

**INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO
INEFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP SKILLS
AMONG STUDENTS IN TANZANIA'S PUBLIC
UNIVERSITIES**

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INEFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP SKILLS
AMONG STUDENTS IN TANZANIA'S PUBLIC
UNIVERSITIES**

BY

MAPAMBANO, HEZRON

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Social Science in Partial Fulfilment
for the Requirements of the Degree of Masters of Arts in Education (MA-ED)
of Mzumbe University**

2019

CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by the Mzumbe University, a dissertation titled “***Institutional Factors Contributing to Ineffective Development of Leadership Skills among Students in Tanzania’s Public Universities***” in partial fulfilment of the requirement for award of the degree of Master of Arts in Education (MA-ED) of Mzumbe University.

DR. DOMINICK K. MUYA

Major Supervisor

Internal Examiner

Accepted for the Board of the Faculty of Social Sciences

DEAN FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES (FSS)

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I, **Mapambano Hezron**, declare that this dissertation is my own original work and that it has not been presented and will not be presented to any other university for a similar or any other degree award.

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DEDICATION

To my lovely daughter “Bright”, my lovely wife “Dinnah Malongo” and my lovely mom “Helena Stephano Mayunga”

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADEM	Agency for Development of Educational Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CG	Central Governments
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HSRC	Human Social Research Council
IT	Institutional Theory
MANTEP	Management Training for Educational Personnel
MOEST	Ministry of Education Science and Technology
NES	National Education System
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NPE	National Policy on Education
PGG	Principles of Good Governance
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UG	University Governance
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
WEO	Ward Education Officer

ABSTRACT

The study explored institutional factors contributing to ineffective development of leadership skills among students' political leaders in Tanzania's public universities from 1993 to 2018. It was guided by three specific objectives; firstly, to identify the extent to which public universities have played a role in developing leadership skills of students for national development; secondly to find out the leading institutional factor among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of the university that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development and; thirdly to assess the institutional measures for improving development of leadership skills of students leaders for national development. The study adopted a descriptive-case study research design. It also employed mixed research approach due to the nature of questions used. The sample size was drawn through the use of simple random and purposive sampling techniques whereas 225 study participants were involved in the study. Data was collected using questionnaire and face to face interviews. Quantitative data were analysed descriptively using a computer software known as SPSS and qualitative data was analysed using content analysis by a tool known as Atlas Ti.

Basing on the specific objectives, the study revealed that universities in Tanzania had played very little role in the development of the student leadership skills through training and mentoring on university values and ethos. Because of the failure of the universities to develop young leadership to their full potential, students have in turn placed their trust on politicians rather than the academic community, and have *ipso facto*, become vehicles of the political contestations of national politics which often times are violent in character. In the same vein, lack of regulative framework to steer leadership incubation programmes at the university level was found to constrain the process of developing student leadership skills for national development between 1993 to 2018. The study concludes that HEIs are meant to be training grounds for future leaders with the right ethos, pedigree and mental independence to take on the challenge of national state development. As such, they need to re-define their roles especially in the contemporary era of democratic transition, in a bid to prepare potential leaders with a domestic, regional and global outlook. The study offers several recommendations to policy makers, student community, Student Representative Council (SRC), University management and stakeholders of an education industry.

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CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEM SETTING

1.1 General Introduction

In sub-Saharan Africa and especially in Tanzania some grounding evidence show an increased trend of ineffective leadership Skills among the student political leaders prepared by public owned universities (Muya, 2015, Mamashela 2013). Some indicators demonstrate ineffective development of leadership skills among Students Representative Council (SRC) members who engage in campus politics in Tanzania's Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Among others include: poor communication skills, lack of relating strategy with fellows, autocracy with an emphasis of "taking my way or highway" as well as lack of political tolerance (Muya, 2015). This implies that young people who graduate from different degrees with various age structures are at a high risk of not excelling well in their future directed leadership positions. Bearing those observations, the current study investigated institutional factors from HEIs that contribute to ineffective leadership development among students' leaders from three Tanzania's public universities: The University of Dar es Salaam, University of Dodoma and Mzumbe University.

Since leadership is conceived broadly to include different types of leaders such as youth, women, community, political, academic or business leaders, and at all levels, from district and region, to nation and international levels, this study focused its attention on development of university student leadership in HEIs. This is because the developed leaders from these institutions have implications for both the local and global perspectives. Specifically, the study examined the contribution of regulative factors (established rules and regulations in HEIs); cognitive factor (the level of knowledge of facilitators); and normative factors (interests, perceptions and capabilities of facilitators to the development of effective leadership Skills among student leaders. In terms of structure, the Chapter One covers the background information of study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, significance and limitations of the study, and an organization of Chapters.

1.2 Background to the Problem

Young leaders of today in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are nationally government leaders of tomorrow. As such, analysing the process which informs development of “*effective leadership skills*” among student leaders is important towards developing the future leaders of this nation and global at large. It also helps toward establishing systems of preparing young leaders for the development of African’s countries. This study explored institutional factors in public universities that offer appropriate leadership growth of young people for national development.

Africa has traditionally been the cradle of great leadership (Center for Creative Leadership, 2010). Many African leaders are well known around the World; these include Nyerere, Mandela and Kwame Nkrumah, to name a few. How prepared were the first leaders? Was there any effort by the colonial administrators to train and prepare these potential leaders before independence? Mkapa (2010) responds to these questions by arguing that this clearly is an unlikely scenarion as colonial authorities would consider them agitating for independence enemies of the realm to be stopped or even killed. This first generation of independent African leaders were very gifted, charismatic, and visionary leaders (Mkapa, *ibid.*). These leaders have contributed remarkably not only at the level of theory but also in praxis. Amongst others, “the birth of ubuntu” remarked the leadership philosophy or epistemology- the belief that African leadership values humanity “I am because you are, you are because we are” and emphasises on interdependence (Khoza, 2007).

Despite the over fifty years of political independence in most of African countries, the leadership development question has become a recurring issue in the discourse of national states development. In many african countries, leaders have frequently come to their position with limited experience (Africa Leadership Forum, 1988). This in turn, has exacerbated instead of addressing the massive problems that face the continent.

Corruption, poor outcomes in terms of growth, development and poverty reduction are amongst problems that face the continent, to name a few. African development problems are complex as they are multifaceted. They therefore require thought

leadership, thought liberation and critical consciousness (Gumede, 2014). According to Khoza (2007), Africa needs to develop leaders who will be known less for what they say and more for what they deliver; less by their title and position and more by their expertise and competence; less by what they control and more by the mindsets they develop and shape both their personal integrity and for exceptional organisational abilities. This requires a critical analysis of a framework for developing young leaders in Africa. It makes a lot of sense to posit that, young prepared leaders of today are nationally government leaders of tomorrow. Are the African youths a prioritised agenda in Africa?

Africa, according to HSRC research work, has ‘a youth bonus’, that is, it has one of the highest numbers of young people in the world, second only to Asia (Bremner, Haub, Lee, Mather and Zuehlke, 2009:3). It is therefore clear that the African youths and their contemporaries in other developing countries have a significant amount of symbolic power and thus a definite importance both currently and in the near future (Kunene, 2013). In understanding the potential of African youths for realising progressive social change, the NEPAD secretariat has introduced the African Youth Charter, and the NEPAD youth programme to streamline African youth development issues, concerns and strategies through various continental organs such as the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the AU (Ijeoma, 2009). To what extent do these NEPAD instruments address the question of preparing youth leadership in Africa?

In the chapter on ‘Leadership for Growth, Development, and Poverty Reduction’, Mkapa (2010) points out: “Africa must think beyond survival, and such, it has to move from social and economic crisis management to strategic positioning” (World Bank report, 2009). Strategic thinking is about making choices. Africa had quite a few political strategist and visionary leaders at independence, such as Nkrumah, Nyerere, Senghor, Sékou Touré, and finally Nelson Mandela.

Today, one does not see leaders who make difficult strategic choices (Mkapa, 2010). This time is not about politics but economics (Mkapa, *ibid.*). It is timely to prepare economic strategic leaders who have visionary economic thinking that captures a

domestic, regional, and global dimension for the national development. Where are the new Frontline States against poverty and for growth? Globalization is a reality, and the challenge of African leadership is how to position ourselves in such a way to maximize its benefits and minimize its effects.

In Tanzania, like other developing countries in Africa, a large part of the discourse of leadership development acknowledges the pre-occupied public university role of developing student leadership for the national development. This university's role, however, has been compromised by political reforms implemented since 1990s after the advent of liberal politics in African countries. Undeniably, pluralism have succeeded to open doors for national political parties to exploit students on campus (Luhanga, 2009). Because of this situation, young people today are negotiating a complex reality wedged between political leadership outcomes developed by political parties versus academic institutions. Bearing the effect of this battle on peace and security on campus, the Government of Tanzania (GoT) issued the Universities (Student Organizations) Regulations (Government Notice No. 178, 2009) and the Guidelines for Drafting of Student Organization Constitutions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania (MoEVT, April, 2010). This restricted the practice of party partisan politics within the university premises.

While Mkapa (2010) points out that, *“the best stage for preparation of effective leadership is the receipt of formal education”*, little is known on the extent to which universities prepare future leaders for the national development. However, in interviews with several university students, more than a half of them argued that universities have played very little role in developing their leadership skills and potentials. Similar observations have also been presented in Muya's study (2015). Those observations raises issues for observations: what are institutional factors in HEIs that contribute to ineffective leadership development among students' leaders?

In the process of searching for the roles of the African University in leadership development, Kame (2013) argues that an intellectual examination of Africa since independence reveals that the continent is indeed stagnant. Assigning colonialism all the blame rather than examining the reasons for this situation is simply an

unconscious endeavour to avoid paying the inevitable price for Africa's renaissance. Intellectual leadership for universities has to concern with results and delivery rather than politicking and propaganda. Kame (ibid.) raises some questions, such as: What is the relevance of leadership development programmes in Africa's HEIs? Do these programmes make difference in relation to the qualities of the young leaders developed? Bearing empirical evidences on the failures of the universities towards developing youth leadership especially in an era of democratic transition in Africa (Muya, 2015; Mamashela, 2012), the current study went further to interrogate about the institutional factors that contribute to the development of ineffective leadership in HEIs. This is the gap of knowledge the study filled at.

At the policy lens, the question of leadership development in Tanzania has been historically informed by the structures of the failed Arusha Declaration. It is interesting to note that even the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 which also guides the development of young leaders in Tanzania in this era of democratic transition have all the objectives of the Arusha Declaration. This raises issues for investigation. What is the relevance of the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 as a guiding policy in the question of leadership development in Tanzania? In addition, the existing National youth development policy in Tanzania of 1996 and 2007 was silent on aspects related to the development of youth leadership. Neither objectives of the policy nor goals and plans on youth development allude on the question of leadership development (Ministry of Labour and Youth Development, 1996).

At the research level, there have been no attempts that take into account how institutional factors at the university level relate to the development of student leadership for national development: And what ought to be done to incubate leaders from university with good values, determination, ethos and pedigree for the national development. This is a research gap filled by the study.

1.3 Problem Statement

For decades, scholars, policy makers, business leaders, and organizational researchers have been continually searching the best ways to prepare "*effective leaders*" for meeting either organizational objectives or national development. This

is because, well prepared or incubated leaders know how to utilise their authority, power and legitimacy in an effective way for the public interests. While leadership power is referred to as the capacity of an individual to influence the will or conduct of others, authority is termed as the right possessed by a person to give the command to others (Muya, 2015).

Despite, over fifty years of political independence in most of African countries including Tanzania, the leadership development question has become a recurring issue in the discourse of national states development. In many african countries, leaders have frequently come to their position with limited experience (Africa Leadership Forum, 1988). This in turn, has exacerbated the massive problems that face the countries such as: corruption, poor outcomes in terms of growth, diseases and failures to address poverty reduction, to name a few.

There exists several national and institutional policies as well as guidelines in Tanzania that underscore and set plans for youth development. Among others include the National Youth Development Policy (2007) and the University Charters that establish the functions and roles of universities. Others are: the Universities (Student Organizations) Regulations (Government Notice No. 178, 2009) and the Guidelines for Drafting of Student Organization Constitutions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania (MoEVT, 2010). Ideally, it was expected that those policies; reforms; and regulations would set systems for preparation of effective leadership as suggested by Mkapa (2010). In the real situation, according to the grounding evidences drawn by Muya (2015) study, the receipt of formal education in the universities does not offer desired qualities of leadership for the national development. Bearing that observation, the study investigated the institutional factors in public universities that contribute to ineffective development of leadership skills of young people using UDSM, UDOM and Mzumbe University as study cases.

1.4 Main Objective of the study

The study explored institutional factors in public universities that contribute to ineffective development of leadership skills of student leaders for national development in an era of democratic transition using three public universities:

University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), University of Dodoma (UDOM), and Mzumbe University (MU).

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

Specifically, this study aimed to: -

- i. Identify the extent to which public universities have played a role in developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018
- ii. Find out the leading institutional factor among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of the university that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018
- iii. Assess the institutional measures for improving development of leadership skills of students leaders for national development from 1993 to 2018

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. To what extent have the public universities in Tanzania played the role of developing leadership skills of her student for national development from 1993 to 2018 period of democratic transition?
- ii. What are the leading institutional gaps among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of the that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018?
- iii. What institutional measures can be utilised for improving development of leadership skills of students leaders for national development?

1.6 Significance of the study

The significance of a study entails the importance of the research with respect to its purpose and objectives. In another language, it asks what new knowledge or developments are the research question of this study going to generate. Profiling the situation of leadership development at the national universities will not only build the

general understanding of the context but also the extent at which academic institutions contribute to the growth of young leaders for the national development. This will definitely provide contiguous measures aimed at redefining initiatives and role of academic institutions in developing young leaders in Africa. Thus, the first significance of the study revolves around this aspect. Likewise, this study findings will add to the existing effective of leadership development in HEIs.

Second, assessing the extent to which universities have played the role of mentoring/grooming students on university values and on the development of their leadership skills in an era of democratic transition is a road map towards redefining the role of the university for preparing future leaders. Basically, the third significance of the study revolves around foreseeing systems and processes for preparing future leaders of a nation at the university level. Equally important, the study sought to understand the relevance of the leadership training programmes on university campuses and the implication it bears on youth participation in African leadership. This is because good leaders are not just born, but made.

Lastly, the study findings will empower various actors in the university system such as the university management, the student leaders, as well as the entire community to articulate and institute the comprehensive leadership development plan of young people on campus. I suppose, this is context specific, and reflects the needs of the learners, society as well as the nation and international community at large. In addition, the study findings contribute to the knowledge on young leadership development in academic institutions.

1.7 Delimitation of the Study

In attempt to understand whether the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic transition had anything to do with the ineffective young leadership development, the study delimited itself to the student from public universities, whereby at several times, the flow of national politics on university campuses were norm. Within Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); the University of Dodoma (UDOM) and Mzumbe University (MU) as well were taken for an indepth analysis.

The reason of using them as case studies are three fold. First, for a long time both, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma (UDOM) which are state run universities have been characterised by regular students violence of which amongst others could be possibly be explained by failure to accomodate leadeship skills for university governance. The Mzumbe University, however, have had very minor sort of crises, this is possibly explained by the fact that the said institution has been a centre for management sciences, thusly was able to accomodate any raised upheavals timely. Apart from that reason, majority of students who joined MU are in service from both, public and private sector. As such, they have had experiences with political socialisation, hence upheavals are not their norms.

Second, all three universities have comparable history of existence in offering higher education in the country. Whereas UDSM was established soon after Tanzania's independence in 1961, UDOM was established in the late 2000 like Mzumbe University which was established in 2007. However, Mzumbe University has and its predecessor (IDM) has a good track record in training and nurturing leaders in Tanzania from colonial time to date.

The third criterion relies on geographical disparity of the three institutions of higher learning. As such, the choice of these universities served the purpose of ensuring credibility of information. Equally important, the scope of the study is on the implementation of political reforms in HEIs that had existed between 1990s and 2010s. In addition, the study delimited itself to the institutional theory to explain how HEIs structures implicates the development of effective leaders.

Likewise, the study also delimitated its focus on case study research design. The use of this design is justified by the presence of small number of the population size that this study employed in a specific geographical boundaries. Likewise, this design is built from interpretive philosophical underpinning which asserts that truth depends upon socially- constructed beliefs, norms and perceptions.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Some limitations were encountered during field work. The limitations are divided into two categories, namely practical or procedural activities and methodological. On the practical side, one problem was that of time to visit the students on campuses and key informants. This research was mainly conducted during working hours. Thus, it was difficult to engage with some of the students and key informants since some were busy with their respective academic works and official responsibilities at the time of the interviews. In consequence, the interviewer had to devote more time by staying longer on campuses in some days till late day hours so as to meet the targeted respondents.

On the methodological part, the major problem arose primarily was that most students were not very free to talk about the competencies of their leadership development mentors in the designed programs by the universities. This question was designed to establish whether the pedagogical approaches of leadership development in universities compared to that of political parties had anything to do with poor acquisition of leadership skills and competences of young leaders. Student from both universities felt suspicious and it took time to win their confidence. Building rapport helped to win their confidence and trust.

These limitations however did not affect the study findings since the use of triangulation of different methods provided a solution to this problem. Apart from that, the time to carry out the research was not sufficient for exhaustive investigation of the subject matter under study; the researcher had to limit the study to three public universities: the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Dodoma, and Mzumbe University as well to allow for in-depth capturing of relevant information.

However, sampling of participants was done in manners that ensured representativeness among the study populations from the three surveyed public universities: the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Dodoma, and Mzumbe University as well.

The study delimited itself to study the process of developing young leadership in HEIs from the 1993 to 2018 period of democratic consolidation. Within Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), the University of Dodoma (UDOM) and Mzumbe University (MU) were taken for an indepth analysis. Why choose University students for an in depth study? First, the behaviour of university students reflect the community that they come from. According to Mmbwete and Ishumi (1996), most students come from lower or middle class families. In addition, this group represents people who come from societies that lack stable government, economic growth, or basic material and physical security. For most of them, college education is a way of escaping from rural drudgery to urban affluence and power. Thus, their engagement in leadership aspects on campus enhance their career, political expectations and welfare growth.

1.9 Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter One introduces the study. It provides a general background to the study which includes a statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, hypothesis, the significance of the study, conceptual framework, limitations as well as delimitation of the study.

Chapter Two is a review of the relevant literature linked to development of youth leadership in institutions of higher learning. The overriding essence is to create a new understanding from the theoretical debates and empirical literature reviewed. Theoretical literature reviewed critically analyses the leadership development programmes on campus, offers a historical overview of leadership development, delineates determinants of ineffective leadership development, as well as factors behind ineffective leadership development. On the other hand, empirical literature demonstrates not only empirical studies conducted on leadership development in the developed world and developing countries, but also its empirical trends and debates. In this part, a critical and analytical literature review of empirical studies was done to reveal insights and an awareness of differing arguments, theories and approaches. In addition, the study ascertained strengths and weaknesses of the literature through identifying unbiased and valid studies of the relevant published work. Equally

important, Chapter Two critically surveys aspects directly related to the objectives of the study linked with empirical evidences. This includes the assessment of the existing literature on leadership development in HEIs, leadership roles and styles, and responsibility of SRC in an era of democratic transition. It also gauges relevance of leadership training programme. The same chapter two, discusses the theoretical framework of the study.

Chapter Three explicates the methodology of the study as well as profile study area that was used towards the production of the research output. It is organised into six sub-sections as follows: research design, area of the study, target population, sampling and sampling techniques, data collection methods and tools, and data analysis plan.

Chapter Four presents the study's findings and analysis of the study. The study intended to find out whether the failure to separate national from students' politics on university campuses had anything to do with the ineffective leadership development of youth in Tanzania's universities. The presentation of the study findings and analysis was done in line with the objectives of the study. Chapter Five is the concluding chapter. It summarises the study and makes poignant concluding remarks from which flows a number of recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on student leadership development in institutions of higher learning. Studies of leadership development are not recent phenomena. There are plethoras of studies that have been conducted in the area of leadership resulting in the development of some important theories and concepts of leadership, but mainly in areas of business and industry organizations (Yukl, 1989). Very little research has been conducted on leadership in academia, and comparatively less research within universities. The chapter offers both, theoretical and empirical literature reviews in line with the study's objectives. Sub-section 2.2 presents the theoretical perspectives of the study and sub section 2.3 critically analyses the empirical literatures drawn in line with the study's objectives. While sub-section 2.4 analyses the conceptual framework of the study, sub-section 2.5 discusses the synthesis and knowledge gap drawn from the review of literature and the last part, sub section 2.6 provides a summary of the chapter which centers at filling the knowledge gap by the study.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives

The theoretical literature review among others, definition of key terms and concepts utilized by the study; an overview of the leadership development in Tanzania's Universities; as well as African leadership preparation at various era: During an era of Traditional African society; during colonialism, as well as an post-independence era of African societies. The section also reviews leadership preparation in Higher Education Institution (HEIs), students' leadership development programs in HEIs, determinants of leadership development in Universities, the role of University in developing student leadership skills, the strengths and weaknesses of the Tanzania's Higher Education Act, as well as the theoretical framework of the study.

2.2.1 Definition of Key Concepts and Terms

Leadership: For decades, scholars, business leaders, and organizational researchers have continually refined the definition of leadership based on their findings and experience, and the latest real-world models and situations. Mosha (1994) defines leadership as the ability to influence a group or getting the co-operation of others in accomplishing a desired goal. Similarly, Maxwell (2005) defines leadership as the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation, while operating to accomplish the mission and improve the organisation. This study conceives leadership at institutional level is when the university authority governs its employees and students, through influencing and providing purpose, direction, and motivation to them. Likewise, leadership is informed by the style at which leaders provide direction, implementing plans, and motivating people to meet desired goals. Leadership style vary depending on acquired knowledge, skills, abilities, as well as tactics adopted in the course of training. In this study, the leadership styles of various HEIs leaders and escalation of students crises in institutions of higher learning was explored.

Leadership Development Programme: Is conceived by this study to refer to both, the formal and informal institutional leadership programs that have been structured and driven by the universities which aim to reach as many students as possible through their various institutes and unstructured leadership programs that often follow the philosophy of Maxwell (1995) which is that leadership can be learned through motivation and training, and only a few leadership skills are innate.

Democracy: It is essentially a contested concept. Arblaster (1991:5) in Ntsikelelo (2009) supports this position by asserting that democracy is an inherently debatable and changeable idea like “freedom”, “equality”, “justice”, “human rights”, and so forth. Democracy is a term which always signify for many a cherished political principle or ideal, and for that reason alone it is never likely to achieve a single agreed meaning” (Arblaster, 1991:5). Heywood (2002:68) argues that, like other terms that end in “cracy” such as autocracy, aristocracy and bureaucracy, democracy originated from the Greek word kratos, meaning power or rule by the masses:

Democracy therefore means ruled by the demos, demos standing for the many or people (Heywood, 2004; 221). Democracy has now become a universal practice often interpreted differently the critical entry point of understanding democracy in Africa should be premised on assessing strides towards not only consolidating multi-party governance, but also democratic needs, values and ethos of African societies. While analysing the former, democracy should be understood as a move away from authoritarian rule of the past marked by one-person rule, one-party rule and even military juntas to institutionalising some form of democratic governance.

Democratic Transition: Since the emergence of the Post-Cold War era a large amount of contributions have been made, about Africa's democratisation. Writing from a conflict resolution perspective, Mark Anstey (2004:23) defines democratisation as “transition from authoritarian rule to democracy”. Democratisation is an indicator and first step to democracy, and reflects the political commitment of political contenders. Pridham and Lewis (1996:2) support this line of thinking when they point out that “democratisation denotes the overall process of regime change from start to completion, from the end of the previous authoritarian regime to the stabilisation and rooting of the new democracies”.

As a process, and not an event, it entails social movements struggle for democracy against the authoritarian regime as a means of consolidating democracy (De Villiers, 1993:45). It involves strengthening democratic institutions and allowing them to operate independently away from an authoritarian government to a much more democratic society. Democratic consolidation is understood as a process aimed at uncovering lack of free and fair elections, the phenomenon of coups and counter-coups as well as lack of constitutional reforms or transformation roots in Africa.

2.2.2 Overview of the Leadership Development in Tanzania's Universities

The theoretical literature analyses gaps in the process of developing young leaders in HEIs. This gap is analysed within the perspective of a battle between political parties and the universities in the current era of consolidating democratic governance in Africa.

Specifically, the literature reviews the existing gaps; at the policy level by focusing on reforms that informs development of young leadership; analysing the existing system or institutions for developing young leadership, as well as in the process of leadership development in HEIs. Undeniably, the problem of developing young leadership is not only peculiar to Tanzania, but has also been a controversial issue in other African countries as well as in other parts of the world (Fai Leung, 2010; Luescher, 2008; Mbwette and Ishumi, 1996; Maseko, 1994; Chambers and Phelps, 1993; Omari and Mihyo, 1991 as well as Altbach and Cohen, 1990). This part critically analyses the accumulated knowledge on poor development of young leaders in institutions of higher learning.

The attributes of the problem in the literature include: Academic leadership in HEIs, student leadership development programs in HEIs, determinants of ineffective leadership development, the connectedness of national and student politics; student governance structure, leadership roles and responsibilities, the role of the political parties in the development of the young leadership skills; the role of the university in the development of student leadership skills as well as the gaps at the policy level (reforms), institutional set-ups, as well as process of leadership development in higher education.

2.2.3 The Theoretical Framework of the Study

A theoretical framework is conceived by this study as the structure that theorises the research problem, and guides the knowledge making process. It therefore, has implications on every decision made in the research process (Mertens, 1998:3). According to Borgat (1996 [online]), a theoretical framework is not meant to be a “straight jacket” into which everything must fit, but rather, meant to assist or guide researchers in conceptualising their studies. Various theories for understanding institutional factors from HEIs that contribute to ineffective leadership development among students’ leaders in Tanzania’s public universities such as: system theory, institution theory, as well as behavioural theories can be used to understand the problem at hand. However, due to their criticism, this study has laid its focus on institutional theory.

According to institutional theories derived by (DiMaggio and Powel, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Scott, 1987), institutions strive to develop activities and structures identifiable both internally and externally as legitimate (Jennifer, 2014). According to Scott (1995), institution comprises regulative structure, cognitive and normative activities.

First, within the perspectives of the regulatory system, it refers to the legal and policy environment that informs access to formal channels for leadership development at the university level. Regulative system in the context of developing leadership skills in the university campuses refer to the establishment of rules (Scott, 2008), laws, regulations and government policies affecting the development of leadership skills (Amine and Staub, 2009). Institutions can, hence, be seen as guiding behavior by ensuring that rules are followed, monitored and enforced (North, 1990). The regulative elements stem primarily from a government or institutional legislation as well as industrial agreements and standards (Bruton et al., 2010). However, they are supplemented with informal rules, such as conventions or codes of conduct, which are unwritten rules (North, 1990). Accordingly, the character of a university's regulatory system directly affects student' leaders engagement in political economy of leadership development in the university campuses.

Secondly, the normative system, analyses views on norms and values embedded in a society, religion and belief system, ethnicity and cultural factors, as well as views of male and female roles, and family responsibility systems as well acceptable within a given society (Ahl, 2006). Normative systems are typically perceived as imposing constraints on social behavior as well as an enabler of social action (Scott, 1987). Development of leadership skills among youth is under-represented in universities because the university society firmly beliefs that youth are not capable or are immature to participate in political leadership at the time when they engage with their studies. As such, they would be given chance when they graduate from university. The normative character of institutional theory explains about norms and values held by people in a certain institution such as university.

Cognitive factors on the other hand explain that people in institution shares the same beliefs, mental models and assumptions (Jennifer, 2014) in relation to the study objectives. Further, the problem is seen to find her source routes from institutions such family, educational institutions, religious, political and economic institutions. Because of such observations, institutional theory was adopted in this study, and the three aspects of institutional theory, which are normative, regulative and cognitive, were used to analyze how institutional factors contribute to ineffective development of leadership skills among university student leaders in Tanzania.

2.2.4 African Leadership Preparation

The first preparation for leadership should have been a good formal education for more Africans. Mkapa (2008) raised a question on what did Africa learn and adopt from the colonial rulers, and how has it shaped and directed postcolonial leadership, political systems, and governance on the continent? This part provides a wide-ranging review of published literature on leadership preparation and lesson learnt during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era.

African Leadership Preparation and Governance during the Pre-colonial Era

The pre-colonial era entails the period of Traditional African Leadership. Mkapa (2008:25) asserts that the debate still continues about whether in pre-colonial Africa there existed social and cultural norms, political structures, and processes, as well as philosophical underpinnings of governance, that could find relevance and applicability in modern Africa. If they existed, were they fundamentally transformed by colonial experience, or were they stopped in their historical development, frozen in time, such that they could be unlocked, brushed up, and used to create an essentially African system of democratic governance? This debate is relevant and should be encouraged to foresee whether traditional governance and leadership models developed in the past can support Africa today's national and global realities. Pre-colonial Africa had as many as 10,000 different states characterized by different sorts of leadership; these included small family groups of hunter-gatherers, larger, structured clan groups, and autonomous city-states and kingdoms. While some communities were relatively egalitarian (Characterized by social equality), like the Igbo, others were ruled by a king and were highly stratified (with a class structure).

Mkapa (2008:26) discusses Traditional African Leadership as he describes precolonial African economies in the following words: "Precolonial Africa comprised largely nonmonetary, tribe-based economies. The kind of preparation needed to rule in such precolonial African economies had to be different from the realities of leadership skills needed for the African economies of the second half of the twentieth century" Many African communities continue to be governed by a council of elders, which is responsible for mediating conflict and making all important decisions within the community. Leadership was reflected through various art forms, such as masks worn by Elders or sculptures of important leaders.

Leadership Preparation and Governance during the Colonial Era

In the late 19th century, the European imperial powers occupied and colonized most of the continent, leaving Ethiopia and Liberia as the only two fully independent states. (Liberia, in fact, is the only country in Africa rooted in U.S. colonization; beginning in 1820, the region was colonized by African Americans from the United States, most of whom were freed slaves). Colonial rule drastically transformed traditional African leadership structures, drawing arbitrary boundaries between tribes and imposing new structures of leadership.

In places where traditional rule had been fairly decentralized and egalitarian, such as regions inhabited by the Igbo, the British introduced new centralized leadership systems and incorporated their own "traditional leaders. " In most cases, European colonizers disregarded native political and cultural systems imposing new systems upon people under their military control. Arbitrary borders were drawn with little concern for the pre-existing ethnic, cultural, or political groups. Today, most African states are republics operating under a presidential system, though the legacy of colonialism has resulted in many cases of instability and political violence. However, it should be noted that the global system of which Africa is part today whether political, economic, social, or cultural is heavily influenced by factors that have nothing to do with traditional Africa. The current system was designed by Africa's erstwhile colonial masters, through whom Africa was inserted into a global political and economic system initially as a mere appendage of the European powers.

Prior to passing judgment on the first African postcolonial leaders, it is crucial to understand to what extent they had the capacity and the wherewithal to do what we think they should have done. Here the thesis referring largely to the African leaders who were visionary and pragmatic, not the tyrants and looters, or the inept ones. The review raises two issues for investigations. Did colonial power prepare Africa for leadership and democratic self-rule? Equally important, did colonial education gave Africans power to lead themselves? Tanzania's founding president, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, was one of the few educated Africans at the independence of what was then called Tanganyika (mainland Tanzania today). He was equally unhappy about colonial education. A few days before his country became independent, he wrote an article in *East Africa and Rhodesia*, a journal that was published in London at that time, in which he said the following (Nyerere 1966: 133):

Our whole existence has been controlled by people with an alien attitude to life, people with different customs and beliefs. They have determined the forms of government, the type of economic activity—if any—and the schooling that our children have had. They have shaped the present generation of Tanganyikans, more than any other influence.

In addition to the inappropriateness of colonial education in terms of preparing Africans for self-rule, the fact was also that too few Africans received any education at all, let alone higher education and specialized skills. This made President Nyerere to raise the need to educate Africans in his statement at Tanganyika's independence in 1961:

Only 15 percent of adults were literate; Only 23 percent of Tanganyika men and 7.5 percent of Tanganyika women over 15 years of age had attended any formal school at all; There were only 3,100 primary schools with 486,000 students in a population of 9 million; There were only about 20 secondary schools with 11,832 students; The first Tanzanian to get a university degree graduated outside the country in 1952, only nine years before independence. Likewise, the few professionals the country had at independence included only one agricultural engineer, one surveyor, and 16 medical doctors. Also, there were 12 accountants, 158 professional nurses, 50 agricultural scientists, and 427 government administrators. And that is about all. (Nyerere 1973: 296–97)

To recap, colonial powers did not prepare Africans for democratic self-rule. The forms and systems of government that they introduced were not democratic by any measure, they were not concerned about human rights, and those who demanded their rights, including democratic rights, often were incarcerated. Should we have been surprised when postcolonial leaders also incarcerated their opponents? They learned from colonialism that this was the way to deal with dissent and opponents. The education that colonial powers gave Africans was not meant to prepare them for leadership but to help perpetuate their rule. That is why educated Africans were dismissed from their jobs once they ventured into politics.

African Leadership Preparation and Challenges during the Post-colonial Era

There are plethoras of studies that have been conducted in the area of African leadership resulting in the development of some important concepts of leadership (Africa Institute of South Africa). This part discusses African leadership challenges in a bid to prepare young leaders to re-think of solutions for African problems. This is because the challenges of development in Africa have remained intractable (TMALI, 2013). Young leaders in Africa need to build not only from the successes of fore fathers but also learn from their failures. Stith (2008) mentioned a number of African leadership challenges that young leaders must learn from. One among the challenge is to courageously put national interest first thus creating conditions for progress and development. Youth leaders should not loose focus and become opportunists leaders.

According to Buyoya (2008), in East Africa, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the first Tanzanian president, distinguished himself by making Swahili not only the vernacular; but also a precious tool of national unification, thus creating conditions for progress and development. Others challenges include how to make tough choices to best meet the needs of citizens against forces of international policies and reforms (Masire, 2008) and challenges related to regional integration and how to maintain peace and security (Kaunda, 2008). According to Kaunda, vengeance is counter-productive in the nation-building process. Even though some people have worked to destroy him as a president, he did not take personal vengeance. He believed that time,

has a way of resolving some of these issues, and the judicial process resolves the rest. Kaunda believed in nonviolence, just like the great pioneer Mahatma Gandhi in India, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the American struggle against racism, and Nelson Mandela in South Africa against apartheid system. As Gandhi said, “It is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence.” In his pilgrimage to nonviolence, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Principle Number Three* says, “Non violence seeks to defeat injustice, not people.” In *Principle Number Five*, Dr. King says, “Nonviolence chooses love instead of hate.” Young leaders should learn from these leaders.

Mkapa (2009) pleaded that alumni including youth graduates from universities have a responsibility to be role models and positive mentors of new generation of Africa and society at large. Mkapa alligns his argument from Nyerere expectations of the society of elites in the following terms:

Those who receive this privilege, therefore, have a duty to repay the sacrifice which others have made. They are like the man who has been given all the food available in a starving village in order that he might have the strength to bring supplies from a distant place. If he takes this food and does not bring help to his brothers, he is a traitor. Similarly, if any of the young men and women who are given an education by the people of this republic adopt attitudes of superiority, or fail to use their knowledge to help the development of this country, then they are betraying our union.

Equally important, the challenge of democratization, lack of accountability and transparency was also mentioned as another leadership challenges facing African countries (Mkapa, 2008). According to Mkapa, one among leadership challenge in Africa is the question of democracy. He raised the question, do we improve democracy by democratic means via an election which is legitimate or regress into anti-democracy means by demolishing the created structures and systems via a political concept that is gaining currency called “people power”?

Likewise, corruption, lack of indigenous capital, weak investment infrastructure, and intercontinental trade barriers were also cited by (Masire, 2008) as other leadership challenges facing African leaders.

Moi (2008) notes that Africa needs political systems that are conducive to African environment. The Western motivated winner-take-all concept of multiparty politics results in placing certain tribes in power and locking out others, probably forever. According to him, the politics of multipartism were imposed in Africa by Western donors along tribal lines rather than ideological lines. Thus tribalism and existed conflicts is a result of artificial boundaries of colonial empires.

According to Monteiro (2008), development cannot be considered as a merely mathematical issue measurable only by economic growth. It should be supported with social justice, good governance and respect of human rights. Muluji (2008) went further to argue that poverty is a social evil and also a threat to democracy. As such young leaders should strive to design strategies to combat it. Likewise, Mwinyi (2008) provides young leaders with knowledge of national reconstruction through public reforms to address the dominated episodes which changed the vitality of the Tanzanian economy from 1977 to 1984.

Hitherto, there is a need of the universities to proper design and run students' development leadership programmes, 'the key question before us is: how to teach African youth (SRCs) a discourse of leadership in an African academy. Mamdani (1998) gave remarks on how Africa has been taught in the past. He argues that historically, African studies developed outside Africa, not within it. It was a study of Africa, but not Africans.

Broadly, it is a right time to question about curriculum transformation which addresses African needs, values and the pursuit of excellence. Today, according to Mamdani (1998), the whole teaching focus in Africa is on how to solve the plethora sided problems. There should be a shift in focus, from looking for answers, to learning how to formulate a problem. This is because about 90 percent of the solution lies in the problem. An invigorated ways of thinking about how to nurture a new type of African youth leadership in response to the rapidly evolving challenges of this century should be emphasized. Today's youth play a crucial role in building accountability, social, political and economic issues, and developing new visions.

2.2.5 Leadership Preparation in Higher Education Institution

Johnston and Westwood (2007) argue that it is clear from a wide-ranging review of published literature that the academic environment is substantively different from corporate environments and that this impacts on both the nature and experiences of leadership. They identify various works on academic leadership (Middlehurst, 1993; Mintzberg, 1998; Ramsden, 1998; Knight and Trowler, 2001; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Heywood, Sharp and Hides 2001; Martin *et al.* 2003; Barnett and Coate, 2005), which discusses the special challenge of leadership within the higher education context.

These challenges include revitalising and energising their colleagues to meet the challenges of tough times (Ramsden, 1998); the impact of academic identity (Henkel, 2005); the academic role as an agent of change (Doring, 2002); setting the tone and emphasis of a programme, and recruiting appropriate colleagues (Heywood *et al.*, 2001); engaging academics in the development of curriculum matters (Barnett and Coate, 2005) and historical approaches to promotion (Yielder and Codling, 2004). Other challenges include having academic and non-academic personnel in leadership roles within the same organisation (Rowley and Sherman 2003).

Other challenges provided by Knight and Trowler (2001) include changes in academic conditions, including: longer hours; pressure to publish; more administrative tasks; over-management of academics; loss of collegiality and marginality, resulting in low self-esteem and confidence. Henkel (2005) also notes the fragmenting and loosening of institutional boundaries, and the changing nature of academia. O' Toole (1995:1) embodies the essence of leadership as he describes the role, task, responsibility and power of leaders in the following words:

The role of a leader is to create followers; The task of a leader is to bring about constructive and necessary change; the responsibility of a leader is to bring about that change in a way that is responsive to the true and long term needs of all constituencies; and the greatest source of power available to a leader is the trust that derives from faith-fully serving followers.

There should be consensus that the leadership demonstrated by youth in HEIs, in this regard Student Representative Council (SRCs) must also bear these characteristics. Mkapa (2009) argued that *“We can no longer procrastinate on the question of relevance of African higher education to the challenges confronting Africa today, and the kind of challenges we can already foresee for the future”*. Higher education is an extremely expensive investment made by the present poor African generation for the future. Such an investment, and the opportunity cost it entails with regard to other pressing demands on national treasuries, can only be justified by equally robust returns in terms of quality and relevance of output from our universities.

In his view, Mkapa (*ibid.*) highlighted four aspects of such quality and relevance: First, our young people must get the kind of university education that enables them to understand the present and future challenges of our countries in their broadest sense. In Tanzania, when I listen to, or read what is written by some university students or even some dons, I do not get the comfort that they have such an understanding, grounded in reality. Second, our young people must get the kind of university education that prepares them attitudinally and professionally to integrate with their society, not to be alienated from it. An elitist education that becomes a vehicle for the alienation of those we prepare for leadership would be a waste of scarce resources against competing demands, and a great tragedy.

Third, the university education we give our young people must prepare them – again intellectually, attitudinally and professionally – to be agents and catalysts for positive change. We want graduate with inquiring sharpened minds that thrive in original thinking, not ones that simply recycle western notions, ideas and prejudices. Lastly, university education must prepare our youth to be innovative and competitive, whether in public service or private sector nationally, regionally and internationally in a globalizing and competitive market for skills and jobs. This brings him to the question of curricula as well as the concept of “paradox of scope” triggered by Prof. David J. Collis of the Harvard Business School while discussing a Challenge to the Governance of Higher Education”. Mkapa (2009) had the hunch that the African universities curricula are still too academic, too theoretical, with minimal applied science.

This study supports his arguments and asserts that for change to come faster in preparing young leadership in Higher Education Institution (HEIs) for national development, university needs to review curricula as well as redefine her role. Although the discourse of “paradox of scope” articulated by Prof. David J. Collis clearly had in mind universities in the West, in particular the United States of America, some of his points are equally relevant to our circumstances in Africa. The concept of “paradox of scope” refers to the inherent friction between the core (conservative, if you like) values and mission of an institution on the one hand, and the demands imposed on it by a kaleidoscopic (radical, if you like) periphery and external environment that can threaten the very relevance and sustainability of an institution. Universities are believed to be conservative in nature; but they now have to learn to adapt to new situations to develop leadership knowledge and skills of students in this era of democratic transition. This should be among the core mission of the university.

2.2.6 Students’ Leadership Development Programs in HEIs

Maxwell’s (2005) philosophy emphasizes that leadership can be learned through motivation and that training is the core mission statement of the programmes. Maxwell (*ibid.*) believes that only a few leadership skills are innate, and good leaders are made, and are not necessarily born. To what extent has the university played this role in mentoring students on university values as well as on the development of their leadership skills? This was one of the research gap filled by the study.

According to Freeman and Goldin (2008) a number of universities have formal and unstructured leadership programmes aimed at equipping students with leadership skills. Both, the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma have also designed leadership development programmes to cater for leadership skills. Despite this, little that I know of is known on the role played by these institutions on developing young leadership as well as the relevance of their leadership development programmes. Providing a space for the democratisation of student own governance has been a major pre-occupation of universities in Tanzania with the purpose of developing leadership knowledge (Kamuzora and Mgaya, 2012).

The initiatives undertaken by the Government of Tanzania in an attempt to strengthen students' governance was to issue the Universities' Student Organisations Regulations under Government Notice No. 178 of 2009 and the Guidelines for Drafting of Student Organisation Constitutions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania (MoEVT, April 2010). Both documents serve as guidelines for democratising students' governance systems in the running of students' affairs in universities. For the elected students' leaders to be effective, Kamuzora and Mgya (2012) emphasise a need of making deliberate efforts to develop their leadership skill. Indeed, one of the factors that ensures effective students' leadership is the self-efficacy necessitated by previous leadership experience a leader has accumulated over time.

It is important at this juncture, to understand what factors contributes to weak student own governance, and whether the students' leadership development programmes contributes to the development of effective youth leadership on campuses. What is the relevance of these programmes to the growth of students' leadership skills, including their ability to manage conflict in the proposed cases? The key leadership attributes which students usually look for or admire and would willingly follow, are honesty, forward-looking, competence, inspirational, intelligence, broad-minded, supportive, co-operative, determined, imaginative, ambitious, caring, loyal, self-controlled, and independent features (Kouzes and Posner, 2002 in Freeman and Goldin, (2008).

Lloyd's (2006) study identifies various characteristics associated with student leadership, which encompasses, model influence, extroversion, self-confidence, and self-efficacy. This study, however, analyses the content and context of the syllabus aimed at developing young leaders in HEIs, as well as the entire process of developing young leaders in universities. In other words, the study questioned on the relevance of student leadership programs in HEIs.

2.2.7 Determinants of Leadership Development in Universities

There are many factors which account for Poor leadership development in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Considering the fact that student leadership development are influenced by various factors, at different levels, which often change with time and place, the determinants of leadership development include the student governance structure, nature of student activism, SRCs leadership styles, roles and responsibilities, the role of the political parties in the development of the young leadership skills; the role of the university in the development of student leadership skills as well as the gaps at the policy level (reforms), institutional set-ups, as well as process of leadership development in higher education.

The MSTHE report compiled in 2004 also identifies various causes of student crises in Tanzania which include, weak student own governance, under-funding of HEIs, expansion of student enrolment and academic programmes, and inadequate communication between the HEIs management and the students (MSTHE, 2004). This study critiqued the MSTHE report, and questioned whether these factors do not account as barriers to the development of young leaders on university campuses? A review of the leadership literature reveals an evolving series of 'schools of thought' from “*Great Man theory; Trait theory; Behaviour Theory; Situational leadership and contingency Theory; Transactional to Transformational*” leadership. Whilst early theories tend to focus upon the characteristics and behaviours of successful leaders, later theories begin to consider the role of followers and the contextual nature of leadership (Bolden et al., *ibid*).

2.2.8 Student Governance Structures and Leadership Roles

Although there are several other stakeholders in a university system, students are considered to be one of the key stakeholders (Kamuzora and Mgaya, 2012). Therefore, to attain good governance in the university, the SRCs must be effective and efficient in their administration of duties. Over the years, there appears to have been a decline in student leadership within higher education institutions (Lange, 2001). This is as a result of the weak SRCs structures and unsustainable student leadership on campuses. These twin inefficiencies are as a result of various factors. These include inadequate student leadership participation in forums of policy

decision-making at the national level, and the absence of a culture of power transition to the next batch of student leaders (MSTHE, 2004).

Other challenges include ineffective or poor communication among SRCs leaders, inadequate knowledge of the HEIs and the education sector and poor leadership skills (MSTHE, *ibid.*). Other mentioned inefficiencies of student leadership roles according to Muya (2014) include poor communication ability with fellow students; SRCs have become power mongers, individualistic and materialist; Student leadership is corrupt and the culture of smoothly handing over leadership is missing. Muya (*ibid.*) also notes that SRCs lack adequate knowledge of the HEIs; SRCs lack adequate knowledge on institutional reforms; student leaders are not responsive to student needs and SRCs leaders are easily influenced by national political parties.

2.2.9 Student Activism and Leadership Development

For a long time, the scholarship on student activism have tended to frame its presence on campus in a negative light, characterizing participants and the related issues or movements as problems to be addressed and contradictory to the educational process (Chambers and Phelps, 1994). Although student demonstrations in the nineteenth century displayed violent tendencies associated with property destruction and death, yet there were positive changes to higher education accompanied periods of protest. These include establishment of literary societies, fraternities, student government systems and debate clubs (Baxter and Magolda, 1988; Ellsworth and Burns, 1970). Besides, recognizing activism as a form of leadership and student development has never been viewed as beneficial for both administrators and students. Although there are limited empirical efforts to demonstrate connections between activism and leadership development among college students, yet there are examples to note. Jeremy Dale Page in his study to examine the relationship between participation in student activism and leadership development among college student in 2013 found a positive significant relationship between the studied variables. His findings are also supported by Astin (1993b) study on I-E-O college impact model which indicated connection between activism and leadership development.

According to Astin's Theory of Involvement, students learn more the more they are involved in both the academic and social aspects of the collegiate experience. An involved student devotes considerable energy to academics, spends much time on campus and participates actively in student organs.

The following models served as foundational arenas for grounding the empirical evidence on the literature link between activism and leadership development. These are the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (HERI, 1996), the Student Leadership Practices Model (Kouzes and Posner, 2002), and the Leadership Identity Development Model (Komives *et al.* 2005). According to Ivester (2013), the first two theories have been widely considered in student affairs empirical research and the third is a newly developed model being explored by current scholars.

As evidenced, they all indicate that college student leadership development is an interactive process that leaders and followers engage in together (Astin and Astin, 1996; Komives, 2005; Kouzes and Posner, 2002; Rost, 1993); positive student leadership experiences are linked to a stronger personally developed sense of identity (Dugan, 2006; Pennington et al., 2003; Posner, 2009) and leadership competencies are developed through experiences that also help to develop and crystallize a leader identity (Komives, 2005; Kouzes and Posner, 2002). Together, these theories scaffold this study by providing a framework for understanding the competencies, knowledge, self-perceptions, and behaviors surrounding leadership competencies in managing students' crises in institutions of higher learning. It is undeniable truth that student activism is linked and relates to aspects of leadership development, development of leadership identity, developing empathy, self awareness and so forth. Allowing students to take on leadership roles is important in developing self-confidence and success as student leaders. Thus, activism engaged student citizenry.

2.2.10 The Role of Political Parties in Developing Young Leadership skills

Political parties' play a number of crucial roles which abound to the development of national government. Political parties link the state and civil society, can influence the executive, formulate public policy, engage in political recruitment, structure electoral choices and facilitate coalitions.

African politicians' however, have unquestionably contributed to civil war in different countries through manipulations of ethnicity and religion within the party. This have led to intra-party conflicts which in turn, shifted and propelled violent internal crises at the national level. The civil war such as those in South Sudan, the Central African Republic and tensions in Mali are etymologically oriented from political parties in the era of democratic transition.

Distinguishing it from other social movements such as civil society organization, Heywood (2007:272) defines a political party as a group of people that is organized for the purpose of winning the government of the day through electoral means. Supporting this definition, Mahler (1995:147) emphasized that the primary goal of a political party is to win political office and power, thereby controlling the policy making process. For the purpose of this study, a definition of a political party is adopted from Section 3 of the *Political Parties (Registration and Regulation of the United Republic of Tanzania) Act No.5* which states that a political party means any organized group formed for the purpose of forming a government or local government authority in the United Republic (of Tanzania) through election or putting up or support candidates in such public elections.

Historically, political parties have succeeded for a long time to win the confidence of student on campus. For example, in the United States of America today, one can easily find college republicans as well as college democrats in the university campus. Likewise in South Africa, student political organizations which often are youth wings of national political parties have continued to be the vehicles of the continuation of societal 'politics by other means'¹. While this is understandable given the historical background of liberation politics in many states in Africa where this connection exist, it is problematic in the light of transition to multiparty democracy where the development issues that define politics today are different from the liberation issues that defined politics in the past.

¹ This came from the treatise of famous military theorist, Von Clausewitz conception of war as a continuation of politics by other means. In other words, war is not just an act but a means or tool of politics as the military and political objectives of a state are intertwined. Its relevance here is that student political formations in HEIs are used as tools to achieve the larger political objectives of their parent bodies in society.

The study notes well that the National Union of South African Students and other Student Organizations were active important forces for liberalism in South Africa in the latter part of the last century (Badat, 1999). Also, political activists like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, among others, got politicized while they were university students. Therefore, in a post-liberation era of transition towards democratic consolidation, it is useful to rethink the need to continue to use liberation-politics approach and strategies that may not be relevant to the development-politics needs of a post-liberation era.

2.2.11 The Role of University in Developing Student Leadership Skills

Although there are many causes of poor leadership development in African HEIs, the introduction of some reform programmes is a major source of conflict and poor leadership development on campus.. In Tanzania, for example, the cost sharing policy was the main source of student strikes in the late 1990s, and early 2000s.

Funding for HEIs

The trend of the budgets requested as per Council or Board and Parliament approvals shows a persistent shortfall of development of capital projects, thus necessitating indefinite postponement or phasing out of some of the vital projects to match the allocated funds (MSTHE, 1998). The under-funded aspects include students' practicals or field attachment, thus affecting the quality of young leaders churned out. Mosha (2000) posits that for a number of years the funds actually released to HEIs in Tanzania fell short of the amount approved by the Parliament. Also, inadequate remunerations and retirement benefits for academic staff and pensionable senior administrators have led to poor staff retention by triggering the brain-drain as staff seek greener pastures elsewhere (MSTHE, 2004). Such poor terms demoralise the staff, and have significant impacts on the development of young leadership.

Expansion of Student Enrolment and Academic Programmes in Tanzania

Expansion of student enrolment and academic programmes is viewed by Mbawete and Ishumi (2000) as a right footstep towards strengthening socio-economic as well as political development. However, according to Ayandele (1982), expansion has

been too rapid and especially without commensurate financial and other resource increase to meet this increase in population size. Student crises in HEIs is explained by the government of Tanzania's inability to fund the rapidly changing and expanding academic programmes resulting from the increased social demand for higher education (MSTHE, 2004). More significantly, the government has shown its inability to cope with the rapidly swelling numbers of students admitted to HEIs. The study critique whether this phenomenon also has never had impacts on the development of young leadership on campus.

2.2.12 The Historical Trends of Leadership Development in Tanzanias' HEIs

The historical trends of leadership development in Tanzania's HEIs is explained by Mthembu (2009), to include three models of relationships between the government and higher education. The models include; state control, state supervision, and state interference. In exploring the relationship between the national government and national university in Tanzania within the perspective of leadership development, Muya (2014) points out three phases of the state and the university relations in Tanzania. The phases are the era of socialism (1967-1985); the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (1985-1995); and the current era informed by the global competitive forces falling under the period of democratic transition.

During the era of socialism, according to Mosha (1994), Tanzania's universities were influenced by the country's brand of leftist ideology of african socialism and self-reliance an ideology that treated higher education as largely elitist and benefiting the bourgeoisie more than the peasantry (Omari, 1991:3). The country largely pursuit of leftist ideology reduced the nation to a closed society where opinions other than those from the ruling class were rarely honoured. The question of leadership was therefore confined to socialist values. It was also a period where public universities recruited staff from countries with differing ideologies and training backgrounds. As such, the university served a role of "melting pot" where varying ideological were thrashed or accommodated (Mosha, 1994).

The question of developing young leadership was therefore guided by socialist values. Colleges such as Kivukoni was built at this time to equip young leaders with political leadership knowledge and other socialist values. On the other hand, during the current era of democratic consolidation, the public university in Tanzania is perceived to have lost its autonomy due to the maximum state control practices compared to an the era before the introduction of multi-party democracy in the 1990s (Muya, 2014). This is against what the founding father of the Tanzania nation, President J.K. Nyerere prioritised. In his speech at the graduation of the first class and the opening of the campus of the University College of Dar es Salaam in 1961 (now the University of Dar es Salaam-Mlimani Campus), the President stated that

What we expect from our university is both a complete objectivity in the search for truth, and also commitment to our society – a desire to serve it. He further notices that the role and function of the university should be to prememorise administrators on how to lead/administer and not creating the environment for administrators to continue leading the national state even when things move in a wrong way.

(Nyerere, 1961)

2.3 Empirical Literature of the Study

This section reviews empirical literature of the study. The review maps the frontiers of knowledge on development of student leadership in a bid to discover knowledge gaps that was filled by the study. The part reviews articles containing empirical evidence on trends and debates related to the development of young leadership. The review is not simply a description of what others have published on leadership development in institutions of higher learning, but rather takes the form of a critical discussion, showing insights and an awareness of differing arguments, theories and approaches. It also critically synthesises empirical information related to this study to identify unbiased and valid studies, the strengths and weaknesses, similarities and differences, as well as controversies in previous researches linked to the study purpose.

2.3.1 Critical and Analytical Review of Empirical Literature

In an attempt to understand student activism within a lens of impacting personal, institutional, and community change, some scholars (Astin, 1984; Pascarella, 1991) denote a positive link between student activism and students' leadership development as one of the strengths of the study, such changes in an academic involvement is *not* capitalised on HEIs commitment and strategies. This has been identified as one among the setbacks. Huang and Chang (2004) report the results of a research study posing two questions that grow out of Astin's student involvement theory (1977, 1984): The relationship between different forms of involvement, and the optimal amounts and combinations of different forms of involvement for students' cognitive and affective growth. Data were drawn from 627 third-year college students involved in both academic courses and out-of-class clubs. A multistage cluster sampling technique was done for third year students from 20 institutions.

The combined data address two competing hypotheses. The first, that academic and co-curricular involvements are negatively correlated. The second hypothesis is that these two forms of involvement are positively correlated. This study was a secondary analysis of a previously conducted survey using the "College Experiences Survey" (CES) asking students how often they took part in 13 academic and 13 social activities by using a 5-point Likert scale. Huang and Chang (2004) found that the correlation between curricular and co-curricular involvement though positive is weak. In other words, an increase in co-curricular involvement is *not* accompanied by a decrease in academic involvement. Because this study was conducted as a secondary analysis, it is limited in its scope of investigation. Moreover, its findings are only generalisable to third-year college students with similar characteristics.

According to contingency approach as applied in management, there is no one best approach to making decisions, leading, and motivating others. The contingency approach contends that each of the leadership style is appropriate depending on the prevailing situation. Its main premise is that proper diagnosis of, is the basis for intervention in, leading. Alcover (2009) argues that the university and the world of academia in general, are due to its nature, structure and inside relationships, a perfect breeding ground for the conflicts, disputes, problems, and grievances. In these

settings, proper leadership styles as a contingent intervention can help to address the problem.

Likewise, Frick (1991) notes that an academic system such as the university is described by the relationships among its components (teachers, students, content, and contexts) and the relationship this system has with its environment. When changes are made in an educational system, such as an implementation of a reform, one or more of these relationships can be affected. As such, this study has a view that managing conflicts in an academic organisation needs a holistic or comprehensive approach of understanding an academic environment, its content and context. Practical implications of this contingent model and its future research is, however, silent. This is one of the weaknesses of the study. It thus requires establishing a common understanding of the leadership role and responsibilities of its major stakeholders in a tertiary education.

One of the argument raised by Maseko (1994) in his study of SRCs governance at the University of Western Cape in South Africa was to examine why the SRC governance is not making the expected difference especially in managing student conflict. Maseko (1994) in his seminal essay on the struggles of SRCs provides the broad historical realities of the SRCs' politics. He argues that the role of previous-day Student Representative Council (SRC) especially in black universities during the anti-apartheid struggle was to enhance campus demonstration. The SRCs utilised the tradition of militant student politics in a struggle for strategic reforms within the university governing structures. Despite an impressive body of knowledge generated by Maseko's (1994) findings, his study was silent on the leadership roles of Student Representatives Councils (SRCs) in the current an era of democratic consolidation. This is one among the knowledge gap the current study sought to address.

Luescher-Mamashela's (2008:181) study on student politics in South africa acknowledges the replacement of student political organisations aligned to the liberation movements with campus branches of the youth wings of national political parties. This study, however, did not account for contribution of the nexus of national and student politics within the perspectives of leadership development on campuses.

In addition, in a study on the university in Africa and democratic citizenship to a certain whether it is a hothouse or training ground, Luescher - mamashela *et al.* (2011) found that the potential of a university to act as a training ground for democratic citizenship is best realised by supporting students' exercise of democratic leadership on campus. According to Luescher-Mamashela (Ibid), this will develop and foster democratic leadership in civil society.

There is also growing evidence that suggests that academic leadership is a key factor in not only managing student conflict in organisations but also fostering better organisational climate for teaching and learning (Gmelch and Miskin, 1995). Many studies have been conducted in the field of leadership resulting in the development of some important theories and concepts on what makes a person an effective leader, but mainly in areas of business and industry organisations (Yukl, 1989; Parker, 1994; Goleman, 2000; Cohen, 2002; Goleman 2004; Lewis *et al.* 2006 and Williams 2008). However, despite the plethora of literature available, very little has been conducted on academic leadership, and specifically its impact on running institutions of higher learning and dealing with students' conflicts.

College deans and HoDs occupy a unique role in higher education institutions. They have the ability to exert power, control information, allocate resources, assess performance and promotion of their staff, enhance student governance as well as university governance (Astin and Scherrei, 1980). Generally, nearly 80 percent of all administrative decisions in higher education institutions are made at the departmental level (Hilosky and Watwood, 1997). As such, college deans and HoDs should be recognised as leaders and agents of change (Gmelch and Miskin, 1995).

The knowledge and skills of the college deans and HoDs pertaining to academic leadership influences the efficiency of their leadership styles and, as such, become a significant factor in influencing both the nature and quality of institution. Nevertheless, there is a scant on a literature on academic leadership and whether leaders or administrators in institutions of higher learning possess and utilise the desired knowledge and skills on academic leadership to inform their daily

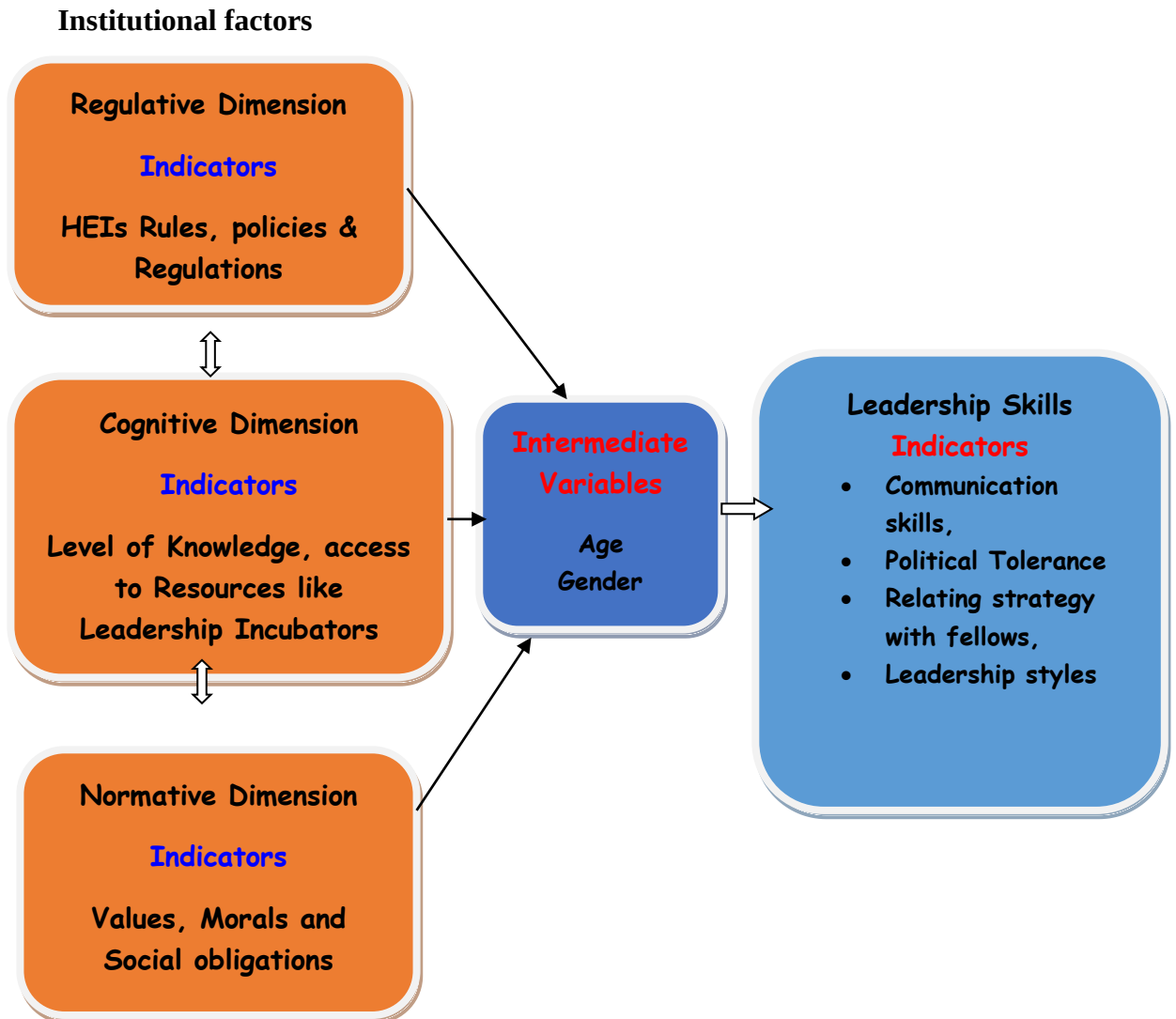
undertaking and resolve student conflicts. This was one of the literature gaps, that, this study filled in.

Mahalu (2000), in a paper investigating measures to pre-empt and prevent student crises in Higher Learning Institutions (HEIs), made an interesting argument when he pointed out that reforms in higher education are necessary to create an atmosphere in which university crises could be pre-empted and prevented. His argument, however, was challenged by Hirschler (2004) who perceives violent conflicts in Tanzania's universities to result from the ongoing educational reforms in HEIs.

2.4 The Conceptual Framework of the Study

The study adopted and modified the conceptual framework as developed by Muya (2015) to suit the objectives of the study as demonstrated by Figure 2.1. This diagram conceptualizes how the institutional indicators from (regulative, cognitive and normative) factors of public universities relate with the ineffective development of leadership skills of student leaders during the receipt of their formal education.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Adopted and modified from Muya's (2015) Study of Student Governance

The diagram does not focus on the causal-effect relationship between independent and dependent variable, rather shows the contribution of the study objective to the ineffective development of leadership skills among student leaders at the University level. The arrows indicate feedback to and from different parts. According to Figure 2.1, ineffective development of leadership skills at the university level is perceived to be a function of institutional factors indicated by (regulative, cognitive and normative) dimensions of HEIs.

2.5 The Synthesis and Knowledge Gap

Both the reviewed empirical and theoretical literature has led into the conclusion that there is no universal theory of leadership and no precise formula for producing leaders, and the answers are elusive. Indeed, leadership is a process, a context specific and determined by time factor and other attributes. However, literature has not been able to explore institutional factors contributing to ineffective leadership development among student leaders at the university level. Consequently, this study sought to fill this knowledge gap by investigating the contribution of the institutional factors of the university towards preparing student political leaders.

2.6 Summary of Chapter Two

The overall assessment of empirical debates and studies aimed at analysing the question of leadership development of youth in Higher Education Institution (HEIs) in Africa and the world at large succeeded in documenting a number of key shortcomings in the literature of leadership development within higher learning institutions. As such, they have made important contributions to our understanding of initiatives and strategies of developing young leaders. Despite these achievements, there was a scant literature on the contribution of the institutional factors of the university towards preparing student political leaders. As such, the literature review helped to fill some of literature gaps that the objectives of this study strives to fill. The organization of the chapter covered an introduction, theoretical literature, empirical literature that traced not only the trends and debates of leadership development but also analytical review of empirical literature of the study, as well as the synthesized knowledge gap.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology and profile of the study area that was used in this study. The chapter is organized into seven sub sections; area of the study, research design, target population, sources of data, data collection tools, data processing and analysis plan.

3.2 Research Design

The nature of the problem under study necessitated the application of descriptive-case study design in which both, qualitative and quantitative research approaches feature in the study. It is descriptive simply because the study aimed at describing perceptions and attitudes of student leaders about institutional factors among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of HEIs that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students' leaders.

The justification of using case study design revolves on the fact that the study intended to explore the situation by asking “what is the case” and “what makes the case”? According to (Houser, 1998), a case study is an intensive investigation of a particular incident, institution or unit in an effort to understand and explain a given phenomenon, in this observation, institutional factors among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of HEIs that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students' leaders. Similarly, (Stake, 1995) conceives a case study as a pursuit of a bounded system, emphasising the unity and wholeness of that system, but confining the attention to aspects that are relevant to the research problem. In this regard, a case has character and boundaries. As a course of inquiry, “case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed and when the investigator has little control over events (Yin, 1994).

Likewise, case studies are preferred when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 1994, p. 1). This is one of its strengths. In addition, case study research provides a holistic picture and depth of understanding of respondents rather than numerical analysis of data (Stake, 1995). It also enables the researcher to gain the overview of experience, attitudes, opinions, suggestions, expectations and behaviour towards some issues of the target group (Babbie, 2000). Also, case study research is performed at the site where the activity occurs naturally, and multiple forms of inquiry (document review, observation, and interviews) are usually utilised. A study that contains more than a single case is called a multiple-case study (Yin, 1994). In this study, three case studies (UDSM, UDOM, and MU) served for multiple-case inquiry. Why studying phenomenon in the natural environment through multiple lenses?. This is because multiple-case study can enrich the data. An advantage of multiple-case study is that, evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust (Yin, 1994: 45).

The study also utilised mixed research approach, built from both, qualitative and quantitative research approach. Specifically, this mixed research is known as Qual Quant or sometimes, Qualitative sequential quantitative mixed research (Yin, 1994). The rationale of using qual-quant is based on the nature of the research questions. In this study, three research questions were explored:

- (i) To what extent has the public universities in Tanzania played the role of developing leadership skills of her student for national development from 1993 to 2018 period of democratic transition?
- (ii) What is the leading institutional gaps among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of the that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018?
- (iii) What institutional measures can be utilised for improving development of leadership skills of students leaders for national development?

While the first research question is quantitatively designed, the remaining two research questions (number two and three) are qualitatively designed. As such, this study employed a mixed research approach, in which, qualitative research features

dominantly and quantitative data features only in the analysis and interpretation of data. Although each method stem from different philosophical assumptions that shape the ways researchers approach problems, collect and analyze data, the two methods are complementary and that their combined application optimizes both the reliability and validity of a research undertaking (Babbie, 2000). The use of both research approaches ensures not only the methodological rigorousness but also increases the robustness of the study in an attempt to test the plausible answers for the unknown.

3.3 Area of Study

This study was conducted in three universities located in the United Republic of Tanzania. Three case studies, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); the University of Dodoma (UDOM); and Mzumbe University (MU) were used in this study. The reason of using them as case studies are three fold. First, all of them are state run universities characterised by regular students violence with exception of Mzumbe University. Second, all of the surveyed universities have comparable history of existence in offering higher education in the country. Whereas UDSM was established soon after Tanzania's independence in 1961, UDOM and Mzumbe were established when the country was superceded by democratic transition values in the late 2000. The third criterion relies on geographical disparity. While UDSM is located in an urban-business area area, UDOM is located in the capital centre of Tanzania, which is somehow rural based compared to Dar es Salaam. Mzumbe University on the other hand is very proximal to Dar es Salaam, as it is located in Morogoro region. Thus, it was easy to identify issues, actors and processes in line with the objectives of this study.

3.3.1 Description of the Study Area

The University of Dar es Salaam

The roots of higher education in Tanzania go back to the 1940s when Makerere College served as an inter-territorial college for all of East Africa (Ajayi *et al.* 1996:59). By the dawn of independence in 1961, three university colleges negotiated an affiliation with the University of London.

These colleges were Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Subsequently this led to the establishment of three colleges under the federal University of East Africa, in 1963. Each College was allocated specific discipline. Makerere was allocated Medicine and Agriculture, Nairobi was allocated Architecture, Engineering and Veterinary Science and Dar es Salaam was allocated Law. However, this did not last due to rival political activities in the three independent states which led to the separation of these colleges in 1970. As such, the University of Dar es Salaam became an autonomous university which awarded its own degrees. The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) is a public university in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The university has five campuses in and around the city of Dar es Salaam. These campuses include the College of Engineering and Technology; Mkwawa University College of Education; the Dar es Salaam University College of Education; the main campus, called Mlimani²³; and the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication . The enrolment of students at the University of Dar es Salaam increased from 12 in 1961 to 16,468 (10,200 male and 6,268 female) in the 2009/2010 academic (SARUA, 2010). The UDSM became in the 1970s and the early 1980s an outstanding center for scholarship, intellectual debates and leadership in analysing issues relating to liberation, economic and social justice and development in general. During this period, the university saw an increased flow of international scholars to Dar es Salaam as well as an increase the quantity and quality of academic output in terms of research, publications and quality graduates (PMU, 1993:9)

The University of Dodoma

The University of Dodoma (UDOM) is a public university in central Tanzania located in Dodoma, the country's capital. It is built on a 6,000 hectare site in the Chimwaga area, about 8 kilometres East of downtown Dodoma. The University was formally established in March 2007 following the signing of the Charter by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. UDOM has the following academic units: College of Humanities and Social Sciences; College of Education; College of Informatics and Virtual Education; School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics;

²Which means on the hill in [Swahili](#)

³This main campus is home to the faculties of education, arts and social science, science, informatics and virtual education, law, commerce and management, and aquatic science and technology

School of Medicine and Nursing and School of Mines and Petroleum Engineering. It also offers 74 academic Programmes for Undergraduate and 21 Graduate programmes. The total number of enrolment in 2009/10 enrolment was 7, 946 (SARUA, 2010). By 2014, UDOM projected the number of enrolment into the University will have increased to a total of 40,000 in a variety of academic disciplines, which is more than double the then size of the University of Dar es Salaam.

Mzumbe University (MU)

Mzumbe University's main Campus is found in Morogoro region, Tanzania. Before attaining the university status, it was an Institute for Development Management training professionals in various fields especially on management and leadership at an Advanced Diploma Level. Its origin can be traced back to 1953 when the British Colonial Administration established a Local Government School in the country. The school was aimed at training local Chiefs, Native Authority Staff and Councilors. The level of training was elevated after Tanzania (Tanganyika) independence to include training of Central Government Officials, Rural Development Officers and local Court Magistrates. In 1972, the then Local Government School was merged with the Institute of Public Administration of the University of Dar es Salaam to form the Institute of Development Management (IDM-Mzumbe). Today, the University boasts of over 50 years' experience of training in the administration of justice, business management, public administration, accountancy, finance, political science and good governance

Given the natural growth of the Institute over 50 years of successful operation and the changing national and international human resource needs, the Government transformed it into fully fledged public University. This was made under the Act of Parliament No.21 of 2001. Indeed, the Mzumbe University Act No 21 of 2001 was repealed by the Universities Act of Tanzania No. 7 of 2005 and replaced by the Mzumbe University charter, 2007 which now guides the operations and management of the University. The mandate of the University is stipulated in the Mzumbe University Charter, of 2007. The University is currently operating its main campus in Morogoro, and two Campus Colleges (Dar es Campus College (in Dar es Salaam)

and Mbeya Campus College in Mbeya). Number of its programmes run under School of Business, School of Public Administration and Management, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Social Sciences and the Institute of Development Studies.

3.4 Study Population

3.4.1 Total Population

The total population for this study includes all university students who were pursuing their university studies, and who were available for the study in the selected institutions of higher education in 2018, irrespective of gender. As such, it covers the population of students in their third and second years of the study from UDSM, UDOM, and MU. The statistics show about 22,120 (TCU, 2018).

3.4.2 Target Population

The target population for this study included all students who had stayed at the university for at least a year, who have engaged in either contesting or voting for SRC election between 2013-2018 and who are available for the study in the selected institutions of higher education. As such, the total population of the study participants for this study was 1, 932 students leaders at various levels from Class Representatives to SRC President, found from each of the three surveyed universities. These sampling frames were gleaned from the SRCs voters registers as well as the office of Dean of Students of the institutions under study.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Techniques

3.5.1 Sample Size

A sample size is defined by Bailey (1987) as the number of representative respondents selected for interview from a research population. The number depends on the accuracy needed, population size, population heterogeneity and resources available. In addition, sampling refers to an act of selecting a few people/observations for study and discovers things that apply to hundreds or millions of people/observations not studied (Krishnaswami, 2003). The sample size for this study was 225 study participants. This is equivalent to a little above 10% of the target population, which was 1,953 observations. This sample included 60 students

and 10 lecturers from each university, thus making 210 study participants from all the three surveyed universities. It also included three (3) key informants from the office of the Dean of Students from each university, as well as other 6 purposively selected key informants from CSOs dealing with leadership development and Ministry of Education as well.

Table 3.1: Selection of a Study Sample

No.	Name of the Institution	Target Population	Sample Size
1	The University of Dar es Salaam	604	60 Students 10 Lecturers
2	The University of Dodoma	922	60 Students 10 Lecturers
3	Mzumbe University	427	60 Students 10 Lecturers
4	Key Informants from @ HEI		9
5	Key Informants from CSOs and Ministerial level		6
Total		1,953	225

Source: Survey Data, 2018

Statistically, the sample size for this study was 225 study participants. It was established through using a simplified formula by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003):

$$n = \frac{nf}{1 + n/N}$$

nf= the desired sample size when the population is less than 10,000
n = the desired sample when the population is more than 10,000
N = the estimate of the population size

$$n = \frac{225}{1 + 225/1700000} = 124.9$$

3.5.2 Sampling Techniques

Both probability and non-probability techniques were employed in this study. The study used non-probability techniques to sample purposively 15 key informants utilised in this study. The decision to employ purposive sampling is based on the premise that careful selecting of stakeholders in the policy-making process is a good criterion for matching interviewers with the respondents (Flick, 2006). Also, the study employed probability sampling to select a list of 60 student leaders from each HEI thus making a total of 180 student leaders with whom a questionnaire was administered. Stratified sampling, as one of the probability sampling technique was done to generate a sample of 60 students from each university based on their degree programmes such as education, sociology as well as political science and public administration.

These students are the ones who had stayed on the campuses for at least a year, engaged in either contesting or voting for SRC election and who were available for the study. Once the sample size of the respective strata in each HEI was established, the student leaders were selected randomly by using the lottery methods. The selected participants were informed by their respective leaders through the Dean of Student, on the purpose of the study and the interview was conducted.

In developing a strata of each university, a sampling fraction of 0.11 was obtained from taking a required sample size of the students divide by the population: $225/1953$. This, in turn, was multiplied by each strata of the target population to generate a sample size for each strata.

On the other hand, the study employed non-probability sampling to select a sample of 15 key informants purposively selected to supplement data for this study. This selected sample was interviewed by using an interview guide. The study also interviewed 10 lecturers from each university whom were selected purposively due to their expertise on teaching political sciences, policy studies and leadership courses at the university level. These were the second group of study participants selected as key informants. Informed consent forms were given to the respondents before conducting the study.

3.6 Sources of Data

3.6.1 Secondary Sources

Secondary data, according to Kothari (2004), refers to data that is already available, which has already been collected and analysed. In this study, secondary data were collected through library research involving various documents, reports, books and journal articles from the libraries of the respective universities in line with the objectives of the study.

Documentary Review/Analysis

This technique of data collection involves subjecting documents related to the topic under study to deep and critical analysis. In this study, official documents such as students' organisation constitutions as well as university by-laws or acts were critically reviewed to understand whether there was any provisions that provided room for enhancing development of student leadership on campuses. SRC annual reports and political parties' manifesto were also analysed to foresee if there were any provisions or strategies in line with the question of leadership development among student leaders in HEIs.

Equally important, web-based documents from social networks, and hard copy documents were collected. These documents were examined and entered into the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. This process allowed for organisation and coding of the data that emerged from these documents. All documentation that was examined was publicly accessible. Also, other secondary data were obtained from the university documentation centres and research institutions and they were reviewed and analysed. The information obtained from these sources were used to check for consistency of information generated through the use of questionnaires and interview.

3.6.2 Primary Sources

Primary sources of data are conceived by this study to refer to the collection of original data from the study area through the use of data collection techniques such as the questionnaire, face-to-face interview guides as well as Focus Group Discussion guide.

3.7 Methods and Data Collections Tools

This research employed three types of data collection tools. The data collection tools were: Structured questionnaire, face-to-face interview guides and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) guide. The structured questionnaires were directed to students in their respective Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in a bid to collect quantitative information in line with the objectives of the study.

Whereas structured questionnaires were used to justify causal explanations for the findings and comparing responses in subgroups of a large population, semi-structured questionnaires were administered with HEIs staff to obtain qualitative information in line with the objectives of the study. The FGDs guide on the other hand aimed at obtaining indepth information on whether the national and students politics nexus on campus had contributed to the question of leadership development of students in HEIs. In addition, the study utilised interview guides to supplement data from key informants.

3.7.1 Questionnaires

Both structured and semi-structured questionnaires were utilised to generate required data in this study. The structured questionnaire was used to collect quantitative information from the sampled students in both universities to justify causal explanations for the findings and comparing responses in the subgroups of a larger population. The semi-structured questionnaires was distributed to selected lecturers in HEIs to enrich the study with qualitative information.

When an interviewer is involved, the questionnaire is sometimes referred to as an interview. Questionnaires were used because they were more appropriate for collecting a lot of information within a relatively short time. The administered semi

structured questionnaires on the other hand contained both closed and open-ended questions to avoid bias results. Open-ended questions invites free responses from respondents, whereas closed-ended questions only allow respondents to choose from alternative responses provided. The questions addressed in the semi-structured questionnaire were short and up to the point, yet with flow that allowed the respondents to provide quick and accurate information. The study was also sensitive in translation and pre-testing of the questionnaire.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide

The FGD guide was used to obtain in depth information from students at the university on whether the connectedness between national and students politics in educational settings has contributed to the development of young leadership on campus. A set of open-ended questions in Kiswahili served as a guide for the FGDs conducted in Tanzania to probe for clarification. It was important to have questions in this language in a bid to probe and build more insights from the study respondents as some of them were not much influential to express well some of the thematic issue under the study through the use of English.

Focus group participants were chosen from among those who had indicated in their questionnaire replies that they were willing to be involved in a focus group discussion. A total of three FGDs were conducted in each. Six (6) study participants were included in each FGD. After each FGD session, participants were given feedback on the issues raised during the sessions, for example, what has been revealed as institutional gaps in developing student leaders in HEIs and the way forward. The FGDs was used to revealed valuable additional information, especially on the reasons behind their engagement with national political parties.

3.7.3 Interview Guide for Key Informants

Newman (2000) argues that face-to-face interviews have the highest response rates. Interviewers can also observe the surroundings and can use non-verbal communication and visual aids. A semi-structured interview was a method of research used to collect data for this study. Whereas a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions which does not allow diversion, a semi-structured interview

is open, and allows new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored prepared in an interview guide. Interview guides help researchers to focus an interview on the topics at hand without constraining them to a particular format. This freedom in a semi-structured interview can help interviewers to tailor their questions to the interview context/situation, and to the needs of the people they are interviewing.

The purpose of using the interview guide or schedule is to enable the researcher to get more information directly and clarify some questions and arguments regarding the leadership development skills developed by the national and students' politics nexus on campus. The instrument was useful and appropriate for collecting information from key informants since it was used to supplement data gathered from questionnaires and documentation. Oral consent formalised through the use of consent forms were sought from the respondents before the interviews were conducted.

3.8 Data Collection Process

The data collection process began with the administration of the pilot study. After that, three research assistants, one in each university, were contracted to handle the data collection process in the presence of the principal investigator. This took place during a four-week period per campus, based on considerations of campus closings, vacations, and events that limited student responses.

3.8.1 Data Processing and Analysis

According to Neuman and Robson (2009), data analysis refers to a search for patterns in data recurrent behaviours, objects or body of knowledge. Once a pattern is identified, it is interpreted in terms of a social theory or the setting in which it occurred. The essence of the statistical analysis was to probe the findings deeper with a view to producing new knowledge related to the development of leadership skills on the campuses. In this study, the results arising from each individual case, and compositely across both cases were presented. Since both quantitative and qualitative

research methods were employed in this study, a sequential data analysis was preferred whereby qualitative data was analysed first before quantitative data.

Generally, qualitative data analysis begun early in a research project when collecting data (Berg, 2007). The results of early data analysis guided the subsequent data collection. Thematic analysis revolving around memo writing and coding were the approaches employed in the analysis of qualitative data. The collected web-based documents from social networks, and hard copy documents were examined and entered into the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. This process allowed for organisation and coding of the data that emerged from these documents. They were all further reviewed and major points summarized. The information obtained from these sources were used to check for consistency of information generated through the use of observation technique, questionnaires based approach and use of interview. Thus, the coding of qualitative data in this study involved organising data into themes, data refining, and finally drawing links between themes to arrive at the conclusion.

On the other hand, when the field exercises were completed, all quantitative information collected were coded, organised, analysed by using descriptive statistics. They were further converted into percentages, tables, and figures by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22.

3.9 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

Validity refers to “truth value” of the findings. A data collection instrument is reliable if it fosters consistency, that is, it produces the same results repeatedly (Creswell,1994). Also, the data collected is valid when it offers authentic information when viewing the bridge between a construct and the data.

Validity

Validity and reliability are understood in a slightly different way in both qualitative and quantitative research. In quantitative studies, validity refers to the bridge or match between an abstract concept to empirical data. Valid evaluations take into account all relevant factors, given the whole context of the evaluation, and weigh

them appropriately in the process of formulating conclusions and recommendations (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). To establish ‘truthworthiness’ of a study, Creswell (2003) perceives validity in qualitative research to be an attempt to assess the “accuracy” of the findings, as best described the researcher and the participants. This study ensured validity through extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick description rather than verification which has quantitative overtones. In addition, it ensured validity by enhancing “authenticity”, giving a fair, credible, honest, and balanced account of social life experienced by the people being studied.

Reliability

This entails consistency and dependability. Reliability entails that the numerical results produced as a result of data collection procedure do not vary because of the characteristics of the measurement process or measurement instrument itself. Thus, under the same conditions when observations are repeated, data collected should produce similar numerical results. Although absolute reliability of data is hard to obtain, clearly conceptualising constructs, use of a precise level of measurement, use of multiple indicators and use of pilot tests can improve the reliability of research instruments (Neuman and Robson, 2009). This research ensured reliability by facilitating proper training of researchers, formulating precise level of measurement such as questionnaires and interview guides which are explicit, unambiguous and less complicated. The study also used pilot tests before undertaking data collection in the field. The use of pilot study helped to adjust the questionnaire from unambiguous words and time for the process.

3.10 Summary of Chapter Three

This mixed research study built from both, qualitative and quantitative research approach, embarked on case research design was conducted to explore institutional factors contributing to ineffective development of leadership skills in three public universities. The study recruited students from Higher Education Institutions as unit of analysis. It surveyed 180 students, conducted 15 key-person interviews and 3 focus group discussions across the 3 selected universities of study. These include the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Dodoma, and the Mzumbe University in Tanzania. Since this study is largely qualitative in nature, it ensured validity by

enhancing “authenticity”, giving a fair, credible, honest, and balanced account of social life experienced by the people being studied. Although absolute reliability of data is hard to obtain, this research ensured reliability by use of precise level of measurement such as questionnaires and interview guides which are explicit, use of multiple indicators and use of pilot tests before undertaking data collection in the field.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and the discussion drawn from the study that explored institutional factors in public universities that contribute to ineffective development of leadership skills of student leaders for national development in an era of democratic transition. The study used three public universities as study cases, namely: University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), University of Dodoma (UDOM), and Mzumbe University (MU). While those selected public universities were used as a unit of analysis, student leaders and their respective lecturers were used as the unit of inquiry to generate a body of knowledge in line with the objectives of the study.

The presentation and analysis of data is organised under seven main sections: Section 4.2 describes the social demographic characteristics of respondents; Section 4.3 profiles the level of student participation in campus politics and Leadership Development Programmes; Section 4.4 analyses the extent to which universities have played a role in developing student leadership skills. Also, section 4.5 identifies institutional gaps that constraint the process of developing student leadership in institutions of higher learning; and section 4.6 proposes measures to address the problem at hand. The last part, section 4.7 offers the summary of the chapter four.

4.2 Socio- demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The total number of respondents sampled was 225. It comprised of 180 students from UDSM, UDOM and MU, who were surveyed through the use of structured questionnaires. It also comprised of 30 lectures from all three HEIs and 15 key informants who were purposively selected to supplement data for this study. Among those 15 key informants who were included in the sample were: 5 leaders from political parties, 5 leaders from NGOs/CSOs linked to youth leadership, and 5 from the Ministry of Education, and they were all interviewed through interview guides.

Although the initial proposed sample size of the study was 225 students from UDSM UDOM, and MU at the end of our field survey, a total of 202 respondents (180 students, 10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants) were valid for analysis. The remaining 23 were rejected as ‘spoilt’ for various reasons which include unwillingness of respondents to continue with the survey.

Two variables were used to understand socio-demographic characteristics of respondents which include age and gender in campus politics. While age was used to analyse an active respondent’s stratum for practising campus politics and its implication on leadership development, gender analysis was used to understand how gender influences student engagement in political leadership. Table 4.1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Table 4.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Student Leaders

(N=180)

		Frequency	Percent
AGE	20-25	156	86.7
	26-30	18	10
	31-35	4	2.2
	>35	2	1.1
	Total	180	100
GENDER	Male	113	62.8
	Female	67	37.2
Total		180	100

Source: Survey data, 2019.

The statistics in Table 4.1 show that the number of females surveyed was less than the number of males. Of the 180 respondents surveyed, 67 (37.2 %) were females and 113 (62.8 %) were males. These results are supported by SARUA (2010) which shows that the % age of Tanzania’s female students enrolled in 2017/18 was between 35% and 45% in almost all state run universities in Tanzania.

Moreover, the mean age of respondents who participated in this study was 23 years. The age range of the study was between 20 to 36 years. The results in Table 4.1 show that 156 (86.7 %) of the respondents were at the age between 20 and 25. This age

group is the most political active age group. Its high frequency in the study predicted active strata for bringing societal change if both, political and leadership empowerment would be implemented effectively.

Politically empowered youth would be able to participate in political discourses and also aware of the political trend, thereby equipping them on how to intervene through platforms like civil society organisations, political parties and so on. It is undeniably a truth that every generation seems to think that the next generation is vastly different from its own. The characteristics that a generation identifies with, however, may not be the characteristics that others believe that generation identifies with.

Are there any defining qualities of today's youth that are observed to be unique and relevant to the youth of the world? Is it even possible to attribute qualities to an entire generation around the world? Vappu (2005) notes that other generations youth had more faith in the status quo or in the foundations that their lives were built upon. He was of the view that this generation choose to think for themselves and question everything. The implication of this quality is on enhancing their progressiveness goals.

Likewise, Prensky (2001) refers to this active age group of respondents as the 'net generation' or 'digital natives'. This age group was perceived to demonstrate high technological adaptability and learning autonomy as may not be the case in other generations. The use of ICTs such as cellular phones, internets and social networks was an added advantage in advances their political ideologies and goals. What is the implication of this quality? With an increased population of net generation youth gaining admission into universities, it was of importance to understand the integration of this group of students into the university programmes such as leadership development and national political system.

4.3 Student Participation in Political Leadership Development

Apart from gender and age, the study investigated the level of student participation in political leadership development. Table 4.2 shows the the gendered level of participation in campus politics.

Table 4.2: The Gendered level of Political Participation in Campus Leadership

N (Number of Students Leaders in all Universities) = 180

		UDSM		UDOM		MU	
		Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
GENDER	Male	39	65	42	70	32	53.3
	Female	21	35	18	30	28	46.7
Total		60	100	60	100	60	100

Source: Survey data, 2019.

In an attempt to investigate the gendered level of political participation in campus leadership, the study revealed that there were 28 (46.7 %) female student leaders at Mzumbe University (MU); 18 (30 %) female students in the University of Dodoma (UDOM); as well as 21 (35 %) female students in the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); who had engaged in political participated in campus politics. The findings show a growing trend of male dominated politics across all university campuses.

The statistics show that UDOM is leading the way, followed by UDSM and MU follows by far. Since the majority of respondents who in political participation in campus leadership in the surveyed universities were male, it is undeniable that development of political leadership in university campus is dominated by the male gender. Based on this, it could be inferred that political leadership in campus has a masculine character since male students were mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that governed students' politics and thusly leadership development in these campuses. It also suggests that the praxis of developing young leadership on campus were socialized in favour of male dominated politics. Relating these findings to the chapter on 'Youth participation in decision making', the World Youth Report of 2003 points out that 'if young people are not involved in the development of the laws, policies and programmes that affect them, even well intentioned actions on the part of adults will often fail to protect their best interests' (UN, 2004:129). As such, to succeed for this UN goal, the gendered aspects of youth participation in decision making process within the perspective of leadership systems in HEIs should be enhanced.

Youth participation in decision making strengthens not only democratic processes but also builds leadership skills. Many implications emerge from a generation of young people who do not value democratic aspects such as political tolerance and, above all, prime accountability to the public. It can be suggested that, without a politically engaged population of young people who can and will enhance political tolerance through conducting conversations or competition across differences, we cannot expect a similarly engaged population of adults. As a result, conflicts will always be a norm.

4.4 The Extent to which Universities have Developed Student leadership

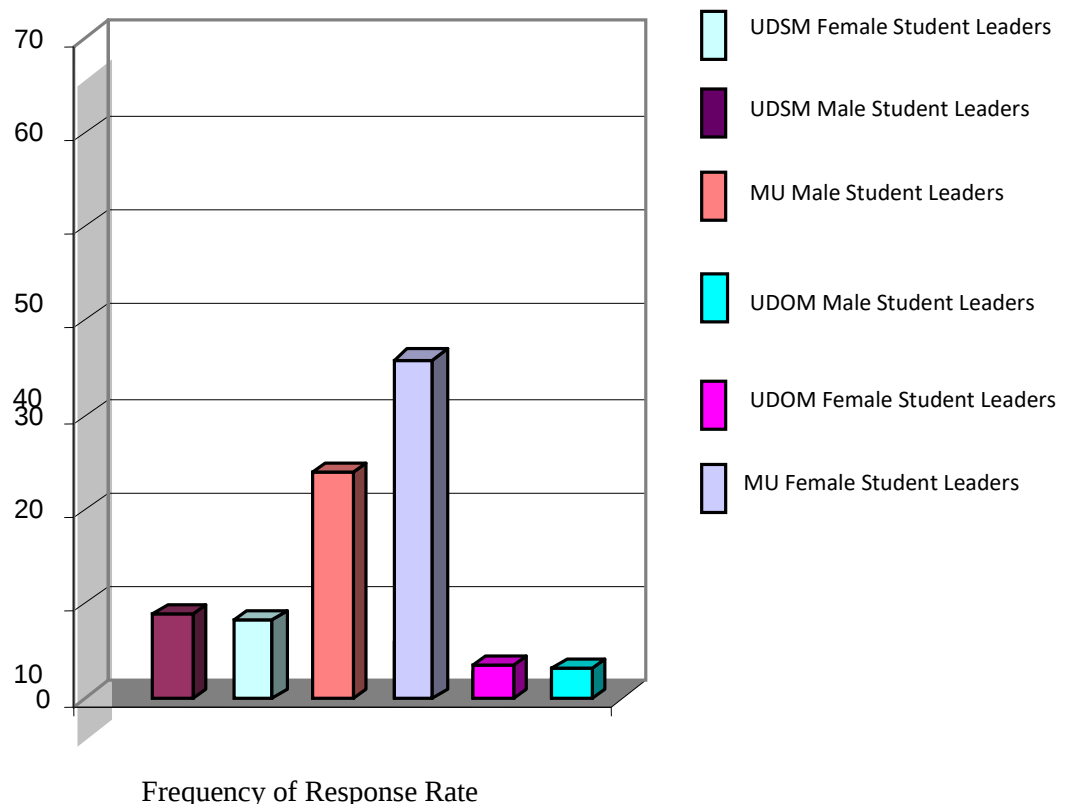
One of the objectives of the study was to examine the contemporary role and extent to which public universities have engaged in developing student leadership in an era of democratic transition. Respondents (180 students, 10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants) were asked to measure the extent at which the university has played the role of developing young leaders in HEIs for the national development. Likewise, the study went further to ask the following questions: Are Tanzanias' public universities devoted to prepare potential leaders with a domestic, regional and global outlook? What is the relevance of leadership development programs in HEIs? What are the qualities of the prepared young leaders in Tanzania? This part discusses the extent at which the university as a system had engaged in developing student leadership; the relevance of the leadership development programs; the processes such as leadership mentorship on campus; as well as aspects such as campus debates aimed at developing student leadership. The following themes emerged from the respondents' interviews and the documentary analysis supported by the utilization of structured questionnaires.

Theme 1: The University Role of Developing Young Leaders in HEIs

From a scale of 1=Yes, 2=No, 3=Do not Understand, respondents (180 student leaders from universities, 10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants) were asked to measure the extent at which their respective university has played the role of developing student leadership in their HEIs for the national development. Figure 4.1 provides respondents responses to this question. Has the University played significant role in developing student leadership on campus? Various responses in

terms of acceptance rate were given by respondents who included 180 student leaders from universities, 10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants.

Figure 4.1: Acceptance Rate on the Extent to which HEIs have developed Leadership Skills of Student Leaders



Source: Survey data, 2019.

Study findings from Figure 4.1 show that the highest acceptance rate of the contribution of universities towards developing student leadership skills was found at Mzumbe University. While MU female students showed the response rate of 37.5 %, MU male students, on the other hand, showed a response rate of 26%. On contrary, in other universities (UDSM and UDOM), the study findings revealed that, respective universities have played very little role in the development of the student leadership skills of their training as well as mentoring students on university values and ethos (see Table 4.1). Because of the failure of the university to develop young leadership to their full potential, students have in turn placed their trust on politicians

rather than the academic community, and have *ipso facto*, become vehicles of the political contestations of national politics which often times are violent in character.

Theme 2: The Relevance of the Leadership Development Programs

The first preparation for leadership should have been a good formal education for more Africans. This study raises a question on the relevance of university curricula and leadership development programs of young leaders for the national development. Although national university provides limits of political advocacy on campuses, the relevance of their leadership development programs is still questionable. From a scale of 1=Agree, 2=Disagree, 3=Do not Understand, respondents were asked whether the curricula of HEIs are relevant in developing young leaders for the national development or not. A total of 190 respondents (180 students, 10 lecturers as well) provided their responses to this question.

Table 4.3: The Relevance of the University Curricula and Leadership Programs

N (Number of Observations in all Universities) = 190

Are HEIs Curricula relevant in developing youth for the national development?

	Respondents	
	Frequency	Percent
Agree	37	19.5
Do not Agree	149	78.4
Do not Understand	4	2.1
Total	190	100

Source: Survey data, 2019.

Majority of respondents 149 (78.4%) had the hunch that the African universities curricula are still too academic, too theoretical, with minimal applied science. The relevance of curricula was measured in terms of different aspects.

First, being its ability of curricula to mould students to understand the past, present and future challenges of our countries; second, the ability of the curricula to prepare students attitudinally and professionally to integrate with their society, not to be alienated from it; and third, ability of the curricula to prepare students to be agents and catalysts for positive change with minds that thrive in original thinking, not ones

that simply recycle western notions, ideas and prejudices. Lastly, ability of the curricula to prepare youth to be innovative and competitive, nationally, regionally and internationally in a globalizing and competitive market for skills and jobs.

This study supports respondents argument that African universities' curricula are still too theoretical, with minimal applied science and assert that for change to come faster in preparing young leadership in HEIs for national development, university needs to review curricula as well as redefine their leadership role. This supports the thinking by Prof. David J. Collis of the Harvard Business School, who coined the concept of "*Paradox of scope*" when discussing a Challenge to the Governance of Higher Education in the United States of America. Although the discourse of "paradox of scope" had a focus in the West, some of his points are equally relevant to our circumstances in Africa.

The "*paradox of scope*" refers to the inherent friction between the core (conservative, if you like) values and mission of an institution on the one hand, and the demands imposed on it by a kaleidoscopic (radical, if you like) periphery and external environment that can threaten the very relevance and sustainability of an institution. Universities are believed to be conservative in nature; but they now have to learn to adapt to new situations. Mkapa (2009) argued that "We can no longer procrastinate on the question of relevance of African higher education to the challenges confronting Africa today, and the kind of challenges we can already foresee for the future.

Higher education is an expensive investment made by the present poor African generation for the future. Such an investment, and the opportunity cost it entails with regard to other pressing demands on national treasuries, can only be justified by equally robust returns in terms of quality and relevance of output from our universities. In his view, Mkapa (*ibid.*) highlighted four aspects of such quality and relevance: First, our young people must get the kind of university education that enables them to understand the present and future challenges of our countries in their broadest sense. In Tanzania, when I listen to, or read what is written by some

university students or even some dons, I do not get the comfort that they have such an understanding, grounded in reality.

Second, our young people must get the kind of university education that prepares them attitudinally and professionally to integrate with their society, not to alienate them. An elitist education that becomes a vehicle for the alienation of those we prepare for leadership would be a waste of scarce resources against competing demands, and a great tragedy. Third, the university education we give our young people must prepare them – again intellectually, attitudinally and professionally – to be agents and catalysts for positive change. We want them to graduate with inquiring sharpened minds, minds that thrive in original thinking, not ones that simply recycle western notions, ideas and prejudices. Lastly, university education must prepare our youth to be innovative and competitive, whether in public service or private sector nationally, regionally and internationally in a globalizing and competitive market for skills and jobs.

Theme 3: Leadership Mentorship on Campus is Missing

Leadership and political mentors on campus are key players in fostering leadership skills, democratic orientations, building political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills, and political participation among students. Students were also asked whether the college played any role to mentor or develop their leadership skills. Virtually all the student leaders that were interviewed described themselves as arriving at the university already developed politically. They state that most of their leadership mentors were their parents or teachers.

They, however, argued that there are induction programmes in all universities (UDSM, UDOM and MU), albeit designed for few days that aim at preparing newly appointed leaders including student governance body with leadership skills. Members of the Students Representative Council (SRCs) expressed disappointment that they could not find similar mentors on campus, especially from the faculty. In response, majority of the faculty members that were interviewed preferred to remain indifferent about campus leadership and politics. Both, the UDSM and UDOM had Student Affairs Offices that provided, at a minimum, organisational support to

student groups. This is supported by Freeman and Goldin (2008) who notes that a number of universities have formal and unstructured leadership programmes aimed at equipping students with leadership skills. However, student leaders rarely mentioned staff in those offices as their mentors. The study supports Maxwell's (2005) leadership philosophy which emphasizes that leadership can be learned through motivation and that training and that only a few leadership skills are innate, and good leaders are made, and are not necessarily born.

Theme 4: Debate on Leadership and Politics is Unpopular on Campus

Contrary to popular opinion, most university students do not debate on leadership topics. Often the public hears about acrimonious confrontations between student groups or between students and their administrations over hot-button topics such as student welfare, and campus-specific concerns like accommodation and security challenges. Both politically uninvolved students and current student activists reported that they do not value political debate. Either they were intimidated by what they described as a confrontational situation, or they did not expect that engagement in formal or informal debate affects opinions. Most student leaders in the study, with the exception of political science students in UDSM, believed that debate wasted their time. A small fraction of students 39 (32.5 %) argued that the management of both, UDSM and UDOM did not give rooms for debates on political topics due to the fear that such debates could result into student strikes. Because of those restrictions, a vacuum left among politically uninvolved students is easily filled by anger and becomes evident during student riots. Platforms that encourages students to debate on political issues and express their differences over social issues is not only important in expanding the knowledge of this students and their ability to accept differences but also needed to minimize conflicts and ensure leadership development on campus. To recap, universities in Africa need to redefine its roles, review curricular, create systems of nurturing youth leadership, as well as grooming a culture of lack of political tolerance and accountability among students.

4.5 Limiting Factors in Developing Youth Leadership in Tanzania's HEIs

Another objective of this study explored factors that constraint the process of developing youth leadership skills in HEIs for the national development from the period between 1993 and 2018 period of democratic transition. The study found that most of the leadership challenges which lead to conflict that happened in higher education today was due to individual leadership gaps among SRCs in executing their functions and institutional factors at HEIs. The following themes discussed below emerged from the respondent's interviews and documentary analysis.

Theme 5: Institutional Factors Limiting Development of Leadership Skills

Through interviews with key informants, the study found out that lack of regulative framework to inform the development of leadership incubation programme is the leading institutional factor among cognitive and normative factors of the university that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018. Student leaders (SRCs) only managed to be trained at the university level at least at once the year. Lack of funds to run regular trainings and workshop constraint development of student leadership potentials.

Theme 6: Unclear leadership roles and responsibility of SRC

Students are the major stakeholders in a university system. Thus, to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated and understood, by them. In analysing student leaders in Higher education, Luescher (2005) grouped student leaders into two types. The first group comprises of officially recognised student representatives within formal structures of student governance. The informal student leaders are those who organize student movements and student politics outside the formal structures of student governance and administration.

They employ informal political tactics which are outside the parameters of the formal structures and processes of governance. Luescher (2005:23) state that these informal leaders lead students during protests. A critical analysis of the leadership roles and responsibility of both organs, DARUSO, UDOSO and MUSO revealed

enormous complaints of leadership gaps among the SRCs student leaders. Table 4.4 analyses the leadership gap among SRCs leaders in HEIs.

Table 4.4: Analysis of the Leadership Gaps among SRCs Leaders in HEIs

Variable	UDSM %	UDC %	MU %
Poor communication ability with fellow students	46.6	53.3	33.3
SRCs have become power mongers, & materialist	56.6	38.3	28.3
Student leadership is corrupt	50	43.3	32
Culture of smoothly handing over leadership is missing	43.3	30	68.7
SRCs lack adequate knowledge of the HEIs	21.6	26.6	48.8
SRCs lack adequate knowledge on Institutional Reforms	33.3	36.6	37.8
SRCs lack adequate leadership skills	38.3	43.3	29.5
Student leaders are not responsive to student needs	51.6	56.6	50.6
Student leaders prioritise party politics and put students last	41.6	46.6	39.4
Soon after election approval SRCs leaders change and become individualistic	48.3	51.6	42.5

Source: Survey data, 2019.

****Multiple Responses were Allowed**

The study findings in Table 4.4 show that, a high proportion of students from UDOM, 42 (70 %) views that student leaders are easily influenced by national political party leaders. This influenced the rate of students' participation negatively in democratic practices on campus. The study reveals that the political principles and values that guided the previous SRCs leadership style were different from that of the on-going SRCs. One of the students who participated in a FGD stated that;

Frankly, the Government of Tanzania in collaboration with the management of Higher Education Institutions have set the ground for us to practice politics without our inputs, as such, our practice of campus politics can be compared to the practice of democracy within a framework of authoritarianism!! If you are ordered to design your organizational constitution in certain ways that aligns with the university management aspects, or interests, what do you expect?

A student aged 24 years.

Other leadership gaps of SRCs leaders as illustrated in Table 4.8 include; poor communication with fellow students, the sit sightedness of SRCs who used their power for private gain, the corruption of student leaders the absence of the culture of peaceful transition of power to the incumbent leader SRCs lack of adequate knowledge of the HEIs and SRCs lack of adequate knowledge on institutional reforms. In the same vein, inadequate leadership skills, non-responsiveness to student needs, concentrated more on party politics and put students last and HEIs management strategy to corrupt the student leaders in a bid to sell out their mandate were also reported as leadership gaps of SRCs leaders. Measures need to be executed to address these problems.

4.6 Measures for Effective Development of Student leadership Skills

One of the objectives of the study was to examine institutional measures that can be utilised for effective development of leadership skills of students' leaders for national development in the contemporary era of democratic transition.

Respondents (10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants) were asked to propose measure, several respondents responses to this question are given via conducted interviews. First, it is without doubt that students' organisations have played an important role in fostering the expansion of democracy in Tanzania. However, this democratic transition had an opposite effect on students' politics. Most student leaders were corrupt and power who did not pursue the interest of the students but rather on their personal interests. This is supports Lange (2001) who observed that have been a decline in student leadership within higher education institutions over the years. More so, during the era of democratic transition, there were no-clearly defined leadership roles and responsibilities of SRCs. In order to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated to them. One of the key informants stated during an interview session that,

The role of the present-day SRC should go beyond campus demonstration. Gone are the days when SRCs functioned as forums of protest and opposition against the authoritarianism of the government of the day. SRCs should serve as an incubator to produce leaders, working to improve the quality of university academic programmes and the quality of student life.

A man aged 36 years.

4.7 Summary of the Chapter Four

The transition process to democracy in Tanzania has not been completed. Equally important, the focus of the transition process within the perspectives of preparing young leaders should not only be at the national level, but also focus at the institutional level such as HEIs which prepare intellectual activity in which young could experience new ideas, construct and de-construct about the world. To sum up, the study found several issues compounding the process of developing young leaders on university campus. While a battle between political parties and the universities in the process of developing youth leadership on campus has been driven by political reforms, the relevance of political parties and the university commitment in fulfilling the role of developing youth leadership on campus have been questioned.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study and summary of the study key findings, main conclusions, recommendations, and proposal for further research in this area.

5.2 Summary of the Study

The nature of the problem under study necessitated the application of descriptive-case study design in which both, qualitative and quantitative research approaches featured in the study. It was descriptive simply because the study aimed at describing perceptions and attitudes of student leaders about institutional factors among regulative, cognitive and normative factors of HEIs that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students' leaders. A combination of both secondary and primary sources of data was collected for this study. The instruments used for collecting primary data were questionnaires, face-to-face interviews schedules and Focus Group Discussions guide. Secondary data was obtained from different sources including the University of Dar es Salaam library, the University of Dodoma library, the Mzumbe University library as well as the Ministry of Education Vocational Training. It was also acquired from the offices of Policy Forum, Political Parties (Registration and Regulation of the United Republic of Tanzania) Act No.5.

Although the sample size of the study initially proposed was 225 students from UDSM UDOM, and MU at the end of our field survey, a total of 202 responses (from 180 students, 10 lecturers as well as 12 key informants) were valid for analysis. The remaining 23 were rejected as 'spoilt' for various reasons which include unwillingness of respondents to continue with the survey. In terms of data analysis, qualitative data have been analysed by using thematic analysis in which the collected web-based documents from social networks, and hard copy documents were examined and entered into the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. The quantitative data was analysed descriptively with the aid of SPSS 22.

5.2.1 Summary of the Study Findings

Two variables were used to understand socio-demographic characteristics of respondents; these include age and gender in campus politics. The age was used to analyse the active respondents' stratum in practising campus politics and its implication on leadership development. Besides, gender analysis was used to understand the gender influence on students' engagement in political leadership. The statistics in Table 4.1 show that the number of females interviewed was less than the number of males. Of the 180 respondents surveyed, 67 (37.2 %) were females and 113 (62.8 %) were males. These results are supported by SARUA (2010) which shows that the percentage age of Tanzania's female students enrolled in 2017/18 was between 35 and 45 in nearly all state run universities in Tanzania.

Moreover, the mean age of respondents who participated in this study was 23 years. The age range of the study was between 20 to 36 years. The results in Table 4.1 show that 156 (86.7 %) of the respondents were at the age between 20 and 25. This age group is the most politically active age group. Its high frequency in the study predicted active strata for bringing societal change if both, political and leadership empowerment would be implemented effectively. Politically empowered youths would be able to participate in political discourses and are aware of the political trend, thereby equipping them on how to intervene through platforms like civil society organisations, political parties and so on. It is undeniable truth that every generation seems to think that the next generation is vastly different from its own. The characteristics that a generation identifies with, however, may not be the characteristics that others believe that generation identifies with.

Are there any defining qualities of today's youth that are regarded unique and relevant to the youth of the world? Is it even possible to attribute qualities to an entire generation around the world? Vappu (2005) notes that other generations youth had more faith in the status quo or in the foundations that their lives were built upon. He was of the view that this generation choose to think for themselves and question everything. The implication of this quality is on enhancing their progressivess goals.

Apart from gender and age, the study investigated the level of student participation in political leadership development. The study revealed that there were 28 (46.7 %) female student leaders at Mzumbe University (MU); 18 (30 %) female students in the University of Dodoma (UDOM); as well as 21 (35 %) female students in the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); who had engaged in political participated in campus politics. The findings show a growing trend of male dominated politics across all university campuses. Based on this, it could be inferred that political leadership in campus has a masculine character since male students were mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that governed students' politics and thusly leadership development in these campuses.

It also suggests that the praxis of developing young leadership on campus were socialized in favour of male dominated politics. Relating these findings to the chapter on 'Youth participation in decision making', the World Youth Report of 2003 points out: 'if young people are not involved in the development of the laws, policies and programmes that affect them, even well intentioned actions on the part of adults will often fail to protect their best interests' (UN, 2004:129). As such, to succeed for this UN goal, the gendered aspects of youth participation in decision making process within the perspective of leadership systems in HEIs must be ecapitalised. Youth participation in decision making strengthen not only democratic processess but also build leadership skills. Many implications emerge from a generation of young people who do not value democratic aspects such as political tolerance and, above all, prime accountability to the public. It can be suggested that, without a politically engaged population of young people who can and will enhance political tolerance through conducting conversations or competition across differences, we cannot expect a similarly engaged population of adults. As a result, conflicts will always be a norm.

5.2.2 The Extent to which Universities have Developed Student leadership

Respondents were asked to measure the extent at which the university has played the role of developing young leaders in HEIs for the national development. Likewise, the study went further to ask the following questions: Are Tanzania's public universities devoted to prepare potential leaders with a domestic, regional and global outlook?

What is the relevance of leadership development programs in HEIs? What are the qualities of the prepared young leaders in Tanzania? Several themes emerged.

Theme 1: The University Role of Developing Young Leaders in HEIs

Study findings from Figure 4.1 show that the highest acceptance rate of the contribution of universities towards developing student leadership skills was found at Mzumbe University. While MU female students showed the response rate of 37.5 %, MU male students, on the other hand, showed a response rate of 26%. On contrary, in other universities (UDSM and UDOM), the study findings revealed that their respective universities had played very little role in the development of the student leadership skills of their training as well as mentoring students on university values and ethos (see Table 4.1). Because of the failure of the university to develop young leadership to their full potential, students have in turn placed their trust on politicians rather than the academic community, and have *ipso facto*, become vehicles of the political contestations of national politics which often times are violent in character.

Theme 2: The Relevance of the Leadership Development Programs

The first preparation for leadership should have been a good formal education for more Africans. This study raised a question on the relevance of university curricula and leadership development programs in developing young leaders for the national development. Although national university provides limits of political advocacy on campuses, the relevance of their leadership development programs is still questionable. Majority of respondents 149 (78.4%) had the hunch that the African universities curricula are still too academic, too theoretical, with minimal applied science. The relevance of curricula was measured in terms of different aspects.

First, being an ability of curricula to mould students to understand the past, present and future challenges of our countries; second, ability of the curricula to prepare students attitudinally and professionally to integrate with their society, not to be alienated from it; and third, ability of the curricula to prepare students to be agents and catalysts for positive change with minds that thrive in original thinking, not ones that simply recycle western notions, ideas and prejudices. Lastly, ability of the curricula to prepare youth to be innovative and competitive, nationally, regionally

and internationally in a globalizing and competitive market for skills and jobs. This study supports respondents argument that African universities curricula are still too theoretical, with minimal applied science and assert that for change to come faster in preparing young leadership in HEIs for national development, university needs to review curricula as well as redefine their leadership role. This is in line with Prof. David J. Collis of the Harvard Business School, who coined the concept of “*paradox of scope*” while discussing a Challenge to the Governance of Higher Education in the United States of America. Although the discourse of “*paradox of scope*” had a focus in the West, some of his points are equally relevant to the context of Africa.

The “paradox of scope” refers to the inherent friction between the core (conservative) values and mission of an institution on the one hand, and the demands imposed on it by a kaleidoscopic (radical, if you like) periphery and external environment that can threaten the very relevance and sustainability of an institution. Universities are believed to be conservative in nature; but they now have to learn to adapt to new situations. Mkapa (2009) argued that

“We can no longer procrastinate on the question of relevance of African higher education to the challenges confronting Africa today, and the kind of challenges we can already foresee for the future”.

Higher education is an expensive investment made by the present poor African generation for the future. Such an investment, and the opportunity cost it entails with regard to other pressing demands on national treasuries, can only be justified by equally robust returns in terms of quality and relevance of output from our universities. In his view, Mkapa (*ibid.*) highlighted four aspects of such quality and relevance: First, young people must get the kind of university education that enables them to understand the present and future challenges of our countries in their broadest sense. Based on his perspective, listening to, or reading what is written by some university students or even some dons, one does not get the comfort that they have such an understanding, grounded in reality.

Second, young people must get the kind of university education that prepares them attitudinally and professionally to integrate with their society, not to alienate them. An elitist education that becomes a vehicle for the alienation of those we prepare for leadership would be a waste of scarce resources against competing demands, and a great tragedy. Third, the university education given to young people must prepare them – again intellectually, attitudinally and professionally – to be agents and catalysts for positive change. They have to graduate with inquiring sharpened minds, which thrive in original thinking, not ones that simply recycle western notions, ideas and prejudices. Lastly, university education must prepare youths to be innovative and competitive, whether in public service or private sector nationally, regionally and internationally in a globalizing and competitive market for skills and jobs.

Theme 3: Leadership Mentorship on Campus is Missing

Leadership and political mentors on campus are key players in fostering leadership skills, democratic orientations, building political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills, and political participation among students. Students were also asked whether the college played any role to mentor or develop their leadership skills. Virtually all the student leaders that were interviewed described themselves as arriving at the university already developed politically. They state that most of their leadership mentors were their parents or teachers.

They, however, argued that in all universities; UDSM, UDOM and MU there are induction programmes, albeit designed for few days that aim at preparing newly appointed leaders including student governance body with leadership skills. Members of the Students Representative Council (SRCs) expressed disappointment that they could not find similar mentors on campus, especially from the faculty. In response, majority of the faculty members that were interviewed preferred to remain indifferent about campus leadership and politics. Both, the UDSM and UDOM had Student Affairs Offices that provided, at a minimum, organisational support to student groups. This is supported by Freeman and Goldin (2008) who notes that a number of universities have formal and unstructured leadership programmes aimed at equipping students with leadership skills. However, student leaders rarely

mentioned staff in those offices as their mentors. The study supports Maxwell's (2005) leadership philosophy which emphasizes that leadership can be learned through motivation and that training and that only a few leadership skills are innate, and good leaders are made, and are not necessarily born.

Theme 4: Debate on Leadership and Politics is Unpopular on Campus

Contrary to popular opinion, most university students do not debate on leadership topics. Often the public hears about acrimonious confrontations between student groups or between students and their administrations over hot-button topics such as student welfare, and campus-specific concerns like accommodation and security challenges. Both politically uninvolved students and current student activists reported that they do not value political debate. Either they were intimidated by what they described as a confrontational situation, or they did not expect that engagement in formal or informal debate affects opinions. Most student leaders in the study, with the exception of political science students in UDSM, believed that debate wasted their time.

A small fraction of students 39 (32.5 %) argued that the management of both, UDSM and UDOM did not give rooms for debates on topics in politics due to the fear that such debates could result into student strikes. Because of those restrictions, a vacuum left among politically uninvolved students is easily filled by anger and becomes evident during student riots. Platforms that encourages students to debate on political issues and express their differences over social issues is not only important in expanding the knowledge of this students and their ability to accept differences but also needed to minimize conflicts and ensure leadership development on campus. To recap, universities in Africa need to redefine its roles, review curricular, create systems of nurturing youth leadership, as well as grooming a culture of lack of political tolerance and accountability among students.

5.2.3 Limiting Factors in Developing Youth Leadership in Tanzania's HEIs

Another objective of this study explored factors that constraint the process of developing youth leadership skills in HEIs for the national development from the period between 1993 and 2018 period of democratic transition. The study found that

most of the leadership challenges which lead to conflict that happened in higher education today was due to individual leadership gaps among SRCs in executing their functions and institutional factors at HEIs. The following themes discussed below emerged from the respondent's interviews and documentary analysis.

Theme 5: Institutional Factors Limiting Development of Leadership Skills

Through interviews with key informants, the study found out that lack of regulative framework that could inform the development of leadership incubation programme is the leading institutional factor among cognitive and normative factors of the university that constraint the process of developing leadership skills of students for national development from 1993 to 2018. Student leaders (SRCs) only managed to be trained at the university level at least at once the year. Lack of funds to run regular trainings and workshop constraint development of student leadership potentials.

Theme 6: Unclear leadership roles and responsibility of SRC

Students are the major stakeholders in a university system. Thus, to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated and understood, by them. In analysing student leaders in Higher education, Luescher (2005) grouped student leaders into two types. The first group comprises of officially recognised student representatives within formal structures of student governance. The informal student leaders are those who organize student movements and student politics outside the formal structures of student governance and administration. They employ informal political tactics which are outside the parameters of the formal structures and processes of governance. Luescher (2005:23) state that these informal leaders led students during protests. A critical analysis of the leadership roles and responsibility of both organs, DARUSO, UDOSO and MUSO revealed enormous complaints of leadership gaps among the SRCs student leaders.

Among leadership gaps of SRCs leaders as illustrated in Table 4.8 include poor communication with fellow students, the sit sightedness of SRCs who used their power for private gain, the corruption of student leaders the absence of the culture of peaceful transition of power to the incumbent leader SRCs lack of adequate

knowledge of the HEIs and SRCs lack of adequate knowledge on institutional reforms. In the same vein, they manifest inadequate leadership skills, non-responsiveness to student needs, and concentrated more on party politics.

5.2.4 Measures for Effective Development of Student leadership Skills

One of the objectives of the study was to examine institutional measures that can be utilised for effective development of leadership skills of students' leaders for national development in the contemporary era of democratic transition. First, it is without doubt that students' organisations have played an important role in fostering the expansion of democracy in Tanzania. However, this democratic transition had an opposite effect on students' politics. Most student leaders were corrupt who did not pursue the interest of the students but rather on their personal interests. This support is in line with Lange (2001) who observed that, there appears to have been a decline in student leadership within higher education institutions over the years. More so, during the era of democratic transition, there were no-clearly defined leadership roles and responsibilities of SRCs. In order to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated to them. One of the key informants stated during an interview session that, the role of the present-day SRC should go beyond campus demonstration. Gone are the days when SRCs functioned as forums of protest and opposition against the authoritarianism of the government of the day. SRCs should serve as an incubator to produce leaders, working to improve the quality of university academic programmes and the quality of student life.

5.3 Conclusion

The findings from this study have shown that the preparation of young leaders should not only be at the national level, but also focus on the institutional level such as HEIs. HEIs are platforms which prepare intellectual activity in which young could experience new ideas, constructs and de-construct about the world. The study concludes that although national universities provide limits of the practice of party and partisan politics on campuses, they were also found to play insignificant role in mentoring students on university values and ethos as well as on the development of

the leadership skills of their training. Students have in turn placed their trust on politicians rather than the academic community. They have *ipso facto*, become vehicles of the political contestations of national politics which often times are violent in character.

Impliedly, HEIs are meant to be training grounds for future leaders with the right ethos, pedigree and mental independence to take on the challenge of national state development. For this to happen, universities in Tanzania need to re-define their roles especially in the contemporary era of democratic transition, in a bid to prepare potential leaders with a domestic, regional and global outlook. Holistically, HEIs have a role to play in developing not only political leaders, but also leaders from the economic arena, academic, business and so forth. Likewise, universities need to ensure the relevance of leadership development programs, as well as review their curricular to reflect the current needs of the learners, society and nation at large.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the study findings the following are recommended to policy makers, student community, Student Representative Council (SRC), University management and stakeholders of an education industry.

5.4.1 Recommendations for Policy Approach

- i. The governments of Tanzania need to re-think their present approach and begin to see HEIs as avenues for nurturing future African leaders.

5.4.2 Recommendations for Student Representative Council

- i. The role of the present-day SRC should go beyond campus demonstration. Gone are the days when SRCs functioned as forums of protest and opposition against the authoritarianism of the government of the day. SRCs should serve as an incubator to produce leaders, working to improve the quality of university academic programmes and the quality of student life. There is a need to deepen student leadership in Tanzania's HEIs by restructuring student governance in a way that opens access to every student.

5.4.3 Recommendations for HEIs administrators

- i. It is crucial to for HEIs leaders to understand the type of leadership required for the academic institution called a university.
- ii. New strategies of developing youth leadership in a time of reform should be synthesised and utilized in HEIs.
- iii. Lastly, silencing students by withdrawing their political freedom on campus does not help to address the problem. HEIs should learn that if you do not listen, you will never be heard. And, a suppressed problem will always be like a bomb waiting to explode at any time.

5.4.4 Recommendation for stakeholders of an education industry

- i. Educational management in a time of reform requires participation of all key stakeholders, thus, stakeholders must separate divisive politics that fuel identity politics, and in turn, destabilize the educational settings.

5.5 Suggested Areas for Further Studies

There would be a need to investigate on Academic Leadership in a Time of Reforms, Assessing Issues, Actors and Dynamics in Higher Education Institutions.

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APPENDIX

STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

FORM NO.....Date of the Interview:.....

Name of the

University:.....Campus:.....

Informed Consent:

Good day. I am Mapambano Hezron, a Masters Candidate in the Faculty of Social Sciences, in the Mzumbe University. This discussion is being conducted to get your inputs in a research study entitled as: **“Institutional Factors Contributing to Ineffective Development of Leadership Skills among Students in Tanzania’s Public Universities”**. The study is specifically interested in exploring whether the connectedness of national and student’s politics on campuses in the contemporary era of democratic transition has offered student leadership growth in Tanzania’s universities. I am especially interested in your feelings/ attitudes/ perceptions about the study and any suggestions you may have.

Please note that your participation is voluntarily, and that it will not cause any harm as whatever information you provide will remain strictly confidential between you and I. We pledge to ensure anonymity where required and as agreed between us through the use of code names. There are no foreseeable risks for your participation in this study, and if you have any question or concerns about participating in this study, please contact my supervisor at the following number +255 755 412851. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time of your choice without any negative or undesirable consequences to you. Please sign below as an indicator of your consent and voluntary participation in this study.

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

SECTION A: Social – Demographic Characteristics of Respondents:

Please mark with an (✓) in one box only with your most appropriate response.

1. What is your gender?

Male	Female
(1)	(2)

2. How old are you?

11-20 yrs	20– 30yrs	31-40 yrs	41-50	51-50	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

On a scale of 1=Never, 2=Sometimes, 3=Often and 4=Very Often, Please rank a statement with your most appropriate response by putting a number in one box only.

3. During your college experience, how often you paid attention to national politics?

4. During you college experience, how often have you paid attention to campus politics?

5. During your college experience, how often have you been aware of current issues facing the community surrounding your institution?

6. During your college experience, how often have you contacted a public official or signed a petition or sent an email about a social or political issue?

7. During your college experience, how often have you debated on political or academic topics on campus?

8. During your college experience, how often have you contacted political mentors on campus to develop your political/leadership aspects?

7. During your college experience, how often have you read political books, journal articles and other related political documents in a bid to inform your political grounds?

8. During your college experience, how often have you taken part in a protest, rally, march, or demonstration?

9. During your college experience, how often have you been supported by either University staff or National politicians to protest against various issues on campus?

Please give your opinion by putting the most appropriate response in form of a number (1=Agree, 2=Do not Agree and 3=Do not Know) in one box only.

10. It is argued that the dynamics of national political parties on campus in an era of democratic transition offers the growth of student leadership? Do you agree with this statement?

If the answer from the question 15 is 'Yes' (that is, Agreed), please, explain.....

.....

.....

11. From your general understanding, do you think that the university has fulfilled its role of developing young leadership on campus?.....

.....

.....

.....

12. How can you rate the achievement of the university in developing young leadership on campuses?

(1=Good, 2=Fair, 3=Weak, and 4=Do not know)

Please, explain.....

.....

.....

13. From your understanding of campus politics, what do you think are the Leadership Gaps among SRCs Leaders in HEIs? **Please give your opinion by putting a tick (✓) to the most appropriate response in a box. You can fill in not more than four boxes.**

Variable	
Poor communication ability of SRCs with fellow students	
SRCs have become power mongers, & materialist	
Student leadership is corrupt	
Culture of smoothly handing over SRC leadership to the next batch is missing	
SRCs lack adequate knowledge of the HEIs	
SRCs lack adequate knowledge on Institutional Reforms on campus	
SRCs lack adequate leadership skills	
Student leaders are not responsive to student needs	
SRCs leaders are just playing according to the rules of the master (university management)	
Student leaders prioritise party politics and put students last	
HEIs management corrupt the SRCs leaders so as to sell out their mandates and put students last	
Soon after election approval SRCs leaders change and become individualistic	

****Multiple Responses are Allowed**

14. Is there anything else I can add to beef up my study?.....

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.....

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15. Would you willingly like to be involved in a Focus Group Discussion in order to supplement information for this study?

1. Yes

2. No

☐

Thanks for Participation