

Mwanafunzi wa shule ya kikoloni, mwalimu baada ya uhuru wa Tanzania: simulizi ya mwanamke aliyewaelimisha wengi

Hojaji na Theresia M. (with an introduction in English)

Florence Wenzek

Citer cet article : Florence Wenzek (2023), « Mwanafunzi wa shule ya kikoloni, mwalimu baada ya uhuru wa Tanzania: simulizi ya mwanamke aliyewaelimisha wengi. Hojaji na Theresia M. (with an introduction in English) », *Revue d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Afrique*, en ligne.

URL : <https://oap.unige.ch/journals/rhca/article/view/entswatheresia>

Mise en ligne : septembre 2023

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.51185/journals/rhca.2023.entretien07>

Summary

Born in 1941 in the British colony of Tanganyika, Theresia M. was one of the few hundred girls who were trained as teachers at the end of the colonial period. She began teaching in 1960, a year before independence, and belongs to the first generation of Tanzanian women who had full careers as qualified employees while marrying and having children. Her account, which focuses on educational issues, recounts the experiences of a woman whose background is that of a minority who played a major role in passing on knowledge after independence, when education for all became a political imperative. The interview sheds light on the family and educational contexts that enabled Theresia M. to build her path and highlights her social contribution to independent Tanzania through her commitment to adult education, in public programmes as well as with the Anglican Church.

Keywords: East Africa; Tanganyika; women; education; life story; British colonialism; postcolonial



The 1940s-1970s saw a school boom on the African continent: in the aftermath of the Second World War, the colonial powers increased their hitherto limited investment in schooling, then the newly independent states made it a public policy priority. This boom was particularly spectacular in Tanganyika, renamed Tanzania in 1964 when it joined the Zanzibar archipelago. The British colonial administration had invested very little in this UN trust territory¹. On the contrary, from independence in 1961 onwards, and even more so with the adoption of socialism as the doctrine of government in 1967, the independent government made access to education a major policy objective. In 1947, only 10% of children attended school, with girls making up just over a quarter of these meagre numbers². In the same year, the British colonial administration launched a plan to expand the school system, enabling 44% of school-age children to attend school at independence³. In line with previous policies, this expansion depended on Christian missions to a great extent: at independence in 1961, missionary schools took charge of 70% of the pupils⁴.

From the outset, the independent government made education one of its flagship policies: by abolishing in 1962 the division of the school system into three racial sub-systems, for “Africans”, “Europeans”, and “Asians”, the government demonstrated its rejection of the racial discriminations characteristic of colonialism. In 1968, President Julius Nyerere, a former teacher, presented the regime’s new educational philosophy, “education for self-reliance”: primary education was to focus on knowledge that was directly useful for nation-building (technical and agricultural skills in particular) rather than on preparing students for secondary school, which only a tiny minority attended. In 1969, the government nationalised all private schools, gaining greater control over the education being provided. In 1975, it adopted a plan for universal primary education that enabled Tanzania to become one of the first African countries to achieve 100% primary school enrolment by the mid-1980s. In that way, the government closed the gap between boys and girls in primary education, pushing the gender gap into the secondary and post-secondary sectors. At the same time, from 1970 onwards, the country launched major literacy campaigns to ensure that adults also had access to basic education.

This interview with Theresia M. is part of a series of 39 interviews in Swahili that I conducted in 2018 and 2019 for my doctoral research. I aimed to revisit this grand narrative of school expansion through the prism of individual experiences, particularly those of women, in order to question the gendered issues of access to education⁵. I led all the interviews in the Tanga region, located in northeastern Tanzania. Some 75% of the region’s population is Muslim, but there is a long-standing missionary presence. The Anglicans of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) first settled in Magila in 1875⁶. This missionary centre, located some 40 km from Tanga city, the region’s capital, was home to some of the first missionary schools in East Africa⁷. It was there that I met Theresia, who had been introduced to me by Monica Mbezi, a young archivist from the Anglican Diocese of Tanga. The interview took place next to Theresia’s old school. Once I switched off the microphone, she slipped back discreetly into the group of women from her parish who were meeting in the same courtyard. Although her training as a teacher was similar to that of the graduates of the Ecole normale de Rufisque in French West Africa, her experience was quite different: unlike them, she did not travel for her studies or her career⁸. Besides this specificity, which can be explained by the difference in education policies between the French and British empires, this interview is valuable for three reasons.

¹ The UN Trust Territories were the heirs to the League of Nations mandates, i.e. former German colonies whose administration was entrusted to other colonial powers in 1919.

² Cameron John et Dodd William (1970), *Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania*, Oxford, Pergamon Press. For an overview of the history of education in Tanzania, see also Buchert Lene (1994), *Education in the Development of Tanzania: 1919-1990*, London, James Currey.

³ Cameron J. et Dodd W., *Society, Schools...*, *op. cit.*

⁴ Westerlund David (1980), *Ujamaa na Dini: a Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion in Tanzania 1961-1977*, Stockholm, Almqvist och Wiksell.

⁵ Wenzek Florence (2022), “La fabrique genrée de la nation tanzanienne. Éduquer et former les filles et les femmes (1939-1976)”, PhD dissertation, Université Paris Cité. All the unsourced comments below are conclusions from this study. On the methodology used to conduct these interviews, see Wenzek Florence (2023), “L’entretien comme tâtonnement et comme rencontre: la chambre noire d’une historienne”, *Sources*, 7, under print.

⁶ Willis Justin (1993), “The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa in Bonde”, *Past & Present* (140), pp. 127-154.

⁷ On these schools, especially those for girls, see Prichard Andreana (2017), *Sisters in Spirit: Christianity, Affect, and Community Building in East Africa, 1860-1970*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press.

⁸ Barthélémy Pascale (2010), *Africaines et diplômées à l’époque coloniale, 1918-1957*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Firstly, it shows one of the facets of the Tanzanian people's enthusiasm for school that enabled the massive shift towards universal enrolment in Tanzania. The distance from schools, especially those offering education beyond the first years of primary school, and their direct and indirect costs were significant barriers to schooling. As a result, many families were only able to either send some of their children to school – to the detriment of girls, especially the eldest daughter – or to give their children only minimal education, from two to four years. Those who could, however, sent more children to school, for longer periods, sometimes at the price of significant sacrifices. In Theresia's family, all the siblings went to school for six years at least, which was made possible thanks to the proximity of a mission that provided full primary education as well as vocational training for girls, and also thanks to the fact that her father had a salaried, qualified job as a secretary. He thus had enough resources to meet the direct and indirect costs of schooling, and his school capital probably contributed to the success of all his children in a highly selective system.

Moreover, the interview with Theresia, like those with other educated women of her generation, reveals these women's role as intermediaries between a colonial world where mastery of the written word was rare and a post-colonial world where this mastery became an imperative. She passed on knowledge, especially as a teacher. As she points out, this was one of the very few career paths open to women at the time. It was already the case before, but her generation invested more in the profession: many, like Theresia, pursued a full career, rather than giving up work after getting married or having their first child. By dedicating themselves to the transmission of knowledge in this way, they responded to a government injunction, which made women responsible for educating not only their children, but also all the people⁹. Theresia fully embraced this responsibility by giving classes to adults, in the context of the literacy courses she was responsible for as a teacher, and through her activities within the Anglican Church.

Finally, the interview with Theresia provides an opportunity to reflect on the link between the child's experience and the adult's retrospective view, which becomes apparent in the very positive way in which former pupils describe their colonial and missionary education. They talk about the pleasure they got from discovering new horizons, especially playful ones: Theresia describes the sport lessons and scouting activities organised by the school staff. But she also insists on the usefulness of the teaching she received, in domestic science, for example. Theresia's statements are thus useful to demonstrate that schooled people shared with the colonial and then post-colonial authorities the idea that school was a driver of progress. Simultaneously, her account shows that this idea positively shaped these people's life in school and their retrospective view of this experience. Theresia's appreciation is all the more notable when she recounts a forced career choice that was a major disappointment in her life: the Anglican sisters denied her access to secondary school. In this way, she highlights the abuse of power underlying the asymmetrical relationship between the missionaries and their flock. It is also worth underlining that Theresia compares the education she received with today's school system. She highlights the beauty of her grandchildren's uniforms but simultaneously praises the small class sizes of her childhood, which enabled pupils to succeed without studying at home. Nostalgia, here, is linked to a criticism of the current system¹⁰. In this way, the very positive aspect of her account of her schooling experience stems from happy memories, from the career path it opened up for her and in which she flourished, and from the value being placed on school education both in the family environment in which she grew up and in contemporary Tanzania, where it still accounts in large part for hopes for individual and collective improvements in living conditions.

Toka kuingia shule mpaka kupata mshahara ya kwanza

Florence Wenzek : Unaweza kujitambulisha?

Mimi kwa majina nilikuwa ninaitwa Theresia M. Nimezaliwa mwaka 1941 tarehe 10 Oktoba. Wakati nilipozaliwa baba yangu alikuwa ni karani, Tanga. Lakini baadaye alirudi kijiji hicho cha mbele hapo, kilikuwa kinaitwa Masoroko, akajenga. Mama alikuwa ni mama wa nyumbani tu. Lakini alikuwa akilima mazao ya

⁹ Lal Priya (2010), "Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: 'Ujamaa', Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania", *The Journal of African History*, 51(1), pp. 1-20.

¹⁰ On nostalgia for colonial schools see: De Jong Ferdinand, Quinn Brian et Bach Jean-Nicolas (2014), "Ruines d'utopies: l'École William Ponty et l'Université du Futur africain", *Politique africaine*, 135, pp. 71-94. On nostalgia for colonisation more generally, see the rest of this issue, particularly the introduction: Lachenal Guillaume et Mbodj-Pouye Aïssatou (2014), "Restes du développement et traces de la modernité en Afrique", *Politique africaine*, 135, pp. 5-21.

chakula kinakuwa cha kwetu tu nyumbani kwa ajili ya kula tulikuwa tunatumia wenyewe nyumbani tu. Baba yangu nimemkuta akiwa ni Mkristo wa Anglican na mama pia, alikuwa anaitwa Agnes. Kwanza baba yangu alioa mke wa kwanza wakazaa watoto wanne halafu yule mama akafariki hivyo akamwoa mama, mama akazaa watoto, akatuzaa sisi kumi na mmoja.

Sawa. Wote walisoma?

Ndio wote walisoma. Baba yetu alitusomesha wote, kwa hiyo kaka zangu walisoma wakafanya kazi. Mmoja alikuwa mwandishi wa habari wa gazeti. Kwa sababu kazi zilikuwa kama mbili za wanawake, mimi na dada watano, tulikuwa waalimu. Wawili walikuwa manesi.

Baba yako alitaka watoto wote waende shuleni?

Ndio baba yangu alipenda watoto wote tusome na alikuwa anatumia kabisa twende shuleni.

Wasichana kama wavulana?

Wasichana kama wavulana. Nikiwa bado msichana mdogo niliona dada zangu walikuwa wanakwenda shule, ni ya hapo saint Mary na kaka zangu walikuwa saint Martin. Yaani shule ilikuwa ya wasichana mbali na wavulana mbali. Masista Wazungu ndio waliokuwa wanaongoza shule hiyo ya wasichana. Wakati huo mwaka 1941 dada yangu alikuwa anasema sista wao mkuu alikuwa anaitwa sista Mary Bernadina. Alikuwapo hapo akawa amewafundisha. Dada zangu walisoma hapo lakini wakaishia darasa la sita ilikuwa ndio la mwisho¹¹. Walivyofika darasa la sita wakapata Women Certificate wakawa walimu. Lakini baada ya mimi kuanza shule mwaka 1947, nilikuta tayari wameongeza madarasa ya sita mpaka ya nane. Kwa hiyo hata na mimi nikasoma mpaka darasa la nane. Nikaishia mwaka 1956¹².

Mwaka 1952 hapo Hegongo¹³, palikuwa ni msitu tu. Kwa hiyo tukaona masista pamoja na Wazungu waliokuja, maakidikin Wazungu na mapadri Wazungu wakaanza kukata miti. Tukaambiwa patajengwa TTC, Teacher Training [Centre]. Kwa hiyo wale waliomaliza darasa la nane wengi ambao wamepasi wakapelekwa hapo kusoma TTC kuwa walimu. Kazi zilikuwa kama mbili [za wanawake] kwa wakati huo: ualimu na unesi. Kwa hiyo na hapa pia palifunguliwa na chuo cha Manesi. Kwa hiyo wale waliomaliza darasa la nane wengine wamekwenda nursing na wengine wakaenda teaching. Kwa hiyo na mimi nilipomaliza mwaka 1957, nikachaguliwa. Kwanza walikuwa wanatuuliza: “unapenda kuwa nani?” Halafu masista wale walikuwa wanakuambia “hapana huwezi, hupendi, hufai kuwa nesi, hufai kazi yoyote” labda. Kwa hiyo mimi nikaambiwa “unafaa kuwa mwalimu”. Kwa hiyo nikaingia hapo teachers TTC mwaka 1957.

Kumbukumbu za shule

Ulitumia muda gani kwenda shuleni?

Sijui ni dakika ishirini kutoka nyumbani, kwa sababu baba yetu alikuwa baba mkali. Kwa hiyo, tunaamka asubuhi tunafanya kazi za nyumbani kupika chai, kama ni chai ama uji, tupate kufungua kinywa, halafu anasema “lazima mkimbie shuleni”. Kwa hiyo tunakimbia, tukienda shuleni tunakimbia, ili tuwahi masomo. Ilikuwa kama dakika ishirini nafikiri, sio mbali sana.

Shuleni ulipenda zaidi masomo gani?

Mimi nilikuwa napenda zaidi English halafu nilikuwa napenda Kiswahili na Sayansi.

¹¹ The primary cycle was successively in six years, eight years (from 1950) and seven years (from 1964).

¹² Theresia does not tell that she passed the highly selective examination introduced in 1950, which was a prerequisite for access to the second part of the primary cycle (from the fifth to the eighth year). Only 12% of girls and 18% of boys passed. Calculated from Tanganyika Territory (1955), *Annual Report of the Education Department*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, p. iii; Tanganyika Territory (1956), *Annual Report of the Education Department*, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, p. iii.

¹³ Hegongo is a specific place within Magila Anglican mission station.

Ulisoma domestic science¹⁴?

Nilikuwa napenda sana domestic science. Shuleni, wakati wa Domestic ilikuwa inashirikiana na nursing kwa sababu ilikuwa ni hapa hapa karibu. Kwa hiyo tulikuwa tunaambiwa ni assignment hizo tangu darasa la nne domestic science kufagia, kudeki, tulikuwa tunafundishwa kazi za wiki na za kila siku. Tulikuwa tunafundishwa kupika halafu tulikuwa tunafundishwa jinsi ya kutunza watoto ambapo tumeruhusiwa tulikuwa tunachukua watoto kutoka nursery tukija tunakuwa pamoja nao tunawahudumia halafu tunawapelekea wakina mama kunyonya maana ilikuwa ni karibu kwa hiyo tulikuwa tunashirikiana pamoja nao. Halafu kuna somo lingine la kushona. Tunaanza kushona vitambaa vidogo. Baada ya vitambaa vidogo, jinsi ya kushika sindano, kushona na cherehani halafu tukafundishwa jinsi ya kukata vigauni vidogo, underwear, brazia pia tulikuwa tunafundishwa na kufundishwa *hemming*.

Je, vitu ulivyojifunza shuleni vilikuwa tofauti na ulivyofundishwa nyumbani na mama yako?

Hapana kama kidogo kuna tofauti kwa sababu nyumbani hufundishwi kama hivyo. Nyumbani tulikuwa tunafundishwa kama kupika, ni mambo ya kwetu tu kama ugali, wali kidogo. Lakini huko tulikuwa tunafundishwa kupika keki, kutumia ngano vizuri. Kwa hiyo kutoka shuleni na kwenda kwa mama na sisi tunanunua ngano tunapika skonzi, tunapika keki. Baba alikuwa hodari kutununulia ngano na tukiwa nyumbani tunamweleza mama kuwa tumefundishwa hivi. Tulikuwa tunafundishwa vyakula mbalimbali jinsi ya kuvitengeza.

Sawa. Na wakati ulikuwepo kwenye Teacher Training College [TTC], kulikuwa na masomo ya domestic science pia?

Eeehe kule teaching tulikuwa tunaendelea na domestic science. Lakini wakati huo sasa tunakuwa kama tumeweza kwa hiyo tunakuwa tunaendelea tu maana tumekuwa mahodari.

Ilikuwa na faida?

Nilipenda masomo ya domestic science hasa wakati nilipokwenda kuolewa nikiwa kwenye nyumba yangu. Yale nilijifunza jinsi ya kuweka nyumba safi, jinsi ya kupika, jinsi ya kutunza nyumba, hata jinsi ya kutunza watoto. Nilipenda sana domestic science¹⁵.

Sawa, na walimu walikuwa Wazungu au Watanzania?

Walimu walikuwa ni Wazungu. Walikuwako na Waswahili na Waafrika, wapo. Lakini ambao wale principals, na wengi waliokuwa wanafundisha domestic science walikuwa masista Wazungu. Halafu baadaye akaja na mama mmoja [Mwafrika] ambaye amekwenda kusomea tukawa nae ambae ametufundisha. Aliyeendelea kutufundisha domestic science.

Na wanafunzi walikuwa ni Wakristo au na dini nyingine?

Hapana kulikuwa na Waislamu pamoja na Wakristo. Kulikuwa ni mchanganyiko lakini wakati huo hata kama ni Waislamu wengi walivutika kwa sababu hawakulazimishwa kuingia dini, isipokuwa walipoona zile tabia wengi wakavutika kuingia dini. Kwa sababu tulikuwa tunafundishwa tunaingia kanisani tunaimba kwa hiyo wengine wakavutika lakini hawajalazimishwa walikuwa wanafundishwa tu kama kawaida¹⁶.

¹⁴ Domestic science is the equivalent of what is called, in other places and periods, housecraft and mothercraft. In Tanganyika, from 1939 onwards, the colonial administrator who supervised girls' schooling promoted the expression "domestic science". She aimed to give it a "scientific" dimension (rationalisation of household management) in continuity with transformations that had taken place in the United States and Great Britain at the turn of the century.

¹⁵ Given the importance of women's domestic responsibilities, both in society and in political discourse, from the colonial period to the present day, these learnings probably helped her to live up to all these expectations. However, her enthusiasm for domestic science is a witness to the fact that the schooled appropriated the discourse held by the missionary, colonial and then post-colonial authorities that made school a factor of progress. Indeed, by teaching them to cook European dishes, clean their homes according to new standards of hygiene, and sew and iron clothes, this school subject enabled the girls to master the material environment associated with the world of the schooled, who thus visually manifested their role as bearers of social progress. On this subject, see especially Prichard A., *Sisters in Spirit...*, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ There was no obligation to convert to enter a missionary school, but the missionaries hoped that schooling in a Christian context would encourage conversions. These were frequent, sometimes delayed by parental opposition.

Sawa. Je, unafikiri wakati huo ilikuwa ngumu kufanikiwa shuleni kwa wasichana zaidi kuliko wavulana?

Hapana tulikuwa sawasawa na wavulana. Wavulana wao waliosoma kule na wasichana huku, tulikuwa ni sawasawa. Tena tulikuwa ni kama tunashindana. Kwa sababu wao walikuwa boys na sisi tulikuwa girls basi wakati mwingine tunawauliza, hata kama ni ndugu zetu, “nyinyi mmefikia wapi?” “Basi, sisi tutawashinda kama hivyo”, eeeheeee.

Ulikuwa na kazi nyumbani?

Ndio tulikuwa na kazi. Unapotoka shuleni unafika nyumbani unafanya kazi za nyumbani. Wakati huo hakuna mashine za kusaga kwa hiyo tulikuwa tunasaga wenyewe kwa vijichi mahindi. Jumamosi, tunakwenda shambani na Jumapili, tunakwenda kanisani. Jumamosi, tunasaidia kazi za nyumbani, tukirudi shuleni kama sasa hivi saa kumi, lazima tukamsaidie mama kazi za nyumbani.

Je, wavulana pia au nyie wenyewe?

Wavulana pia. Eeeeh tena sisi tulikuwa tunapangiwa kazi wote. Wavulana... kama kuna kuchota maji wanatusaidia kama kuna kufagia uwanja wanatusaidia. Lakini kupika zaidi ilikuwa ni wasichana eeehe wavulana hapana.

Hata kama ulikuwa na kazi za nyumbani ulipata muda wa kufanya kazi za shule?

Hapana sio sana. Lakini mara nyingi tulikuwa tunasoma huko huko shuleni. Tulikuwa hatuna tuition tulikuwa tunasoma shuleni na tunaolewa vizuri. Lakini tunapokwenda nyumbani kama kuna mzazi anauliza : “leo mmesoma nini na nini?” Basi au kama ni kusoma tunasoma wenyewe tu, kwa kupenda, lakini tulikuwa hatuna masomo mengine ya ziada, hapana. Tunatoka shuleni saa kumi, tunakwenda kufanya kazi za nyumbani.

Unaacha kazi za shule?

Tunaacha kazi za shule. Lakini ninaona tulikuwa tunaolewa vizuri sana na tunajua na tulikuwa tunazingatia vizuri sana. Kwa sababu kwenye madarasa hatukuwa watoto sitini wala hamsini, tulikuwa watoto kama arobaini na tano. Hasa, watoto arobaini na tano. Kwa hiyo yule mwalimu alikuwa anatupitia, kila mtu anampitia, unasahihisha pale pale shuleni. Dakika zilikuwa arobaini na tano mwalimu anafundisha, unapewa kazi unafanya, halafu unasahihishiwa pale pale au unaambiwa basi kesho utarudia tena kazi hii au mtarudia wote. Tunaolewa na tumeshika vizuri.

Elimu ya girl guides na michezo

Kama una kumbukumbu nzuri kuhusu maisha ya shule, je, unaweza kuniambia?

Aaaaaah, kwa kweli kuhusu kumbukumbu ya maisha ya shule yaani siku hizi kama nikiwaona wajukuu zangu jinsi ambavyo wamevalishwa vizuri wakienda shuleni ninaona wewe unafikiria labda hata mimi ningekuwa hivi. Lakini zamani sisi hatuna viatu vizuri, tulikuwa tunavaa uniform tunapewa. Wakati tulipokuwa tunavaa uniform tulikuwa tunapenda kuwa wanafunzi. Lakini kwa sasa zaidi tunawapenda sana wanafunzi hasa wanakuwa na mabegi na viatu na soksi¹⁷. Ninaona raha hata mimi kuwalishwa wajukuu zangu wanapokuja shuleni, kwa kweli, eeh.

Halafu kuna kitu kingine : tukafundishwa girl guides. Basi, wakati wa girl guides tulikuwa tunapenda labda tutembe tuonekane tumevaa nguo za girl guides.

Ulifanya nini na hiyo girl guides?

Tulikuwa tunakwenda kambini tulikuwa tunafanya mambo mengi, tunafundishwa jinsi ya kujificha nani amejificha wapi tunakwenda kumtafuta kumwona. Ilikuwa ni ya kupendeza kwa kweli. Kwa hiyo, tulivyokuwa primary, ilikuwa ni brownies halafu tulivyokuwa TTC hapo na ualimu tukawa hiyo girl guides.

¹⁷ Wearing shoes was a significant vehicle of social and racial distinction in colonial contexts. See Kelly Gail P. (1986), “Learning to Be Marginal: Schooling in Interwar French West Africa”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 21(3-4), pp. 171-184.

[Monica] : Ni kama skauti?

Ni skauti lakini sisi kwa wavulana ikawa ni skauti kwa wanawake ikawa girl guides. Katika miaka tisini tisini hivi wakati huo, serikali wakatuunganisha wote ikawa ni skauti.

Na unafikiri ulijifunza vitu katika girl guides?

Ndio nilijifunza vitu vingi ambavyo naona sasa pia vinanisaidia. Kama katika domestic science, nilikuwa ninajifunza jinsi ya kupanga kazi. Siku hizi hata wajukuu nitawaambia. Kwa sababu wakati tuliokuwa katika domestic science tulikuwa tunapewa kama kazi tano. Tunaambiwa “leo kazi zako ni hizi: kumwogeshwa mtoto, kumpa uji, kufua nguo zake”. Kwa hiyo lazima uangalie kazi ya kwanza hasa ni nini? Kwa hiyo, unaweza kuangalia: “sasa nikianza kumpikia uji nikimlisha mtoto, halafu nikimweka, kuna nguo za kufua”. Kwa hiyo unaangalia: “kwanza ninaanza kufua, zikianikwa ninafanya kazi hii, zinakwenda sawasawa”. Kwa hiyo nimejifunza mengi katika girl guides pia, ukakamavu, najitahidi kwenye kazi.

Katika girl guides ulikuwa unafundishwa kusafisha na kutunza watoto?

Eeehhe ndio.

Nimeambiwa kwamba katika girl guides wanafunzi walisaidia wazee?

Walisaidia wazee, kutunza wazee, kutunza wagonjwa kwenye girl guides. Kwa hiyo sikuwa na tabu hata mama yangu alipokuwa mzee nilikuwa ninaweza kumtunza vizuri¹⁸.

Na shuleni kulikuwa na michezo?

Michezo ndio viwanjani mimi nilikuwa fundi wa netball¹⁹. Nilikuwa centre katika netball. Halafu nilikuwa hodari wa kushuti. Lakini sasa kwa sababu, mimi nilikuwa left handed. Kwa hiyo wale watoto, watu wa nje walikuwa wanashangilia wananiambia “mashoto”. Kama walinidharau ndio maana nilipenda kukaa centre sana. Lakini shooting pia nilikuwa naweza na ninaweza kukaa mbali nikashooti. Sasa, nikikaa mbali niki-shuti, wenzangu “mashoto”! Wanakuwa kama kunitania.

Na uliendelea na netball baada ya kumaliza shule?

Niliendelea netball mpaka nikawa mwalimu netball, nikafundisha. Lakini sasa siwezi nimekuwa mzee, siwezi kuruka.

Je, wavulana walifanya netball pia?

Wavulana walikuwa wanacheza football.

Je, wasichana waliweza kucheza mpira wa miguu pia?

Siku hizi ndio ninaona wasichana wanacheza mpira wa miguu lakini zamani zetu hapana ilikuwa ni netball tu.

Kazi ya mwalimu**Kwa nini ulichagua kuwa mwalimu?**

Kwa kweli, nilipofika darasa la nane, wale masista walitupa vikaratasi, “unapenda kuwa nani?” Kwa hiyo, mimi nilisema: “labda ninapenda kuwa nurse”. Lakini sista akaja akaniangalia akasema: “hapana wewe unapendeza kuwa mwalimu”. Kwa hiyo hata nilivyokwenda teaching nikafurahia kwa kweli. Lakini pia niliwaza kidogo “labda niende nursing” kwa sababu wale watoto tunavyoletewa. Lakini masista wa nursing walikuwa wanaunganishwa pamoja na wale wa shule. Wakasema “hapana huyu, anafaa kuwa mwalimu”. Na kweli

¹⁸ For perspectives on gender and racial variations in scouting and guiding practices worldwide, see Alexander Kristine (2017), *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s*, Vancouver, UBC Press.

¹⁹ Netball is a variant of basketball that limits contact. It was developed specifically for girls. For comparative perspectives on the gendered issues of sports education in colonial and post-colonial contexts, see Nicolas Claire (2024), *Une si longue course: sport, genre et citoyenneté au Ghana et en Côte d'Ivoire (années 1900-1970)*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, under print.

nikawa mwalimu mzuri nikawa nimependa kazi ya ualimu nimeipenda sana na mpaka wajukuu zangu watoto pia wamenifuata, wengi, watatu, wamekuwa waalimu.

Ulichagua kwenda Teacher Training Centre kuliko kuendelea la tisa na kusoma secondary²⁰?

Mimi nilipofika darasa la nane nilifikiria labda nitakwenda la tisa [katika secondary]. Lakini hapana, nikaambiwa “hufai kwenda darasa la tisa unafaa kwenda TTC [Teacher Training Centre]”. Mimi nimechaguliwa tu kwenda TTC na masista. Sasa wakati huo siwezi kuelewa kama maksi zangu zilikuwa ndogo ama nini? Kwa hiyo nilikuwa sijui ni kwa nini nimechaguliwa tu na masista kuna wenzetu wengine walikwenda darasa la tisa.

Ilikuwa inategemea ufaulu wa mtihani?

Eeeeehe. Hapana mimi na mwenzangu mwingine ambaye tulipata maksi sawa sawa lakini yeye ameambiwa “unakwenda la tisa”. Lakini mimi masista walinii... Sijui ni kunipenda au kufanyaje wakasema hapana. Nafikiri wao walinipenda tu wakaniambia “wewe utakuja TTC”. Eeh, hawakupenda niende tena maana kulikuwa hakuna darasa la tisa tena kwenye shule za mission. Kwa hiyo mimi nilichaguliwa tu na masista kurudia tena huko mission²¹.

[Monica] : Shule ya kwanza ulifundisha shule gani?

Baada ya kumaliza mwaka 1960 mimi nikaajiriwa kuwa mwalimu. Shule ya kwanza nilipelekwa hapo kijijini mbele kidogo panaitwa Kichema. Mshahara wetu mwaka ule nilipoanza kazi nilianza January moja ilikuwa ni shilingi 207 na senti 50. Lakini kwetu zilikuwa ni nyingi. Baadaye wakaniamisha wakanipeleka Korogwe. Nikaolewa mwaka 1964, nikabadilisha jina la bwana.

Je, ulipolewa uliendelea na kazi yako?

Ndio nilipolewa niliendelea na kazi yangu ya kufundisha. Kabla, nilifundisha shule za mission na baada ya kuolewa nikafundisha shule za serikali. Nilifundisha Korogwe, nilifundisha Tanga Mjini mpaka mwaka 1970 mume wangu akafariki. Baada ya kufariki mimi nikaona ni vizuri nirudi hapa nyumbani kwa sababu nilipenda kukaa mazingira ya hapa. Tulipata kiwanja hapa sio kile cha baba hapana, kingine. Tukajenga huku huku na watoto wangu.

Wakati ulipolewa ukaendelea na kazi, je, kwa wakati huo, ilikuwa kawaida au ilikuwa wewe umeamua kuendelea na kazi?

Niliamua mimi mwenyewe kuendelea na kazi. Na yule mume wangu alikuwa amesema tu “endelea na kazi”. Kwa hiyo nilikuwa naendelea na kazi. Kama unakuwa mjamzito unapata likizo ya miezi mitatu unarudi kazini²². Na wakati huo, kupata house girl kulikuwa ni rahisi, kwa sababu wengi wamesoma wakaishia katikati. Anakaa na watoto unakwenda kazini.

Mume wako alikuwa anafanya kazi gani?

Alikuwa ni bwana shamba.

Alikuwa amesoma mpaka darasa la ngapi?

La kumi na mbili, wakati huo form four ilikuwa ni la kumi na mbili. Mimi nilifika la nane yeye alifika la kumi na mbili.

²⁰ At that time, secondary classes were counted with numbers from IX to XIV. After the eighth grade, which marked the end of primary school, pupils could either continue to the highly prestigious and selective secondary schools or join post-primary vocational training, for which there was also a selection. In 1958, in the Tanga region, out of 158 girls who finished primary school, 19% were selected for teacher training, 12% for nursing training, 11% for secondary school, and 58% had no opportunity to continue their studies. Tanzania National Archives, 116-100, doc. 86, “Further Education and Training Post VIII - 1958”.

²¹ The archives attest to this opacity of school selection processes and the freedom of missionary organisations to decide which of their students would go to government schools. Theresia does not make any direct reproaches, which is probably an effect of the high value placed on school education in this generation of students. Indeed, all the testimonies I have collected show that pupils from the colonial and early independence periods always express gratitude towards their former teachers. Some describe strong emotional bonds, and all assert they cannot but praise those who opened the doors of knowledge to them.

²² Maternity leave was introduced for married women in 1969, and extended to all women in 1975.

Kufundisha watu wazima, pamoja na Kanisa na serikali

Je, ulikuwa mwanachama wa TANU [Tanzania African National Union]?

Eeeeeeehe, ule wakati wa TANU tulikuwa kama watu wa TANU tu, chama kimoja basi.

Na ulikuwa katika kikundi cha wanawake?

Kilikuwepo UWT [Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania]²³ lakini kwa mimi sikuvingia. Wengine maana wameingia kwenye vyama lakini kwa vile mimi nilikuwa mfanyakazi sikuvingia sana. Tangu nimeolewa sasa, nimeingia katika kikundi cha wanawake wa Kikristo, UMAKI, Umoja wa Akina Mama wa Kikristo. Kwa hiyo kule, tulikuwa pia tunaendelea kufundishwa jinsi ya kukaa na watoto, kukaa na wanaume, kutunza nyumba zetu na kuwa safi, kutunza mabinti zetu, wavulana wasichana. Nilipenda kuwa kwenye ushirika wa Akina Mama wa Kikristo. Mpaka sasa niko.

Na ulikuwa unajifunza au unafundisha kwenye ushirika wa kina mama?

Nilikuwa nimejifunza lakini baadaye nikawa ninafundisha. Hata mimi mwenyewe nikawa ni katibu.

Je, katika kikundi hicho kulikuwa na wanawake ambao walikuwa hawajui kusoma na kuandika?

Ndio, kuna wakati fulani walikuwa. Wakati kama mwaka 1970. Tulikuwa tunawafundisha mpaka wajue jinsi ya kuandika majina yao, wajue kusoma. Tukawa tunawasaidia sana hasa waliokuwa waalimu. Tunawavuta kina mama, wanakuja, tunawafundisha.

Na kwa wao walionaje, ni vizuri zaidi kujifunza kushona au kusoma na kuandika?

Walikuwa wanapenda kujifunza kusoma, walikuwa wanapenda kujifunza kushona. Kwa hiyo kuna wakati kama nilivyokuwa Tanga watu walipata vyerehani tukawa tunawafundisha. Ilikuwa muhimu zaidi, tulikuwa tunajifunza pia. Nilikuwa nafundishwa hata na kina mama walio juu yangu jinsi ya kukaa na nyumba, uvu-milivu kwa wanaume, vile vile. Na mimi sasa baadaye sasa nikawa na mimi ninafundisha eeehe²⁴.

Sawa. Je, kufundisha watu wazima kulikuwa tofauti sana kwa kufundisha watoto?

Ndio, tofauti ipo kwa sababu watu wazima unawafundisha mambo mengine ambayo hata wao wenyewe wanaweza kukufundisha, kwa sababu tuko tofauti. Kwa hiyo pale pale tunapofundisha au tunapouliza maswali, wao wana wao, kama kuna jambo ambalo wamelipitia katika utu uzima wao, katika ndoa zao, wanaweza kukufundisha hata wewe unayewafundisha. Lakini sasa watoto wewe unawafundisha tu²⁵.

Wakati serikali iliamua kutoa elimu ya watu wazima wote, je, wewe ulifundisha pia?

Kwa sababu nilikuwa mwalimu nilifundisha kile kisomo cha elimu ya watu wazima katika jamii²⁶.

²³ On UWT, see Geiger Susan (1982), "Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor", *African Studies Review*, 25(2-3), pp. 45-65.

²⁴ On women's groups as places to talk about marital difficulties, see also Ngaiza Magdalene K. et Koda Bertha (ed.) (1991), *Unsung Heroines: Women's Life Histories from Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, WRDP Publications; Ranchod-Nilsson Sita (1992), "Educating Eve": The Women's Club Movement and Political Consciousness among Rural African Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1950-1980", in K. T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, pp. 195-217; Epprecht Marc (2000), "This Matter of Women is Getting Very Bad": *Gender, Development and Politics in Colonial Lesotho*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press; Guidi Pierre (2019), "Éduquer nos sœurs opprimées: urbaines diplômées et paysannes dans la révolution éthiopienne (1974-1991)", *Critique internationale*, 85(4), pp. 165-184.

²⁵ Her modesty in portraying her role in these groups is noteworthy: she describes horizontal exchanges with the other women, explaining that they taught each other. She does not valorize some kinds of knowledge over others. Instead, she places reading skills and advice on marital life on an equal footing. Such an approach is a significant departure from the public discourse that presented the unschooled as fundamentally ignorant.

²⁶ She refers to the adult education courses set up by the independent government during major literacy campaigns. For learners' testimonies of these, see Kassam Yusuf O. (1979), *Illiterate no More: the Voices of New Literates from Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House. The original swahili version has also been published: Kassam Yusuf O. (1982), *Sauti ya Wanakisomo*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House.

Unaweza kuniambia zaidi kuhusu kile kisomo?

Kwa jamii tulikuwa kama kule kule kazini. Unapangiwa sehemu ya kufundisha. Wakina mama hata wakina baba ambao hawajui kusoma. Lakini kwenye kikundi cha Wakristo tulikuwa tunafundisha wakina mama tu wenzetu. Kwenye serikali tulivyokuwa pale, ni kipindi unapangiwa unaambiwa “leo, unafundisha watu wazima”, wanakuja pale shuleni wanafundishwa na kina baba pamoja.

Mama na baba pamoja?

Eeeeehe mama na baba pamoja.

Na ulifanya kazi hii Tanga au hapa?

Tanga nilifanya sana eeehe Tanga mjini.

Sawa. Je, watu wazima walipenda sana kujua kusoma na kuandika?

Eeeeehe wengi walipenda sana kujifunza kusoma na kuandika, lakini wengine wengi wakakata tamaa kati-kati. Wanaona sijui, walikuwa wanaona aibu kuja.

Kulikuwa na masomo mengine pia au ilikuwa ni kusoma tu na kuandika?

Ilikuwa ni kusoma na kuandika, isipokuwa wale wengine waliokuwa wanajua. Walikuwa wanapenda wafundishwe mambo mengine kama kushona, kupika. Eeeh wakina mama wao walikuwa wanasema “sisi tunajua kusoma na kuandika lakini kupika kitu hiki tukae tujifunze pamoja kushona hivi na hivi”.

Je, uliwafundisha masomo ya afya?

Kwenye afya tulikuwa tunachukua manesi. Ndio waliokuwa wanafundisha.

Wakina baba na mama walikuwa wanajifunza sawa sawa?

Aaaah inategemea, wakati mwingine utamkuta baba hawezi kabisa mama anaweza, wakati mwingine mama anaweza baba hawezi, baba anaweza. Sasa zaidi wanakata tamaa ikiwa unawafundisha. Halafu wengine hawaelewi kwa hiyo wanachepuka chepuka kidogo wakaondoka. Labda ni aibu au wakiona wanafundishwa hawashiki basi.

Je, walikuwepo wachache waliokuwa na nia ya kujifunza kweli na baadaye wakaweza kusoma vizuri?

Eeeh wale waliotaka, ambao hawakukata tamaa, waliweza kabisa kusoma. Wengine wakaanzisha na maduka yao. Wameweza kusoma wamepata elimu eeehe²⁷.

*Florence Wenzek, PhD
CERLIS, Université Paris-Cité*

Bibliographie

- ALEXANDER Kristine (2017), *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s*, Vancouver, UBCPress.
- BARTHÉLÉMY Pascale (2010), *Africaines et diplômées à l'époque coloniale, 1918-1957*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- BUCHERT Lene (1994), *Education in the Development of Tanzania: 1919-1990*, London, James Currey.
- CAMERON John and DODD William (1970), *Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania*, Oxford, Pergamon Press.

²⁷ On education as a commodity, see Pels Peter (1999), *A Politics of Presence: Contacts Between Missionaries and Waluguru in Late Colonial Tanganyika*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers.

- DE JONG Ferdinand, QUINN Brian and BACH Jean-Nicolas (2014) “Ruines d’utopies: l’École William Ponty et l’Université du Futur africain”, *Politique africaine*, 135, pp. 71-94.
- EPPRECHT Marc (2000), *“This Matter of Women is Getting Very Bad”: Gender, Development and Politics in Colonial Lesotho*, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press.
- GEIGER Susan (1982), “Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania and the Needs of the Rural Poor”, *African Studies Review*, 25(2-3), pp. 45-65.
- GUIDI Pierre (2019), “Éduquer nos sœurs opprimées’: urbaines diplômées et paysannes dans la révolution éthiopienne (1974-1991)”, *Critique internationale*, 85(4), pp. 165-184.
- KASSAM Yusuf O. (1979), *Illiterate no More: the Voices of New Literates from Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House.
- KASSAM Yusuf O. (1982), *Sauti ya Wanakisomo*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House.
- KELLY Gail P. (1986), “Learning to Be Marginal: Schooling in Interwar French West Africa”, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 21(3-4), pp. 171-184.
- LACHENAL Guillaume and MBODJ-POUYE Aïssatou (2014), “Restes du développement et traces de la modernité en Afrique», *Politique africaine* (135), pp. 5-21.
- LAL Priya (2010), “Militants, Mothers, and the National Family: “Ujamaa”, Gender, and Rural Development in Postcolonial Tanzania”, *The Journal of African History*, 51(1), pp. 1-20.
- NGAIZA Magdalene K. and KODA Bertha (ed.) (1991), *Unsung Heroines: Women’s Life Histories from Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam, WRDP Publications.
- NICOLAS Claire (2024), *Une si longue course: sport, genre et citoyenneté au Ghana et en Côte d’Ivoire (années 1900-1970)*, Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, under print.
- PELS Peter (1999), *A Politics of Presence: Contacts Between Missionaries and Waluguru in Late Colonial Tanganyika*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers.
- PRICHARD Andreana (2017), *Sisters in Spirit: Christianity, Affect, and Community Building in East Africa, 1860-1970*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press.
- RANCHOD-NILSSON Sita (1992), “Educating Eve’: The Women’s Club Movement and Political Consciousness among Rural African Women in Southern Rhodesia, 1950-1980”, in K. T. Hansen (ed.), *African Encounters with Domesticity*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, pp. 195-217.
- WENZEK Florence (2022), *La fabrique genrée de la nation tanzanienne. Éduquer et former les filles et les femmes (1939-1976)*, PhD dissertation, Université Paris Cité, Paris.
- WENZEK Florence (2023), “L’entretien comme tâtonnement et comme rencontre: la chambre noire d’une historienne”, *Sources* (7), under print.
- WESTERLUND David (1980), *Ujamaa na Dini: a Study of Some Aspects of Society and Religion in Tanzania 1961-1977*, Stockholm, Almqvist och Wiksell.
- WILLIS Justin (1993), “The Nature of a Mission Community: The Universities’ Mission to Central Africa in Bonde”, *Past & Present* (140), pp. 127-154.