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CONTENTS

Are Political Reforms Misleading? The Influence of Political Reform Actors' in Developing Political Leadership in Tanzania's Higher Education Institutions

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Abstract

While explanations for the development of political leadership among youth at the national level have been studied extensively, few researchers have analysed the influence of identified actors of political reforms such as political parties and nationally owned Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) on developing student leadership in campuses. Specifically, the article unfolds the question on what did Tanzanian youth learn and adopt from the outcomes of the political reforms trickled down to the Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) by various actors in an era of democratic transition, and how has it shaped and directed students leadership skills and innovations for national development. The article is a result of a 2015 study that utilized both qualitative and quantitative data from three Tanzania's universities in a cross-sectional sample size consisting of 357,study participants. However, at the end of my field survey, a total of 278 respondents were valid for analysis. The remaining 79 were rejected as 'spoilt' for various reasons. The study finds that universities in this era have played very little role in mentoring students on leadership values and ethos. Implicitly, 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. The article ends by commending a policy need to restructure and redefine the roles of the University and Political Parties in the development of young leaders for the African continent.

Keywords: Student leaders, political reforms, political parties,
                universities, and democratic Transition,

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Introduction

In the Global South, and especially in Tanzania, there are grounding evidences that show an increased trend of ineffective leadership Skills among the student political leaders prepared in public owned universities (Muya, 2015, Mamashela 2013). Various indicators demonstrate ineffective development of

leadership skills among Students Representative Council (SRC) members who engages in campus politics in Tanzania's Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Among others include: poor communication skills, lack of relating strategy with fellows, being autocratic 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 various degrees with various age structures have a high risk of not excelling well in their future directed national leadership positions.

While the implementation of political reforms since 1990s has been crucial for Africa's democratisation and governance (Tripp, 2000; Salih, 2004; Mozaffar 2005; Luckham, Moncrieffe and Harris, 2006; Cocodia, 2008; Kadayifci, 2009 and Miklian, 2009), it is not well understood in the context of nurturing political leadership. For it to continue supporting growing populations of African youth, it is vital to analyse the discourse of political reforms within the context of leadership development in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) where an increased number of youth engaged in political leadership are nurtured. The justification of the study is that although Africa has witnessed a unique proliferation of young political leaders in party and parliamentary politics since the advent of multi-party politics, there is little evidence to back up their paths to political leadership.

As such, a fruitful discussion about the influence of political reforms in the Tanzania is incomplete without clear understanding of what did Tanzanian youth learn and adopt from the outcomes of the political reforms trickled down to the Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in an era of democratic transition, and how has it shaped and directed their leadership skills and innovations for national development. The article is a result of a 2015 study that utilized both qualitative and quantitative data from three Tanzania's universities in a cross-sectional sample size consisting of 357,study participants. However, at the end of my field survey, a total of 278 respondents were valid for analysis. The remaining 79 were rejected as 'spoilt' for various reasons. The study's participants came from three Tanzania's public universities, namely: the University of Dar es Salaam, University of Dodoma and Mzumbe University.

Political Reforms

According to Tripp (2000), political reforms are viewed as the shift of many african countries to multiparty systems, the growth of opposition parties, and the opening up of electoral challenges on the African political landscape since 1990s. While that definition tends to fit better at the national level, at the lower levels of the society such as Higher Education Institutions that definition does not hold truth where the impacts of such political reform is yet to be observed. Because of those observations, the present paper has had ambitions to explore the influence of political reforms on developing leadership skills of Tanzania's youth in HEIs for national development from 1992 to 2015.

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 had succeeded to open doors for national political parties to exploit students on campus (Luhanga, 2009). Amongst others, laying strategies for developing youth political leadership on campus is part of political parties agendas (Luhanga, *ibid*).

General observation shows that between 1992 and 2015 after the advent of multiparty democracy in Tanzania, both the UDSM (Luhanga, 2009) and UDOM (Muya, 2014) have experienced conflicts resulting from student being polarised along political lines of national political parties. The trends of party-partisan and student politics nexus has had a number of socio-economic costs such as the battle in peace and security on campus. While some members of the public support political advocacy on campus for the reason such as debates on democracy are strongly influenced by elited student voices, and therefore, opening and running youth wings of the national political parties on campus should not be seen as a problem, others disagree on the ground that engaging students in political advocacy on campus has effects on peace in HEIs. Undeniably, the process of developing young leaders on campus has now become a battle between political parties and the universities. Because of this situation, young people today are negotiating a complex reality wedged between leadership outcomes developed by political parties versus universities. This preoccupation, however, is incomplete without reviewing policies that informs student governance in HEIs.

At the policy level, Kamuzora and Mgaya (2012) assert that universities in Tanzania have had an opportunity to be issued with 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). Both documents are guidelines for democratizing students' governance systems in the Universities. As a critique, both documents are silent in terms of establishing systems to prepare potential leaders with a global outlook. In addition, neither the objectives of the policy nor goals and plans on the Tanzania's youth development policy of 1996 allude on the question of leadership development (MLYD, 1996).

Given the historical background of the Tanzania's HEIs such as University of Dar es salaam engagement in Africa's liberation politics, and Mzumbe University as a training incubation center in nurturing and grooming various cadres for public service for national development, the paper raised issues for investigations. Should we redefine the roles of both, university and political parties in terms of leadership development at the national level. Those observations have added urgency to critically analyse the discourse of political reforms within the context of leadership development in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs)

Against that background, the present paper has the ambitious task to provide a critical analysis which explains about two specific issues. First, the study tested hypothesis to explain whether affiliations to party partisan politics in campuses contribute to the growth of political leadership in Tanzania's universities. Second, the study investigated what did Tanzanian youth learn and adopt from the outcomes of the political reforms trickled down to the HEIs in an era of democratic transition, and how has it shaped and directed their leadership skills and innovations for national development from 1992 to 2015 Tanzania's era of democratic transitions. Specifically, it focused its attention on youth leadership development in HEIs because the developed leaders from these institutions have implications for both the local and global perspectives.

Theoretical Anchor

Identity Formation in the System of Higher Education

Tanzania's has outstandingly made a successful democratic political transition at the national level. However, there is little evidence that I know of, to back up the influence of political reforms from the lower levels of the society such as Higher Education Institution (HEI) in terms of developing leadership skills for the national development. There are various theories for understanding the influence of political reforms in development of leadership skills and attributes among students' leaders in Tanzania's public universities. Among others include the: system theory, institution theory, social identity theory as well as behavioural theories. However, due to their criticism, this study adopts the systems theory and socio identity theory to establish the theoretical foundations of the study. While socio identity theory explains how identity formation occurs among youth from the contested terrain of party partisan and student politics nexus in campus, the systems theory on the other hand, helps to explain how the process of developing youth leadership in the university system is affected by the dynamics and interactions of the adopted political reform in Tanzania's educational systems. This section offers a critical analysis of the theories in terms of the applicability, relevance as well as strengths and weaknesses of the thories in line with the objectives of the article.

The adopted system theory in this paper utilises the Stuffbeam CIPP model of (1971) to describe how the leadership skills of student on campus are developed from the contested initiatives of both, national political parties as well as public universities in Tanzania. The adopted and modified CIPP model, which covers systemic Context, Input, Process and Product hence the acronomy CIPP as developed by Stuffbeam in 1971, explores how the relationships within the system of higher education is affected by the outcomes of the political reforms institutionalised by political parties in the systems of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). While the historical paths to the current System Theory (SIT) includes contributions from Alfred North Whitehead, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth Boulding, Paul A. Weiss, Ralph Gerard, Kurt Lewin, Roy Grinker, William Gray, Nicolas Rizzo, Karl Menninger and Silvano Arieti, the identity theory finds its origin from several fields and therefore scholars rooted in language – to know 'who's who?' and hence 'what's what?' (refer Jenkins 2008:5) and various aspects such as social class, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, and many others (Spencer 2006: 26). For the purpose of this paper, only those identities relevant to this paper, particularly social class and ethnicity from Africa's political parties will be well thought-out.

What is the link and applicability of systems theory in this study? A system is a set of sub-units or items, processes and/or people working jointly with an aim of achieving common goals. Likewise, any HEI is composed of teachers, students, content, and contexts as well as the relationship this system has

with its environment (Frick 1991). Implicitly, the system breaks down whenever any of its components is removed because various systems components, work interrelatively with each other to attain the desired goal (Laszlo 1996). As such, this theory helps to understand the process of developing youth leadership skills in campus while looking at the entire system (wholeness); how the different parts of a system work together (organisation); and what *patterns* are connected (patterning) as observed by (Wilmont and Hocker 2007).

In the current study, the system theory suggests that HEIs are brought into conflict in the process of developing youth leadership skills when reforms of any nature are introduced into the system in piecemeal without considering the support of other systemic parts such as teachers, students, content, and contexts. Systemic change is a comprehensive process where "a fundamental change can be brought when all aspects are involved for the change" (Reigeluth 1992:9).

What is the link and applicability of socio identity theory in this study? In the words of Stets & Burke (2000: 225), social identity theory emphasises an individual's knowledge of belonging to a certain social group by comparing "the Self" to "the Other" in terms of belief, values or attitudes. This comparison could be done in an intra-group (similar to "the Self") and inter-group (different to "the Self") along the lines of "us" versus "them" categorizations based in ethnicity, nationality or religion. Diener (2014) views these social categories to precede the individual's self-understanding as one is born into existing social structures. Because of those social identities, an individual can develop political affiliation based on roles of party and expectations linked to that role.

When identity is constructed and exploited as a means of political mobilisation, it can lead to the polarisation of the university community along political identities. Bearing those observations, it is crucial to examine whether the flow of party politics into student politics in campuses fuels the formation and development of identity politics? If that could be a case, it is important to ask whether there is any framework to contain upheavals emanated from the practice of identity politics in HEIs. Omotola (2010:53) while explaining electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies argues that the youth are not the only key initiators of those electoral violence as they can be instigated by political and religious leaders who take advantage of lack of jobs and other opportunities for outsourcing youth energies through promising or offering resources such as money and job to front violence and wars (Omotola, *ibid.*).

As such, youth are polarized along religious and regional identities. In their analysis of religion, identity and politics in Tanzania, Heilman and Kaiser (2002) view the country to fall into the category of

a torn country, a battle ground for the forces of Western and Islamic meta-cultures to expand their influence. Bearing observations that Tanzania is an impoverished country where the benefits of economic liberalisation have reached only a narrow stratum and the fruits of political liberalisation are yet to be seen, there is a possibility of polarizing the country along identity politics based on religion. Apart from providing a critical analysis of the contested role of: "Africa's political parties" versus public Universities" in developing youth leadership. The current study also unfolds the question whether the flow of party politics in campuses fuels the formation and development of identity politics?

Africa's Universities Engagement in Developing Youth Leadership

For a long time, universities have traditionally played a vital role in producing skilled human resources for national development as well as meet the demand of the labour markets. The founding pillars of the modern university in Africa in terms of essence, content and form/model, are the then higher education systems of Europe, who were the past colonisers (Mthembu, 2009:5). While explanations for the student leadership development at the national level have been studied extensively, few researchers have analysed the influence of political reforms on developing student leadership in campuses.

Specifically, the article unfolds: whether there exist economic ties between national governments and national universities which impacts on the roles of national universities; the functions or roles of the public universities, as well as the extent to which public universities have attained their roles of developing political leadership among youth especially in the current era of democratic transition.

This comparative study utilised three public universities from the United Republic of Tanzania. These are: the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); the University of Dodoma (UDOM); and Mzumbe University (MU). Those HEIs were chosen based on their comparable history of existence as well as engagement in developing students leadership especially in the post independence era of the country political history. Notably, UDSM was established soon after Tanzania's independence following the split of the University of East Africa. Historically, UDSM has been the hub of liberation politics in Africa, which also revolves along the foundation politics of the rulling party (CCM) and Mzumbe University has been an incubation center of national leadership that nurtured and groomed various cadres for public service for national development. On contrary, UDOM was established when the country was superceded by the era of democratic transition in the late 2000.

Impliedly, it suffices to understand how do the Tanzanians youth view political reforms defined by the concept of democracy and democratic leadership? What has democracy done for Tanzania? In the search for plausible explanations of the ideas of democracy and political party, Byamukama (2003), argues that the discussion of democracy today is associated with the organization of the political order

(refer Ake, 2000) as preoccupied by Hobbes in form of state and government structures such as (Parliament, courts, parties, accountability, elections). This is viewed as the triumph of Western liberal democracy rather than a summation of the experience of struggles for equality of the majority (Issa Shivji 1991: 352). In contrast, it is "interesting" to find out that in the whole world, no regime would not like to be called "democratic". Until recently, China and North Korea each saw itself as 'People's democracy'. As such, from the conceptual to practice, the concept of democracy is much contested. While it is well-established that African universities have for a long time engaged in buiding 'democracy', little is known in terms of development of leadership skills of youth. The article went further to search for the functions of the African university in a continuum history. According to Castells (1993) in Mthembu (2009:7), there are four major functions of a given university system. These functions are: the university as an ideological apparatus, as a mechanism of selection of dominant elites, as a trainer of the bureaucracy and, finally, as a generator of knowledge. There are, however, concern that public university in Tanzania have lost its autonomy in an era of democratic transition due to the maximum state control practices compared to an era within the Structural adjustment Programmes (SAP) (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), Nyerere 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)

To reiterate, the article analyses several leadership outcomes developed by African Universities from 1992 to 2015. Among others include the contributions made by the university in development of the civic and political knowledge of students including the availability of political mentors in campus. It also analyses the content, context, pedagogical approaches as well as relevance of university curricula relating to leadership development programs for the national growth. In an attempt to analyze the universities curricula, Mkapa (2009), had the hunch that the African universities curricula are still too academic, too theoretical, with minimal applied science. To what extent does such a statement reflect the nature of development of leadership skills of student leaders in HEIs? That is indeed, still a food for thought. Further, the question of curricula for developing youth leadership is also well articulated in 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". Conceptually, the "paradox of scope" refers to the inherent friction between the core values and mission of the university on the one hand, and the demands imposed on it by the periphery and external environment that can threaten the very relevance and sustainability of an institution. 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 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.

The Research Methodology

The study was conducted in three Tanzania's national universities, which are University of Dar es salaam, University of Dodoma and Mzumbe University. The study collected both quantitative and qualitative information from 278 out of 357 study participants sampled for this study, and who were surveyed in 2015.

Table 3.1: **Study Sample Size**   (N=356)

Categories	Total	
	N	%
Category I **(Student Leaders)**	180	50.4
Category II **(Other students)**	60	16.8
Category III **(Lecturers)**	60	16.8
Category IV **(Key Informants)**	9	2.5
Category V **(Participants in FGDs)**	48	13.5
Grand Total	357	100.0

Source: Survey Data (2015)

The total number of respondents who participated in this study was 357. Of 357 study participants, 180 were students leaders from Tanzania's universities comprised of 60 students from each of the three HEIs: (UDSM, UDOM and MU), who were surveyed through the use of structured questionnaires. It also comprised of 60 students from all Tanzania's universities who did not engage in SRC leadership for comparative purposes. Further, the study included 60 lectures from all of the three

HEIs and 9 key informants who were purposively selected to supplement data for this study. Among those 9 key informants who were included in the sample were: 3 leaders from political parties, 3 leaders from NGOs/CSOs linked to youth leadership, and 3 leaders from the respective HEIs that this study was undertaken and Ministry of Education as well, who were all interviewed through interview guides. Further, the study conducted 2 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) in each HEI, thus making a total of 6 FGDs/all 3 surveyed HEIs. Each FGD comprised of 8 students, thus making an additional of 48 student participants across those 3 universities. Participants from FGDs were different from those surveyed by the questionnaires. The list of students leaders were obtained from the office of the Dean of students in collaboration with the SRC offices of the surveyed universities. The study tested hypothesis: that the development of leadership skills of students on campus particularly in the current era of Tanzania's democratic transition is a function of students' demographic variables, students' participation on campus politics, as well as students' participation on party partisan politics in university campuses.

The assumption behind that causal complexity is that practicing party partisan politics on campus leads to political leadership development but only in the presence of student politics.

A dependent variable in this study is "leadership development" indicated by acquisition of skills and changes of attitudes, and abbreviated as *Stdlds.* It is a discrete categorical (nominal) indicator which is coded as;(1 = leadership development occur; and 0 = otherwise).

Independent Variables

1. **Gender**-Discrete categorical indicator coded (1=female; and 0=male)

2. **Age**-Continuous variable;

   i.e (18, 19,20,21,22 and so on

3. **Participation in Stds Politics in campus**

   (Abbreviated as **"Camppoltc"**) is a discrete categorical indicator coded (1=participated; 0=Otherwise)

4. **The Trend in the Practice of Party Politics on Campus**

   (Abbreviated as **"Patypoltcs") is a** discrete categorical indicator coded (1=participated; 0=Otherwise)

5. **The level of the Practice of Party Politics on Campus**

   (Abbreviated as **"PPPC"**) is a ratio scale indicator coded 1-3 sub-indices, each with 3 scores from (1 to 3)

Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion

The Student Demographic Variables

Although the initial proposed sample size of the study's participants in Tanzania was 357, at the end of my field survey, a total of 278 respondents were valid for analysis. The remaining 79 were rejected as 'spoilt' for various reasons which include unwillingness of respondents to continue with the survey and the deliberate misinformation by the respondents who claimed they could fill in the questionnaires on their own.

Table 4.1: Socio-demographic Determinants of Political Leadership Development

(N=278)

Categories	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Category I (**Student Leaders**)	116	64.5	64	35.5	180	64.7
Category II (**Other students**)	15	68.2	7	31.8	22	11.5
Category III (**Lecturers**)	14	73.6	5	26.4	19	10.1
Category IV (**Key Informants**)	5	55.5	4	44.5	9	3.2
Category V (**Participants in FGDs**)	24	50	24	50	48	10.5
Grand Total	174	62.6	104	37.4	278	100

Source: Survey Data (2015)

Two socio-demographic variables were used to understand development of political leadership on campus, which include age and gender. 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. The total number of student leaders who participated in this study was 180. As can be seen from Figure 4.1, only 48 (40%) of the study participants from the University of Dodoma (UDOM) and 46 (38.3%) of the study participants from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) reported to be females. As such, there were more males than females who dominate student political leadership positions in the Tanzanian universities. What then are the implications of these findings in line with the objectives of the study? Campus leadership is male-dominated and this could account also for the conflicting nature of campus politics given studies that show males are more adversarial, less co-operative and thus less peaceful (see Gagnon, 2005; Isike, 2009).

This gender analysis is also indicative of the fact that democracy is yet to penetrate all levels of society including Higher Education institutions (HEIs). This is due to the fact that as the national political parties in Tanzania have quotas that enable the mainstreaming of women into government

whereas this is not provided for by any of the 2 universities studied. There is also no provision for gender equity or any sort in the SRC constitutions of these universities. Based on this; in all surveyed university campuses, the process of developing youth leadership has a masculine character in terms of causes since male students are mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that govern student's politics in these university campuses.

In the absence of any constitutional framework that guarantees the representation of females in the campus political leadership, it is not surprising that there exist low representation of females in national politics. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the respondents' age. The age variable was included to understand the dominant age group engaging in campus politics. The study sought to establish whether age has an influence on development of political leadership. In terms of age, the study shows that the mean age range of respondents that participated in the study was between 22 and 25 years. 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 be aware of the political trend, thereby equipping them on how to intervene through several platforms like CSOs, and political parties. What is the implication of this quality on university programmes such as leadership development and national political systems? With an increased population of net generation youth gaining admission into universities, it is of importance to understand the integration of this group of students into the university programmes and national political system. This raises a pertinent question of how leadership development programmes in universities can be youth friendly in terms of reflecting their age needs and specific generational identities and interests of the contemporary generation of youth especially in the current era of Tanzania's democratic transition. Apart from gender and age, this study investigated the level of participation on campus politics.

The Students Participation on Campus Politics

An assessment of students' participation on campus politics in Tanzania's universities was carried out at two levels. At the first level, the study explored the general trend of students' participation on campus politics. And, at the second level, the study went further to assess the type and level of participation on campus politics in Tanzania's universities.

The Trend of Students Participation on Campus Politics

Table 4.2 shows the trend of students' participation on campus politics in Tanzania's universities. Notably, students were supposed to differentiate between their participation on campus politics versus participation on election campaigns.

N (Number of respondents) = 240

Variable	Frequency	%
Students participation on campus politics (1=Yes, participated)	202	84.17
(0=Otherwise)	38	15.83
Students participation on election campaigns (1=Yes, participated)	232	96.7
(0=Otherwise)	8	3.3

Table 4.2: The Trends of Students Participation on Campus Politics

As can be seen from Table 4.2, only 202 (84.17%) of the students reported to participate in campus politics. However, it was ironically observed (refer Table 4.2) that there was a high level of participation of students in election campaigns 232 (96.8%), compared to general trend of their participation in campus politics. This is a surprise finding considering the fact that the well civic informed generation of youth was expected to show more interest in the practice of campus politics before engaging in election campaigns. This raises a need to research the determinants of political versus electoral participation of youth in Africa. The finding also implies that it is imperative to differentiate between political participation and electoral participation of youth in Africa before developing their leadership skills, values and ethos.

The Type and Level of Students Participation on Campus Politics

Table 4.3 shows the type and level of participation on campus politics in Tanzania's universities.

N (Number of Student/observations in both Universities) = 240

Type of Participation	LOW (0-33%)		FAIR (34-66%)		HIGH (67-100%)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Participation in political meetings and debates on campus	199	82.9	33	13.8	8	3.3
Participation in manifesto and SRCs election campaigns	2	0.8	6	2.4	232	96.8

Participation in voting during SRCs elections	30	12.5	198	82.5	12	5
Participation in community engagement activities	203	84.6	22	9.2	15	6.2

Table 4.3: The Type and Level of Students Participation on Campus Politics

Participation does not mean involvement. While involvement entails allowing people in, under certain conditions, to take part in certain action in a prescribed way, participation entails not only having a role to play or a task to complete, but also having ownership of a given undertaking (Muya, 2014). As can be seen from Table 4.3, participation on campus politics was measured based on four indicators. The indicators include: participation in political meetings and debates on campus; participation in manifesto and SRCs election campaigns; participation in community engagement activities; as well as participation voting during SRCs election.

Of all measured indicators, Table 4.3 reveals the low level of students' participation in both, the attendance of political meetings and debates in the campuses 199 (82.9%) and community engagement activities 203 (84.6%) in both universities. Contrary to popular opinion, most university students do not debate on political topics. Often the public hears about acrimonious confrontations between student groups or between students and their administrations over hot-button topics such as corruption, and campus-specific concerns like accommodation and security challenges. Both politically involved and uninvolved student leaders reported that they do not value political debate.

Either they were intimidated by what they described as a confrontational situation, or they believed that debate wasted their time. One among the respondents who attended the FGD session had this to say:

> "Mh! the management of our university does not give rooms for debates on political topics due to the fear that such debates could result into student strikes. Because of those restrictions, in my views, a vacuum left among politically uninvolved students is easily filled by anger and becomes evident during addressing issues related to student affairs".

Other members of the same FDG opposed the narrator and accused him of basing his arguments on speculations. The researcher however, had to ask them for intellectual tolerance since all views were valued. The finding that the management of Tanzania's universities do not give rooms for debates on political topics due to the fear that such debates could result into student strikes is colloborated by the study of Mushi (2004) which shows that during the era of national building and African Socialism (1961-1984), Tanzanian universities were influenced by the country's leftist

ideology of socialism and self-reliance; an ideology that reduced the nation to a closed society where opinions other than those from the ruling class were rarely accepted. The platform that encourages students to debate on political issues and expresses their differences over social issues is very important in expanding the knowledge of those students and their ability to accept differences.

On contrary, there were no clear reasons for the low level of participation on community engagement activities. This does not augur well for the government efforts to promote civic education to the public that is composed up of the majority of youth, who are also focal points in HEIs. HEIs are centers of intellectual activity in which young can experience new ideas, constructs and de-construct about the world. Lack of political tolerance which fosters violence and dis-orderly in Africa's democratic elections is possibly linked with the low level of participation in political meetings and debates in the campuses. However, it was paradoxically observed as can be seen in Table 4.3 that there was a high level of participation of students in manifestos for the SRC presidential election campaigns 232 (96.8%) compared to voting during SRCs election. Only 198 (82.5%) student participants reported to have voted during the SRC presidential election. This is a surprise finding considering the fact that the well civic informed generation of youth was expected to show interest in the voting after accomplishment of SRC presidential election campaigns. Although there were disparities in the total number of voters that participated in both universities, the level of participation was generally low compared to the number of participants who attended in the manifestos and the SRC presidential election campaigns. The finding implies that students show more interest in attending election campaigns than engaging in voting for their leaders. This raises a need to research the determinants of electoral gaps from campaigning to voting within the lens of Africa. The finding also implies a need to re-think about how to inject specific leadership skills to bridge the observed electoral gap.
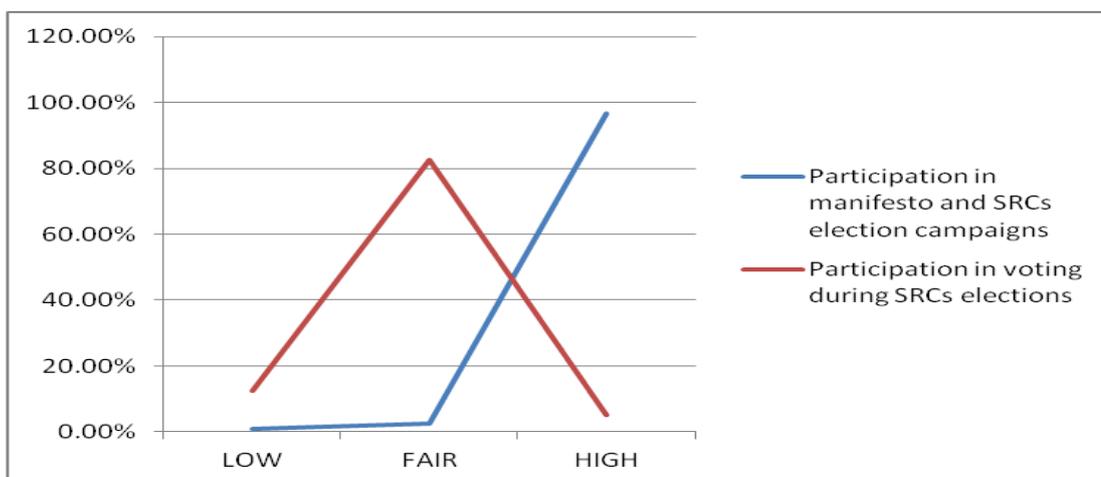

Figure 4.2: The Students Participation in SRCs Election Campaign versus Voting

Although the finding of this study in based on campus politics, it is also consistent to many studies done in Africa which show the same trend as the current study. Wiese (2011:1) affirms this student or youth age group as an electoral apathetic. This has become an often subject of contention among the different political analysts and political parties. The finding also colloborate with WIPHOLD (2014) study which shows that majority of registered voters in South Africa were youth, however, less than a half of the country's youth between 18 and 35 age categories fulfilled their right to vote in 2012 (Scott, *et al*., 2012:21). Also, the study showed that the voting process of students in the SRCs presidential election revolved on emotional sentiments rather than rationalities. A large proportion of respondents from both universities, 148 (61.6 %) agreed with this. They reported that there was no civic promotion programmes organised in their campuses that fostered that purpose. Impliedly, they relied on outward looking of a candidate, and sometimes affiliation to national politics.

The practice of party politics on campus

The practice of party politics on campus was included to understand whether it is the only significant predictor of student leadership development in the model. The study sought to establish whether higher levels of practice of party politics on campus result in a dramatic increase of political leadership skills among students in campus. Among other issues, the study sought to investigate whether students on campus are affiliated to any national political party; and whether the election of the president of SRC in Tanzania's universities is based on party politics. I coded those aggregated "Yes" responses from each surveyed Tanzania's university. Table 4.4 provides participants responses to that question.

(Number of Student/observations in both Universities) = 240

INDICATORS	UDSM Agreed responses		UDOM Agreed responses	
	Frequency	%	**Frequency**	%
Are you affiliated to any National Political Party?	69	57.5	98	81.7
Is the election of the SRC President based in Party politics?	60	50	79	65.8

Table 4.4: Students Participation on Party Politics in Campus

As can be seen from Table 4.4, only 98 (81.7%) observations from the UDOM and 69 (57.5%) observations from the UDSM reported to affiliate to both, the National rulling and opposition political parties in Tanzania. As such, there was more than a half of the number of student leaders who

had interests with party politics in the Tanzania's state universities. With regard to the question that interrogated whether the election of the SRC President revolves in party politics, it was ironically observed as can be seen in Table 4.4 that more than a half 79 (68.5%) respondents from the UDOM and 60 (50%) respondents from the UDSM reported that the election of the SRC President revolves along the party politics from the national level. This is a surprise finding considering the fact that students in Tanzania's universities had been restricted to practice party politics in campuses following the enactment of 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).

While some members of the public support political advocacy on campus for the reason such as debates on democracy are strongly influenced by elited student voices, others disagree on the ground that engaging students in party politics can polarise students along identities, which inturn fuels conflict in HEIs. The study participants who engaged in FGD sessions did not agree with that argument and highlighted various reasons.

> Universities do not stand outside the society; they are subject to the conflicts and contradictions of the society, as such they should establish systems to respond the social change influenced in the wider world.
>
> **Respondent 1**

> There is a mutual relationship and dependence between campus politics and national politics, thus you can't disconnect them. Our societies require graduates who are not just capable professionals, but also sensitive intellectuals and critical citizens vested with academic culture and practice to advance democratic ethos, political tolerance and many others.
>
> **Respondent 2**

> Ah!"Learning by doing is the best approach towards understanding any subject matter. There is no need of learning National politics in development studies if we cannot practice it at the university level!"
>
> **Respondent 3**

In the same vein, one of the SRC leaders in UDOM had this to say:

> Politics and education are in certain way inseparable. Since we, students are coming from community which practice national politics, it is hard to tell us focusing on campus politics while our blood have elements of national politics
>
> (Interview with UDOM-SRC, September 13, 2014).

While addressing the same theme, one of the Professors from the UDSM during an interview session had this to say:

Ah!.HEIs cannot distance itself from politics, because national politics comes from the family. Even if you go to USA today, you will hear about College Republicans, College Democrats, and so forth….I think…what is needed is to build a culture of political tolerance among students, and formulate rules/framework to allow students practice politics in harmony.

(Interview with UDSM officials, October 12, 2014).

The Leadership Outcomes Developed by political parties

The study went further to test hypothesis whether the practice of party politics and student politics nexus on campus in the Tanzania's era of democratic transition influences student leadership development in Universities.

Hypothesis One (H1)

H_0: Practising party politics on campus does not lead the leadership development of students on campus particularly in the current era of Tanzania's democratic transition

H_1: Practising party politics on campus leads to the leadership development of students on campus particularly in the current era of Tanzania's democratic transition

Empirical Results from Hypothesis testing

logit leaddev patypoltcs camppoltc std4party gender

```
Iteration 0:   log likelihood = -158.25545
Iteration 1:   log likelihood = -154.04052
Iteration 2:   log likelihood = -154.01735
Iteration 3:   log likelihood = -154.01734
```

Logistic regression   Number of obs   =   240

                                 LR chi2(4)   =   8.48

                                 Prob > chi2   =   0.0756

Log likelihood = -154.01734   Pseudo R2   =   0.0268

```
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------
   leaddev |    Coef.  Std. Err.     z   P>|z|   [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+---------------------------------------------------------------
 patypoltcs | -.7008175   .334807   -2.09  0.036  -1.357027  -.0446078

  camppoltc |  .1528299  .3939644    0.39  0.698  -.6193261   .9249859

  std4party |  .448582   .2374497    1.89  0.059  -.0168109   .9139749

    gender |  .3550146   .300746    1.18  0.238  -.2344367   .944466

     _cons | -1.076365  .4986415   -2.16  0.031  -2.053685  -.0990456
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Table 4.5: Empirical Results from Hypothesis testing

The results of the above hypotheses testing are presented using Pearson correlation co-efficient between the index of practice of party politics, and leadership development of students on campus. The study found that the value of the co-efficient equals to - .700. Having this value being negative authenticates that the practice of party politics on campus in the Tanzania's era of democratic transition does not influence student leadership development in Universities. The sig. value for the correlation is equal to .000 which is level than level of significance (.05) which leads to the acceptance of the null hypothesis.

As such, based on hypothesis testing from those case studies, it is confirmed that the practice of party politics in Tanzania's university campus particularly in the current era of democratic transition does not influence the development of political leadership in Tanzania. The study findings, however, do not colloborate with the Jeremy Dale study (2010) who found a positive significant relationship between student activism on campus and leadership development. Equally important, the study findings are also against the Astin (1993b) study on Input-Environment-Outcome (I-E-O) college impact model who also found a positive relationship 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. What then are the implications of these findings in line with the objectives of the study? The implementation of political reforms in Tanzania since 1992 have failed to influence the development of leadership skills and innovations of students in state owned universities. This political reform analysis is also indicative of the fact that democratic leadership is yet to penetrate all levels of society including HEIs.

Futher, study participants who engaged in FGD sessions were asked to describe any success or challenges that they have learnt from either the flow of the Tanzania's political parties on campuses or other activities. Surprisingly, more than half of the of the participants of FGD session emphasized that political parties have successful increased democratic awareness as well as activism values on campus. One among the FGDs respondents said:

> Lol! "Today's youths prefer politics that excite their feelings, politics that raises their emotions, vested with dances and so forth. These are driven changes in the new World order informed by national politics, you cannot stop them!"

Respondent 4

When it comes into challenges that they have learnt, about a three quarter of the participants of FGD session reported that the flow of party politics into student politics in campuses fuels the formation and development of identity politics, which quite often exacerbates conflicts among themselves. They

reported that while some of the Tanzania's political parties had ethnic sentiments emerging from the party formation, in others, the identity has been constructed and exploited as a means or strategy of political mobilization in university campuses. While suggesting the solution for addressing the practice of identity politics, one of the key informants from CSOs during an interview session had this to say:

> Well!. HEIs cannot reserve themselves from identity politics; because Africa's HEIs comes from the continent or region of identities (ethnicity)…what is needed is for them to theorise structures/ framework for managing the diversity sentiments. Ignoring students to practice party politics at the expense of identity formation and development does not appeal well.

(Interview with CSOs officials, October 13, 2014).

University students and their organisations in Tanzania have since the introduction of multi-party politics become vehicles of the continuation of societal 'politics by other means[1]'. While this is understandable given the historical background of liberation politics in Africa, it is problematic in the light of transition to multiparty democracy. This is because the development issues that define politics today are different from the liberation issues that defined politics in the past. Because of that, the socialisation of youth within the perspectives of Africa's democratisation from 1990s to 2010s have skewed youth more on activism sentiments instead of developing leadership doctrines. As a result, the generation of youth socialized by protest activities in an era of pro-democracy movement and pluralism regimes in Africa, have failed to learn attitudes and behaviours necessary to become loyal and effective youth leaders in political landscapes while advancing agendas for Africa's development.

The Perceptions of Leadership Outcomes Developed by Universities

The first preparation for leadership should have been a good formal education for more Africans. Although the African governments and national universities in particular provide limits of political advocacy on campuses, as observed and reported earlier in this study, the current study went further to assess student leaders perceptions on the leadership outcomes developed from the surveyed state owned Tanzania's universities. The section sought to understand whether Tanzania's universities are the only significant predictor of student leadership development. Study participants were asked to rank the percentage to which their universities have sharpened their leadership knowledge, skills, qualities, values and experiences. Table 4.9 accounts for this.

N (Number of observations in both Universities) = 240

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[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.

PREDICTOR	1=Low (1-33%)	2=Fair (34-66%)	3=High (67-100%)
Leadership Knowledge	168(70%)	50(20.8%)	22(9.2%)
Leadership skills	193(80.4%)	40(16.6%)	7(3%)
Leadership qualities	182(75.8%)	55(22.9%)	3(1.3%)
Leadership values	198(82.5%)	28(11.7%)	14(5.8%)
Leadership experiences	205(85.4%)	13(5.4%)	22(9.2%)

Table 4.6: The Perceptions of Leadership Outcomes Developed by Universities

As can be seen from Table 4.6, two predictors, leadership knowledge 22(9.2%) and leadership experiences 22(9.2%) were ranked relatively high compared to other predictors in the same category. This is because the study participants declared to have statutory obligations under the higher education policy/act to seat on the boards of universities, and academic decision making bodies like senate and faculty bodies. This suggests that exposing student leaders to academic decision making bodies increases their leadership knowledge and experiences. One among the key informants from the office of the Dean of students UDSM had this to say during an interview:

> Ah!. Frankly our university (referring to UDSM) has the leadership development programme that aims at shaping the elected student leaders for the Students Representative Councils. And, the training quite often takes one to three days per each academic year. We would wish to conduct training for the whole university, however, due to financial aspects constrains us!

(Interview with the UDSM officials-DoS Office, October 12, 2014).

That observation was also supported by another key informants from UDOM, who said:

> For sure the UDOM has the LDP which caters needs to only a segment of student leadership. Much of leadership, I suppose is taught from the respective academic courses.

(Interview with the UDOM officials-DoS Office, September 13, 2014).

Another striking observation is that in both campuses there were no political or even leadership mentors employed by the university for that purpose. The presence of political mentors on campus would have fostered students' democratic orientations, building political knowledge and civic duty. It would also have enhanced political tolerance, institutional trust, and political participation. The finding suggests that the reliable approach for developing any type of leadership on campus revolves on lectures

who teach various degree courses. Without a clear framework of coordination on campus, the goals won't be attained.

Apart from the mentioned factors, it was reported by 29 (12.1%) of the study participants that Tanzania's HEIs have unclear strategic leadership focus. 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 local to nation and international levels, it is important for universities to have a strategic leadership focus of developing student for the national interests. This is because the developed leaders from these institutions have implications for both the local and global perspectives. Those observations are supported by Mkapa (2010) who points out that: "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. Today, one does not see leaders who make difficult strategic choices (Mkapa, 2010). This time is not about politics but economic (Mkapa, *ibid.*). It is timely to prepare economic strategic leaders who have visionary economic thinking that captures a domestic, regional, and global dimensions.

Equally important, both, the irrelevance of the leadership development programs in either meeting the expectations of Tanzania's students/youth 26(10.85%) or addressing the country development needs 26(10.85%) were ranked equally. While the former emphasises a necessity to conduct the research to establish the leadership challenges, actual needs and capacity of SRCs leaders in Tanzania, and Africa at large, the later entails a need to equip leaders with development thinking that reflects a context specific and the historical continuum of the country development from the past, present and future challenges. This calls for re-thinking the relevance and applicability of the plethora of leadership initiatives adopted from the West. Of critical interests is the relevance of the pedagogical approach that informs leadership development in HEIs.

Conclusion

The findings from this study show that political reforms have failed to develop not only political but also democratic leadership in the Tanzania's universities particularly in the current era of democratic transition. Although, higher education institutions in the continent are a very good breeding ground for development of youth leadership skills and innovations, with the right ethos, pedigree and mental independence to take on the challenge of the national development, the Tanzanian universities have played very little role in mentoring students on aspects relating to not only democratic leadership values and ethos, but also the development of leadership aspects of the students in general. Students have now placed their trust on politicians rather than academics. Because of this, students have *ipso facto;* become

vehicles of the political contestations of national politics which often times are violent in character. That growing trend has implications on the future of political leadership and democratisation. The study therefore concludes that in the light of a post-liberation era of democracy which pose new challenges of development, the role of the SRC should go beyond demonstrations over welfare issues to incubating future leaders for countries in dire need of them.

Recommendations

Based on the study findings,the study recommended to deepen democracy in Tanzania's HEIs by restructuring student governance in a way that opens access to every student. Likewise, the role of the present-day SRC should go beyond campus demonstration, to serve as an incubator to produce leaders for the national development. As part of the restructuring of governance to deepen democracy, the SRC Constititutions should be ammended to allow for mainstreaming females into all decision making structures of student governance. Likewise, HEIs need to: integrate leadership development measures within the new HEIs framework of Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP); develop systems of engaging and communicating students within the university governance, as well as act proactively rather than reactive, and unchain the long decision making process of command structure, which maintains secrecy and delays decision making.

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