established education systems, that would train women to fill these specific roles. I will now explain in detail exactly how this was accomplished, examining each colonial government in detail in order to answer the following three questions: (1) How much education did each colonial government feel was appropriate for women and why; (2) What were each colonial government's desired goals and outcomes for the education of women within their colony? (3) How did they establish an education system to meet this goal?

CHAPTER THREE

DEUTSCH OSTAFRIKA

German explorers began arriving in East Africa in the 1880s, and in 1890 signed the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty with Great Britain, giving Germany control over the area known as German East Africa, which included what is now Tanzania (excluding the island of Zanzibar, which under the treaty was controlled by Great Britain), Rwanda, and Burundi. The German government, while interested in educating the indigenous people in order to mold them into a workforce, largely left the establishment and control of an education system to Catholic and Lutheran missionaries. “Because of the limited role played by the German colonial government in the indigenous people’s education, the missionaries alone planned the curriculum and decided on the teaching methods and also bore most of the costs of this education” (Cohen 1993). In mission schools, the curriculum heavily emphasized Christianity and, for girls, emphasized the importance of learning to run a proper Christian household. In German mission schools, as in Belgian and British mission schools, which will be explored later in this paper, young women learned basic literacy as well as home-economics subjects such as cleanliness, nutrition, and caring for families. While girls who attended mission schools learned how to read and write, they were not being educated to hold any specific career within the colony other than that of mother to a new generation of African laborers. In addition

to the mission schools, the German colonial government also established schools to train Africans to become clerks, interpreters, and skilled craftsmen. While the majority of the students at these schools were the sons of elite members of African society, at least a few of the students were female (Vander Ploeg 1977). The German colonizers were primarily interested in building a capable African workforce; they had little interest in making the citizens of their colonies into “quasi-Germans” (Vander Ploeg 1977). In particular, “literacy was a prime need, as were orderliness, punctuality, and regularity. The school, as a transmitter of cognitive skills and as an organizational form, could help introduce” (Vander Ploeg 1977). Male and female students in government schools learned literacy, mathematics, and skilled trades. However, the vast majority of students in German government schools were male. A German report from 1913 indicates that there were “government schools for coloreds in Tanga, Bagamojo, Daressalam, Tabora, Lindi, Kilwa, Bukoba, Muansa, Ssongea, Neu-Langenburg, Mpapua and eight depending institutions, all with instruction in crafts” (Sprigade and Moisel 1913). The emphasis on the fact that the schools provided instruction in crafts highlights the fact that the German government was primarily concerned with creating a skilled African workforce, in which women were fairly limited participants. Furthermore, the vast majority of schools in Deutsch Ostafrika taught students in their native languages, most typically Kiswahili (Cohen 1993; Vander Ploeg 1977), which further illustrates the goals of educating citizens of the German colonies: since most people were being educated to become members of the labor force, most of them had no need to learn

to speak German. A few select government schools taught male students the German language to prepare them to fill the roles of future interpreters, clerks, and other professions where it was necessary to communicate in German (Cohen 1993; Vander Ploeg 1977). Women, however, were largely excluded from these schools, as they were from government positions.

Overall, education of women in Deutsch Ostafrika was limited. The vast majority of girls, if they attended school at all, attended missionary schools where they received only the most basic elementary-level education. In contrast to the precolonial period, where women learned skills appropriate to prepare them for life within their specific communities and women held a position in society that was different than, but equal to, that of men; girls in Deutsch Ostafrika began to be indoctrinated into the traditional Christian ethos of the appropriate social role for women: that of a wife and mother. While the German colonial government educated a select number of boys to perform important jobs related to running the colony, women were not provided this opportunity. Thus, the German years represent the beginning of educating women in Tanzania and Rwanda to hold a second-class status within their societies. This persisted, in different ways, under the British and the Belgians.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLONIAL TANGANYIKA AND RUANDA-URUNDI

After the German defeat in World War One, control of the lands that comprised Deutsch Ostafrika was given to the British and the Belgians. The British received Tanganyika, and the Belgians gained control of Ruanda-Urundi. Both the British and the Belgians already held large swaths of land and extensive colonial enterprises in Africa prior to German defeat in World War One, so the educational policies that they imposed upon Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi were extensions of existing British and Belgian colonial educational systems. In this section, I will examine British and Belgian colonial educational policy, their development of educational systems, and the place of women within these systems. I will also compare and contrast British and Belgian policy, paying particular attention to the amount and quality of education which each administration felt was appropriate for African women.

In 1923, the British Colonial Office, the entity that was charged with running the administration of many British colonies, including Tanganyika, created the Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa. The Committee's mission statement said the following, "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life;

adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution” (Advisory Committee on Education in British Tropical Africa, 1925). With this statement, the British were acting out of concern for their own interests rather than out of any deep respect for African cultural values. Cities such as Dar es Salaam had grown rapidly under the Germans and were continued their rapid growth under the British, and young men in particular were moving to cities in large numbers, hoping for access to higher paying professions (Vander Ploeg 1977; Windel 2009). In addition, increasing numbers of white settlers came to Africa during the interwar years. By furthering an educational policy of training Africans to hold traditional positions in society, farmers, craftsmen, etc., and teaching the natives to conserve “healthy elements of the fabric of their social life,” the British hoped that they would allow stem the exodus of young men from rural areas into cities seeking employment (Windel 2009.) The fact that young men poured into cities looking for jobs illustrates the ways in which the social landscape of colonial Africa was very different than the precolonial years. The transition of men who moved from spending their lives working in agricultural roles to trying to obtain a place within the new, larger economy is interesting in that it leaves unspoken the role of women within the new economic system. Young men moved from country to city looking for better opportunities because they believed that they had a chance of receiving those opportunities, but young women did not.

This further illustrates the second-class position that women held within British colonial Tanganyika.

In 1925, the British Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies published the *Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Among the recommendations were the following:

1. the government should control the administration of education but should cooperate with private voluntary organizations (missions);
2. education should be adapted to meet local needs and conditions;
3. local languages should be used in primary school instruction;
4. the education of girls should be given more attention (White 2006).

This policy, along with a follow-up document that was published ten years later, “became the basis on which almost all subsequent education policy was judged and formulated” (White 2006). While this policy suggests that more attention be paid to the education of women, educational opportunities for women were still quite limited.

Despite the fact that students were being educated to be largely second-class colonial citizens, the British educational ideal of personal liberty found its way into British colonial educational policy: “[The student] must be treated as an individual personality within his own rights at every stage of growth,’ and later ‘there should be no religion bar to admission...and any parent should be free to withdraw his child from religious instruction if he wishes to do so” (White 2006). While the German and Belgian colonizers heavily relied on missionary schools to educate pupils, schools that provided limited educational opportunities for women and relegated

them to the roles of wife and mother, at least some women within British Tanganyika were able to benefit from the instruction provided in government schools.

Throughout the decades of British control of Tanganyika, educational policy was largely focused on creating vocational schools to train African children to be better farmers, laborers, and craftsmen. While the later years of British colonial rule included the implementation of policies designed to improve female educational attainment, the vast majority of women who were educated in British colonial Africa received only a rudimentary education designed to prepare them to become housewives and mothers of African laborers. The fate of many African girls educated in the British colonial system is illustrated by this 1959 report from a British colonial governor:

The girls come in straight from the hill pagan villages, without having previously attended any kind of school, to learn simple cookery, babycraft, health and hygiene, and local crafts. At the end of their two years they can qualify for a Housecraft Certificate or, if they can read a little a Certificate of Merit. The girls usually marry at once on returning to their villages and they make excellent housewives (Adams, Great Britain 1959: 166).

“Cookery, babycraft, health and hygiene, and local crafts” succinctly summarizes both the curriculum studied by most women in British Africa as well as the aspirations held for African women by British colonial leaders. While these skills are similar to many of the things that precolonial Tanganyikan girls were educated in, precolonial boys learned farming, hunting, and local crafts, whereas many Tanganyikan boys under the Germans and the British were educated to become

participants in a larger economy. By excluding girls from being able to receive training to become interpreters, clerks, and other skilled professionals, both the Germans and the British promulgated the creation of a two-tiered African society in which women were second-class citizens.

Another characterizing factor of the British colonial education system was the fact that people were allowed to live in their own communities with relative autonomy, and thus exercised some degree of control over the education of the young people within their communities. Amy Stambach's (2000), *Lessons from Mount Kilimanjaro*, explains the history of the education system under British rule in Mchame, a village in the Kilimanjaro region of what is now Northern Tanzania:

Schooling figured centrally in the colonial history of Machame. In the late nineteenth century, local chiefs...were adept at coaxing European missionaries to settle on the mountain.... Through the British system of indirect rule, people on the mountain developed an extensive school system funded through taxes collected through coffee revenues, and they established cooperative societies that provided farmers with fertilizers and farming tips and connected the region to international markets (Stambach 2000).

Colonial Mchame, like other villages in Tanganyika, enjoyed relative autonomy. Strictly defined educational policy that dictated a prescribed curriculum for women would come after independence in 1961.¹ It is important to note that the women in Mchame, like women in other parts of British Tanganyika, were able to earn money by participating in trades. Women were able to use the skills that they

¹ Tanganyika became independent in 1961. Zanzibar became independent in 1963, and in 1964 the two united to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar has a very different history and culture than that of mainland Tanzania, and it thus outside the scope of this paper.

learned through their educations to participate in the economy, which is vastly different than the situation faced by women in colonial Ruanda-Urundi, where the focus of this paper next turns.

The status of women was reduced in other ways, as well. “In pre-colonial societies, women's authority stemmed from both their reproductive and productive roles. The colonial administration's introduction of cash crop agriculture and its preference for recruiting men to civil service posts during much of the colonial period undermined women's status” (Adams 2006). While the British endeavored to preserve aspects of traditional African culture, they undermined women's authority by introducing a new economic system that prevented women from holding their precolonial roles, thereby relegating them to second-class status in that way, as well.

During the final years of British rule, the British government promoted increased educational opportunities for women in order to incorporate more women into the civil service (Adams 2006). While the vast majority of women were not able to partake in these opportunities, a limited number were able to attend secondary school and even university. However, these opportunities were only available to a few women from elite backgrounds, and the vast majority of women did not advance past primary school. Furthermore, this paper will later explore the ways in which the first post-independence government of Tanzania undid this particular legacy of British rule.

Unlike the government-dominated education system in British Africa, education in Belgian Africa² was completely dominated by the Catholic Church, and the educational policies of the colonial government as they affected women were heavily influenced by traditional Catholic beliefs about the role of women in society. As such, “there were extraordinary differences between education offered to boys and to girls in the colonial education system. European educators sponsored a deliberate pattern of sex-differentiated roles the norms of which were embodied in the life of the schools” (Yates 1964). Schools in Belgian Africa were predominantly the purview of missionaries, who sought to impose a Christian ethos upon the people of Belgian Africa.

Whereas men would be useful to the colony as producers, as a labor force, women would be vitally important as reproducers, as mothers and wives ensuring the vitality and perpetuation of this labor force and the proper rearing of children. According to this colonial vision, a woman was not to have any cash-generating activities; this would have conflicted with her central role as the ‘base of evolution.’ She was to represent and radiate moral standards and behavior for men and children, through the ‘civilized’ institution of the nuclear family (Hunt 1990).

In a society where women are not supposed to earn money on their own, and where their only role is to be that of wife and mother, the necessity of anything other than the most rudimentary academic education is eliminated. Under the

² Belgian Africa refers to the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. The Belgian Congo (presently the DRC) was established as the Congo Free State, under the control of King Leopold of Belgium, in 1876. Ruanda-Urundi (presently Rwanda and Burundi) was part of German East Africa until it was given to Belgium as a League of Nations trust territory following the German defeat at the end of WWI. While the focus of my paper is Rwanda, I will refer to educational policy in Belgian Africa, as Belgian educational legislation, as well as the aims of education and establishment of schools, applied to both the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.

Belgian policy, girls were completely relegated to the sphere of the home, and had no place elsewhere. With this ethos in place, under the Belgian missionaries, boys and girls were educated separately beginning in Grade 3. In the first three primary grades, both boys and girls learned basic arithmetic, writing, and reading, but instruction in these subjects was reduced for girls once they entered the sex-segregated classrooms of Grade 3 (Hunt 1990). Once girls had passed Grade 3, there was little further academic learning to take place; instead they learned to run “civilized” households.

The 1929 Education Code, which codified educational practices already in place, provided for different types of post-primary education for boys and girls. “Clerk schools prepared young men to be office workers, customs agents, tax collector aides, or railway conductors. Normal schools prepared primary teachers for mission schools. In the vocational schools, four options were offered to boys: (1) wood-working..., (2) general mechanics..., (3) metal-working, and (4) agriculture” (Yates 1982). Clerk schools provided boys with the opportunity to learn French, the language of the colonizers, while girls were never given that option. While education for boys prepared them to serve as cogs in the machinery of the Belgian colony, which also allowed them to earn money through their trades, education for girls gave them few practical skills.

The educational legislation of 1929 also reinforced the domestic role of women under the guise of vocational education. Postprimary vocational schools for girls remained limited by the 1929 Code to elementary school teaching...and to home economics-agriculture. The normal schools prepared elementary school teachers and later aides

to European social workers in the new *foyers sociaux* (government-subsidized Catholic adult education centers for married women). The home economics-agricultural “vocational” schools led only to the hearth, not to employment in agriculture or to marketable domestic science skills; domestics in European households were generally males (Yates 1982).

Thus, girls’ education focused on housework and on giving young women the tools that the government felt it appropriate for them to possess in order to be obedient wives and the mothers of the next generation of Christian African laborers. The significant differences in curriculum for boys and girls reflected the fact that Belgian educational policy held an implicit belief that women were inferior to men. While men were fit to work outside the home, women were not. This belief persisted in Rwanda after independence, as can be attested by the fact that fewer girls than boys enroll in and complete both primary and secondary school.

Not only were women viewed as inferior to men, but all African natives, male and female, were seen by the colonizers as uncivilized. “Christian patriarchy was allegedly a blessing to African women, since it would rescue them from polygyny and confer vaguely stated benefits of Western civilization, such as ‘a healthy and comforting morality’, which among other things gives to the woman her real situation in nature” (Yates 1982). Implicit within the assumption that Christian patriarchy conferred the benefits of “Western civilization” is the fact that precolonial African traditions were not only uncivilized, but oppressive of women. Unlike the British, who wanted the people of Tanganyika to preserve their own

cultural traditions, the Belgians sought to destroy precolonial traditions and indoctrinate the citizens of Ruanda-Urundi into European beliefs and customs.

After World War II, the Education Code of 1948 created secondary schools to prepare a select group of young men in Belgian Africa for postsecondary education (Yates 1982). Unfortunately, no new educational opportunities became available for women.

After World War II, the Belgian government continued this old approach under the trusteeship system. It attempted to create a broad class of literate people through elementary education while ignoring the special requirements of secondary and higher education. The government saw a great danger in creating a volatile native intellectual elite that might dominate the majority, and it hoped to guide the people's gradual intellectual development, not rush them into self-government (Duarte 1995).

The fear that the Belgian government had of creating a “volatile native intellectual class” meant that there continued to be very few educational opportunities for women. “The 1948 Code embodied no new aims for girls’ education; they were still to become ‘good wives and mothers’” (139). The Code implemented a new, three-year secondary program in home economics for girls, which was designed to prepare girls to be part of a new “feminine elite,” the wives of the men who were receiving secondary education in various trades (Yates 1982). The goal of these schools was to “create a class of young girls capable of making a good appearance in the world of native *évolués*,³ as much from the standpoint of

³ The social class of Africans functioned as intermediaries between the majority of the population and the Belgian colonizers. As Yates describes, male *évolués* were allowed the opportunity to attend various secondary programs and a few even received postsecondary education. For women,

education (e.g., care of the home), as from that of instruction” (Yates 1982). A few girls also had the option of entering teacher-training schools, which “continued the same emphasis on home economics and child care found in the primary schools in which these graduates would teach” (140). Throughout this period, it was still expected that the vast majority of women would have no career other than that of wife and mother. While some young women were able to become teachers, they were expected to teach other young women the skills necessary to be proper homemakers. It was never expected that women would teach young girls how to grow up to hold positions of leadership within their society. The Belgian colonial educational policy toward women overwhelmingly relegated women to the sphere of hearth and home.

Hunt analyses the ways in which native African women fit within the Belgian colonial scheme, arguing, “Whereas men would be useful to the colonizers as a labor force, women would be important as reproducers, as mothers and wives enduring the vitality and perpetuation of this labor force and the proper rearing of the children” (Hunt 1990). A the large number of missionary schools were established in Belgian colonies, but schoolchildren were expected to learn only the most basic academic skills, as the aim of these schools was, according to the Belgian Director General for the Ministry of the Colonies, “the spread of ‘moral discipline, the

however, being a member of the *évolué* class merely meant receiving secondary-level instruction in home economics.

elements of hygiene, the ferment of progress...respect and sympathy for our colonial enterprises” (Yates 1982).

In *Church, State, and Education in Belgian Africa*, Barbara Yates discusses the history of educational policy in the Belgian colonies and the effect that these policies had on women, explaining:

The primary objective of girls’ education at all levels remained unaltered from the opening of the first Western-type school in 1879 to independence in 1960: training Christian wives and mothers. The aim of education for girls was to implant Christian morality, an awareness of ‘proper’ family relationships, and a favorable disposition toward children learning their religious duties. Accordingly, apart from the ‘sacramental’ duties of wifehood, African girls needed to prepare formally for few new roles through attendance at schools (132).

In the 1950s, educational opportunities for women in Belgian Africa expanded slightly. “In the early 1950s, for the first time thought was given to creating vocational schools to prepare girls for jobs in commerce and industry” (Yates 1982). A very small group of young women (fewer than 1,000 in 1959-1960) were enrolled in vocational schools, as well as in “hospital schools” to train to be midwives (Yates 1982). Most women continued to receive little academic instruction.

The Belgian government would pay little attention to developing an educated class capable of political or economic leadership. Guided by a paternalistic attitude toward Ruanda-Urundi, and expecting to retain control over the trusteeship throughout the twentieth century, the government only slowly introduced educational reforms. As a result, the African nations of Rwanda and Burundi were unprepared for the independence they won in 1961, with tragic consequences for hundreds of thousands throughout the rest of the century (Duarte 1995).

At independence in 1962, education for both women and men in Rwanda was characterized by the values of the Belgian system, which had disastrous implications for the future. In *Education in Ruanda-Urundi*, Mary Duarte explains the failure of the Belgian education system:

The Belgian government would pay little attention to developing an educated class capable of political or economic leadership. Guided by a paternalistic attitude toward Ruanda-Urundi, and expecting to retain control over the trusteeship throughout the twentieth century, the government only slowly introduced educational reforms. As a result, the African nations of Rwanda and Burundi were unprepared for the independence they won in 1961, with tragic consequences for hundreds of thousands throughout the rest of the century.

From the beginning to the end of the Belgian reign in Africa, women existed in a world in which they were inferior to men. By creating an education system in which the vast majority of women received little academic instruction and perpetuating the goals of Christian wifeness and motherhood with few other opportunities available for women (and indeed, a system with few better opportunities for the vast majority of men), the Belgian colonizers paved the way for Rwanda to become a state in which people had little ability to self-govern, and a society in which ethnic tensions would, only thirty-two years after independence, explode into the brutal genocide of 1994.

The entirety of the colonial period can be viewed as an undoing of precolonial African values, and as an era that laid the foundation for the second-class status of women within Tanzanian and Rwandese society. All three of the colonial governments viewed Africans as inferior to Europeans, and all three

implemented policies that relegated women to second-class positions in society. The German period saw the spread of missionary schools throughout Deutsch Ostafrika, and these missionary schools promulgated a societal role for women where they were to be wives and mothers with the home as their only social sphere. While the British colonial government relied less heavily on missionary schools, women still had few educational opportunities available to them. In contrast, the Belgian colonial government relied almost entirely on missionary schools, which carried extremely conservative views of the proper place of women within society. The next section of this paper will explore the ways in which colonial policies were upheld or altered by the independent governments of Tanzania and Rwanda.

CHAPTER FIVE

EARLY INDEPENDENCE IN TANZANIA AND RWANDA

In this section of the paper, I focus on the years immediately following the independence of Tanzania and Rwanda.⁴ I will examine the ways in which the colonial legacy of limited education for women persisted, as well as the ways in which the government of each nation promulgated new educational policies, and the ways in which those policies either helped or hindered the ability of women to access education.

In post-independence Tanzania, President Julius Nyerere created a socialist system that undid much of the autonomy citizens had under the British rule. Called Mwalimu (teacher) by the Tanzanian people, Nyerere, who served as the President of Tanzania from independence until November of 1985, he believed that colonial education was designed to train Tanzanians to serve British goals, and that it supplanted Tanzanian values with British values (Nyerere 1967, Mulenga 1995). Nyerere attempted to undo British educational policy through the policies of his administration, which sought to rid Tanzania of British influences and return to a precolonial way of life. To achieve this goal, Nyerere implemented the policy of Ujamaa, a Kiswahili word loosely translated as “extended family.” Through Ujamaa,

⁴ Tanganyika gained independence from Britain in 1961, and the country of Tanzania was formed when Tanganyika and Zanzibar united in 1964. Ruanda-Urundi became the separate and independent nations of Rwanda and Burundi in 1962.

the Tanzanian government became a one-party system, land and resources were nationalized, and a compulsory program of free primary education was implemented for all Tanzanian children. Nyerere summarized his policy of Ujamaa thusly:

It was in the struggle to break the grip of colonialism that we learned the need for unity. We came to recognize that the same socialist attitude of mind which, in the tribal days, gave to every individual the security that comes of belonging to a widely extended family, must be preserved within the still wider society of the nation (Nyerere 1971).

President Nyerere wanted all children to receive a rudimentary primary education that would prepare them for life as farmers in a socialist society. He wanted to eliminate the sense of competition that exists in a market economy and create a society that resembled the precolonial days, when people lived in villages and had a spirit of collectivism. The educational policy promulgated by the Nyerere administration endeavored to further these goals. "We should determine the type of things taught in the primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know-that is, the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish is he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominately rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there" (Nyerere 1967). Secondary education would continue these goals (although not all students were to attend secondary school), and the curriculum for boys and for girls would be different. It is important to note that Education for Self-Reliance did not advocate any overt gender-based discrimination within the education system. Both boys and girls were expected to attend primary school, where they would learn basic reading, writing, and

mathematics. However, secondary school for girls was to be largely dominated by instruction in being a proper homemaker, wife, and mother.

For girls, “home economics lessons present a model of motherhood and family that portrays the mother-child relationship as the core of the African family” (Stambach 2000). Throughout the primary and secondary curricula for Tanzanian women, home economics is at the core. Stambach (2000) discusses the syllabi for Form One, the beginning of secondary schooling in Tanzania, and notes that two early lessons are “Good Manners” followed by “Good Grooming.” The goal of these lessons is to teach girls how to run proper households, and in doing so, to be good citizens. “Both topics relate general housecraft to the development of girls’ moral characters; and imply that girls’ attire and manners are indications of their personal worth: by being on time, following instructions, and always appearing neat and clean, girls will embody the social values commensurate with their schooling” (Stambach 2000). Thus, secondary school girls in Tanzania learn that the most important lessons are related to their place in society as wives and mothers.

Interestingly, while the policies implemented in Education for Self Reliance promulgated, like all of Nyerere’s policies, the need to break free from colonial traditions, educational policy in post-independence Tanzania in some ways cemented British colonial notions of the appropriate role of women within society. The decades of German and British rule, with their emphasis on education for men, the ways in which women were expected to be mothers rather than participants in the market economy, and on Christian notions of gender roles, could not be

eradicated overnight. Despite Nyerere's desire to return Tanzania to precolonial autonomy and collectivism, the market economy had taken hold during the colonial era. The educational policies of the Nyerere administration gave young men the opportunity to acquire skills that allowed them to participate in the market economy, but did not allow women to acquire similar skills. The impact of these policies on modern Tanzanian women will be analyzed in detail in the next section of this paper.

During the years between independence and genocide-1962 through 1994- the Rwandese government focused on ensuring that ethnic quotas were met in schools. "At independence in 1962, almost all of the schools were owned by the Catholic and Protestant churches. The Ministry of Education in Rwanda developed an agreement with many church-owned schools that the state would pay teachers' salaries and other recurrent costs" (Obura 2003).

Because of this, the Rwandese government was able to exercise some influence over the schools, which they did in a few key ways.

First, the government established an elaborate quota system to ensure that both women and people of minority ethnic groups could attend school (Obura 2003). While primary enrollment soared, very few Rwandese children ever attended secondary school (Obura 2003). Unfortunately, schools also stressed propaganda emphasizing the differences amongst the Hutu, the Tutsi, and the Twa.⁵ "The texts

⁵ There is much to be said about the Rwandan genocide, but it is outside of the scope of this paper. I include this information only to explain what happened in the years between independence

stressed the different origins of various ethnic groups and the different times of their arrival in Rwanda. Hence, Rwandan students learned at school that the Tutsis had arrived after the Twas and the Hutus, and that they colonized the other two ethnic groups like the 'white people' had done later" (Gasabo2011).

The years of early independence were very different in Tanzania and Rwanda. In Tanzania, Julius Nyerere established a socialist government and undid much of the educational policy of the previous era, for both men and women. In fact, one of the only remaining legacies of the previous era was the emphasis on health and hygiene in the curriculum for girls. By contrast, in Rwanda, the educational policies of the Belgians were largely kept intact, and their legacy of relegating women to second-class status in Rwandese society – as well as their legacy of pitting Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa against one another – remained. It was the latter of these legacies that had the most deadly consequences for the people of Rwanda, the aftermath of which forced them to reevaluate, and attempt to undo, the former.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATION IN PRESENT DAY TANZANIA AND RWANDA

In present-day Tanzania, the education of young women is still largely influenced by the Nyerere era. Primary education in Tanzania is free and compulsory for all children, and UNICEF estimated that between 2000 and 2005, there were approximately 93 females enrolled in primary school for every 100 male primary school pupils (UNICEF 2007). While still not gender parity, this figure shows that the vast majority of Tanzanian girls have access to primary education. Women's access to secondary education is a far less positive figure, though: UNICEF reports that there are only eighty-three girls enrolled in secondary school for every 100 boys (UNICEF 2007). However, UNICEF (2007) also reports that only 18% of Tanzanian girls complete secondary education.

One of the reasons for this disparity is that secondary schooling is not free. Students must pay school fees, and they must purchase their own uniforms. Colcolugh et. al. (2003) and Okkolin et. al. (2010) cite the inability to pay school fees as one of the main reasons that young women do not attend school in Tanzania. "It was easier for boys to find work and contribute to or cover the costs, whereas girls had more domestic responsibilities; and therefore, their education was more costly" (Okkolin et. al 2010). Why are girls unable to work outside the home? Why do they have so many domestic responsibilities? Both of these questions can be answered, at

least in part, by examining the legacies of the colonial and Nyerere eras. During both periods, education for men provided them with skills that allowed them to find work outside the home, whereas young women learned skills that relegated them to the domestic sphere. Because of this, many women do not have, and are not taught to value, the skills that they would need in order to work outside the home and earn the money to pay for school fees for themselves and their daughters.

The curriculum in Tanzanian secondary schools continues to teach young women the skills they need to be proper wives and mothers rather than equal participants in Tanzanian society. “As a group, women are constructed as reproducers of the domestic household and, by extension, the state” (Stambach 2000). Girls also learn in secondary school about how to run a proper home, and “thus houses of secondary school graduates ought to show signs of girls’ secondary schooling, including painted walls and window dressings, and an orderliness to interior decorating that is more or less standard in design from one school graduate’s house to the next” (Stambach 2000). The secondary school curriculum’s emphasis on domesticity and proper homemaking skills is very explicit about the appropriate place of women within Tanzanian society.

While Nyerere’s “Education for Self-Reliance” and subsequent Tanzanian educational policy has made clear to treat men and women as being equal, cultural beliefs play a role in their inability to use their educations to have careers outside of their homes:

In cases where highly-achieving women are perceived as becoming too self-reliant in the wage-paying world, women's personal goals are susceptible to being criticized for threatening to undo conventional gender roles... Even though vocational syllabi officially treat men and women equally, the gendered components of home economics versus agricultural science reproduce some old-and set up many new-inequalities (Stambach 2000).

Furthermore, "school-related barriers to girls' participation in education consist of the poor quality of the learning environment, irrelevant curricula, long distance between home and school, shortage of female teachers as role models, sexual harassment and discriminative practices at school" (Okkolin 2010). While the official educational policy professes equality, the Tanzanian government knows that this is not the case, and states on its national website:

Gendered assumptions...contribute to a process whereby most women are allocated low paying, unskilled or lesser skilled work in both the formal and the informal sectors of the money economy. The terms upon which women and men compete for employment are set by wider social relations, including cultural, economic and political arenas. These include the assumption that a woman's primary commitment is to care for a family at home, in the 'reproductive' sphere of life; and that each woman depends on a male provider for cash needs (Tanzania National Website, 2011: 1).

Women's dependence upon male providers for "cash needs" began in the colonial era, when the Germans, and then the British, educated men to be participants in the market economy but taught women to be proper wives and mothers. Despite the Nyerere administration's desire to sever Tanzanian society from colonial influences, the educational policies promulgated by the Nyerere administration –the curriculum for women that placed emphasis on home economics and hygiene rather than skills that would allow them to earn money-

only cemented colonial ideas about the place of women within society. Until the European notions of proper gender roles that were absorbed into the Tanzanian cultural consciousness over decades of colonial rule are eliminated from the secondary curriculum, the current state of education for women in Tanzania seems unlikely to change.

In Rwanda, present-day educational policy represents more of a departure from the previous era as does educational policy in Tanzania, but this is because the genocide forced the Rwandese people to rebuild their entire society anew. On one level, due to the massacre of many teachers and the complete destruction of schools and the education system, the Rwandese government was required to build a new education system from the ground up. On another level, the post-genocide Rwandese government wished to create an education system designed to foster tolerance and understanding amongst the people of Rwanda in order to prevent another genocide. The new Constitution of Rwanda, drafted in 2003, as well as government-run development program Vision 20/20, has promulgated educational policies that emphasize equity, including a commitment to providing equal educational opportunities for girls.

The new policies implemented by this legislation involve a commitment to tolerance and human rights (Schweisfurth 2006). In recent years, aid to Rwanda- which in pre-genocide years came largely from Belgium and France- has come from a variety of other countries and NGOs, who bring with them new policies and practices which allow for the expansion of the Rwandese education system with

new themes (Schweisfurth 2006). One of the important concepts emphasized in Rwandese schools has been preventing ethnic conflict. "Teaching materials...draw on the field of Holocaust Education and are based on a comparative approach to understanding ethnic conflict and using education to prevent it. International NGOs have been active in promoting this approach and developing educational sites and materials" (Schweisfurth 2006).

The Rwandese government's commitment to educating women has allowed great progress to be made in the eighteen years since the genocide.

In post-genocide Rwanda (1994-present), several key education reforms have been made, and these have allowed women to achieve levels of education that were unprecedented during the 80 years of Belgian colonial rule as well as in pre-genocide Rwanda. Rwanda has made a firm commitment to gender empowerment in the political and social realms, a goal which is most clearly laid out in its 2003 Constitution and the Vision 2020 development plan, adopted in 2000. Education for all, achieving gender parity in higher education, and practicing a policy of affirmative action to promote women's educational and social advancement are designated as policy priorities for realizing the development goals of the country (Huggins and Randall 2007: 1-2).

Within this framework, education for girls has become more widespread, and the Rwandese government has moved away from the home economics and hygiene curriculum that was customary for women under the Belgians. "Policy measures to promote girls' education largely focus on gender sensitization campaigns and providing female role models within schools. Specific activities are also planned to increase the participation of girls in science and technology courses, including opening girls-only schools specializing in science and technology fields" (Huggins

and Randell 2007). Girls enrolled in STEM courses in Rwanda today are the granddaughters and great-granddaughters of the girls who were allowed access to rudimentary primary educations or secondary courses geared toward espousing the values of good Christian wives and mothers under the Belgians.

Despite these changes, gender parity in education has not yet been achieved at the secondary level. UNICEF reports that there are 102 girls enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys, but only 93 girls enrolled in secondary school for every 100 boys (UNICEF 2007). Furthermore, only approximately 10% of girls who complete primary school enroll in secondary school (Huggins and Randell 2007). “A number of social factors, including traditional gender roles such as domestic chores and family care, entrench girls’ underperformance throughout their schooling. This has a cyclical effect, as low performance in the primary leaving exam results in girls being admitted to lower quality secondary schools, and ultimately into higher education institutions in lower numbers” (Huggins and Randell 2007). Because the Rwandese education system is based on exams to determine who progresses into the next level of schooling, it will be necessary for the Rwandese government in coming years to either re-evaluate the examination system or to implement greater social programs outside of school to allow girls to focus on performing well in school rather than attending to traditional familial obligations. Nonetheless, the past decade has brought many advances to the ability of women in Rwanda to attend secondary school.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPLICATIONS

The history of the education of women in Tanzania and Rwanda from the beginning of the colonial era through the present day contains important lessons that must be considered in the development and implementation of future successful educational policy in Sub-Saharan Africa and around the world.

When European colonizers, first German and then Belgian and British, began to develop a system of education in their colonies, they failed to provide girls and young women with the skills necessary to be participants in the market economy. The European colonizers also – to varying degrees – allowed religious institutions to establish educational systems that also failed to educate girls and young women to be anything other than wives and mothers. By creating a market economy and developing a system in which men were allowed to earn wages and were trained in skills that furthered their ability to do so, the European colonizers undermined women's power and authority within Tanzanian and Rwandese societies, and this authority has never since been fully recovered. Despite modern efforts – particularly in Rwanda – to encourage girls and young women to attend school and to remain in school, both countries are very far from achieving gender parity in education.

If a government does not promulgate educational policy that encourages all members of a society to obtain an education in order to participate in a productive economic system, set and achieve personal goals, and reap financial benefits, it seems likely that-as we have seen in Tanzania and Rwanda-the members of the society who are not educated to participate in the economic system are unlikely to attain a high level of education.

Furthermore, school curricula cannot be comprised of lessons so absent of practical skills that classroom learning appears to have no tangible benefits. By educating young men in the practical skills necessary to go out into the world and earn a living but teaching the women how to be subservient wives and good housekeepers, the European colonizers created societies in which secondary education for women had little practical value, and was not worth the cost of sending young women to school. In order to be successful, an education system has to provide all students with the skills that they need in order to better their own lives as well as with a pathway to opportunities- specifically higher education and careers-that will actually allow students to improve their circumstances upon finishing school. If education has practical value, students are likely to remain in school. If education does not have practical value, as we have seen in our examination of secondary education for young women in Tanzania and Rwanda, people are unlikely to remain in school.

Further research on education of women in Tanzania and Rwanda should focus on specific educational programs that have high rates of completion for young

women. This research should examine the specific practices of educational programs that produce young women who graduate from secondary school and continue to postsecondary studies. The practices of such programs should be emulated by other programs and implemented on a larger scale in order to someday achieve gender parity in education in Tanzania, Rwanda, and worldwide.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ultimately, the place of women within the societies of Tanzania and Rwanda was shaped in large part by the colonial governments that once controlled the lands that are now these two nations. In different ways, the educational policies of the German, British, and Belgian colonial administrations shaped the place of women within Tanzanian and Rwandese society.

The British colonial education system, despite the fact that its goal was to train people to be laborers and citizens of the colony, was not as oppressive as the Belgian system. Tanganyikans were able to go to school while still remaining relatively autonomous when it came to religion and other cultural traditions and values. By contrast, young women under the Belgian system in Ruanda-Urundi were indoctrinated into a strict system of Christian values that did not allow for much personal autonomy or freedom of thought. However, in both countries, educational policy during the colonial and immediate postcolonial eras promulgated curriculums that taught women to be wives and mothers – in Tanzania as part of a socialist system modeled on the precolonial era, and in Rwanda as part of the continuing legacy of missionary education and the proper role of Christian women that was introduced during the colonial era.

After independence, Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" reinforced colonial-era beliefs about the role of women in society, and many Tanzanian women ended up being educated in home economics, which prevented them from both from continuing their educations at the postsecondary level and from participating in the market economy. This took place despite Nyerere's desire to sever Tanzania from colonial influences. In Rwanda, by contrast, the traditional Belgian Christian ideals were largely preserved within the education system until 1994, when the genocide forced the nation to develop a largely new education system with different, more inclusive, educational policies for women.

In each country, there is a key period of departure from the previous era's educational legacies. In Tanzania, the departure came at independence, when Nyerere's socialist government supplanted the educational traditions of the British. In Rwanda, this period came immediately after the genocide, when a new government took control of the country and changed the education system and the place of women within it. Neither of these departures, however, were able to create gender parity in secondary education.

The inability of women to work and to earn wages by participating in the market economy is a colonial legacy that still hinders girls' abilities to access secondary education in Tanzania and Rwanda. Traditional European notions of the appropriate place of women within society – at home raising children – took hold and were absorbed into Tanzanian and Rwandese cultural beliefs. Girls in both countries have more domestic responsibilities than do boys, which leads to young

women dropping out of school at higher rates than young men. Furthermore, particularly in Tanzania, the secondary school curriculum does not prepare young women to go out into the worlds and earn money, so there seems to be little reason to spend money on books and school fees to send daughters to secondary school. In Rwanda, efforts have been made in recent years to promote secondary education for women, but enrollment and completion rates do not yet reflect gender parity.

In both nations, the vast majority of present-day girls and women do not complete secondary school. Until educational policy in each country is aligned with a set of goals for women to go out into society as full members of the workforce, and until secondary education is established as a pathway to postsecondary education rather than as an end in itself, it seems unlikely that women will universally enroll in secondary educational programs. It is important for this to change, because the future development of Tanzania and Rwanda is dependent upon the contributions of the women of these nations.

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