

**HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY:  
A STUDY OF STUDENTS' AND STUDENT LEADERS' ATTITUDES  
TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IN TANZANIA**

by

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**KEYWORDS**

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## ABSTRACT

Students in African universities have a long history of political involvement at the institutional level and in national politics. The present study investigates the political opinions of students in Tanzania with respect to (1) their attitudes towards democracy and how these attitudes could be explained, (2) student satisfaction with the way their university and their country, Tanzania, are governed, and (3) whether student leaders (SL) have more democratic attitudes than students who are not in formal student leadership positions (SNL) and if there are other relevant groups that can be identified whose political attitudes differ significantly from those of other groups. The study draws on the work of Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi (2005) and employs a survey questionnaire adapted from the Afrobarometer. Using survey data collected at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, a number of questions are investigated, and related hypotheses are tested in order to determine the extent to which students understand and demand democracy, how they perceive the supply of democracy, and what their attitudes are towards university governance and national politics in general.

Overall, the study has found that students clearly understand what democracy is and are very supportive of democracy. This support, however, is opined within a context where they are dissatisfied with the way governance operates within the university as well as at national level in Tanzania. Democracy is therefore seen as an ideal which is not fully realised in the current situation. It is significant that, firstly, students have a good understanding of democracy in a wider perspective by conceptualising democracy mostly in procedural rather than substantive terms and by rejecting non-democratic alternatives, and they support popular representation at all levels of decision-making. Secondly, students are not satisfied with the way student representation and governance operates in their university; they demand more democracy in the University Students' Representative Council (USRC) elections; they support representative university governance and demand more accountability from student leaders and university management. Lastly, it is seen that between SL and SNL there are no significant differences in their respective conceptualisation of, and support for, democracy, and both groups show equal dissatisfaction with the way democracy operates in Tanzania.

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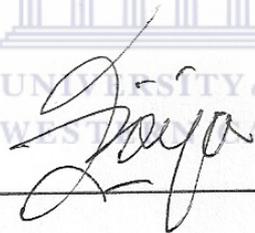
## DECLARATION

I declare that **Higher education and Democracy: A study of students' and student leaders' attitudes towards democracy in Tanzania** is my work, that has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwollo-ntallima

January, 2011

**SIGNATURE:**



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CEBE	Civil Engineering and Built Environment (Faculty of )
COET	College of Engineering & Technology
COM	Commerce and Business
CSSR	Centre for Social Science Research
DARUSO	Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation
DOS	Dean of Students
DUSO	Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation
ECSE	Electrical and Computer Systems Engineering (Faculty of)
FASS	Faculty of Arts and Social Science
FAST	Faculty of Aquatic Sciences and Technology
FIVE	Faculty of Informatics and Virtual Education
FOCM	Faculty of Commerce
FOED	Faculty of Education
FOL	Faculty of Law
FOSC	Faculty of Science
HUM	Humanities
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MECHE	Mechanical and Chemical Engineering (Faculty of)
MUWATA	Muungano wa Wanafunzi Tanzania
NAUTS	National Union of Tanzanian Students
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NL	National level
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SET	Science, Engineering and Technology
SL	Student leaders (current/former incumbents in formal positions)
SNL	Students not in formal leadership position
SOWETO	South Western Township
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TUSA	Tanganyika University Students Association

TYL	TANU Youth League
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USARF	University Students African Revolution Front
USRC	University Students Representative Council
USUD	University Students Union of Dar es Salaam
UWC	University of the Western Cape



# CHAPTER ONE

## Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction and background

African nations have practised multiparty democracy for almost twenty years now, and in that length of time have managed to establish and attain considerable changes in their political system.<sup>1</sup> Some of these changes have provided for freedom of the media, freedom of association, expanded opportunities for the expression of alternative ideas from various political angles, competition between different political parties for the control of government, improved executive accountability, and improved rule of law (Mudenge, 1994; Mafeje, 1998). Nonetheless, it is also obvious that opportunities on the continent for popular participation in democratic decision-making are still limited (mainly to elections).

In general, many groups supported the demand for more democracy in Africa which together with the conditionalities from international donor agencies, forced African leaders to embrace a multiparty political system in the 1990s. Mafeje (1998) in his article 'Democracy, civil society and governance in Africa' considered several important role players who had helped to foster democracy on the continent. In addition, he indicated that the movement towards democracy in Africa revolved around three major demands. These were (1) abolition of the one-party state in favour of democratic pluralism; (2) decentralisation of power, i.e. greater local autonomy; and (3) respect for human rights and the rule of law by African governments.<sup>2</sup> According to Mafeje, civil society organisations, the church, trade and labour unions, NGOs, and youth and women organisations played a key role in demanding changes to the existing regime.

Some scholars of student politics and activism like Peter and Mvungi (1986), Munene (2003) and Teferra and Altbach (2004) show that student organisations as one arm of civil society have played an important role in fostering the expansion of democracy in Africa and the world at large. At several crucial times in the past, students have risked reprisals when demanding social and political change in their societies, and in some instances they have sacrificed their lives to enable their society to take a step forward in political development. Others like, Shivji (2004)

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<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding exceptional cases like Botswana, which have practised multiparty politics without interruption since independence (Bratton, Mattes, and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> See also Anyang' Nyong'o (1992), in '*Democratization Process in Africa*'; as under Codessria they engaged in a debate on African democracy and a way forward

and Luescher (2005) point out that the demand for democracy on the African continent was actually born from the womb of student activism in the early 1970s. Several student activists and movements targeted the one party system and/or authoritarian regime and their associated consequences in African society (also see Peter and Mvungi, 1986; Altbach, 1991; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Hinton, 2002; Munene, 2003; Byaruhanga, 2006). For instance, Arikewuyo (2004) points out that some student leaders in Nigeria endured torture; others were expelled from their studies or went into exile during the periods of military rule, because they stood for democracy and majority rule. Similar situations were experienced in Uganda during the Idi Amin regime, in Sierra Leone, and in South Africa during the apartheid system as various authors elaborate (e.g. Altbach, 1991; Hinton, 2002; Munene, 2003; Luescher, 2005; Byaruhanga, 2006; and Cele, 2008).

And yet, students' attitudes towards democracy have not been widely studied. Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) indicate that the establishment of higher education institutions in Africa enabled students to participate in higher education governance in some ways. Luescher (2005) shows that many African higher education institutions include students in various decision-making bodies so that students can contribute to decisions on matters relating to student affairs and interests. Similarly, Bloom, Canning and Chan (2005) go further to add that students have been enjoying representation even in some of the sensitive organs in some institutions. All this is presumably aimed at enabling students to feel that they are part of the institutional management; enable them to learn by participating in several procedures and activities conducted by the institutions; expand democracy within higher learning institutions; and it is certainly also one among the many ways in which universities and governments have aimed at minimising students' protests and demonstrations against institutional administrations (Shivji, 1996; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Hinton, 2002; Luescher, 2005; Byaruhanga, 2006). So some of the implicit questions raised here may include: what are students' and student leaders' attitudes towards national governance? Also, what is their attitude towards their involvement in university governance? And, has participation in student politics and university governance had any effect on students' attitude towards democracy?

Certainly, the primary objective of post-colonial education in Africa was to make sure that African people free themselves from poverty (e.g. Shivji, 1986). Thus, on the one hand, education became the main tool to achieve this overarching goal. The process started by expanding the school system and establishing adult education programs for those who could not

or had not attended formal education. The main focus of higher education became the training of people who would take these nations into an industrial economy and also develop the person power that could trigger changes that were and still are in demand in these poor nations. Universities were supposed to play the role of imparting knowledge and various high-level skills along with a sense of nationhood and positive attitudes towards citizenship that would benefit these developing nations. On the other hand, universities are also credited with the development of the ideas of democratic governance, preparing an educated elite for playing a vanguard role in the emerging democracy, investing people with high-level critical and problem-solving skills necessary in a democracy.

Along the way, African development has experienced a number of problems, many of which are related to economic factors, but sometimes they come also from political drawbacks. The re-establishment of the multiparty democratic system in many African nations in the 1990s has been born out of conflict and has itself been a source of conflict. It has revealed a lack of trust among different kinds of groups (and organisations) within African nations (Mpangala, 1999). This can be attributed to the failure of political leaders to accommodate political identity in the changes they made to the political system. Examples from Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire), Somalia, Sudan and currently Kenya and Zimbabwe can be cited. Moreover, many political leaders have been reluctant to step down in good time or to allow other parties to run government.

Arguably, African higher education has a role to play to ensure that elites understand and practice democracy, as suggested by Cloete (2000). Munene (2003) and Luescher (2005) point out that African students, in the early years in their organisations and associations, were credited with having generated ideas and leadership in anticipation of independence. Former and current Presidents like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Madibo Keita of Mali, and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda to mention a few, were student leaders or student activists in their time in higher education. These national leaders effectively participated in the demand for majority rule, rule of law and the extension of human rights and social justice (Shivji, 1991; Mafeje, 1998; Hinton, 2002; Byaruhanga, 2006). Furthermore, student politics and student activism have continued to be influenced by a democratic vision of politics in independent Africa, as indicated by, for example, Luescher (2005), Alidou, Caffentzis and Federici (2008), and Zeilig and Dawson (2008). They argue that student activism and related crises in higher education institutions in

Africa have often been caused or exacerbated by an undemocratic mode of governance at the institutional and/or the national levels. Altbach (1991), Hinton (2000), Munene (2003) and Byaruhanga (2006) in particular present examples where students had to act upon undemocratic decisions of national leaders (or leaders at institutional levels), often spiralling into a series of protests and violent response. It is also shown that in some other cases students were actually instrumental in demanding elections or bringing about regime change, e.g. in countries like South Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Germany, Sierra Leone, and Burma, at different points in their political history. The performance of African governments often has received a negative response from students; this was observed when students in Africa protested against government decisions to cut down higher education budgets within a context of structural adjustment from the late 1980s and 1990s (see Peter and Mvungi, 1986; Altbach, 1991; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Munene, 2003).

As far as student political involvement at the institutional level of governance is concerned, various studies acknowledge that the democratising potential of this involvement has a positive enhancing effect on the educational environment. Cloete, Muller and Pillay (1999) point out that student governance, leadership and organisations should act as schools in democracy and prepare students for full citizenship, which will improve responsiveness and adaptation to societal change. This is also seen in the educational objectives in the Tanzania education policy (United Republic of Tanzania, 1995). Student participation in higher education governance (from department to institutional levels) not only has the potential of preventing serious conflicts within the institutions and with governments by providing formal channels of communication and decision-making, but also provides lessons on shared governance and democratic decision making to members of the institution such as students, who are expected to know these basic practices (Luescher, 2005).

Student governance in general should therefore be expected to provide for more than just the representation of students in institutional decision-making bodies; student organisations are also meant to build a positive attitude towards the university, and commitment by students to good governance and democratic values, both for the time they are at university and beyond (UNESCO, 1999, in Luescher, 2005). Giving students representation at all levels may ensure effective participation of students, democratic awareness and understanding, and hence the creation of a sense of belonging to democratic practices and shared governance. Student leaders should therefore also be democratically legitimised and endowed with key qualities that

characterise democratic governance at all levels, including commitment to transparency, accountability and support for effective decision-making within institutions (UNESCO, 1999, in Luescher, 2005).

Student representatives/student leaders experience in their university days various modes of decision-making applied in their institutions; they also typically have opportunities to represent fellow students outside campus. Student leaders (SL) are then typically more involved in, and experienced in, governance issues compared to students who are not in leadership positions (SNL). Since modern democracy does not necessarily imply that a majority of students participate in decision-making processes (beyond elections, for example), student leaders tend to be exposed to more varied political knowledge than those they represent. A study that seeks to investigate the effects of formal student participation in higher education governance on student political attitudes towards democracy should therefore take into account the different levels of political involvement and exposure of student leaders, and those students who are not in leadership positions.

Various studies have been conducted to assess student leadership, governance, activism and politics in higher education in Africa. Most of these studies have investigated student activism and the working of various kinds of student organisations; an increasing number has also begun to analyse formal student participation in university governance. Moreover, studies on African political opinions have become increasingly common with the regular survey data generated by the Afrobarometer (Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Mattes and Bratton, 2007).<sup>3</sup> However, Afrobarometer surveys do not explicitly involve students as respondents. Thus, a study that links student political participation in university governance and students' political attitudes towards democracy and governance fills a unique gap in both sets of literature.

This dissertation reports on a study of student political attitudes conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania. The study specifically aimed at investigating students' and student leaders' political attitudes and behaviours to establish the extent of their support for democracy in Tanzania and their attitude towards university governance at UDSM. It uses tools

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<sup>3</sup> The Afrobarometer is an independent, non-partisan research project that measures the social, political, and economic atmosphere in Africa. The Afrobarometer was started by Michigan State University, USA, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, and the Centre for Democratic Development, Ghana, and it includes a wide network of research bodies. Afrobarometer surveys are conducted in more than a dozen African countries and are repeated on a regular cycle. (See, [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)).

adopted from the Afrobarometer, to collect student opinions on university governance and national government.

## **1.2 Problem statement, purpose, aim and objectives**

Within the broad topic of the nexus of higher education and democracy in Africa, students' and student leaders' political attitudes towards democracy and student involvement in university governance are the focus of this study. The study intends to make a contribution to understanding African citizens' perception of democracy (more especially that of students), their attitude towards politics and political governance, and to see whether universities are creating an educated elite group that is composed of democrats. The latter involves that students should understand democracy, be supportive of democracy, demand democracy, and practice and participate in democratic procedures and processes within their political context. My study will be done by first and foremost answering the question: *What is the attitude of students towards democracy in Tanzania and student participation in university governance at the University of Dar es Salaam?*

The study involves a sample of university students and leaders of the student government in the studied institution. For this purpose it will distinguish between:

- student leaders (SL) which refers to those students currently/formerly in a position in student government, more especially officially recognised student representatives at institutional and faculty level and in student halls and residences; and
- students not in such formal student leadership positions (SNL).

Moreover, students' political attitudes are studied in relation to two levels of governance:

- a. the most immediate experiential institutional level of governance, i.e. university governance and student involvement therein; and
- b. the overarching and dominant national level of governance.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the political opinions of students in Tanzania with respect to their views of the content of democracy (in terms of students' cognitive awareness of democracy), the consequences of democracy (as learned from students' experience of university governance and national government performance), and the lessons they draw about

democracy (with reference to institutional and national political legacies). Student support for democracy is investigated in terms of eight key concerns:

1. Students' understanding/conceptions of democracy;
2. Students' satisfaction with the supply of democracy in Tanzania;
3. Students' preference for and commitment to democracy;
4. Whether cultural factors influence students' support for democracy;
5. Influences of social structures on students' support for democracy at national and institutional level;
6. The extent to which institutional factors affect students' support for democracy;
7. The extent to which students are cognitively aware of, and engaged in, matters related to politics and democracy in Tanzania; and,
8. Students' perception of the supply of democracy and performance of democracy in general.

These notions have been adopted from the current ongoing studies of African public opinion on regime functioning, political transformation and democracy, conducted by Mattes, Bratton and Gyimah-Boadi (2005) and others; but they have been changed and modified to meet the requirements of this study, and adapted to the higher education environment in Tanzania.

### **1.3 Rationale of the study**

As noted above, the reviewed literature on African higher education and student governance indicates that there have been numerous studies about student protests and activism in various parts of Africa. Fewer studies have been conducted on issues regarding student leadership and governance, democracy and citizenship in higher education and the role of universities in building and promoting democracy in higher education institutions and the society at large in Africa.

On the one hand, Luescher (2005) highlights developments in higher education governance in South Africa, where students are part of the decision-making structures at national and institutional levels, and he hints at the potential for students to learn democratic values from participating in such decision-making bodies. On the other hand, there have been some historical studies on the way students have contributed to the growth of democracy in Africa. This study, therefore, intends to make some contribution to the field of higher education, democracy, and how student governance contributes to the development of democratic attitudes

among students in Tanzania. It will also contribute to the ongoing studies of the consolidation of African democracy by Mattes and Bratton (2007) and Mattes and Mughogho (2009).

The study intends to provide new insights to policy makers in higher learning institutions and government, on one side; and to student leaders and student organisations in higher learning institutions, on the other. It is hoped that indicate the way democracy and governance are part of the contribution of higher education to social and political development in developing nations like Tanzania. It is also hoped that findings from this study will add to the existing knowledge and stimulate further research in this area.

#### **1.4 Research design and methodology**

The study is designed as a survey which is both descriptive and explanatory in purpose. It utilises mostly quantitative methods of data collection and analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Kothari, 2004). The main research instrument used is a questionnaire adapted from the Afrobarometer. It focuses on the tasks outlined in the objectives after being broken down into parts by the use of conceptual map (*see* Appendix VI). Data collected by the questionnaire includes student perceptions on how their institution is managed, how they feel about their representation in higher education decision-making, and their assessment of how the state is governed. The survey considers various groups of students, e.g. student leaders (SL) and those students who are not in leadership positions (SNL); students from all ten faculties at UDSM Mlimani campus; and the gender of students.

As mentioned above, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Tanzania, was chosen as the site where the study was conducted. UDSM is the oldest, largest and arguably most prestigious university of Tanzania. It has the highest student enrolments (about 22,000) of which 17,000 are studying at the main campus in Dar es Salaam (Mlimani campus). UDSM was chosen for the survey, not out of considerations of representativeness, but because of its unique status in the Tanzanian higher education landscape and the related significance for the rest of the country, of the status and position of student politics at that university. Moreover, as will be discussed further below, students in higher education in Tanzania have been playing various roles at university level, as well as in national politics. Looking at the political history of Tanzania and student politics it can be shown that since the establishment of student organisations in the 1960s, like USUD and TUSA at the University of Dar es Salaam, they have been involved with matters relating to institutional, national as well as international politics.

Students started their own magazines and organisations, identified themselves with the working people of Tanzania, and raised awareness of socialism among the common people. Yet, Tanzanian students have also been politically active by criticising the existing regime and taking up the voice of the underprivileged. More recently, UDSM students have been involving themselves in matters of higher education governance, like scrutinising and criticising the operation of the higher education loan system, in Tanzania. Higher education in Tanzania and student politics in that country is discussed in detail in the following chapter. These are among the reasons why Tanzania and UDSM is considered a suitable context for a study of students' and student leaders' political attitudes towards democracy and university governance in Africa.

When planning to conduct a survey, sampling criteria and methods have to be appropriate for the purpose of the study. In this study, sampling aims to ensure, on the one hand, that every student has an equal opportunity to participate in the survey, and, on the other hand, that the survey is actually doable given the available resources. Using methods of stratification and probability sampling, I choose undergraduate third year students to participate in the survey as well as a subsample of student leaders from the university's student organisation, DARUSO. Sampling is discussed in detail in chapter four. There I also discuss the research process, which went through several stages of approval at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Dar es Salaam Research and Publication Department. Moreover, the study uses several methods to ensure reliability and validity, such as the use of an established measure, content and construct validity. Lastly, the analysis of survey data typically involves description of student attitudes and behaviours towards democracy, and various statistical tests are conducted in order to establish the relationship and consider variations among selected variables and subsamples, which is followed eventually by the interpretation of findings.

In addition to survey data, the study uses information sourced from available official documentation on higher education in Tanzania and UDSM. These include historical perspectives of student governance, constitutions of the student organisation of UDSM, historical and analytical accounts of the development of the University of Dar es Salaam and past and current higher education acts and policies. It also reviews some previous studies of student politics at UDSM, including those of Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) and Mkumbo (2002).

From what has been indicated above, I anticipate that this research design and methods will allow me to generate data and conduct the kind of analyses that will enhance our knowledge of

students' and student leaders' attitudes towards democracy and politics in Tanzania, as well as their attitudes and behaviours towards university governance. In terms of the above, these procedures are aimed at enabling me to arrive at answers to the research questions that I have proposed in this chapter.

### **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

This chapter has introduced the background of the dissertation and outlined the main research problem. The chapter has presented the aims and objectives of my study and provided the rationale for carrying out this study. I have also indicated the kind of research design and methods intended to be used for conducting the study.

In chapter two I review scholarly literature with reference to a number of key aspects pertaining to this study. The arguments of different authors are analysed and reviewed to gain a much better understanding of the relationship between students and student politics, national politics and university governance. The review begins by looking at the nexus of higher education and democratisation, focusing on literature in which the roles of higher education in democratisation are discussed. Furthermore I will look at teaching and learning in higher education and its relationship to democracy and citizenship development; and at some aspects of campus life and student governance. The second part of the chapter reviews recent findings on attitudes to democracy in Africa, which are mainly based on Afrobarometer findings. The third part is a review on students as political role players, where literature on student activism and politics is discussed in detail. Finally, in the fourth part, the chapter looks briefly at political development in Tanzania; higher education in Tanzania; the University of Dar es Salaam and studies on student politics and governance at UDSM; the issue of student participation and representation; and lastly the student political situation encountered at UDSM just before data collection. In general, the section covers not only what has been happening in Tanzania, but also compares it to what has been happening in other parts of the continent.

Chapter three presents the conceptual framework for this study, which is adopted from Bratton *et al* (2005). This framework will guide me in posing questions and analysing survey responses and also link the literature to what I anticipate to find. I start by discussing the meaning of democracy in the African context (based on Bratton *et al*, 2005, Bernhagen, 2009 and Rose, 2009). Secondly, I discuss the challenge of African democratisation and then look at the Afrobarometer approach to studying public opinion regarding democracy in Africa, with

reference to its various dimensions: e.g. the demand and supply model of democracy; understanding citizens' participation and support for democracy; social structure and attitudes towards democracy; impact of cultural values on support of democracy; institutional influences on attitudes towards democracy; cognitive awareness of democracy; and performance evaluation and democracy. The conceptual framework suggests several key items and indicators that can be used to study and explain peoples' political attitudes and behaviours. The second part of chapter three indicates how I adapted and operationalised the Afrobarometer approach in my study. The chapter ends by presenting the research questions and the descriptive and explanatory hypothesis formulated for this study.

Chapter four is concerned with the research design and methodology, including the issues of sample construction and instrumentation, data collection, and data analysis. I start by presenting my research design, issues around case selection, target population, and the questionnaire. Also I discuss my sampling procedures and intended sample and present my realised sample. Ethical and political considerations arising especially in the process of data collection are also discussed. This is followed by a consideration of the reliability and validity of the study, data analysis, and known limitations and errors. In the process I also indicate my research journey throughout the field research phase, including the way I administered the questionnaires to respondents so as to minimise error during my data collection, and the means used to achieve a good research outcome.

In chapter five I present the collected data and analyse it quantitatively using the statistical package for social sciences programme, SPSS, basing the analysis on the conceptual framework outlined in chapter three. In this chapter I am looking for answers to the five key questions indicated in this study. Chapter six further discusses the findings and the implications of the study and its conclusions. In these two last chapters, I describe student attitudes and behaviours and expect to establish differences in student attitudes towards democracy and higher education governance, and mostly differences that exist in the political attitudes and behaviours between SL and SNL. Moreover, I discuss my findings in relation to the existing literature that I have presented in chapters two and three. I start by referring to students' support for democracy, their understanding of democracy, the impact of certain aspects of social structure and cultural values on support for democracy, students' dissatisfaction with the supply of democracy in Tanzania, the differences between SL and SNL, and students' cognitive awareness of politics. I then briefly return to the question of higher education's contribution to

democracy and the issue of campus life and attitudes towards democracy. In conclusion, I propose possible implications of the study, the limitations of the study, and issues for further research.

Thus, in the following chapter I discuss earlier studies on higher education and democracy in Africa; the role of higher education in the democratisation of society; students as political agents and role players; and trends in attitude towards democracy emanating from other studies.



## CHAPTER TWO

### **Higher Education, Students and Support for Democracy in Africa: A Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I present a review of literature relevant to studying political attitudes of students in higher education institutions. The chapter starts broadly with a discussion of higher education and democratisation, where discussion centres on: democratisation and democracy; teaching and learning, democracy and citizen development; campus life and student governance; and, democratic awareness. In the second part I discuss recent research, for example, Mattes and Bratton (2007), related to attitudes towards democracy in Africa. Thirdly, I look at students as political role players, and I conclude by highlighting trends on students' attitudes towards democracy and student activism in Tanzania. In that last part, I also present a background of Tanzanian political development and how students have been active in Tanzanian politics. Overall, this chapter tries to provide an overview of how democratisation has been taking shape in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular and how this has been studied, while at the same time gaining an understanding of citizens' political attitudes and behaviour, focusing especially on studies regarding students and people with higher education.

#### **2.2 Higher education and democratisation**

The role of higher education in democratisation may have different emphases according to the needs of a particular society. Different scholars mention that higher education helps in the industrialisation of the economy by providing person power with professional, technical and managerial skills; it provides workers who have the required knowledge to boost the growth of the economy; through teaching and research higher education helps in the creation, absorption and dissemination of knowledge; and, most importantly for my purposes, higher education is credited with *making possible attitudinal changes necessary for the modernisation and overall democratic transformation of society* (e.g. Trow, 1970; Cloete, 2000; Alexander, 2007; Evans and Rose, 2007a; Janiunaite and Gudaityte, 2007). With respect to the latter, Bratton *et al* (2005) argue that formal education stands as a good factor

in creating popular awareness to democracy, increasing knowledge of democracy and helping in the creation of open-mindedness.

Evans and Rose (2007a and b) and Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 14) indicate that formal education (as a social factor) and cognitive awareness of politics play a recognisable role in attitudinal differences to democracy in a context of national democratisation. More importantly, Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 2) agree with Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry (1996, p. 39-57) that education may affect attitudes and behaviour via a 'positional path' by sorting citizens into different social networks, situations and classes; a 'socialisation path', whereby children become explicitly trained to see democracy as sometimes preferable to its alternatives, accept authority, and take part in the duties of democratic citizenship; and via a 'cognitive path', which increases people's verbal and cognitive proficiency, the creation of ideas and critical thinking. I will start by outlining some authors' contributions before discussing them in more detail.

### **2.2.1 Democratisation and development**

Several authors like Tilak (2003) and Bloom *et al* (2005) have reviewed the contribution of higher education to various aspects of social and political life, including economic development. In one way or another, when addressing the question of political development, democratisation has to be considered. In my case, I am interested more in the micro foundations (i.e. individual attitudes) of political development, and mostly on how higher education contributes to the attitudes and behaviours of people towards democracy.

Tilak (2003) reviews the contribution of higher education to all aspects of development. He names some of the benefits of higher education for democratisation including: creating and making attitudinal changes necessary for the socialisation of individuals in modernised society; helping through teaching and research in the creation, absorption and dissemination of knowledge; helping in the formation of a strong nation-state; and, allowing people to enjoy an enhanced 'life of mind' which offers political benefits (Tilak, 2003, p. 3). Tilak also indicates that there is a relationship between the gross enrolment ratio and higher education attainment indicators with development (i.e. gender development index, gender empowerment index, life expectancy, infant mortality rate, total fertility rate and poverty) (Tilak, 2003, p. 10). Furthermore, Tilak (2003, p. 14) indicates that higher education should provide equality of opportunity in a society by ensuring equality of opportunities in education

to everyone irrespective of social and economic background, and should protect democratic rights, promote cooperation instead of competition and promote national values.

While higher education might benefit the development and democratisation of society, Tilak (2003, p. 15) points out some of its perceived weaknesses. They include that public rates of return to education have been found to be consistently lower than private rates of return to education. In most cases an educated person enjoys greater personal benefits from education (e.g. having a large salary, access to health services and housing) than what he or she can provide back to the education system or his/her community. He also adds that higher education may fail to promote equity and democracy since universities are vulnerable to government control, and government can become the sole decision-maker on how resources are allocated and used in universities. In some instances we have experienced governments intervening when students protest concerning various issues like academic quality, better study environment and efficiency in higher education. Tilak (2003) concludes by suggesting that in order for higher education to achieve its role (especially with respect to democracy), there should be policies of expansion of higher education enrolment ratio, weakening class inequalities, and solving the problem of quality.

Generally, higher education plays a great role in socialisation and democratisation as agreed by Bloom *et al* (2005). Although Tilak (2003) focuses on higher education and development globally, Bloom *et al* (2005) focuses on higher education and economic development specifically in the African context. In some instances, Bloom *et al* (2005) and Tilak (2003) have similar arguments. These two authors indicate that there is a positive correlation between higher education and political indicators in relation to gross enrolment ratio or in relation to higher education attainment. That is, the more the country manages to enrol students into the education system (in this case higher education), the more the probability for the greater democratic participation and democratic contribution from the majority. This includes other effects like poverty eradication, increased productivity, and increased social and personal returns. Tilak (2003) and Bloom *et al* (2005) cite the relation between higher education attainment and poverty; hence this shows that higher education is also positively related to several human development indicators in addition to economic development. The score on these indicators typically improve with the level of education of a person, and it is considerably higher once higher education is attained.

In addition to what has been discussed above, there have been great associations between socio-economic development and democracy. Bernhagen (2009, p. 107-109) indicates that both socio-economic development and democracy involve principles of individual freedom, rationality and equality; though they differ in other respects (e.g. democracy advocates participation and accountability). Bernhagen (2009, p. 109) uses modernisation theory to draw an association between economic development and democracy, by indicating that economic development and democratisation are both part of the advance of modernity. Bernhagen therefore, shows that usually higher levels of democracy are associated with higher economic development, thus if a newly democratised country continues to prosper economically, there is a high possibility for democracy to survive. For that reason Bernhagen (2009, p. 107) shows that many countries that have undergone democratic transformation have also transformed their economic strategy to a capitalist market economy by accommodating neo-liberal values such as marketisation, privatisation and free trade.

### **2.2.2 Teaching and learning, democracy and citizenship development**

Cloete (2000) looks at the role of education in South Africa after the demise of the apartheid political system. Cloete (2000, p. 5) indicates two roles of higher education in democratisation: citizenship<sup>4</sup> education and equity. Higher education can help to promote peace and democracy, which are essential factors in citizenship education, and at the same time discourage ethnicity, racism, sexism, narrow nationalism and fundamentalism. Moreover, by promoting critical skills (e.g. by means of the liberal arts), higher education can play a role in pursuing the objectives of democracy. Cloete further indicates that the acquisition of, and access to, new knowledge (through education and research) creates new power relations among citizens that impact on the way citizens react in the whole process of governing and participation (Cloete, 2000, p. 10). Cloete (2000, p. 6) therefore argues that a curriculum for common citizenship should be one which takes away social differences among students while providing sites for democratic practice. Following Johnstone (1969), Cloete (2000, p. 6) therefore insists that higher education should not only provide certificates, but impart skills and knowledge that can form the basis for social and political attitudes by producing citizens who can defend democracy against the excesses of the elite and the underclass.

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<sup>4</sup> Citizenship refers to the relationship between the individual and state based on reciprocal rights and responsibility (*see* Heywood, 1997, p. 241)

In an earlier contribution, Cloete *et al* (1999) argue that if higher education plays its role properly in promoting democratic attitudes, i.e. by means of a “multi-centric education that appreciates ambiguity, contradiction, and nuance”, students will learn to accept the coexistence of difference and sameness and find their own voices (Cloete *et al*, 1999, p. 39). On the one hand, Cloete *et al* (1999) argue that the role of the curriculum as promoter of democracy cannot be overemphasised; on the other hand they show some doubt as to whether an explicit programme to instil more democratic attitudes will yield the expected outcomes (Cloete *et al*, 1999, p. 43). They mention that a loss of confidence in what makes up democracy (and knowledge), and a loss of citizenship attitudes towards higher education itself (as a community), have been hindering higher education’s role in democratisation (Cloete *et al*, 1999, p. 43).

Evidently higher education has multiple potential roles in democratisation ranging from preparing people for good citizenship to aspects of socio-economic development. Students, as part the of higher education community, also experience varied modes of governance and democracy within this community. Student representatives may be more experienced in the practice of democracy since they are the ones who represent others in decision-making bodies of higher education, and participate in making decisions that in one way or another affect student life.



### **2.2.3 Campus life and student governance**

Attitudes that are supportive of democracy are expected to be acquired by students not only from the curriculum of higher education; various authors also point to the social and political relations that exist between institutional management, teaching staff, supporting staff and the students in a campus as a community. Thus, Cloete *et al* (1999, p. 41) argue that promoting democratic citizenship also involves more democratic practices on campus, which will ensure students’ socialisation into democratic practices. On this point, there are various related arguments. For instance, Shivji (1996, p. 9); Hinton (2002, p. 56-59) and Byaruhanga (2006, p. 158) suggest that student representation in the decision-making bodies of higher education institutions can build students’ awareness of democratic procedures and the habits of good governance which are also to be practiced elsewhere in society. Conversely, in several cases students have been protesting because of a lack of or weak understanding of their role as citizens (Vygotsky, 1978). Students also have either been poorly involved in decision-making

or misinformed of the decisions made by their representatives or university management (Peter and Mvungi, 1986; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Munene, 2003).

State interference in higher learning institutions normally and to large extent reduces the institutional autonomy of granting students proper values and skills that will enable them to become acquainted with democratic values, attitudes, tolerance and participatory behaviours that are essential for the expansion of democracy in society (Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000, p. 92; Mkude, Cooksey and Levey, 2003, p. 19;). In most cases when students have tried to show their feeling regarding undemocratic procedures and unrepresentative decision making, governments have interfered and sometimes used coercive force instead of using a round table for solutions. As far as democracy and participation in decision-making are concerned, this may be considered to be a negative model.

#### **2.2.4 Democracy awareness**

Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 200) argue that as people become more aware of the world around them, they increase their ability to form opinions on the political and economic issues of the day. With every additional level of education, people learn to comprehend the manifold ways in which their lives are affected by decisions made by distant power-holders. Thus, increasing cognitive awareness of politics, by means of an individual's education, media exposure, access to information, interest, and sense of personal efficacy, is expected to have important effects on the expression of public opinion (*see also* Shivji, 1993; Cloete *et al*, 1999). Conversely Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 202) also suggest that the lack of education of many Africans results in them being poorly informed about public affairs and thus unable to engage in making effective demands on their own behalf.

Low levels of information about democracy and governance are therefore considered to decrease peoples' ability to connect their interests with larger political and economic reforms. Accordingly, people who are best informed about public affairs are the strongest reform advocates, as reported by The World Bank (2005), Janiunaite and Gudaityte (2007, p. 216) and Mamdani (2008, p. 6). The standard of education, or access to education and exposure to media, make a person much more sceptical about the quality of democracy that a government or political institutions deliver. Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 198) give evidence that despite a more general passive acceptance of politics, there are pockets of critical citizenship emerging in Africa.

The notion of cognitive awareness therefore links education to related factors like access to news media, understanding governing policies, rules, and regulations, which enable a person to know how democracy works, acquire democratic values and processes, and empower them to behave democratically (*see* sections 3.2 and 3.3 below). In other words, it is expected that graduates' awareness of public affairs would enable them to conceptualise and practice democracy, and have positive attitudes towards democracy and associated features (like majority rule, rule by the people, regular elections, multiparty system, equality etc) in several ways (Mattes and Bratton, 2007). Now, if education induces support for democracy, it does so presumably at the expense of attachments to non-democratic alternatives. Mattes and Bratton (2007) therefore argue that as individuals gain formal education, they disengage themselves from allegiances to old and authoritarian types of political regimes and become adherents of democracy.

The latter point is important for my study in several respects. In countries like Tanzania where the level of higher education is still thinly spread, the educated people tend to serve as opinion leaders<sup>5</sup> who diffuse vital information to their neighbours about civil liberties, political rights, importance of voting and representation, and the operations of a multiparty system (*see* Luhanga, 1994; Evans and Rose, 2007b). As some authors indicate, the educated African elite have been the first to criticize the imperfect quality of some of Africa's 'single-party democracies' and 'hybrid democracies' (Shivji, 1986, p. 11; Mattes and Bratton, 2007; Mamdani, 2008, p. 6). In this respect history has also shown that the relationship between education and political attitude is not as straightforward as perhaps expected. Thus (and contrary to some of the arguments reviewed above) under a hierarchical/authoritarian style of schooling, education still has the potential to sharpen the critical faculties, which – in a context of non-democratic or 'hybrid democratic' rule – leads to a recognition that to date, fully-fledged liberal democracy has rarely been realised in the context of developing countries, and may produce a sense of dissatisfaction with the way politics actually works.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Higher education has at times been at odds with the single party system and military governments of Africa. In many countries higher education institutions and the educated elite found themselves in opposition to certain features of authoritarian government as they believed in freedom of speech and the right to criticise the existing regime. Students followed suit of their lecturers by boycotting or protesting bad policies imposed by the government. (Hinton 2002; Mbwette and Ishumi 2000)

<sup>6</sup>Altbach (1991) and Byaruhanga (2006) also give a contrary example where students opted to support undemocratic regimes like in Germany and Italy in the inter-war period when student organisations were among the first groups to support Hitler and Mussolini regimes. These political attitudes may be explained as due to the

In summary, higher education institutions have been assigned greater roles in the development of democratisation and citizenship. The way people can be made aware of democracy, make demands for democracy, learn theories and democratic practices and analyse them, is achieved through formal education, especially at a higher level. This study is expected to establish more evidence on the studies by Evans and Rose (2007a and b) and Mattes and Mughogho (2009) on African democracy and peoples' attitude towards it, putting more emphasis on the performance of the (emerging) educated elite in democratisation.

Studies regarding citizens' attitudes towards democracy have been conducted in many countries all over the world. In Africa, the Afrobarometer surveys have been studying people's attitudes towards democracy and economic performance. Bratton *et al* (2005) were the first to provide a general analysis of Africans' attitudes towards democracy. Then, Mattes and Bratton (2007) and many others followed suit. From what has been found before, this study expects to provide more insight regarding the attitudes towards politics of higher education students.

### **2.3 Recent findings related to attitudes to democracy in Africa**

There is an exciting new stream of studies on the attitudes towards democracy in Africa since 1999, which have become possible with the Afrobarometer survey data. The regular Africa-wide surveys have become an important source of information on the political attitudes of Africans. For my purposes, there have been a number of studies focusing on analysing the impact of (higher) education (as one among many factors) on attitudes towards democracy in Africa. Several scholars have analysed the relationship between education and democracy within the context of democratisation in Africa, using Afrobarometer data. Most recently, Mattes and Mughogho (2009) analysed data from the Afrobarometer looking at education levels and their contribution to the democratisation process in Africa. In their contribution they responded to previous work done by Bratton *et al* (2005), Evans and Rose (2007a and b), and Mattes and Bratton (2007).

The study of Bratton *et al* (2005) investigates what ordinary Africans think about democracy and market reforms using Afrobarometer data. Overall the authors argue that there is great support for democracy in Africa. People demand more than only multiparty elections; they also want governments that are free from corruption; they demand more political

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disillusion with the imperfections of democracy in those countries, compounded with strong sentiments of nationalism.

participation and accountability from their governments (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 347). The study seeks to explain the attitudes of African citizens with reference to social structures, cultural values, institutional influences, cognitive awareness and performance evaluation of democracy (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 36-42). Based on those factors, they find that:

- a. Africans' understanding of democracy can be described as a kind of 'liberalism' which emphasises procedural rules (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 343) that involve demand for political rights more than economic benefits. For Bratton *et al* (2005) this indicates that support for democracy is widely diffused across the continent;
- b. Cultural values appear to have the least impact on the perceived extent of democracy; hence, Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 202) argue that other factors are needed to explain the nature of attitudes to democracy in Africa;
- c. Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 250) argue that African institutions are generally underdeveloped and that informal institutions are often more pervasive than formal. Their data reveals that Africans have become cautious with the African *ancien regime* types (like military rule or the rule of civilian strongmen) and have come to embrace democracy as an alternative mode of governance (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 344);
- d. Responsive leaders are central to building mass commitment to democracy (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 246). They influence mass support for democracy, as few citizens can be described as 'committed democrats' who will stand to defend it, and some are satisfied with the way democracy works in practice (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 345);

For my purposes, the findings by Bratton *et al* (2005) about education as a factor in creating political awareness are especially important. In particular they argue:

- e. Formal education stands as an important factor in creating political awareness, in that it increases popular knowledge while imparting democratic 'sentiments' such as open mindedness, political tolerance, and reliance on evidence before making political decisions (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 204).

These findings indicate that there is still a need to have more and more thorough analyses of the attitudes of Africans towards democracy, particularly those which concentrate on factors other than cultural values (which apparently have limited influence on attitudes towards democracy in Africa).

In a follow-up study, Mattes and Bratton (2007) analysed data from the Afrobarometer surveys, looking for determinants of attitudes to democracy in Africa so as to provide more focused explanations to the earlier findings. In particular they use four out of five factors that were presented in the earlier study by Bratton *et al* (2005). Cultural values, social structure, institutional influences and performance evaluation became key concepts in analysing how demand for, and perceived supply of democracy, influence commitment/attitude to democracy in Africa (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 195-197). Mattes and Bratton (2005, p. 196) use cultural values despite Bratton *et al* (2005) indicating that it has least impact on the perceived extent of democracy. In this study they apply it based on political culture theory. They want to find out if cross-national differences in individual attitudes result from long standing differences in norms and values. They also try to build their argument based on modernisation theory and rational choice theory. Their findings reflect that:

- a. There is a strong support and demand for democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. This comes from people who have developed cognitive awareness politics;
- b. Perception of the supply of democracy is driven by the perceived results of what democracy does or is expected to do (or fails to do);
- c. The evaluation of the political performance of incumbents is more significant than economic considerations in shaping the demand for, and the perceived supply of democracy; and,
- d. Africans do not evaluate democracy based on the latest political regime performance but also include medium and long-term perspectives in their considerations. (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 201-202)

On the basis of their study, Mattes and Bratton (2007) strongly support a learning model to explain popular support for democracy (*also see* Bratton *et al*, 2005). People's awareness of political performance enables them to learn about the content of democracy (making it possible to demand what they think lacks from the way democracy currently works in their country) and to assess the consequences of democracy (what has been supplied and what is missing). Thus Mattes and Bratton (2007) argue that to have more positive attitudes towards democracy in Africa, there is a need for increased access to formal education and access to independent news media along with press freedom.

A third related study was done by Evans and Rose (2007a). These authors went a step further in analysing Afrobarometer data, trying to highlight more factors that can lead to the emergence of liberal democratic regimes in Africa. To them, unlike Bratton *et al* (2005) and Mattes and Bratton (2007), social structure stands as the most important factor that influences an individual's attitude towards democracy in Africa. They arrive at this finding by having used a more descriptive level of democracy<sup>7</sup> (a micro-level) to investigate and explain political attitudes in Africa, while paying particular attention to the influence of education in support of democracy and the rejection of non-democratic alternatives (Evans and Rose, 2007a, p. 9). They argue that the level of education is the main social structural factor that influences support for democracy in Africa. In particular they find that:

- a. There is an association between educational levels and preference for democracy and rejection of non-democratic alternatives across Africa. This is observed as democratic attitudes increase across different levels of schooling;
- b. Each stage of schooling contributes a highly significant increment to support for democracy. At each level of schooling support for democracy is significantly greater than at the preceding level. Moreover, people in urban areas (who are more educated than their rural counterparts) are more likely to support democracy, and;
- c. Each extra level of completed education has as a consequence an increased tendency for respondents to reject non-democratic forms of government, when compared to the response of those with no formal education. (Evans and Rose, 2007a, p. 14-19)

These findings indicate that education has a vital role to play in forming and imparting positive attitudes to democracy in Africa. On the basis of these findings, Evans and Rose (2007b) conducted a further analysis to seek other explanatory factors. From those factors which were used by Bratton *et al* (2005) and Mattes and Bratton (2007) they applied one in determining attitudes towards democracy, to the specific case of Malawi. The study deals particularly with the relationship between education and democracy (Evans and Rose, 2007b, p. 904-905). As noted, the study uses the single country case of Malawi to analyse the

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<sup>7</sup> Evans and Rose (2007a) provide two descriptive levels of democracy, these are *macro level*; (1) levels of education and democracy are positively related, (2) education is significant but not as important as economic factors, and (3) neither economic nor educational factors are causally related to the presence of democracy. At *micro level*; (as to roles of education) (1) education is a key factor of the social pre-requisites of democracy, and (2) education is treated as major source of civic attitudes and support for democracy.

influence of levels of formal education (among other social factors) on support for democracy. They find that:

- a. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government across respondents of all levels of education in Malawi, and that there is apparently no association between education levels and preference for democracy;
- b. There is a weak but significant relationship between every additional level of education and an individual's ability to attribute a meaning to democracy;
- c. The rejection of non-democratic alternatives (e.g. presidential rule, military rule) are high even among those with no education, but it increases further with every successive level of formal education;
- d. The relationship between regional residence and support for democracy does not reflect education patterns across regions;
- e. Education is not the only social structure factor relevant to measure democracy attitudes; though it is one in which external factors are most viable (Evans and Rose, 2007b, p. 907-915).

Evans and Rose (2007b, p. 916) conclude that although their study was done in a country that had a long history of non-democratic rule and which has been without appropriate civic education<sup>8</sup> that advocated majority rule and popular participation, still formal education can serve as a predictor of mass endorsement of democratic rule and rejection of non-democratic alternatives. The findings of Evans and Rose (2007a and 2007b) triggered more analyses of Afrobarometer data on the role of formal education in creating support for democracy in Africa.

Mattes and Mughogho (2009) responded to Evans and Rose (2007a and 2007b) and Bratton *et al* (2005) on the issue of the relationship between (levels of) formal education and democracy in Africa, by looking at the contribution of formal education, and specifically that of higher education, to attitudes to democracy in Africa. Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 3) argue that studies on the contribution of education to democracy that used data from the Afrobarometer surveys must be considered inconclusive because dummy<sup>9</sup> variables were

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<sup>8</sup> Malawi had been under centralised, single party one-man rule for 30 years since its independence. Its education system is also one which is basically elitist in nature to date.

<sup>9</sup> "Dummy variables" include variables that take either the value of 0 to 1 for different levels of schooling. These are designed to compare to a referent group (i.e. those with no schooling) which should not have overlapping/cumulative content (Mattes and Mughogho 2009:3).

used in previous studies. So they unpacked a set of factors that Bratton *et al* (2005) call cognitive awareness, and isolated the discrete contribution of formal education; they analysed the impact of higher education on a much wider range of facets of democratic citizenship than had been done before; and they examined the impact of higher education on democracy from among only those who had at least some university education. Mattes and Mughogho (2009) present the following key findings:

- a. Formal education in Africa is strongly correlated with news media use and level of political information, and citizens with higher levels of formal education are far more likely to use news media (Mattes and Mughogho, 2009, p. 6);
- b. Africans' willingness to offer opinions about their performance of political system depends on their level of formal education, news media use and political information (Mattes and Mughogho, p. 9);
- c. Education has by itself a direct positive impact on the demand for democracy (Mattes and Mughogho, p. 10);
- d. Formal education, media use and political information impact on how people evaluate the national economy; formal education has a significant impact on performance evaluation; and, formal education enables citizens to become more critical in evaluation (Mattes and Mughogho, p. 11);
- e. The effects of higher education on news media use and political information are more modest than those of formal education in general. Moreover, people with higher education are *less likely* than high school graduates to identify with political parties but *more likely* to participate in protest and contacting of officials, and are slightly *more able* to offer opinions on government performance (Mattes and Mughogho, 2009, p. 14).

Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 16-17) therefore conclude that both, news media use and political information lead citizens to become more cognitively engaged with politics. People discuss politics with friends and see democracy as the most preferable governance system. Furthermore, their findings indicate that higher education makes an extremely limited contribution to political participation. This is because citizens with higher education display few statistically significant, and fewer substantively important differences with high school graduates in terms of political information, news media consumption, articulateness or pro-democratic values. They therefore conclude that there are “diminishing returns” of successive

levels of education (and higher education in particular) for support for democracy (Mattes and Mughogho 2009).

Over the last five years, several authors have therefore been trying to improve our understanding of the factors that explain the formation of attitudes towards democracy in Africa. In their respective findings, they have shown various reasons why Africans have positive attitudes to democracy. Although all agree that (formal) education plays a vital role in creating democratic attitudes, Bratton *et al* (2005), Mattes and Bratton (2007), and Mattes and Mughogho (2009) repeatedly find that education contributes to democratic attitudes primarily by increasing news media use and the political information available to citizens. In most cases therefore, they indicate that education is but one among many other factors that influence democratic attitudes in Africa. They also argue that social factors have a greater influence on attitudes than other factors like institutional influences, cultural values and cognitive awareness.<sup>10</sup>

Other distinctive contributions of (formal/higher) education that are found to have an impact on support for democracy are increased *cognitive engagement*<sup>11</sup> and *awareness of public affairs*<sup>12</sup> (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 77). Evans and Rose (2007a, p. 2) add that education is important in promoting democratic values which facilitate the adoption and preservation of democratic practices in developing societies. Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 7) argue that education has also indirect impacts on other elements of democratic citizenship such as news media use and factual knowledge about politics. All these have been indicated by these authors, as they investigate the relationship between education and democracy in Africa.

Among the most fruitful debates concerning the relationship between education and attitudes to democracy in Africa is that between Evans and Rose (2007a and b) and Mattes and Mughogho (2009). Evans and Rose argue that increasing levels of education significantly affect attitudes to democracy. They argue that as people attain higher levels of education, they develop an increased understanding of democracy and increased skills that enable them to be more critical compared to those with lower levels of education. While Mattes and

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<sup>10</sup> All these factors are discussed more fully in the theoretical conceptualisation of this study, in chapter three, section 3.5

<sup>11</sup> This is measured by probing interest in public affairs, participation in discussion, media use, and ability to identify correctly incumbents.

<sup>12</sup> This is measured by probing evaluation of performance of certain political institutions (e.g. elections), opinion regarding extent of freedom of speech, association, and the right to vote.

Mughogho (2009) agree with Evans and Rose (2007a and b) in general, they find that there is no statistical difference when comparing people with higher education to those with high school education as far as articulating the meaning of democracy and evaluating regime performance is concerned. Mattes and Mughogho (2009, p. 17) find, however, that people with higher education prefer individualised forms of participation (like contacting leaders and writing to criticise the government) as compared to identifying with political parties, joining civic groups, getting involved in community affairs or protesting. Their findings – indicating that higher education offers “diminishing returns” for democratisation in Africa (Mattes and Mughogho, 2009) – are an important starting point for my own study.

Studies on students’ attitudes towards democracy may be useful in gaining a broader understanding of the way higher education affects attitudes to democracy. In particular, I am interested in the attitude of students and the impact of the campus environment in general (including the experience of higher education) and whether the experience and perceptions of the immediate student/university governance structures affect students’ attitudes towards democracy and governance at national level.

Historically, students have played crucial roles in national politics all over the world. They have participated in making demands for independence in Africa, supported revolutionary movements that aimed for independence, challenged authoritarian and military governments, and most recently they instigated the movement towards multiparty democracy in Africa (*see* Munene, 2003; Adu Bohen in Luescher, 2005). More than that, students have been demanding representation in university governance since they make up the largest composition in the community.

#### **2.4 Students as political role players**

The literature on student activism and student politics shows that students in universities all over the world have been keen and ready to fight for democracy in modern history (Altbach, 1991; Shivji, 2004; Byaruhanga, 2006). There are numerous studies that provide ample evidence on students making political demands not only for their own survival in the institutions (sometimes referred to as ‘bread and butter issues’); but in several cases, students have been putting themselves forward to oppose injustice and undemocratic government, and to demand democracy or power to the majority (Hinton, 2002; Munene, 2003; Byaruhanga, 2006). Thus Altbach (1991) argues that students in developing countries in particular, have

been acting as representatives of disenfranchised and marginalised people who cannot raise their voices against the ruling regime (*also see* Hinton, 2002). Correspondingly, students have also many times called for democratic relationships within higher education institutions, in order to be involved in higher education governance and to have formal channels to voice their views on matters of their interest (*see* Peter and Mvungi, 1986; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Luescher, 2005).

Altbach (1991) is the most prominent among many scholars who have been writing about student political activism. According to him, student politics lacks overall a theoretical explanation (Altbach, p. 247); he acknowledges that there is a need to understand politics around students. He indicates that historically, student activism has often been a driver and result of, nationalism and national liberation struggles. Students have also been involved in struggles around academic matters, (e.g. in Latin America in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century) and have been key to reforms of university governance in North America, Europe and throughout the Commonwealth in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Altbach, 1991, p. 248; Luescher, 2009). Altbach also indicates that student movements are usually not sustained over long periods of time due to the transitional nature of students and negative outside responses (Altbach, 1991, p. 249). He argues that the effectiveness of student political activism depends on: (1) the reaction from greater society and the mass media; (2) acceptance of student politics as a legitimate element of the political system; (3) the relationship between mass media and students; and (4) the responses of government and of the university administration respectively (Altbach, 1991, p. 249-250).

According to Altbach (1991, p. 252) student activism and student political movements are always minority phenomena, as only a minority of the student population is involved in them. The participants can be conceptualised as the *core student leaders*, who are usually more radical than all others; second are the *active followers*, who are well aware of the issues at hand and willing to participate; and third are the *larger group* of students who are not directly involved. Luescher (2005, p. 5/26) indicates that core student leaders can be grouped into two types. Firstly, formal student leaders in student government comprise officially recognised student representatives within formal structures of student governance. Secondly, informal student leaders are those who usually arrange student movements and student politics outside the formal structures of student governance and administration. The second group typically uses informal political tactics which are employed outside the formal structures and processes

of governance. They can be seen leading fellow students during marches, demonstrations and protests (Luescher, 2005, p. 23).

In this study, student leader (SL) refers to the first category, as they represent others in university structures and structures where students govern themselves (e.g. residences). I assume that because these leaders have formal political roles and office, that they generally understand the political situation better than those students not in leadership positions (SNL), who may not be fully aware of the politics involved in higher education.

Furthermore, Altbach argues that interest and participation in student political activism typically follows faculty lines. Politically interested and involved students can be found more typically in the social sciences and humanities fields than in applied professional fields of study (Altbach, 1991, p. 252-253). He further argues that students in social sciences faculties tend to have more radical views than those in other fields of study. Whether this is a case of self-selection (whereby politically astute students tend to choose to study particular subjects) and/or a case whereby the teaching methods and contents of particular disciplines produce more politically interested and astute students, remains to be investigated in the African context.

Lastly, Altbach (1991) argues that students in developing countries have been more successful in influencing politics compared to students in developed nations because of some weaknesses existing in their regime structures. In particular, Altbach notes the lack of established political institutions which makes it apparently easier for tightly organised groups like students to have a direct impact on the political elite. This may be compounded by the location of prestigious national universities close to the capitals of many developing countries. Moreover, involvement of students in some national liberation movements (especially in Africa) tends to give them privileged access to the governing elite for a time. Lastly, students' own conception of their role as a 'future elite' with a special consciousness is also important (Altbach, 1991, p. 257-258; *also see* Luescher, 2009).

Whereas Altbach's concern is to analyse and explain student activism in general, Munene (2003) focuses particularly on student activism in Africa while also reviewing and updating Altbach's work in this area. Munene shows that students have been among the key political role players in the African context (2003, p. 118). By indicating several eras in African history, Munene (2003) manages to point out the different roles that students have played

historically in African politics, from the times of demands for African independence, up to recent years. He indicates students' roles in matters ranging from challenging the legitimacy of the state to demands for better academic environments and living conditions (Munene, 2003, p. 125). He therefore shows that African students have successfully participated in bringing about changes at the level of national politics as well as in their immediate learning environments.

Lizzio and Wilson (2009) researched student participation in university governance at departmental level in terms of student leaders' role conception and sense of efficacy. They argue that, (1) if students feel they have little or no influence on decision making, the university can become a site of negative learning about organisational civic life; (2) even though universities emphasise student-centeredness, in practice they have been focusing on managing the student body more than responding to the experiences of students; (3) mastery of the representative role depends on the extent to which students are able, and are helped, to understand both the explicit and implicit aspects of academic (departmental) culture and decision-making processes (Lizzio and Wilson, 2009, p. 70-72).

Whether student participation in university governance has a positive effect on support for democracy remains to be seen. Mattes and Bratton (2007) and Evans and Rose (2007a and b) insist that education in general has always been a source of awareness of democracy (and related ideals of civil liberties etc.), although they also show that other factors like news media use and political information have a more direct influence (see Mattes and Mughogho, 2009, and as discussed above). Lizzio and Wilson (2009) add an interesting point by outlining different ways in which students are positioned, and do position themselves, in higher education politics in relation to conceptions of students such as "customers", "shareholders", "participants" or "raw materials" for higher education institutions, all of which have different implications for students' inclusion in higher education governance and learning through involvement in decision-making procedures.

From the work of Altbach (1991), Munene (2003) and Luescher (2005) it is evident that students have had a great impact on political life in several African countries. Although they have faced a lot of negative responses from the university and the state, they have repeatedly stood their ground and demanded what they believe in, even if it is usually only a minority of students that takes part in politics. Moreover, it has been argued that students from the social

sciences and humanities are apparently more involved in politics than those from sciences because of the nature of their discipline. A distinction has also been made between SL and SNL whereby the latter tend to be politically less interested and involved. A further distinction has been made between formal student leadership and informal student leaders. I will therefore now briefly look at the role of student organisations as vehicles of student politics and activism and at their role in the process of democratisation.

According to Badat (1999, p. 21-22) a student organisation can be defined as “a collective of students whose basis of affiliation to the organisation is political, cultural, religious, academic and/or social”. Apart from accommodating students with the same interests, student organisations have been used as platforms for student politics and student movements. Badat (1999, p. 22) defines student movements as more informal formations that usually consist of several organisations. They provide the platforms from which student political activism is typically launched.

Luescher's (2005) review of literature on student politics in Africa further explores the roles of student organisations in university governance and in democratisation processes in Africa. With reference to Mazrui (1995), he notes that “African students were among the forces that brought about Africa's second liberation in the 1990s” (Mazrui, 1995, in Luescher, 2005, p. 2). Important for my purposes is the distinction between the multiple levels of student governance used by Luescher (e.g. from the classroom to the institutional level of governance; from higher education policy-making to the politics of international donor funding) as a way to analyse the formal and informal relationships between students and their organisations in the pursuit of politics.

Moreover, Luescher (2005) distinguishes between formal and informal student organisations on the basis of their function and role in relation to official higher education governance structures (but less so in terms of a student organisation's role in fostering students' opinion and launching political movements on campuses). More especially, he considers as formal student political organisations the student governments which are officially established to represent students in institutional bodies and national bodies. At the same time he raises various concerns about the cooptation of certain formal student organisations at national and institutional levels. Lastly, Luescher (2005) highlights the importance of the macro-political, national context for understanding student politics.

With regard to institutional and national level student politics, Byaruhanga's (2006) study of student political activism in Makerere University (Uganda) during Idi Amin's regime is instructive. Byaruhanga discusses the development of higher education in Uganda and the role that higher education has played since its establishment in promoting democracy and participatory decision-making. He indicates that causes of student activism (both immediate and remote) are imbedded in the social, political and economic conditions of the country (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 35). Furthermore, he highlights the communication gaps that exist between the student body, the university administration, and national government, which lead to students' mistrust of the university leadership (Byaruhanga, 2006, p. 139). Therefore he suggests that government and university should make efforts to engage students in dialogue on matters affecting campus life and provide critical information in a more timely manner. This study is important for my purposes since I will be testing students' trust in institutional management, among other things.

In reviewing students' role in regime change a lot can also be learned from Hinton (2002). He focuses on the role played by students in the social and political changes in Sierra Leone. To him students are part of the constituency that should be heard and encouraged to contribute to discussions and decisions about the nation's future as part of a broader political culture of accommodating and tolerating free participation and political action of citizens. In particular, Hinton analyses the role played by students as members of civil society with a social responsibility, and he argues that the student protest of 1977 affected the existing regime for the betterment of the nation (Hinton, 2002, p. 58).

Hinton (2002, p. 56-92) uses the *role model*<sup>13</sup> to analyse students' attitudes and behaviour towards the political regime and what explains their actions as citizens. With the *role concept*, he demonstrates how students perceive their role in society as a function of their status, expectation of themselves, and expectation of other citizens (Hinton, 2002, p. 90). Hinton says that university students consider themselves to be responsible to the people; students believe they should interfere with politicians and provide revolutionary leadership in times of national crises. At the same time many African governments have restricted student political activism because they imagine that in the long run it will result in sabotage of the political system (Hinton, 2002, p. 91-92). Hinton concludes by indicating that there is a

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<sup>13</sup> The role concept presupposes these ideas: people in social situations behave in a certain way, and such behaviour is dictated by expectations of their own and those of others within the group and outside the group (Hinton 2002:89-90).

relationship between political participation and protests/activism. The study indicates how students generally have the capacity as citizens to make demands for democracy, and to reject alternative regimes when imposed on them.

Generally speaking, literature on student politics and activism therefore indicates that students have been playing an important role in the process of democratisation, especially on the African continent. They have managed in some cases to successfully demand democracy, not only for themselves but for the benefit of society at large. Hinton (2002) and Byaruhanga (2006) have indicated specific examples of how students have participated in fostering not only their demands but also the demands of other people in society. Altbach (1991), Munene (2003) and Luescher (2005) further highlight the importance of different kinds of student organisations and movements through which students pursue their concerns about politics. Now, it is the objective of this dissertation to gain a better understanding of the micro-foundations of student involvement in politics by studying student behaviour and attitudes towards democracy and higher education governance by means of the survey method.

Since my study focuses on student political attitudes and behaviour in Tanzania and at the University of Dar es Salaam, I now turn to discuss findings of the previous studies from that context. In the process, the purpose is also to give a brief introduction to the national political context of Tanzania itself, the University of Dar es Salaam, and the history of student politics at that institution. I first look at the political development of Tanzania and continue by discussing student political activism in that country since the 1960s.

## **2.5 Political development in Tanzania**

According to Mmuya and Chaligha (1994) the history of Tanzania as a single nation can be traced back to April 26, 1964, when the previously two independent states, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, formed the United Republic of Tanzania. Tanganyika got its independence from the British in 1961, after having been a protectorate under Britain since the end of World War One (WWI). Prior to that period it was under the rule of Germany, which lost its colonies to the League of Nations after its defeat in WWI. Zanzibar became independent in 1963 and in the aftermath of the Zanzibar Revolution led by the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP), the Sultanate regime was overthrown in 1964. This paved the way for unification with the mainland. In 1965 Tanzania's political system changed from multi-party politics to a one-party system.

Mmuya and Chaligha (1994) indicate that with the unification of the two states in 1964, there were two main political parties, each dominating one part of the union. These two parties were the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on the Tanzanian mainland (Tanganyika) and the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP) on the islands of Zanzibar respectively. In 1977 these two political parties merged to form *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM). CCM was the only political party up to 1992 when a multiparty electoral system was reintroduced; allowing the establishment of other parties and multiparty elections in Tanzania. However, even with the introduction of multiparty democracy, CCM has remained in power as the dominant party to this date.

The political ideology in Tanzania was basically socialist in nature, based on the ideologies of African socialism and self-reliance (“*Ujamaa na Kujitegemea*”) which was introduced following the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 (Mmuya and Chaligha, 1994). The ownership of all means of production were transferred to the state. Bloom *et al* (2005) also indicate that the Arusha declaration resulted in a closing of doors to outside investors, leaving people dependent on agricultural production, which amounted to more than 60 percent income and GDP. With the end of the Cold War, multiparty democracy was re-established in 1992, and the political ideology changed to one which mainly advocates democracy, political pluralism, an open and free market economy and economic liberalisation.

### **2.5.1 Higher education in Tanzania**

According to Mkude *et al* (2003) the establishment of higher education in Tanzania can be traced back to the early years of the 1960s. Then, the University of Dar es Salaam started life in 1961 as a college of the University of London, with only one faculty – the Faculty of Law. Two years later, the institution became a constituent college of the University of East Africa which included Makerere University College (in Uganda) and Nairobi University College (in Kenya). As a result of the decision in 1970 by the East African Authority to split the University of East Africa, Dar es Salaam University College acquired full university status to become the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). Fourteen years later, it became a parent university itself, when Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) was established out of UDSM’s Faculty of Agriculture, Forest and Veterinary Science (Mkude *et al*, 2003). More recently in 2006 the university acquired several constituent colleges: Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE); Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE);

University College of Engineering and Technology (COET); and, Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication (IJMC), (Tanzania Commission for University/TCU, 2008).

The report of the TCU (2008) further clarifies that Tanzania overall has a dual system of post-secondary education with a clear distinction between what is categorised as university education and what is categorised as non-university education. Non-university education institutions train, prepare, and produce middle-level professionals in different occupations – usually not requiring a university degree as a basic entry qualification. This sector comprises institutes and colleges offering a multitude of technical, vocational, and professional courses in accounting, computer science, business administration, journalism and mass communication, engineering, teacher education, clinical medicine, agriculture, community development and social welfare. Higher education institutions, usually universities, university colleges, and institutes train high-level manpower for occupations requiring a university degree or equivalent as a basic entry qualification into the profession. They cover a range of programs, from liberal arts and humanities, commerce and accounts, to science and engineering (TCU, 2008).

UNESCO (2006, p. 300) indicate that in 2005 Tanzanian higher education's gross enrolment ratio (GER) was just over one percent (1.2%) which is extremely low in international comparison and even low within its region when compared to three percent (3%) in Kenya and Uganda. In the 2006/07 academic year, total enrolment in public universities was 39,218 students and total enrolment in private universities 10,749, and enrolment in other tertiary institutions (including four public and one private technical college) was 12,735. Women make up approximately thirty five percent (35%) of this total (TCU, 2008).

All public higher education institutions, though semi-autonomous, are regulated and controlled by the government through the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and other relevant governmental ministries like the Ministry of Finance (URT, 1999a). The government allocates funds and approves budgets for universities and other higher education institutions, and appoints (and at times fires) the heads of these institutions (Bloom *et al*, 2005). The appointment and firing of executives are sometimes undertaken by the government without consultation with the stakeholders. The mode of relationship between the government and these institutions is one of state control and interference for a large part.

Since the government is involved and makes decisions that would have been undertaken by university decision-making bodies.

### **2.5.2 The University of Dar es Salaam**

The University of Dar es Salaam since its establishment has undergone several periods of transformation (UDSM, 2006). UDSM was established by the government under the UDSM Act No. 12 of 1970 (URT, 1970)<sup>14</sup>. Since then several steps have been taken to ensure that the university achieves and maintains international standards. The University of Dar es Salaam's Institutional Transformation Programme was launched in 1993. University management was required to address the quality and relevance of operations and outputs with regard to equity, sources of financing, efficient use of resources, and governance. In this way the University is expected to renew itself through a process of self-controlled organisational development that will lead the institution to adequately fulfil its role in this 21<sup>st</sup> century (UDSM, 2006).

In mid-1990s UDSM initiated the admission of private students, although the move drew adverse reactions from parents and students due to the perception that fees were too high. Also with the declining government ability to finance higher education, cost sharing was justified. Currently students are being divided into several groups that receive loans from the Higher Education Students Loan Board (HESLB), from those receiving 10 percent to 100 percent (HESLB, 2007). This means that the student has to pay the remaining balance as the case may be to the institution, and the loan has to be repaid after completion of higher education. The idea has however received negative response from students and has led to several protests and to a series of university closures, since students claim that the policy does not really imply cost sharing<sup>15</sup> while favouring students who come from well-to-do families.

### **2.5.3 Issues on student politics and governance at UDSM**

Students have been involved in politics at the University of Dar es Salaam since the establishment of the institution. Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) indicate that the structure of student governance and organisation in the early years of 1960s involved students from the

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<sup>14</sup> This stands as the first law that established the institution as the only government university. Later in 2005 there was another university act (No.7 of 2005) which gave opportunity for establishment of private owned institutions. In 2007 UDSM received a new charter which was made under Section 25, of the University act.

<sup>15</sup> There has been a series of students protests claiming that cost sharing is meant to isolate low class citizens, especially those coming from rural areas whose parents cannot afford cost sharing. Subsequently, HESLB gives loan which students are required to pay back after finishing their studies. This implies that a student pays for full fees; to them therefore it does not mean cost sharing.

College of Dar es Salaam, the *University Students Union of Dar es Salaam* (USUD), drawing members from the whole student body. In 1963, *Tanganyika University Students Association* (TUSA) which was a nationalist organisation for Tanganyika University Students was formed. This means the students' organisation was not taking in members who were not from mainland Tanzania (former Tanganyika). Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) further indicate that in 1964, *National Union of Tanzanian Students* (NAUTS) was formed, drawing members from secondary schools, colleges and the university. In 1965, NAUTS organised a demonstration against the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of Rhodesia (UDI). For that act the government used police force against the students (*see also* Mkumbo, 2002).

Peter and Mvungi (1986) add that a socialist club, named *University Student African Revolution Front* (USARF), composed of Marxist intellectuals, was formed in 1967. The organisation identified itself with working people of Tanzania, aimed at raising awareness of the people with regards to socialist ideology. The organisation intended to transform and translate the socialist debate into socialist revolutionary action (Peter and Mvungi, 1986). Three years later the organisation was banned by the state after the publication of an article titled "*Class struggle in Tanzania*". Peter and Mvungi (1986), Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) and Mkumbo (2002) all note that USARF in the course of its history had acquired an international reputation for scholarly excellence and commitment.

Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) portray that after 1970, the University was a fully fledged university. Students at the university established a new organisation, *Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation* (DUSO). Students from this union demanded participation in institutional and higher education governance. This resulted in the famous "*Akivaga crisis*"<sup>16</sup> when students staged a demonstration demanding involvement in a democratic way in the decisions on matters involving student affairs, or in the formulation of higher education policy touching their interests within the institution.

Students had several other demonstrations related to matters of democracy and participation, academic freedom, political killings and arrests of political figures (Mkumbo, 2002). Students also demonstrated against the fringe benefits granted to politicians while the country was going through an economic crisis in the late 1970s (Mkumbo, 2002). This led to the government's ban of DUSO in 1978 and all student affairs were placed under TANU Youth

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<sup>16</sup> The crisis was named after a student leader 'Akivaga', who led the students to demand participation in decision making, specifically on those issues of students interests. Akivaga was dismissed from studies.

League (TYL) which also became the caretaker of the student government. One year later, the government formed a state controlled student organisation (MUWATA), replacing TYL, which was imposed on student bodies in the university, colleges, secondary and primary schools.

Mkumbo (2002) says it took ten years (i.e. in 1988) for the students to resume the demands for their own student organisation. In these demands, students pushed for better quality and standard of education, increased allowances, political change and an end to dependence on foreign nations. In 1991 students were granted their own student union ‘*Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation*’ (DARUSO) that exists to date. Much more had been seen in the realm of student politics; issues related to corruption, managerial accountability and inefficiency, and demands for greater democracy, are still on the students’ political agenda (see Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Mkumbo, 2002). All these and more have been summarised in Table 2.1 below.

**Table 2.1: Student politics and events at UDSM since 1960s**

YEAR	EVENTS	POSSIBLE CAUSE/OUTCOME
1960s	-Students form their organisations, like USUD (1961); TUSA (1963); NAUTS (1964); USARF (1967).	-Emergence of student organisations
	-Organized demonstrations over UDI in Rhodesia; National Service Program; Staged anti-Rag Day Campaign.	-Protests based on external interference to African issues and military conscriptions
1970s	-Government bans USARF and its publications “ <i>Cheche</i> ” -Dar es Salaam University Student organization is formed. -“Akivaga crisis” where students demanded democracy and participation in institutional organs. -Demonstration against new terms of service for Ministers and Members of Parliament; DUSO is banned. -State-controlled student organisation (MUWATA) is formed.	- Protest welfare - Academic freedom - Political killings and arrests - Fringe benefits for MPs while people are poor - Student participation in higher education decision-making bodies is extended
1980s	-Demand for commercialisation of cafeteria. -Demand for increase of allowances. -Demand for their own independent organisation to replace MUWATA	-Meal allowances after rise in meal prices -Arrests; food; political protests -Bureaucracy -Academic quality and standard -Dependency
1990s	-Demand for increase of allowances, rehabilitation of university facilities, and government to account for scandals	-Corruption at institution and national level -Government resistance to democracy -Financial problems of students

	-Students form their own independent organization (DARUSO) which replaces MUWATA -Protest cost sharing policy that will double the burden to their tax-paying parents -Engineering students' boycott examination	-Inefficiency at institutional level -Managerial policies in higher education -Dissatisfaction with lecturers, poor teaching and learning infrastructures and facilities -Leadership conflicts between students from various faculties (inter-faculty conflicts)
2000	-Students in two faculties confront each other (LAW & ENGINEERING) over lecture room, lecturer beaten, students injured and property destroyed	-Student autonomy in their affairs -Quality and academic standards
2002	-Students lock up university administration led by DARUSO General Secretary	-Demand for loan provision, openness & increased allowances -Increased tuition fee
2003	-Student protest over HESLB	-HESLB inefficiency as some students go for weeks/months without allowances
2004	-Boycott for a day, students demanding first year students given their allowances in time	-HESLB inefficiency
2005	-Boycott of classes against HESLB	-HESLB inefficiency
2006	-Boycott of medical capitation charges by the university while services were poor at university health centre	-Forced to pay full charges after university being closed for a month
2007	-Boycott after USRC election because the person students wanted was not allowed to run for presidency	-University interference in students' affairs; police force called onto campus and occupy campus for a week to suppress student demonstrations
2008/09	-Students under DARUSO protest against HESLB functioning, inefficiency and corruption (protest and demonstrations spread to all public universities in Tanzania)	-DARUSO leaders banned and others arrested; all student political activities banned and institution under armed forces for about 3 months. -DARUSO office, cafeteria and shops demolished and banned by university management -Most students in public HEIs who can not pay tuition fee are forced to quit studies and government blames opposition parties for chaos in higher education institutions

*Sources:* Mbwette and Ishumi (2000); Mkumbo (2002); and own observation

#### **2.5.4 Student participation and representation at UDSM**

The University of Dar es Salaam Act No. 12 of 1970 and UDSM Charter of 2007 have made it possible for students at the University of Dar es Salaam to be represented at various levels of decision-making. These laws guide the institution in giving opportunities for students to be represented in various levels of decision making. Act No. 12 of 1970 allows students to have five (5) members in the University Council, three (3) members in the Senate, and five (5) members at each faculty level. Two student representatives are also allowed on the Higher Education Student Loan Board. Student representation is also extended even to sensitive

organs like the examination committees, which sometimes handles examination appeals. It is true that student leaders/representatives (SL) acquire more experience on institutional governance and democracy compared to students who are not in leadership positions (SNL).

### **2.5.5 Students' political situation just before data collection<sup>17</sup>**

Before data collection in February to March 2009, the university had just reopened from closure. The university closure had been the result of a class boycott by students who were protesting about several issues that they saw affected their life on campus. The first issue involved the ineffectiveness of the Higher Education Student Loan Board (HESLB). Students' issues were as follows:

1. Some students were not given loans though they met the required criteria, such as: being an orphan, a girl, or from a poor family. Students demanded that poor parents should be given a government hand in educating their children. They had noted that some students whose parents were top government officials, received full loans (80-100 percent);
2. Some students, whose names appeared on the loan list, did not receive their funds for up to five weeks and more. While they were without funding, the university management prohibited them from attending classes or sit for university examinations; and,
3. Some of the students who knew each other or came from the same family received different amount of funds.

The second issue concerned the student elections. A year before, students at UDSM had boycotted the USRC election after USRC had proclaimed that the university management had intervened in the process of getting candidates for the election<sup>18</sup>. This boycott led to the nullification of the top USRC election results (like USRC president and vice president). Because only very few students voted in the USRC election, the process had to start afresh. After a second election (which was outside the USRC election calendar), the new student government started a campaign that resulted in student protests and a class boycott. It was because of these protests and class boycotts that students had to go home for three months.

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<sup>17</sup> This information was obtained from reading local newspapers during students protest to opening of universities (see [www.habarilleo.co.tz](http://www.habarilleo.co.tz)/[www.dailynews.co.tz](http://www.dailynews.co.tz)/[www.mwananchi.co.tz](http://www.mwananchi.co.tz)).

<sup>18</sup> Students interpreted that university management was trying to give them an ultimatum to choose their leaders from those whom the university management wanted to lead the USRC.

Moreover, the USRC government was banned at all levels by the university administration and students were not allowed to visit the campus. Some student leaders (including the USRC president) were taken to court<sup>19</sup>, and the USRC offices and their business building (with its shops, cafeteria and stationery) were physically dismantled.

The situation did not end there. Students were only allowed back to campus under strict conditions. Instead of being allowed to pay fees in instalments, they had to come with a full tuition fee. No student was allowed on campus without a new student card and proof that all the fees had been paid. Assemblies of more than five students were prohibited outside of class, and the campus was placed under 24 hour surveillance by the military/police which were equipped with guns and live ammunition. Though the situation was severe at UDSM, similar protests were seen in almost all public institutions across the country<sup>20</sup>, with students making the same demands on the government and university administration, and showing dissatisfaction with the way institutions were responding to the situation.

According to the local press, government blamed opposition parties for having mobilised students to undertake the protests, and blamed students for their individualistic views, accusing them of demanding a bigger share of the national cake without considering other citizens, whose problems the government was trying to work on. Few civil society organisations such as university lecturer associations, human rights activists, and political parties questioned and condemned the extent of force that was used against the students by the university management and the government.

All I can say is that during a survey students were still in pain and had no proper executive student government. After they came back only student representatives up to faculty level were operating, including representation from class level to faculty level, and hostels representatives. A transitional student government had been created (under the USRC constitution); however there was tension between the transitional student leaders and those executives who had been removed from office by the university administration. Other students had mixed feelings about the situation, and most of them were not ready to talk about it.

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<sup>19</sup> Even during the survey the USRC president and some other members of the USRC executives had a pending case in court and were prohibited from entering the university campus.

<sup>20</sup> Almost ten public institutions had to close following student protests.

This goes to show that student activism is an ongoing phenomenon at UDSM in spite of the opportunity for formal involvement of student leaders in university decision-making. A study of student political attitudes at the University of Dar es Salaam may thus provide new insights into the question of student activism and student representation in that university.

## **2.6 Trends in students' attitudes towards democracy**

Current literature concerned with higher education, democracy and students relevant to my study broadly covers four topical areas: (1) the role of higher education in the democratisation of society generally; (2) the impact of (higher) education on attitudes towards democracy; (3) students as political role players and; (4) student activism and student representation within the context of national political development and the specific university concerned, i.e. UDSM. As I have shown, there is a considerable body of literature on every one of these topics, of which I have made reference to a pertinent selection in this review. However, up to this point there are no studies on higher education and democracy/democratisation that are specifically concerned with the attitudes of students towards democracy in Africa. Various authors, including Trow (1970), Cloete (2000), and Bloom *et al* (2005), have provided careful arguments and syntheses of studies about the role of higher education in democratisation. Cloete's (2000) account shows a sophisticated understanding of how higher education should be working in a period of political transition to democracy (with specific reference to the South African case); however, even that study falls short of considering students' political attitudes empirically.

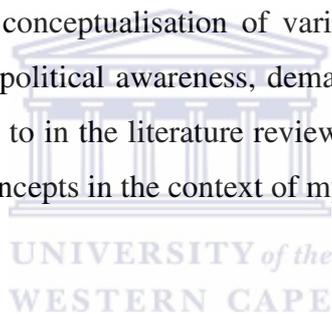
Perhaps higher education impacts more on democracy than what most universities explicitly aim to achieve. Mattes and Bratton (2007) and Evans and Rose (2007a & b) show that education is an important source of democracy awareness in Africa, even if its major impact is through other factors like media use and access to political information.

My study seeks to contribute to this literature by investigating students' attitudes towards democracy and university governance. The study is expected to make several contributions. Firstly, although there are studies from the Afrobarometer on African mass public opinions, there seem to be no survey data available on the political attitudes and behaviour of African students in particular (although there might be such studies in other parts of the world). Thus this study may well be quite unique. Secondly, my study aims to apply Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi's (2005) theoretical framework in parts, and in the process to pronounce on its

usefulness within the context of my study. Thirdly, I hope that my empirical investigation will further contribute to the work concerning the relationship between higher education and democracy, which has recently been extended by Evans and Rose (2007a & b), and Mattes and Mughogho (2009) amongst others.

In the context of ongoing political changes especially with a growing demand for democracy in Africa, studying student political attitudes towards university governance and national politics provides a fresh opportunity to enquire into the role of higher education in socio-political change, while also providing a new point of view on student participation in university decision-making and politics more broadly.

In the next chapter, I outline a theoretical framework suitable to the study of student political attitudes and behaviours. I developed this framework based on the work of Bratton *et al* (2005), using various parts of their general theoretical conceptualisations. The chapter therefore deals mainly with the conceptualisation of various theoretical concepts, such as democracy and democratisation, political awareness, demand for/supply of democracy, etc., which have already been referred to in the literature review. It also deals with the adaptation and operationalisation of these concepts in the context of my study.



## CHAPTER THREE

### Students' Attitudes to Democracy: A Conceptual - Analytical Framework

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework developed for studying the political attitudes of higher education students in Tanzania. The chapter starts with an examination of the concept of 'democracy' and a proposal of how the term is used in the context of this study, provided that many African democracies must be considered hybrid regimes<sup>21</sup> (Bratton *et al*, 2005; Bernhagen, 2009). The second section deals with public opinion research in Africa with special reference to the Afrobarometer and the work of Mattes and Bratton (2007) and Bratton, Mattes and Gyimah-Boadi (2005). In the third section, the Afrobarometer framework is outlined in more detail and in the fourth section it is adapted and operationalised for the study of students' attitudes towards university governance and politics in Tanzania. In the process I will refer to three key interests and dimensions of this study: (1) students' demand for democracy; (2) students' views about supply of democracy; and (3) students' knowledge about content of democracy.

#### 3.2 Democracy: meaning and African context

Democracy is not a new term nor is it foreign to Africa; quite in contrast, it is a term that has come to be frequently used in all spheres of life in Africa especially since the end of the 1980s. The term has its origin in ancient Greece as a combination of two terms: "*kratos*" which means 'power or rule' and "*demos*" which means 'people or masses' (Heywood, 1997, p. 65). The meaning of democracy has undergone various transformations across the centuries; and neither in the popular usage of the term nor in academic literature is there a single authoritative definition. Bratton *et al* (2005) have recently provided an insightful list of various popular understandings of democracy by Africans. They include as positive popular understandings of democracy:

- *Civil liberties*: freedom (general); freedom of speech; individual liberties; and groups' rights.
- *Popular participation in politics*: government of the people; power sharing; listening/informing the people; political accountability; and deliberation and discussions.

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<sup>21</sup> Most African governments are still part of the transition from a previous regime (e.g. military government, one-party state) to democratic governance.

- *Political rights*: electoral choice; the right to vote; multiparty competition/rule; and majority rule.
- *Equality and justice*: political/social equality and social/legal justice.
- And others: including conceptions such as social economic development; good governance; developing the country; rule of law; and transparency. (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 68).

The rare cases where democracy is considered to have a negative meaning in African opinion polls refer to the sense of democracy as *corruption* or as *a foreign* or *neo-colonialist* type of rule (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 68).

In scholarly literature, democracy as a regime type is distinguished from other systems of government like authoritarianism and fascism by the presence of a range of measurable “necessary conditions” (Bernhagen, 2009). These are:

- The right to vote for virtually all adults;
- The right to run for public office for virtually all adults;
- Freedom of association;
- Freedom of expression;
- Freedom of the press. (Bernhagen, 2009, p. 31).

According to Rose (2009, p. 12) definitions of democracy can be classified at minimum or maximum levels. Whereas the *minimum* level definitions merely refer to freedoms enabling competitive, free and fair elections, the *maximum* level definitions emphasize forms of participation in politics that include freedoms to advance views by joining political groups and engaging in open discussions. Apart from that, Heywood (1992, p. 44) adds that democracy can be measured by criteria used in democracy processes. These are: effective participation; voting equalities; enlightened understandings; control of and inclusions in political agenda. Rose (2009) and Heywood (1992) therefore, though they have different meaning, agree on characteristics of democracy, that it is composed of elected political officials; free and fair elections; inclusive suffrage; rights to run for public office; freedom of expression; alternative source of information; and associational autonomy.

These classifications can be added to that of Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 68) who distinguish different conceptions of democracy in terms of procedural and substantive concerns.

Procedural notions refer to the political processes for arriving at decisions, involving conceptions like guarantees of civil rights and rules for elections; majority participation in reaching consensus; and political and social equality with legal justices, where policy outcomes arise from contending political forces. In contrast, substantive conceptions refer to concrete outcomes such as a more equal society, social peace, national unity, economic development, improving the living standards of the people, the provision of social services like education and health services, and so forth.

Therefore, on the one hand, democracy can be defined differently from one person/society to another, highlighting different characteristics and features that are supposed to be associated with it. On the other hand, there are a number of features of democracy that are widely accepted such as its association with universal suffrage and popular participation of the majority. Since the Ancient Greek era, the main feature that has remained unchanged is the idea of popular participation in political affairs (i.e. rule of the people). With time, different communities have been conceptualising democracy depending on their need to shape their society. For example, political rights and civil liberties, human rights, economic freedoms, and social equality, may become incorporated in conceptions of democracy in a society as they become necessary components for further socio-economic and political development. In this study therefore, various features and components of democracy and related classifications are taken into consideration as a guide in the definition and analysis of what constitutes 'satisfactory democracy'.

### **3.3 Africa towards satisfactory democracy**

Africa has a long history with democratic practices. This history includes the African traditional way of government based on communal decision-making that was widely practiced before African colonisation by European powers. Mmuya and Chaligha (1994, p. 6) show that shortly after independence, African states moved away from the erstwhile democratic dispensations and adopted various non-democratic systems of government in the 1960s, which ranged from military rule to authoritarian government to monarchy. Single party government came to be the dominant system of rule in most African countries. Even though single party domination has been described as largely authoritarian, it did involve some characteristics of popular participation and majority rule. Mattes and Bratton (2007) argue that it was economic hardship in the 1980s that led to the demand for change to the multiparty system. The re-emergence of multiparty systems of democracy in Africa in the

1990s to some extent has been attributed to external forces and from within (Shivji, 1991). The focus of my study is on attitudes to democracy based on internal forces to democratisation. These forces usually emerge out of dissatisfaction with the existing regime. Features like performance of political institutions and incumbents, trust in institutions like the judiciary, parliament and military, satisfaction with participation in political affairs, and corruption, can trigger the demand for more democracy.

According to public opinion surveys, African citizens are, however, not satisfied with the current extent of democracy while there is a vast support of democracy among them. Authoritarian tendencies, a lack of political freedoms and equality, accountability and the rule of law, still stand as problems in the way of ensuring that Africans enjoy the kind of democracy that they wish to enjoy (Bratton *et al*, 2005; Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 194). The same studies argue that support for democracy among Africans is affected by low levels of development and poverty (which are understood to be a consequence of bad performance by leaders and institutions), a lack of civil liberties, low levels of interpersonal trust, a lack of cognitive awareness of public affairs and an apparent breakdown of communication between governors and governed (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 41). Furthermore, Mpangala (1999) and Shivji (1991) name election rigging, tribalism and the ongoing civil wars in some countries as problems which have been slowing down the pace towards democracy on the African continent. Within this context, studying the political attitudes of highly educated, young Africans, who are likely to occupy positions of influence in the politics, economy and society of their countries in the near future, is a way of seeking to understand their support for democracy, their satisfaction with current levels of democracy, and thus the prospects of further democratisation in Africa.

### **3.4 The Afrobarometer approach to studying opinion towards democracy in Africa**

The Afrobarometer is a survey tool which involves a model to study public opinions and attitudes towards democracy in Africa. Afrobarometer surveys have been conducted regularly in several sub-Saharan African countries since 1999 (Afrobarometer, 2009). The construction of the survey and the analysis of its findings use various competing political theories to test popular attitudes towards democracy. The survey also gathers data on the sociological features of respondents, their attitudes towards economic performance and perceptions of political change in order to measure Africans' demand for democracy and their perceptions of the institutional supply of democracy (Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 193).

The Afrobarometer considers African political systems as being in a state of transition. In this context, popular *demand for democracy* (or legitimation) continues to involve a choice between competing regime types, which people have experienced since independence. To Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 193), it is therefore not sufficient for committed democrats in Africa to merely prefer democracy; they should also be able to elaborate ideas of what democracy actually is and reject all alternatives. In this regard, the comparability of any two respondents' attitudes to democracy is limited to the extent that their understandings of democracy coincide. The Afrobarometer therefore requires that respondents go beyond paying lip service to democracy; they must also reject real world alternative regimes. Therefore, a committed democrat is someone who is able to provide a valid definition of democracy, believes that democracy is always preferable and rejects forms of authoritarian rule.

The concept of *supply of democracy* is used in the survey not only as a proxy in lieu of conceivably better measures of institutionalisation, but also to measure citizens' views as to whether political institutions deliver democracy to expected levels. This includes measuring the extent of democracy and how satisfied citizens are with the existing political system. The Afrobarometer looks at the supply of democracy with questions asking respondents to rate the freeness and fairness of elections and the performance of democracy in general (amongst others).

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa have been seeking a balance between external pressures for liberalisation and the continent's culture and socio-economic level of development. As a result, Africans have experimented with their own versions of political competition and economic privatisation. Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 14) argue that reforms have been tentative, partial and incomplete, leaving the continent with hybrid regimes that mix old and new features of governance. Political and economic crises in various African countries continue to make reforms imperative: per capita income and basic literacy remain low, an independent middle class has not yet emerged enough to serve as the sponsor of further democratisation and marketisation, and at the same time ordinary people have been slow to make their views known on desirable political and economic reforms. The latter must be considered one of the effects of the shortfall in education, literacy and media exposure that limits popular awareness of issues at stake.

Conversely, the experience of the 1990s also shows that African citizens demand change, whereby students, workers and civil servants have been the first to take to the streets and insist on an end to mismanagement, corruption and repression. Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 15) take this experience as the leading path to the political opening resulting in a common type of modern African democracy which can be termed an institutionalised, competitive, electoral regime that is embedded in a matrix of civil liberties. However, most of these electoral regimes fall short of minimal democratic standards and have turned out to be either electoral authoritarian, competitive authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes, thus indicating that there is still dictatorship in democracy in the newly 'democratised' regimes in Africa. Others are constitutional systems that meet minimal democratic standards such as legislature and executives chosen through competitive elections under universal suffrage.

#### **3.4.1 Demand and supply of democracy and democratic consolidation**

For the purpose of this study I concur with Bratton *et al* (2005) that a democracy is consolidated when the procedure for electing leaders and holding them accountable becomes 'the tradition' in a society. A consolidated democracy has two sides. It involves rules that codify a set of democratic political institutions, and it involves a normative consensus among individual political actors who agree to observe those rules. Thus, there are two different theoretical approaches towards studying democratic consolidation, i.e. *the institutional approach* and *the culturalist approach*. In the institutional approach, rules come first. It considers whether familiar macro-political structures like elections, the separation of power, and civilian control of the military, are being built in the foundation of laws (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 40; Haerpfer, 2009, p. 386). The cultural approach extends to the micro level of personal attitudes and values. It is based on the argument that democracy cannot take root without democrats, who support and sponsor the democratic project and are ready to defend it. Most culturalists emphasise the orientation of the masses, which is expected to be essential for the durability of democracy (Heywood, 1992; Bratton *et al*, 2005; Welzel, 2009, p. 75).

In Bratton's terms, political institutions and political culture co-evolve and shape each other. The consolidation of political regimes is best understood as a process which mutually reinforces attitudes and behaviours of citizens. There are no doubts that political learning about democratic citizenship occurs better under the institutional conditions of an interactive state. Thus, formal institutions and popular support for democracy are both necessary conditions for regime consolidation, although they are not sufficient. For a democracy to take

root, popular demand for democracy must be accompanied by supply of democratic institutions. Concepts of demand/supply of democracy can therefore be understood in this sense.

Furthermore, in studying popular opinion in African countries, Bratton *et al* (2005) suggest that attitudes towards democracy and reforms are derived from popular learning. Thus, they argue that to the extent that Africans have gained awareness of the issues at stake, they choose among alternative courses of action. This led them to define public opinions not only in terms of values and attitudes but also with reference to related and reported behaviours. The support for democracy in Africa and citizen participation that enhances further democratisation can therefore be understood in terms of: extent of democracy; accountability; responsiveness; and demand for rights. These conceptualisations also underpin the construction of the Afrobarometer tool. The Afrobarometer collects data to analyse the relationship between institutional variables and support for democracy (compare section 5.4.2 below).

### **3.5 Understanding citizen participation and support for democracy in Africa**

There are various approaches by which a public opinion survey can be used to ascertain the level of regime support by citizens. Regime is described by Haerpfer, Bernhagen, Inglehart and Welzel (2009) as a set of institutions by which political authority is exercised by the state. Rose (2009, p. 12) adds that usually regimes come and go while the state remains. Regime support therefore refers to the extent to which citizens agree with and approve existing institutions. Popular participation, in turn, refers not only to citizens having equal opportunities for expressing their preferences (Bernhagen, 2009, p. 31) but to the activities of citizens intended to influence state structures and authorities and making collectively binding decisions regarding the allocation of public goods, for example, by means of political actions such as voting and protesting. Therefore, in this part I discuss the kinds of explanations that have been put forward to explain regime support and popular political participation, and support for democracy in particular, in relation to demand and supply of democracy.

Five possible explanations were presented to explain regime support and popular participation (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 35). These include (1) the *sociological approach*, which locates the source of public opinion in the structure of the society measured by the demographic profile of surveyed respondents; (2) the *cultural approach*, in which opinions

emanate from acquired or inherited norms and values; (3) the *institutional approach*, which involves studying the superstructure of legal rules, association membership and formal activities as conditions that shape people's preferences; (4) the *cognitive awareness* of respondents in terms of their level of political and economic knowledge and ability to attribute meaning to the term 'democracy'; and (5) *performance evaluations*, which anticipates that people form their attitude towards democracy on the basis of their experiences and perceptions of the performance of the political system. By studying these dimensions, the survey seeks to answer the question 'why do Africans think and act as they do about democracy?'. In the following sections I will discuss briefly how each of these explanatory dimensions is conceptualised and operationalised in terms of different independent variables for the purpose of survey research.

### **3.5.1 Social structures and attitudes towards democracy**

Social structures can be defined as characteristic divisions or factors within a society which are acknowledged as significant in enabling or constraining action. The term 'social structures' is frequently used to refer to enduring relationships and bonds between individuals or groups of individuals in a society; as people within a culture are organised into smaller groups with each smaller group having its own particular tasks. Heywood (1992, p. 339) indicates that these divisions are mostly shared by people with similar social-economic positions. While economic factors are mostly based on income (i.e. rich/poor; have/have-nots; employed/unemployed), social factors<sup>22</sup> involve advantages one has in society like age, head of family, gender, and political position (to have elders/youth; male/female; ruler/ruled; urban/rural dwellers). In the Afrobarometer survey, various sociological features of respondents are recorded including gender, residential location, class, lived poverty, and race. Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 36) propose that demographic structure as measured by qualities like gender, age and residential locations shapes the way in which an individual reasons and behaves. Thus, for instance, age is considered to have an impact on how change is received, as the younger generation is typically more open to change than the older one. There is also typically a negative relationship between rural origin and reformism. Part of my study will be to test the extent to which sociological factors can explain differences in the support for democracy among students.

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<sup>22</sup> E.g. in Africa, males and elders/traditional rulers enjoy the privileged position from family level to community level. They present the most benefited social classes that enjoy privileges over others in the community/family.

Of special interest for this study is the prior finding that the level of education as a factor does not seem to discriminate between supporters and opponents of the existing regime, although age itself can be an effective predictor for support of democracy (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 36; Mattes and Bratton, 2007, p. 196). Moreover, as has been noted in the previous chapter, in a recent study, Mattes and Mughogho (2009) argue that there were diminishing democracy returns for higher levels of education in Africa. Provided that I only aim to study students in higher education, the findings and conclusions of this study give more specific insights into higher education and democracy in Africa.

### **3.5.2 The impact of cultural values**

The culturalist approach proposes that individuals have rights to choose; whether they are, or not included in a certain group (like youth, women, elders etc). This approach usually takes a humanistic look at what goes on in individuals' environments or institutions. Cultural values can be defined as general enduring standards that are central to belief systems in a way that more transient attitudes are not (Kinder and Sears, 1985, p. 690). These can also be shared values and norms in a society. The Afrobarometer survey includes interpersonal trust; individual responsibility; and tolerance for risk as measures for cultural values. Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 38) argue that opinions towards democracy in Africa are being shaped by indigenous cultures insofar as deeply embedded values invest social situations with meanings that regulate individual attitudes and behaviours. Similarly, Welzel and Inglehart (2009, p. 129) say that different societies are characterised by durable cultural orientations that have major political and economic consequences. Cultural values (which include interpersonal trust, life satisfaction and support for the existing social order) are strongly linked to the number of years that democratic institutions have functioned in a given society. Thus, for instance, a culture of civic engagement is reflected in interest in politics and values of political equality and compromise.

### **3.5.3 Institutional influences on attitudes towards democracy**

An institution is defined as rules and organisations; in this study these rules and organisations are those that influence the supply of democracy in a society (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 39). While Welzel (2009, p. 76) argues that institutional theory assumes that people learn to appreciate democracy only if they have gathered enough experience, through practices of freedoms in institutions, which encourages/prefers inclusive civic freedoms and wide-spread access to basic resources Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 196) indicate that Africa is

characterised by generally underdeveloped and informal institutions which are often more pervasive than formal ones (also in Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 250). It is therefore suggested that Africans form their opinions beyond the reach and control of formal institutions e.g. by means of social participation and social/family gatherings. Thus, Bratton *et al* (2005) agrees that the more people are involved in everyday political procedures, the deeper their commitment to democracy (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 40). Active membership in associations is also seen as a gateway to democratic commitment (Mattes and Bratton, 2007). In the Afrobarometer survey, institutional influences on respondents' attitudes towards democracy are therefore measured by collecting data on respondents' participation in and identification with politics, their memberships of political parties, religious or recreational groups, and voluntary organisations etc. (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 39). This explanatory dimension for support for democracy is particularly important in my analysis, where I will compare the attitudes of SL i.e. students who are closely involved in political institutions at university level, with the attitudes of students who are not in leadership position (SNL).

#### **3.5.4 Cognitive awareness of democracy**

Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 40) argue that public opinion has a cognitive element and that democracy operates best when people are well informed. A lack of popular awareness about public affairs can constitute an obstacle to democratisation and consolidation. It is here where formal education seems to have its greatest impact on political attitudes (compare chapter two above). Formal education increases a wide range of relevant skills like the ability to read and write, calculate, and how to critically evaluate information such as that provided by mass media. It is also that education increases popular knowledge on a range of relevant topics, and helps to dispel superstition and fatalism, thus boosting the confidence of ordinary people that they can influence an event.

Beyond education, effective citizenship requires cognitive engagement in public affairs. This includes that people demonstrate an interest in politics and engage in discussions of current events and political issues. The extent of cognitive engagement with public affairs is therefore studied in the Afrobarometer. According to Bratton *et al* (2005), a good citizen is concerned about public affairs and political life, well informed about issues, and engages with fellow citizens in deliberations on public matters (*also see* Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). In sum, cognitive political awareness refers to the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what s/he encounters (Bratton *et al*, 2005, p. 41).

### **3.5.5 Performance evaluations and democracy**

Performance evaluations are based on rational choice as people consider existing arrangements as to whether they best serve their interests. According to Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 42) performance evaluations cover two baskets of public goods. They are: *economic goods* like jobs, income, assets, consumer products and an array of basic social services; and *political goods* which include political order, civil liberties, electoral rights, human dignity and equality before the law. It is easier for governments to provide political goods which are immediate, while economic goods are more difficult to provide and typically involve long-term projects. The Afrobarometer survey encourages respondents to evaluate the performance of government against a range of political and economic goods (Mattes and Bratton, 2007). Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 49) argue that if average citizens believe that politicians deliver on their campaign promises of peace and prosperity, then regime support increases.

On the one hand, Bratton *et al* (2005) argue that complete models to explain support for democracy require both economic and political predictors; on the other hand, they find that politics matters more.

For the purpose of my study, I focus deliberately on the political attitudes and behaviours of students in order to understand the support of students for democracy and further democratisation in Tanzania (rather than on economic liberalisation). In the following section I therefore show how the theoretical framework underpinning the Afrobarometer surveys, as outlined and used by Bratton *et al* (2005) and Mattes and Bratton (2007), has been adapted to this study.

### **3.6 Studying students' attitudes to participation and support for democracy**

In chapter two I provided an overview of the roles of higher education in a democracy and in democratisation, which includes higher education's role in preparing students for good citizenship; higher education as a powerful source of knowledge; its role in the socialization of students, in creating attitudes and influencing attitudinal changes; and the contribution of higher education to an enhanced life of mind, critical thinking and the ability to participate in complex discourses. In addition to that, I discussed the role of students in democratisation in Africa and elsewhere, showing that students have initiated and/or participated in democratic movements in various parts of the world since colonial times.

Students were among the civil society groups (next to trade unions and women organisations) which repeatedly pushed for political changes and new economic strategies in Africa. The Afrobarometer studies the attitudes of (a sample of) the entire population towards democracy in Africa. However it does not put specific attention on the role of higher education in democratisation nor does it explicitly study the attitudes and behaviours of students who are to some extent a privileged group of society – a highly organised and activist group of political actors in African politics. I assume that studying students in particular will allow me to gain new insights into the role of higher education in the democratisation of Africa.

Moreover, it will be important to consider variations of attitudes between different student groups, i.e. SL/SNL, males/females, rural/urban students etc., towards political participation and democracy. Thus, student leaders have presumably enjoyed numerous opportunities to represent others in various decision-making bodies in their university and perhaps even at national level. It is assumed that SLs are more politically aware and participate more frequently in political activities compared to SNL. Therefore, a key question of my study is: What impact does formal student participation in university governance have on the political attitudes of students, and particularly on support for democracy?

And lastly, this study will have to look at students' political attitudes with respect to two levels of governance, namely university governance as their immediate level of governance, and the national level. I assume that student attitudes relate to these two levels in complex ways, since historically students have politically confronted issues at both of them (compare chapter two). Thus, it may be considered that among the many objectives of universities is the promotion of positive attitudes to freedom of speech which equally apply at both levels. Simply the experience of certain freedoms at university level can be expected to inculcate certain habits and behaviours and influence students' opinion towards related matters of governance and democracy at national level and to continue to dwell in a student's thinking even after graduation. In short, it is expected that the experience of university life, and even more so university governance, influences the political life of the people that have gone through universities.

These are therefore among the ways in which this study will investigate the question: '*what is the attitude of higher education students to democracy and democratisation in Tanzania?*' In order to generate data to answer this big question I will adapt some of the Afrobarometer

questions to conduct a survey of students' political attitudes and behaviour at institutional and national level. Moreover, I will seek to test some of the competing explanations for different levels of support for democracy among students. Thus, the survey questions include questions that probe various dimensions of students' political attitudes, including students' conceptions to democracy, their participation in political affairs, and their interest in public affairs as elaborated in next sub-sections. All dimensions and conceptual relations explained in this section are summarised in Appendix VI.

### **3.6.1 Students' conceptions of democracy**

As has been indicated above, democracy can be conceptualised in many ways. Three different classifications were presented, and these are: democracy as distinct from other types of regimes in terms of measurable necessary conditions (Bernhagen, 2009); in terms of minimum to maximum levels of democracy (Rose, 2009); and definitions of democracy distinguished in terms of procedural or substantive outcomes (Bratton *et al*, 2005). In my survey, students will be asked to give their understanding of democracy in their own words for us to gain a deeper understanding of their conceptions of democracy and to what extent they are going to contribute to democratisation. Moreover, students will be asked to identify essential features of democracy (such as those indicated in section 3.2 above) from a list of such features. This will contribute to our understanding of what students understand by the term 'democracy'.

### **3.6.2 Students' satisfaction with supply of democracy**

African nations have been experiencing changing modes of governance since independence. Citizens were satisfied to different degrees with these changing governance regimes. The question now is to what extent are students satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania. At an individual experiential level, there are specific proxies for satisfaction with the way democracy works which measure satisfaction with the operations of specific features of democracy (such as elections). In my survey, I follow the Afrobarometer and ask students their views regarding the freeness and fairness of the most recent national election as well as more generally their opinions as to the extent of democracy in Tanzania and their satisfaction with democracy at national level. Similarly, at university level, questions probe the students' views on the freeness and fairness of the most recent student government election, their views as to the extent of student representation and satisfaction with the way student representation works.

### **3.6.3 Students' preference for and commitment to democracy**

Demand for democracy in Africa involves not only being able to define democracy and supporting democracy but also preferring democracy from a range of different regime types like military rule, authoritarian rule and single-party rule (the latter may be still in the memory of some Tanzanian students). A 'soft' measure for 'support' or demand for democracy is to say one always prefers democracy. A more stringent measure is (a) to always prefer democracy and (b) always reject all non-democratic alternatives. The latter can be seen as real commitment to democracy. This part therefore measures students' commitment to democracy at national level and at the university level; the commitment of students to different models of university governance may be tested including their level of commitment to, and understanding of, student representation in university governance.

### **3.6.4 Cultural factors and students' support for democracy**

In this part I use culturalists approach so as to have an understanding of the extent to which cultural factors (such as trust) influence support for democracy in Tanzania. This seeks students' attitudes on relationship between trust to various state institutions and political or institutional leaders and the support for democracy. I will therefore use trust or lack of trust variables and index to measure different groups and institutions which will be my potential indicators for support for democracy. This will involve studying students with respect to national as well as university level groups as independent variables. With respect to students' support for democracy as my dependent variable, I will use the indicators of preference for democracy and indicators that measure students' choice between democracy and non-democratic forms of government.

Cultural factors therefore in my study will basically involve trust, which is measured against various groups and institutions at university level and national level. They include trust of fellow students on campus (i.e. student leaders and other students in general), university leaders or constituencies on campus (i.e. student leaders, top management and academic staff), Tanzanians in general (fellow citizens and traditional leaders) and the Tanzanian government/state institutions (the President, parliament, police and judiciary). The measure requires students to choose between saying whether they trust a lot, trust somewhat, trust just a little, or have no trust.

### **3.6.5 Social structure and students' support for democracy**

Bratton *et al* (2005) argue that social structures (such as level of education) influence citizens' reasoning and attitudes towards change. Evens and Rose (2007) find that the level of education is the most significant social structural factor that influences support for democracy. This is in contrast to Mattes and Mughogho (2009) who argue that higher levels of education have diminishing returns for support of democracy. I will use social factors like age, gender, and area of origin before joining the university (rural/urban) by means of the surveyed sample from UDSM and investigate their impact on students' support for democracy.

### **3.6.6 Institutional factors and students' support for democracy**

As mentioned above, political participation and associational membership are regarded as some among the institutional factors that lead to deeper commitment to democracy. For that reason, this study observes students' participation and involvement in student government (SL), membership of associations, whether they are members of student political organisations, or religious groups and organisations, or other voluntary associations, sport clubs and community-based groups on and off campus. In addition, party identification is considered at national and institutional levels. With regard to more informal political participation and student activism, this study will include questions about students' attendance at political meetings, protest meetings and marches; whether a student has ever contacted leaders to raise a complaint/issue or written an article to a newspaper or magazine protesting about a policy. All of these and related items are meant to measure the impact of institutional factors on student support for democracy.

### **3.6.7 Students' cognitive awareness and support for democracy**

Bratton *et al* (2005) argue that public opinion surveys probe cognitive elements. Since democracy operates best with well informed people, this study looks at the level of information of students and their ability to cognitively engage with politics and governance. Thus, the study will seek information on students' interest in public affairs and their participation in discussions on politics. Other indicators include students' use of media and their political awareness of/ability to identify correctly certain institutional provisions for decision making as well as a selection of incumbents of government offices at national level and members of management at institutional level.

### **3.6.8 Students' performance evaluation to democracy**

Students' evaluation of the performance of the existing regime is one of the concerns taken up also in this study. In particular, the student survey will probe students' evaluation of the performance of certain political institutions (such as elections) and incumbent political leaders; their opinions with regard to the extent of freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom to vote; at national and university levels. In the analysis I will only represent it descriptively, so I will not involve testing performance evaluation in relation to support for democracy (This question is applied when observing differences between SL and SNL). Lastly, students are asked whether the existing regime allows their views to be taken into account in the process of decision-making at national and university levels.

### **3.7 Research questions and summary of hypothesis**

From all the description above, it has been indicated clearly that this study tries to describe students' political attitudes and behaviour and to find out what impact formal student participation in university governance has on the political attitudes, political participation, and support for democracy among students. Several questions are therefore going to be investigated and several hypotheses tested. These questions include;

- What are students' attitudes towards democracy and how could these attitudes be explained?
- Are students satisfied with the way their university/Tanzania is managed and governed?
- Do student leaders (SL) have more democratic attitudes than students that are not in leadership positions (SNL)? Are there other relevant groups that can be identified which have significantly different political attitudes than other groups?

These three main questions are broken down further into five when analysing data from UDSM:

1. What is the students' understanding of democracy and its features?
2. Are students satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania?
3. Are students committed democrats?

4. What factors explain students' support for democracy (are they institutional, cultural or social)?
  - Can social factors (such as origin, gender, age) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
  - Can institutional factors (such as associational membership and political participation) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
  - Can cultural factors (such as trust) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
5. Can the extent of students' cognitive awareness (e.g. interest in public affairs; frequency of discussing politics; awareness of political institutions and incumbents) explain variations in students' support for democracy?

Apart from these questions, several related hypotheses are going to be tested so as to gain better understanding of students' attitudes to democracy. The questions above and related hypotheses and propositions are indicated in chapter five together with the results and findings of the survey. It should also be noted that only some questions are considered in all three parts of the analysis. Thus, all questions apply to the analysis of students' attitudes and behaviours in relation to national politics and democracy, but not all questions are used when the focus turns to higher education governance and to the differences in attitudes between SL and SNL.

### **3.8 Summary and conclusion**

In this chapter, I have presented a theoretical conceptualisation of public opinion on attitudes towards democracy in Africa, which guides my study of student opinion on different regimes and attitude and behaviour towards democracy and governance. The framework developed by Bratton *et al* (2005) and Mattes and Bratton (2007) is applied to higher education students in Tanzania, and at the University of Dar es Salaam in particular. My study seeks to gain more insight into the way students have been reacting in the past and recent years towards institutional governance and national politics in this era of democratic consolidation in Africa. The studied variables have been broken down into several conceptual families like demand and supply of democracy, support for democracy, demand and supply for rights, accountability, responsiveness, and rule of law. On the other hand, knowledge about the

content of democracy (and commitment to democracy) seeks to analyse students' understanding of democracy, civil society organisation attitudes, and attitudes towards others, cognitive awareness and political participation. In many ways, the study thus adapted the Afrobarometer's conceptual framework of empirical dimensions and indicators for public opinion, and set it to fit in with the study of student political attitudes to democracy and university governance. All these dimensions and conceptual relations are summarised in Appendix VI.

The next chapter reports on the research design and methodology applied in the process of this study.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I discuss the manner in which this study was conducted. I elaborate on the whole procedure by looking at various methodological concerns, considering what the literature suggests regarding the type of application that I decided to use during my data collection and analysis process. As mentioned before, the dissertation is based on a survey conducted with university students. The survey aimed to investigate students' attitudes towards politics in general and governance at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The investigation therefore mostly involved the use of quantitative research methods. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 48) indicate that quantitative methods put emphasis on the quantification of constructs and measurement properties of a phenomenon (like individual attitudes). Provided that the study aims to describe students' (self-reported) attitudes and behaviours representatively, a survey approach is considered both typical and appropriate.

In the course of the research process, I employ a number of methods of verification, including the use of multiple sources of evidence, the sequencing of data collection and analysis, the creation of a survey database, and the maintenance of a chain of evidence. This chapter will reflect on my experience of applying these methods and the whole research process.

The chapter includes therefore various sections which deal respectively with the following: (1) the design of my research, where I elaborate on the tool used (questionnaire) and, case selection and target population, (2) sample and sampling procedures, (3) ideal and realised sample, (4) data collection procedures, where I elaborate on ethical considerations, administering a questionnaire, and indicate problems encountered during data collection. I go on with (5) reliability and validity of the sampled data, (6) contextual data, (7) data analysis procedures, (8) limitations and errors, and (9) a survey report.

#### **4.2 Research design**

Kothari (2004, p. 31) describes research design as “an arrangement of the conditions for the collection and analysis of data in a style that aims to combine research relevance with economic procedures”. In chapter three I identified a conceptual-theoretical framework, established a number of hypotheses and identified several indicators of student support for

democracy in keeping with the aim of this study to investigate the contribution of higher education in general, and students in particular, to democratisation in Tanzania. While there are several possible research designs to generate relevant data for the purpose of studying student political attitudes and behaviours, and student support for democracy in particular, I decided to conduct an opinion survey at a university. The research was designed in such a way that the data to be collected could provide a representative sample of political attitudes and behaviours of students and student leaders and allows me to explore and test the validity of the hypotheses proposed in chapter five.

Survey research is one among a number of research designs that are typically applied in social research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Kothari, 2004; Creswell, 2005). A survey typically involves a standardised questionnaire which is administered to individuals of a target group. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 232), survey research is appropriate for descriptive and exploratory research which involves individuals as unit of analysis (since individuals serve as respondents or informants). Creswell (2005, p. 353) points out that surveys are good in describing trends and individual opinions about policies and opinions. and they can help to identify important beliefs and attitudes of individuals.

A survey design is usually interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly. Thus, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 232) show that a survey uses (1) careful probability sampling which provides a sample of respondents whose characteristics may be taken to reflect those of the larger population group, and (2) a carefully constructed standardised questionnaire that provides data in the same form from all respondents (*see also* Kothari, 2004; Creswell, 2005). This method therefore is excellent for measuring and generalising attitudes and orientations from a representative sample to a larger population with known demographic characteristics, like students. Thus, I relied on the survey design as means to provide insights into students' attitudes towards politics in general and democracy in particular at the university and national level.

In this case, third year students are my studied population whose opinions are gathered and analysed to answer questions and confirm/reject neglect hypotheses that have been brought forward regarding students' political attitudes and behaviours at UDSM. The use of a questionnaire allows me to do an intensive study of students in a standardised fashion, while, at the same time sampling makes it possible to generalise the findings to the larger population

(i.e. to third year students at UDSM) concerning their attitudes and behaviours towards democracy.

In this study I have both exploratory–descriptive and explanatory objectives. On the one hand, I say it is an exploratory study with the emphasis on gaining new insights into the phenomenon of student politics (*see* Kothari, 2004, p. 37-39/121). Within the Tanzanian context the study charts an unexplored territory, and its theoretical concerns as outlined in chapter three, are unique even beyond this context. The design of the study, on the other hand, not only aims to give descriptions of the political attitudes of a particular group of respondents from the UDSM but it also aims to explain them to some extent and relate its findings to the wider student population. Hence the sample is representative in some important respects even of the total student body of the university. This is crucial as it allows me to draw generalisations from the responses to the student population as a whole (The main sampling techniques used in this study are described below).

The decision to use a survey design was also taken in keeping with the methodology of the Afrobarometer studies. As noted in chapter three, the Afrobarometer is a survey tool which involves a tried and tested model to study public opinions and attitudes towards democracy in Africa. In the same chapter I also showed how certain parts of the theoretical framework underpinning the Afrobarometer surveys, as outlined and used by Bratton *et al* (2005) and Mattes and Bratton (2007), have been adapted to this study. I will now discuss how the Afrobarometer questionnaire was adapted for the purpose of my study.

#### **4.2.1 Questionnaire**

The primary data collection tool used for the purpose of the survey is a highly structured questionnaire. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 646) describe a questionnaire as a document containing questions designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis; in that way, these questions helped me to determine the extent to which respondents hold a particular attitude or perspective to democracy and governance. Creswell (2005, p. 362) adds that such type of questions should be those that provide certain personal information about a respondent and probe a respondent's attitudes and report his/her behaviours. Questions ought to be sensitive, and can be open or closed questions. While open-ended questions are those which require respondents to provide their own answers to questions, they have to be coded in the process of data capturing. Most questions used in this study are close-ended questions,

which required respondents to select an answer from among a list of choices provided in a questionnaire.

To have a good connection between questions and studied themes, a conceptual map<sup>23</sup> was created to separate/collect questions (in the questionnaire) into different/same themes and topics that are going to be analysed (i.e. to indicate the relationship between research questions and empirical indicators). The conceptual map has several sections that link researched topic, conceptual family, concept and then an item in the questionnaire (i.e. a question) with each other. For example, demand for democracy (as a topic) includes demand for democracy, rights, accountability and responsiveness (as conceptual family). Concepts that go with demand for democracy include support for democracy and representation, and rejection of authoritarian and non-representative university rule. Then, every one of these concepts is linked to items in the questionnaire (i.e. questions) that are responded to by students. In the analysis then, the process reverses, from the question (items in the questionnaire) to concept, to conceptual family, then to a topic. The purpose of the conceptual map is to make the identification of items easy in the questionnaire to relate them to a theoretical construct.

Information sought by the questionnaire therefore includes students' attitudes and their perception on democracy, student organisation, their role as leaders that they play in contribution to democracy development including participation and understanding (see Appendix V and VI) of university governance and democracy in general. Other issues that are addressed by the survey include how their perceptions on how institutions are managed, how they feel about their representation in higher education decision making, and their assessment on how their state is governed.

The questionnaire which was adapted from the Afrobarometer questionnaire is divided into five sections (A-E) as follows;

- **Section A:** Facts about oneself
- **Section B:** Involvement in politics
- **Section C:** Views on student representation and university governance
- **Section D:** Interest and involvement in national politics, and

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix VI

- **Section E:** Views and assessment of politics and government in Tanzania.

All these sections have a collection of questions that probed students' attitude to politics and democracy, including students' demand for democracy, rights, accountability, and responsiveness; supply for democracy, rule of law, rights, accountability, responsiveness; and, attitude to democracy which included a subsection in understanding democracy, civil society organisation attitudes, attitudes towards others, identity, cognitive awareness, and political participation (compare Appendix V: Questionnaire; and Appendix VI: Conceptual map).

#### **4.2.2 Case selection and target population**

The targeted population of this study are third year students at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. UDSM is the oldest and largest higher education institution in Tanzania. UDSM has the highest enrolment of all Tanzanian higher education institutions with 21,156 students, of which 17,100 students are at the Mlimani Campus. This university has a history of student protests and activism related to the demand for democracy and a leading and vibrant student organisation (Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation – DARUSO) (Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Mkumbo, 2002; Mkude *et al*, 2003). The student organisation at UDSM has a decisive influence on student organisations at other public higher learning institutions in Tanzania, since the latter tend to depend on DARUSO's leadership and support when it comes to articulating student demands to government and other organisations dealing with the provision of higher education in Tanzania (Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Mkude *et al*, 2003).

UDSM was therefore not chosen to be representative of the higher education sector in Tanzania (therefore findings cannot be generalised); rather it is the unique status of UDSM as Tanzania's "Mother University" and as an elite institution in the country and the higher education context, and the related status and position of student politics and DARUSO, which gives it a special significance and warrants its selection for this study. Apart from having the highest enrolment in Tanzania, its academic structure consists of College/Campuses, Faculties, Institutes, Bureaux and Departments<sup>24</sup>. UDSM has six campuses, three university colleges (one being a campus college), and two institutions that are situated outside the main

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<sup>24</sup> Since July 2009, UDMS has changed from using faculty model to schools, which carry several faculties.

campus (Mlimani). More information about the university and student politics in Tanzania was elaborated in chapter two.

### **4.3 Sample and sampling procedures**

A sample is a smaller group of subjects drawn from the population in which a researcher has an interest (Kothari, 2004, p. 152). The use of a sample enabled me to achieve my research objectives using available resources. The purpose of sampling in this study was to make sure that every third year student had an equal opportunity to participate in the survey, and to ensure that an appropriate number of individuals was drawn from the various subsets of the population as directed by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 192). With the high number of students, I could not use all students, and so I stratified students into groups to ensure a greater degree of representativeness and decreasing sampling error. This involved two groups of students, i.e. SLs and SNLs. To start with I indicate how I sampled students who were not leaders, and then I will indicate how I identified student leaders as a special sub-sample.

Ideally, a probability sample would be drawn up by randomly selecting respondents from a list of all individuals of the target population. However, no such list was available to me and administering the questionnaire to a sample drawn in this manner would have been quite impossible (e.g. how to contact sampled individuals?). Hence a more elaborate multi-stage process of sampling was used.

The main sampling techniques used in this study were stratification and probability sampling. Stratification refers to the grouping of the target population into homogeneous groups before sampling (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 647; Kothari, 2004, p. 16). In that case, students were stratified by year of study and faculty, so I decided to use undergraduate students who dominate the population of the university. These undergraduate students were then stratified again into year of study, and the sample was drawn mainly from third year students. It was decided to focus on students who had at least two years of exposure to higher education and university life i.e. that enough time would have passed for there to be reasonable evidence of the impact of higher education on the respondents' political attitudes and involvement. First and second year students are not likely to have had enough exposure yet and are therefore excluded from the sampling frame. The same applies to the small group of students who make up the non-degree population and to postgraduate students, though postgraduates might be more experienced than undergraduates. Apart from these reasons, it is obvious that most

politically active students in universities tend to be undergraduates, who also dominate all political positions of the student organization.

Secondly I used faculty as a stratification factor so as to have a sample that is representative from all fields of study within the university. As pointed by Altbach (1991, p. 252-253), student interest and participation in political activism varies by faculty. Thus, stratifying the sample by faculty ensured that the sample would be representative of students from different disciplinary backgrounds which may influence their political attitudes and behaviour. Furthermore, provided that the participation of different genders varies greatly between disciplines, the sample was also constructed with an eye on gender representation (i.e. ensuring that the distribution of gender by faculty would be similar to the enrollment ratio by gender in each faculty. This is further elaborated below (e.g. Table 4.1).

As a second step in the sampling procedure, third year courses/classes in each faculty were randomly sampled from the list of courses offered in these faculties. For the purpose of sampling I was provided with UDSM student statistics which comprised the number of students enrolled in each of the ten faculties (by gender distribution, and programs/courses/classes offered by the various faculties). One to three classes/courses (depending on the size of the faculties) were randomly selected from the list of third-year courses offered to meet the number of students needed to respond to questionnaires from the same faculty. Thus, each class/program which was sampled represented a sampling unit that contributed to the required sampling ratio. The minimum number of respondents in the survey was to be not less than three hundred (excluding student leaders who formed a subsample).

Student leaders, defined as students from the student organisation who represent other students in decision-making at faculty level and university level make up a special group which was sub-sampled. Apart from those SL who responded to the survey by means of their selection in the overall sample, most student leaders' responses were obtained in a different way. Through the Office of Dean of Students, all members of student executives were invited to a special seminar (including USRC representatives, faculty and halls of residence leaders/representatives). These student leaders were to be accompanied by four student representatives from each faculty who are responsible to faculty-level decision-making bodies. It was to be four as I expected that each year of study from each faculty would have

one representative in faculty decision-making bodies. All these student leaders were to attend a seminar prepared by me and the Dean of Students office, at which presentations were made about student politics, student representation and democracy. Presenters in that seminar included officers from Dean of Students Office and lecturers. At the end of the discussion, student leaders were introduced to the survey and asked to respond to the questionnaire.

During the process of data collection I decided to increase the sample size, to have more respondents, and therefore to reduce sampling error<sup>25</sup> and to ensure that the intended minimum number of responses is obtained. Since the tool used has a very big number of questions, I realised that a number of students did not respond to all questions and left me with not enough questionnaires that were adequately responded to in full. Because of that, I took all questionnaires that had been responded above average (by more than a half) as valid responses. Therefore I did not use about sixty two (62 i.e. 13%) of returned questionnaires. Secondly, there were some students who did not want to be involved in the survey after they went through the participant information sheet. On the one hand, this showed that the classroom setting did not necessarily limit students' ability to exercise their free choice of voluntary participation; on the other hand, it also reduced the number of respondents in the realised sample. And lastly, I opted for an increased sample size so as to have a large sample that will lead to a reduced sampling error compared to if I had ended up with a smaller and perhaps inadequate sample (*see* Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 191).

#### **4.4 The ideal and the realised sample**

As noted above, the ideal sample was expected to amount to three hundred (300) students and about fifty (50) student leaders at the UDSM Mlimani Campus. UDSM has ten faculties, three of which are within College of Engineering and Technology (COET), all situated at Mlimani campus. The characteristics of the sample population (enrolment by faculty and gender) of the intended sample and the realised sample are as indicated in Tables 4.1 to 4.3 below.

Table 4.1 provides an overview of the student enrolment of 3<sup>rd</sup> year undergraduate students' per faculty and by gender. It shows that about 63% of the enrolled third year students are male and 37% are female students. This almost corresponds with the total enrolment ratio at the university and with national higher education statistics which indicate that female

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<sup>25</sup> Error refers to increased correctness of responses from respondents i.e. accuracy

representation in higher education is just above 30%. The Table also indicates more students in social sciences subjects/faculties (e.g. arts and social sciences, education and law than sciences and commerce subjects/faculties.

**Table 4.1: Enrolled 3<sup>rd</sup> year students 2008/2009 and intended sample**

Faculty of...	Enrolled No.		Intended Sample		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
1. Aquatic Science & Technology	27	20	03	02	05
2. Arts & Social Sciences	823	862	65	62	127
3. Commerce	521	250	41	18	59
4. Electrical & Computer System Eng.	123	42	10	03	13
5. Mechanical & Chemical Eng.	152	81	12	06	18
6. Civil Eng. & Built Environment	140	30	11	02	13
7. Education	62	57	05	04	09
8. Law	81	108	06	08	14
9. Science	285	70	23	05	28
10. Informatics & Virtual Education	148	33	12	02	14
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2362</b>	<b>1553</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>100</b>

Secondly, due to increased sample, at the end of the survey I ended up with four hundred responded questionnaires which I can use to analyse information that I intended to get out of them. The distribution of collected and returned questionnaires are indicated in Table 4.2 below. This also indicates the number of student leaders (SL) and the total of rejections from each faculty.

As mentioned above, student leaders at the UDSM were sampled as a sub-group to be surveyed. This group would include the president, vice presidents, and cabinet members of DARUSO; student representatives from faculty level, halls' representatives and members of the student representative council (USRC). It was expected that not less than fifty (50) student leaders respond to the questionnaires in one sitting. Table 4.2 shows that most student leaders came from the faculty of arts and social science.

**Table 4.2: Realised sample at UDSM Mlimani campus**

Faculty of...	Male	Female	TOTAL	SLs	Reject
1. Aquatic Sciences and Technology	7	5	12	6	2
2. Electrical & Computer Science Engineering	5	3	08	3	1
3. Science	22	4	26	9	5
4. Civil Engineering & Built Environment	17	5	22	4	4
5. Mechanical & Chemical Engineering	18	10	28	3	6
6. Informatics & Virtual Education	16	3	19	4	5
7. Arts & Social Sciences	100	72	172	26	18
8. Education	9	5	14	6	9
9. Law	10	18	28	6	0
10. Commerce	45	26	71	6	12
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Percent</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>37%</b>		<b>18%</b>	<b>13%</b>

Thirdly, Table 4.3 presents the realised sample from the University of Dar es Salaam analysed by certain key social characteristics. It shows how the sample is composed in terms of the gender of respondents, place of origin, degree of study<sup>26</sup>, and whether they are student leaders or not.

**Table 4.3: Structure of the surveyed sample (UDSM)**

		Gender		Place of origin		Degree of study			Student	
		Male	Female	Urban	Rural	SET	HUM	COM	SL	SNL
Gender	Male	<b>249</b>								
	Female		<b>151</b>							
Place of Origin	Rural	149	49	<b>198</b>						
	Urban	97	101		<b>198</b>					
Degree of study (recode)	SET	87	30	61	54	<b>117</b>				
	HUM	71	78	70	77		<b>149</b>			
	COM	91	43	67	67			<b>134</b>		
Student	SL	55	18	39	32	30	27	16	<b>73</b>	
	SNL	189	126	156	157	86	113	116		<b>327</b>

*N=400*

It is indicated that there are more male than female students (63% and 37% respectively). The sample has the same distribution of students from urban and rural, and there are more students from the humanities faculties (i.e. arts and social sciences, education and law) followed by commerce, with sciences the least. There are 73 student leaders against 327 of

<sup>26</sup> This is a summarised/grouped into three groups, i.e. SET= Science, Engineering and Technology; HUM= Humanities; and, COM= Commerce and Economics. All ten faculties are allocated within these three groups.

students not in leadership positions. Also the structure shows that more male students come from rural areas while the majority of female students come from urban areas. Lastly, there are more male students in leadership than female, and most student leaders come from sciences, followed by the humanities and least from commerce.

#### **4.4.1 Primary data collection: ethical and political considerations**

Data collection usually has to take ethical issues into consideration. In this case, I adhered to ethical principles in social research, as proposed by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 520-528). This included first, voluntary participation of the respondents, while also ensuring that a substantial majority of the scientifically selected sample participates (to enable generalisation); secondly, there should be no harm to the participants i.e. not having to answer questions that might injure a fragile self-esteem; and, thirdly, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality<sup>27</sup>, for the protection of the research subjects' interests and their identity. With all these principles in mind, several procedures were followed by me to have a well prepared data collection.

Data collection started by gaining ethics approval for the questionnaire and seeking (and obtaining) permission to conduct the survey from relevant authorities at the University of Dar es Salaam. Before that, as it was noted previously, the methodology involved the adaptation of the Afrobarometer questionnaire for the purposes of this study. Provided that the Afrobarometer instrument is part of the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) of the University of Cape Town (South Africa), the CSSR provided advice and support on its adaptation, and eventually the Ethics Committee of the CSSR reviewed and approved the adapted questionnaire for application. Parallel to this process, ethics clearance to conduct the study was also sought (and obtained) from the University of the Western Cape (Refer to Appendix I).

After that I had to seek permission in writing from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam before conducting research on that campus (see Appendix II). The research had to be registered first by the Research and Publication Department (at UDSM) before the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Administration) granted an introductory letter (see Appendix III). By means of this letter I was able to approach Faculty Deans and the Dean of Students to gain

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<sup>27</sup> Refers to confidentiality regarding who responded. No respondent names are used in the analysis; rather each questionnaire was coded into number. Names were only indicated on separate sheets to show students' acceptance to participate in the project.

access to conduct the research with students and student leaders. Some of the Faculty Deans directed me to Heads of Departments; some worked hand in hand with me to allocate me times and venues to administer the questionnaire to sampled classes according to my sampling frame.

Thus I had to be granted access to students first by the executives and then by lecturers. The way all these went through it was a long process, having to make a follow up in several levels so as to have that permission. On the other hand following all those bureaucratic procedure reduced lecturer resistance to giving up their students' time for my data collection in class hours which was the proper venue and time needed by me to conduct my survey.

#### **4.4.2 Primary data collection: administering questionnaires**

All students in a class were asked to fill in the questionnaire while I was in the same room. This was possible since all respondents were in groups and were adequately literate to complete the questionnaire (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 258). Moreover, in this way, I was able to introduce the survey and the questionnaire properly to a whole class of students at once, entertain queries, and therefore ensure that their consent would be appropriately informed. Students were also informed about the voluntary nature of the survey and allowed to quit at any stage. If a respondent happened to have any difficulties in the course of filling in the questionnaire s/he could be assisted by me with clarification. I was also able to collect the completed questionnaires and thereby to minimise the number of papers that would otherwise be lost or not returned by respondents. However, in very few cases students who did not finish completing a questionnaire in class would later return it to me. Thus, the method of administering questionnaires to entire classes ensured that respondents were informed in more detail about the research, wastage was reduced, and a large number of questionnaires could be administered simultaneously. The data collection process ended once the number of respondents from several faculties exceeded the requirements of the sample (*see* Table 4.1 to 4.3 above).

#### **4.4.3 Primary data collection: difficulties and successes encountered**

In most cases data collection went well when there was good cooperation with the Faculty Dean, lecturer, and student leader at class level. When all these were involved sometimes more students turned up than were required to respond to questionnaires. On the other hand, there were some difficulties involving three areas. First, some students wanted to drop out

because of the length of the questionnaire. Though they were so anxious to have the findings of the research, they still complained about the length of the questionnaire, sometimes saying that some of questions were repeated<sup>28</sup>.

Secondly, there is a long chain of command when one wants to conduct a research, involving students. A go-ahead has to be given from university executives, heads of faculties, heads of departments, and then lecturers. That means that one has to spend almost a month processing for permission to conduct research. Thirdly, lecturers to some extent seemed reluctant to give time and space for data collection from their students. This might have been caused by the timing when the survey was conducted. There were only a few weeks before students started their university examination. So lecturers needed all available time to wind up their classes. And fourthly, I refer to response rate; which according to Creswell (2005) can be described as 'better', or 'very good' according to Babbie and Mouton (2001), as more than 85 percent of the returned questionnaires could be used in the analysis. As indicated in earlier sections of this chapter, there was a drop out of some respondents after they had gone through the participant information sheets, and others did not respond fully to the questionnaire, leaving some questions un-attempted.

All in all, most of the data collection process went very well, and students became so anxious to receiving the findings, the case was the same with university management, who wanted to have a copy of findings or have a seminar on findings.

#### **4.5 Reliability and validity of the sample data**

Most of the data collected were from students. The main tool used was a questionnaire that was adapted from Afrobarometer tool. While Kaplan (2004, p. 77) relates reliability to the question of data quality, Creswell (2005, p. 162) relates reliability to the choice of an instrument that reports individual scores that are reliable and valid. From that perspective, I ensured that I cleared my questionnaire of ambiguous and unclear questions; the threat of varied and un-standardised administration was eliminated by having proper procedures before and during data collection; and I tried to ensure that participants were not nervous or did not misinterpret questions, both of which might have resulted in unreliable data.

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<sup>28</sup> This is because questions required them to respond to similar questions referring to both national level and university level

Furthermore, Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 119) see reliability as a matter of whether a particular technique applied to the same object would yield the same results each time. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 121-122) and Creswell (2005, p. 162-164) agree on several methods that can be applied to obtain reliable data that guard against the impact of the researcher's subjectivity. Hence there are a number of ways in which the reliability of survey data was further improved. To have more reliable results, I conducted a pilot test of the questionnaire to measure the time required to fill in the questionnaire and clear any cases of ambiguity in the formulation of questions. Other factors used in ensuring reliability involved personal experience, since I had been a student at UDSM in previous years, and this reduced guessing about terminology when constructing questions. Moreover, reliability was also enhanced by the use of an established measure (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 119; and Creswell, 2005, p. 162-164), which refers to using a research instrument that has proven reliability from previous research. In my study this applies to the adaptation and use of the Afrobarometer questionnaire<sup>29</sup>. And lastly, before the data collection process, the adapted questionnaire was reviewed and approved by the CSSR Ethics Committee as well as the Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape. The former gave me a number of comments to improve the formulation of certain questions. The use of a questionnaire based on the Afrobarometer tool and the various processes of expert (ethical) review ensured that the adaptation of the established tool to my study did not interfere with its established reliability.

However, there are shortcomings of the questionnaire which can be highlighted. Firstly, the length of the questionnaire, which has all in all 214 questions, was found by many students to be too long. Thus, as Table 4.4 indicates, the frequency of attempted responses to questions in the earlier pages of the questionnaire is greater than in later pages. This indicates that earlier questions carry higher reliability compared to later questions in the questionnaire.

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<sup>29</sup> Afrobarometer has a margin of error of  $\pm 3$  percentage points at a 95percent confidence level

**Table 4.4: Missing values increase from early questions to the last questions**

<b>Missing Values From Early and Last Questions</b>			
<b>Early Questions</b>		<b>Later Questions</b>	
<b>Q. No</b>	<b>Missing</b>	<b>Q. No</b>	<b>Missing</b>
A1a	00%	E7a	6.8%
A1b	00%	E7b	7.0%
A1c	00%	E7c	6.8%
A1d	3.5%	E7d	8%
A1e	00%	E7e	7.8%
A1f	1.4%	E8a	7%
A1g	01%	E8b	7.3%
A1j	3.8%	E8c	08%
A2a	1.8%	E9a	6.5%
A2b	2.8%	E9b	6.3%
A2c	1.5%	E9c	7%

*N=400*

Secondly, validity is defined by Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 122) as the extent to which an empirical measure accurately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration. This correlates with Kaplan's (2004, p. 77) definition of validity, in which he refers to it as a question of "the inferential quality of the collected information". I went through several procedures to ensure the validity of the instruments and data collected. This involved checking content validity i.e. whether a question on the instruments and score are representative of all possible questions that a researcher could ask about the content or skill; and construct validity i.e. which determines if the scores from the instruments are significant, meaningful, are useful and have purpose (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, p. 123; Creswell, 2005, p. 164-166). This also involved checking if respondents were sincere when filling in the questionnaire when I was conducting the capturing and analysis of the findings. This can be observed with regard to some obvious findings from the data collected; for instance, student leaders have been favouring themselves when it comes to performance evaluation and trust (as indicated in chapter five). To ensure that data are valid, as indicated in early parts of this chapter, several experts were contacted to check the prepared questions in the questionnaires and to correct ambiguity and language used in the questions. Secondly, a conceptual map was formulated (based on that of the Afrobarometer) which breaks down several themes into concepts and questions, and clarifies under which concept and theme each question falls (as per Appendix VI).

#### **4.6 Secondary data/contextual data**

In addition to the collection of primary data using a questionnaire, I was able to use a number of existing documents about the University of Dar es Salaam and higher education and politics in Tanzania. Documents that have been reviewed include writings on Tanzanian political development (such as those by Shivji, 1986; Anyang' Nyong'o, 1992; Mmuya and Chaligha, 1994; Mpangala, 1999), the history of the University of Dar es Salaam (e.g. Luhanga, 1994; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Mkude *et al*, 2003; Kanywanyi, 2006), historical perspectives of student governance, politics and activism (e.g. Altbach, 1991; Shivji, 1996; Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000; Mkumbo, 2002; Luescher, 2005; Byaruhanga, 2006), as well as national policy documents (e.g. TUC, 2008) and documentation regarding student representation at various levels of decision-making including the constitution of DARUSO and the UDSM charter.

#### **4.7 Data analysis**

Data is any kind of information which researchers can identify and accumulate to facilitate answers to their research questions (Le Compte and Preissle, 1993, p. 158). The category of data used in this study was collected by means of a survey. A questionnaire was distributed to respondents so as to have primary data from students. A meaningful context for what takes place in higher learning in Tanzania has been highlighted in chapter two. What remains to be reported is largely a description of students' attitudes and behaviour towards democracy and higher education governance, and at the same time, an analysis to investigate whether some relationship exists between selected variables. I am now in a position to indicate my findings using percentages and other statistical presentation; and charts and tables on what makes up students' attitudes towards politics in Tanzania and UDSM governance.

Data analysis is used to confirm/disconfirm or develop certain explanations, and thus to provide answers to raised questions, and raise new questions. In the analysis, some data might be omitted and some included. But in any case I will try to produce analysed data that represents as faithfully as possible the responses given during the data gathering process. In the final interpretation of this data, I will strive to include and present personal experience where appropriate, expressed in a wider context of higher education in Tanzania. Le Compte and Preissle (1993, p. 234) nicely describe the dilemma of the researcher facing a mountain of brand-new unanalysed data. While this is a chronic problem of qualitative research it is also evident from my study that much more could still be done in analysing my data.

My main focus has therefore been on an analysis of attitudes and behaviours of students towards democracy.

#### **4.8 Limitations and errors in the study**

There are various limitations and errors that occur when a novice researcher approaches a major task like the one attempted in this study. In the process of survey research, limitations and errors are typically related to matters of sampling, data collection, data analysis and interpretation. In my case there are some errors and limitations related to oversampling of SL and related bias, and limitations in the statistical analysis of the data.

As noted above I constructed a sample representative of students in general and a subsample of student leaders (SL). Student responses from students in general and students not in leadership (SNL) in particular were obtained from each faculty (*see* Table 4.2); these were to be at least 300 in total. When conducting the survey in this group, some students happened to be student leaders. However, the subsample of SL was mainly obtained from responses collected at a special function where SL were invited to participate in the survey. Firstly, this group did not only involve third year students, but all students in leadership position. Secondly, all who turned out to be SL were 73 in number. This number represents almost a quarter of SL in the university. Thus, whereas SNL comprised about ten percent (10%) of the third year students in the university, the SL subsample is much larger than what would be truly representative. The effect was that SLs were oversampled. When comparing SNL and SL the oversampling of SL is necessary as the numbers of this group would otherwise be too small. However, when analysing all responses (without distinguishing between SNL and SL), SL should statistically be reweighed down in the analysis. This has not been done and thus the results and findings referring to all students are actually more biased to SL because of their over-representation in the survey. In short, the presented findings are biased towards SL when the UDSM sample is treated as one whole. As I will show in chapter 5, the differences between SL and SNL (in their political attitudes and behaviours) is, however, most often not statistically significant.

At the same time, as I said before, SL do not only represent third year students, as some are from other years of study like first, second and fourth year. However, overall the SL sample represents only 18% of the total UDSM sample (i.e. 73 responses).

In the analysis process, I used several analysis procedures using SPSS. Firstly, most responses were to be recoded before being analysed. In some cases I went further, creating dummy variables or indices to create a single collective variable from a number of questions (as suggested in the conceptual map of Appendix VI). I used descriptive analysis and cross tabulations (using Eta statistical measure and chi-square for statistical significance of association). Other measures I applied included measures of central tendency, T-test for single means and raw percentage strategy (see Appendix VII). I used this kind of analysis from SPSS not because they are the best, but because I was capable of doing them and presenting my data at my level of ability, and because they gave me meaningful results to answer my questions. Nonetheless, in retrospect I see that there are more and different kinds of analysis that can be applied in the same data set using SPSS to give out more elaborate results. For my purpose, however, the analysis I used yielded useful results to answer my research questions.

In retrospect it is clear that the statistical procedures, which were not done (e.g. applying statistical weights and indexing indicators), led to certain weaknesses and limitation, which could be remedied given more time and resources. Thus, SL oversampling without re-weighting and data analysis errors can be considered to be the main known limitations in my data presentation and analysis. Notwithstanding these limitations, I believe that the analysis in chapter five is sufficiently strong to support my conclusions and recommendations.

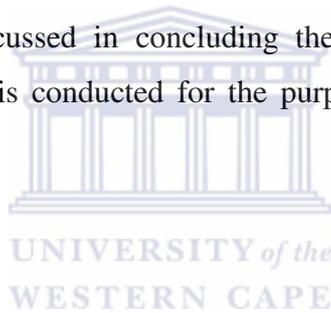
#### **4.9 Survey and study report**

In this chapter I have discussed the manner in which this study was conducted. To some extent I tried to follow the sequence suggested and applied by the Afrobarometer, as indicated in chapter three of this thesis. The environment though became a bit different since this study was conducted specifically with third year students at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The sample of respondents which was obtained included more than were needed. Oversampling was applied to make sure that the intended number of SL respondents was also obtained so as to have an adequate subsample of the study.

Creswell (2005, p. 354) indicates features that have to be adhered to when conducting a survey. First, the sample should be from a large population (by having a good sampling frame list, the sample from third year students was selected); as large a sample as possible should be selected (with oversampling); the survey should use a good instrument with clear,

unambiguous questions and response options; and a rigorous administrative procedure should be used to ensure a large return rate. All these were observed when implementing the study. Secondly, the study applied a questionnaire, which was highly structured with mostly closed-ended questions with response options. Thirdly, the instrument design was adapted from the Afrobarometer tool, probing personal information, attitudes and behaviours of students towards politics and institutional governance.

I have indicated all this in this chapter. I have explained my design, and all features that have been adhered to make sure that the research is trustworthy. I have described my questionnaire and indicated its parts and content. Next I elaborated how I selected the University of Dar es Salaam. Sample and sampling procedures were another part and I explained my intended and realised sample, and described the structure of the sample. I also explained the data collection procedure, pointing out ethical and political considerations, the manner of questionnaire administration and difficulties encountered when collecting data. Reliability and validity, errors and limitations were discussed in concluding the chapter. The following chapter presents the data and the analysis conducted for the purpose of investigating the research questions of this study.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### Data Presentation and Analysis

#### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present students' responses from the survey conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam. As outlined in the foregoing chapters, the general aim of this study is to investigate the contribution of higher education to the democratisation process in Tanzania. In the survey I focus on students' attitudes towards democracy and politics in Tanzania in general, and governance at the University of Dar es Salaam. For this purpose I used a survey questionnaire as my data collection tool. For the purpose of the survey, my main respondents were sampled from third year students from all faculties at the University of Dar es Salaam, and a special subsample of student leaders.

In presenting the data, I start by providing a descriptive analysis of the key indicators defined in chapter three, highlighting students' political attitudes in relation to the objectives of this study. Then, I run the next level of analysis like cross-tabulation and where necessary I test for relationship between variables. The chapter is structured in a way that in the first part (section 5.2 - 5.6) I describe and analyse students' attitudes towards democracy. In the second part (section 5.7) I describe and analyse students' attitudes towards university governance, and in section 5.8 I investigate differences in attitudes towards politics and university governance among student leaders (SL) and students not in leadership (SNL). In the last part (section 5.9) I summarise the findings for discussion and conclusion in the next chapter.

#### 5.1 Student demand, supply and attitude towards democracy

As indicated in chapters three and four, the research instrument used in this study was a questionnaire adapted from the Afrobarometer. Students involved in the survey were asked for their opinion on politics and higher education governance. Several themes are analysed in this part concerning students' attitudes towards democracy. Three main questions are answered and hypotheses are tested (regarding student attitudes to politics) according to the framework presented in chapter three. These three questions (as main questions) contain up to eight sub questions, attempting to find answer to three related hypothesis. The main questions are:

- *What are students' attitudes towards democracy?* My proposition is that since students are among the educated (future) elite, then they are likely to have a deep understanding of democracy and support democracy in all aspects.
- *Are students satisfied with the way their country is governed and the way their institution is managed and governed?* I propose that students are not satisfied with the supply of democracy in their country and the kind of governance that is applied in the university. This includes not being satisfied with the way student representation works within university decision-making bodies.
- *Are student leaders (SL) more democratic than students that are not in leadership positions (SNL)?* I suppose the answer is yes. This is because SL acquire attitudes and experience in the whole process of representing others (through political processes). So they become more cognitively aware and engaged with politics.

Several questions are going to be investigated in the process of dealing with the three main questions above. They include:

1. What is the students' understanding of democracy and its features?
2. Are students satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania?
3. Are students committed democrats?
4. What factors explain students' support for democracy (are they institutional, cultural or social structure)?
  - Can social factors (such as origin, gender, age) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
  - Can institutional factors (such as associational membership and political participation) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
  - Can cultural factors (such as trust) explain variations in students' support for democracy?
5. Can the extent of students' cognitive awareness (e.g. interest in public affairs; frequency of discussing politics; awareness of political institutions and incumbents) explain variations in students' support for democracy?

## 5.2 What are student attitudes towards democracy?

### 5.2.1 Students' conception/understanding of democracy

'What is student understanding of democracy?' My **hypothesis** is that "*students understand what democracy is*". I propose that students have a good understanding of the term democracy since they are more educated and have been enjoying an academic environment that enables them to have a better appreciation of politics and governance. In my conceptualisation of democracy, a good understanding of the term covers positive popular understanding of democracy; distinguishes democracy from other system of government like authoritarian regimes and fascism (by indicating range of measurable necessary conditions like universal suffrage, and freedoms); and, an ability to classify democracy at minimum or maximum levels.

To measure students' understanding of democracy, two questions were asked; (1) to define in their own words what they understand by the term democracy (three open spaces for responses) and, (2) to indicate features of democracy from a list of possible features. Responses are summed up to several themes/views of democracy. These meanings provided by students in their own words are grouped first into positive and negative meanings. Positive meanings include: popular participation (53% of all first responses); political rights (21%); civil liberties (16%); good governance (6%); equality and justice (<1%); and, other positive attributes (1%). Table 5.1 below summarises the meaning of democracy provided by students (first response only).

The table shows that more than half of all students understand democracy as majority/popular participation, of which the related meanings include: government by the people, for the people and of the people (by 39%); people's power; popular participation; representation; and, freedom to make decisions. Secondly, some relate democracy to political rights, as they named free and fair election; political freedoms; popular voices; rights to vote; and majority rule as their first response of conceptualising democracy. Furthermore, others relate democracy to civil liberties. Some other positive meanings (1%) related to democracy were provided, like discussions, accountability and unity. Generally the vast majority of students (97%) gave positive meaning of democracy compared to only 2% negative meanings that were provided.

**Table 5.1: Students' conceptions of democracy**

POSITIVE MEANINGS (97%)		NEGATIVE MEANINGS (2%)	
<b>Popular Participation (53%)</b>		It is just a statement	<1%
Government by, for, of the people	39.10%	Not total freedom for the people	<1%
People's power	6.30%	Western system oppressing traditions	<1%
Popular participation in decisions	5.50%	Killing bad/corrupt leaders	<1%
Representation	1.30%	Telling lies to become a leader	<1%
Freedom to make decisions	<1%	Imperialism ideology	<1%
<b>Political Rights (21%)</b>		Rule of the rich	<1%
Free and fair election	8.60%		
Electoral choice (Political freedoms)	3.60%		
Popular voice in politics	2.30%		
The right to vote	2.10%		
Political freedoms	2.10%		
Majority rule (and minority rights)	1.80%		
People elect government	<1%		
Multiparty system	<1%		
Elections	<1%		
<b>Civil Liberties (16%)</b>			
Freedom of speech	9.50%		
Freedom (general)	6%		
Freedom of press	<1%		
Guaranteed human rights	<1%		
<b>Good Governance (6%)</b>			
Rule of law	3.60%		
People centred government	1%		
People interact with government	<1%		
Freedom to criticise government	<1%		
Effective and efficient government	<1%		
<b>Equality and Justice (&lt;1%)</b>			
Freedom and equality	<1%		
<b>Other Positive Attributes (1.2%)</b>			
Deliberation and discussion	<1%		
Benefits to citizens	<1%		
Accountability	<1%		
Tool for unity	<1%		

Percentage from first responses: N=400 Missing=16

Therefore in their conceptualisations of democracy, students have correctly distinguished democracy from other non-democratic regime types by choosing conditions like: the right to vote; the right to run for public office; freedom of association, expression, and press. Moreover, while many students have defined democracy at minimum level others have done so at maximum levels, whereas the maximum level involves dimensions such as popular

participation in politics like; freedom to advance views by joining political groups and engage in open discussions (as a process); while minimum level definitions engage freedom which enables competitive, and free and fair elections. Overall however, most students understand democracy in terms of popular participation and elections and therefore as a process rather than an outcome.

**Table 5.2: Essential features of democracy**

	Majority rule	Freedom to criticise govt	Regular elections	Many parties competing	Basic necessities	Full Employment	Equity in education
N	378	374	371	373	376	374	374
Mean	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.3	2.6
Median	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Mode	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Key: 0= not important at all      1= not very important      2= somewhat important 3= absolutely important      other = missing							

Secondly, students were asked to identify *essential features of democracy* among those provided to them. It is found that more than 70 percent of students named most of the features to be absolutely essential. These include majority rule (92%); complete freedom to criticize the government (91%); regular elections (78%); having more than one political party (77%); having basic necessities (85%); employment as a function of democracy (75%); equality in education and democracy (87%); and income gap and democracy (73%)<sup>30</sup>.

By using measurements of central tendency, it was indicated that all variables have the median and mode located at ‘absolutely important’ as summarised in Table 5.2 above. At the same time, the mean suggests that the average response is between ‘somewhat important’ and ‘absolutely important’. This does not only hold for the typical classic-liberal democratic features provided but also for features associated with more substantial outcomes of democracy (typical to social democracy).

<sup>30</sup> ‘Income gap’ in relation to democracy remains since the rein of socialism ideologies that have an emphasis on low income gap among citizens. These also include ‘equality in education’; ‘employments’; having ‘basic necessities’. These features are rarely to be seen in open/free market economy and are not priorities in capitalist economies.

From the analysis above it shows that in their own words, the great majority of students conceptualise democracy in terms of political procedures (popular participation, free and fair elections) and freedoms (e.g. freedom of speech) that enable people to have a say in governing and decision-making. However, when provided with a ‘wish list’ of ‘essential features of democracy’, students readily add to their procedural conception more substantial demands, including the provision of full employment, basic necessities, and equality. With these findings I can say that students understand democracy in a wider perspective. Below in section 5.3.3 I further show that this finding corresponds with students’ rejection of non-democratic alternatives.

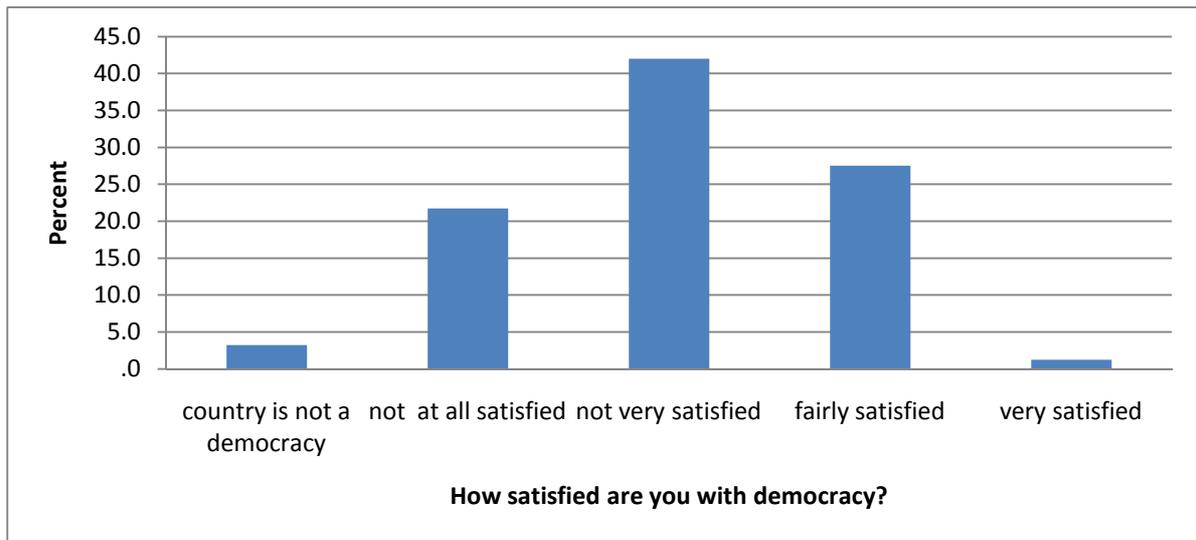
## **5.2.2 Students’ satisfaction with the supply of democracy in Tanzania**

After having shown that students have a good understanding of what democracy is, the question is now ‘whether students are satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania?’ My hypothesis is that *students are not satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania*. Satisfaction with the supply of democracy involves measuring the perceptions of how democracy operates at the national level. Applied indicators for satisfaction with the supply of democracy in Tanzania include (1) students’ satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania (2) students’ perception of the freeness and fairness of national elections and, (3) students’ view of the extent to which Tanzania is a democracy. The intention of these indicators is to explore individual experiences and perceptions of specific associated features which democracy should satisfy, measuring features like elections, corruption and trust in government and its branches.

### **5.2.2.1 Satisfaction with democracy**

Overall the data shows that students are not pleased with the performance of democracy in Tanzania. Only 29 percent indicate satisfaction or some satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania (see Figure 5.1 below). The majority of students (almost 65 percent) say that they are not very satisfied or not at all satisfied. Only 4 percent of students indicate that the country is not democratic. This includes ‘don’t know’ responses.

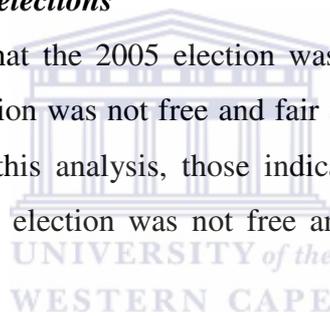
**Figure 5.1: Students' satisfaction with democracy**



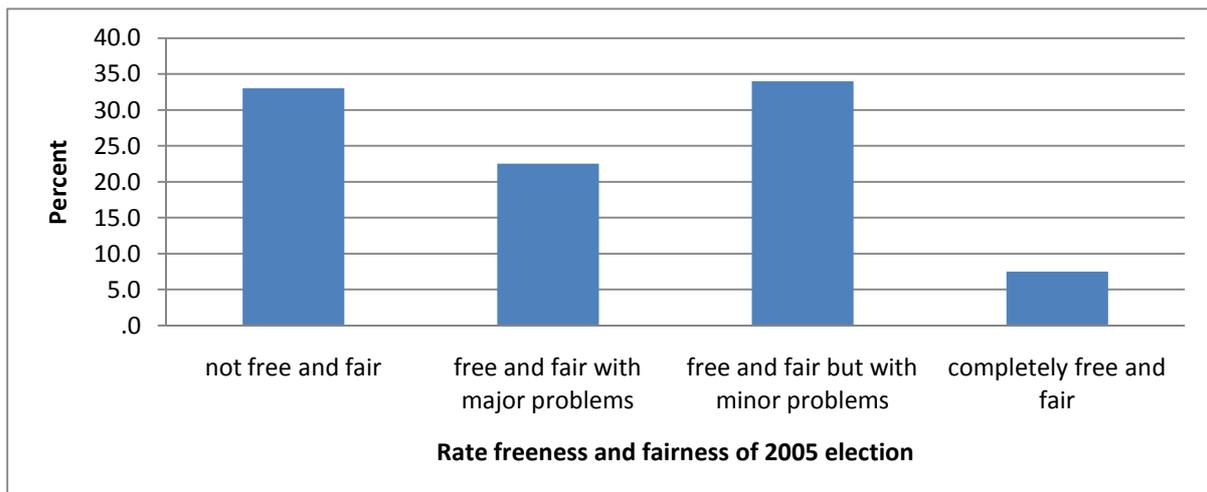
*N=400, Missing=17*

### 5.2.2.2 Freeness and fairness of elections

Only 8% of students perceive that the 2005 election was completely free and fair. While about 33% indicate that the election was not free and fair and 57% indicate that the election was free but had problems. In this analysis, those indicating that they “don’t know” are regarded as having said that the election was not free and fair as indicated in Figure 5.2 below.



**Figure 5.2: Freeness and fairness of 2005 general election in Tanzania**

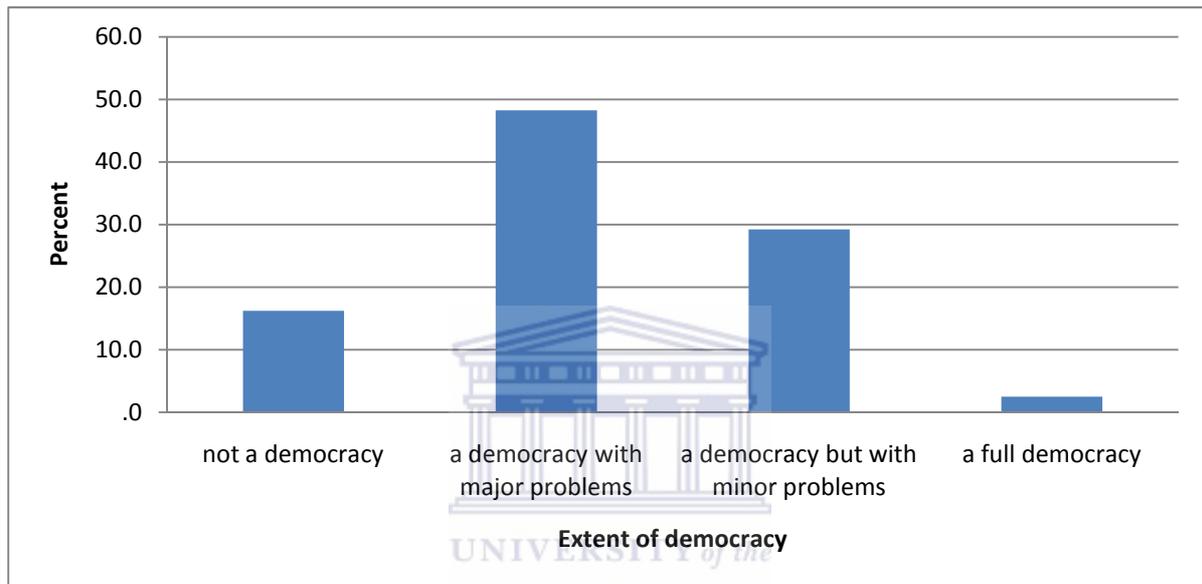


*N=12, Missing=12*

### 5.2.2.3 Perception of the extent of democracy in Tanzania

The analysis of the question “how much of a democracy is your country today” shows that only 3% indicate that there is a full democracy. More than that, 16% indicate that there is no democracy (including those saying they ‘don’t know’ and ‘do not understand question’), and 48% indicate that there is democracy with major problems, and 29% say there is democracy with minor problems in Tanzania (see Figure 5.3 below).

**Figure 5.3: Extent of democracy in Tanzania**



*N=400, Missing = 15*

In conclusion, apart from students being able to conceptualise democracy in various dimensions, students indicate that they are not satisfied with the way democracy operates in their country. They go further, indicating that elections are free but have lots of problems which also leads to having democracy that is surrounded by problems. Having seen students’ conceptions of democracy and the extent of their satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania, I turn in the next part to see whether students have commitment to democracy.

### 5.3 Students’ commitment to democracy

Having shown students’ generally good understanding and conception of democracy, as well as their dissatisfaction with the supply of democracy in Tanzania, the question posed now is ‘whether students are committed democrats?’ To assess students’ commitment, I proposed that *students prefer democracy above its alternatives*. In considering this, I use variables that seek to understand students’ ability to define democracy, their preference for democracy and rejection of all non-democratic alternatives (like single party rule, military rule and

authoritarian rule). In this part, I therefore measure students' rejection of alternatives to democracy at the national level. It has already been observed that the majority of students are highly supportive of democracy, but they are not satisfied with the performance of democracy in Tanzania.

### 5.3.1 Ability to define democracy

The ability to define democracy is indicated by students' ability to respond to and provide meaning for the term 'democracy'. As noted above, students were asked to give three different definitions of democracy. Most students managed to fill all three provided slots, as shown in Table 5.3 below. More than three quarters of students managed to give three meanings of democracy. In the first response only 4% did not come up with even a single meaning of democracy. In the second response, 14% did not respond, while in third response about 25% did not respond. This shows that students can describe democracy in several ways, which indicates that they have the maximum meaning of democracy (as it is argued in section 5.2.1).

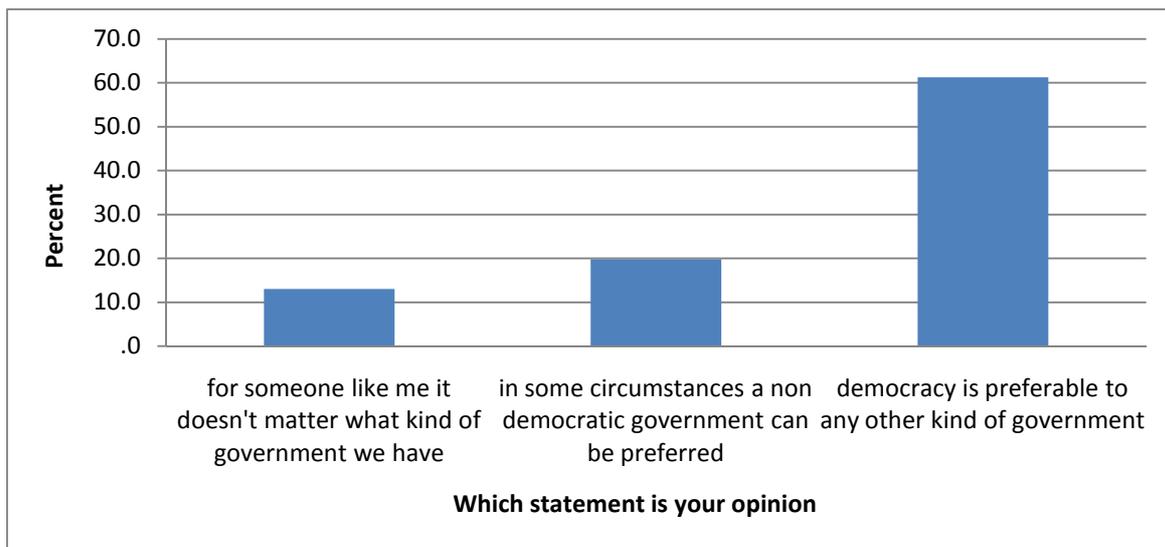
**Table 5.3: Ability to define democracy**

	First Meaning		Second Meaning		Third Meaning	
	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
Valid Responses	384	96	343	86	299	75
Missing Responses	16	4	57	14	101	25
TOTAL	400	100	400	100	400	100

### 5.3.2 Students' preference for democracy

Under student preference for democracy, the analysis again indicates that students are fairly committed democrats (compare Figure 5.3). Findings show however that 21% of students think that another form of government may be used if the existing one is not satisfactory. Almost two thirds (65%) still want to stick with democracy despite the high levels of dissatisfaction with the way it operates in the country (*see* section 5.2.2 above).

**Figure 5.4: Students' preference for democracy**



*N=400 Missing=24*

### 5.3.3 Students' rejection of non-democratic government

After establishing students' ability to define democracy and their preference for democracy, I then turn to analyse their rejection of non-democratic government. I asked them what would be the best alternative way to govern their country; either, (1) 'only one party to be allowed to stand for election and hold office', (2) 'the army to govern a country', or (3) 'elections and parliament to be abolished so that the president can decide everything'. Coding was conducted to have dummy variables (i.e. "0 = approve" and "1 = disapprove"). All these three questions measured students' rejection to non-democratic government. In Table 5.4 below, it is indicated that more than two third of students rejected all the alternatives provided.

**Table 5.4: Students' rejection of non-democratic government**

	Not reject	Reject	Missing
<b>One party rule</b>	18%	74%	31
<b>Army rule</b>	20%	68%	47
<b>One man rule</b>	10%	77%	52

*N=400*

After having a simple descriptive analysis (above), I created a simple index to have all three questions measured as one variable (Table 5.5 below). Still the results indicated that more than three-quarter of surveyed students rejected the non-democratic governments. It is only about 9% who perceive that they need a non-democratic government.

**Table 5.5: Students' rejection of all non-democratic government**

	Approves of all non-democratic	Approves of two but reject one	Approves one rejects two	Rejects all non-democratic alternatives
Frequency	11	23	75	230
Valid %	3%	7%	22%	68%

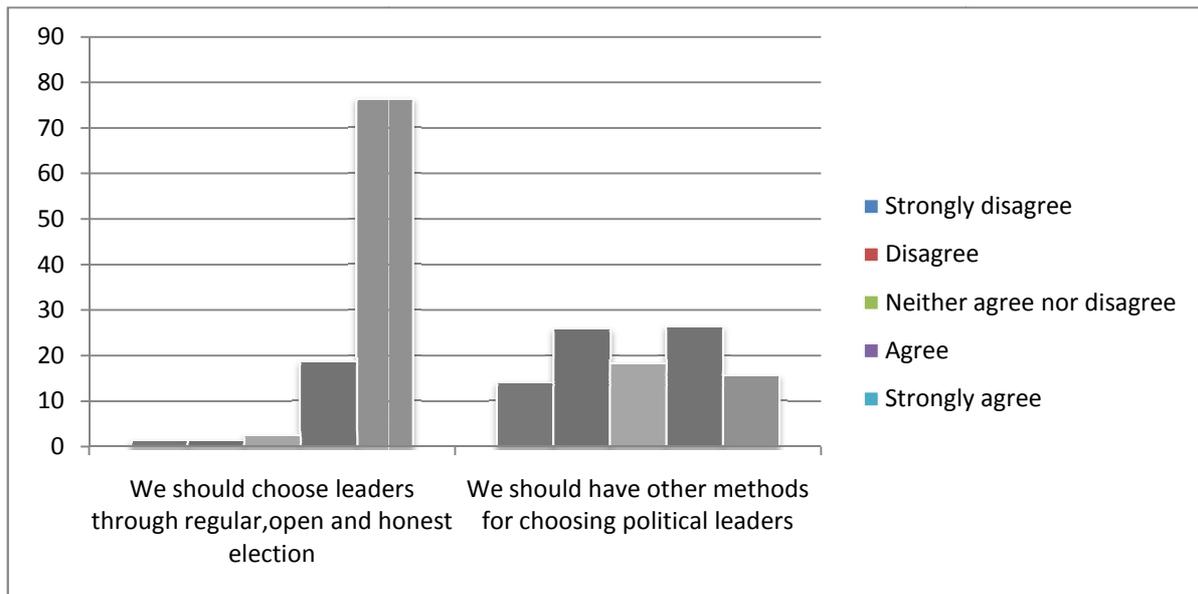
*N=400, Missing 61*

Generally, it can be seen that students do not support any government that is alternative to democracy. Table 5.5 above indicates that 11 students (3%) approve of all non-democratic government, while, 7% approve of two non-democratic governments and reject one; 22% approve one of the three non-democratic governments and reject two of them; and, 68% of the respondents have shown rejection of all three non-democratic alternatives. So, it can be concluded that most students reject non-democratic alternatives and prefer democratic government in Tanzania.

### **5.3.4 Other measures of students' support for democracy over non-democratic government**

Other indicators of students' support for democracy included support for electoral democracy, multi-partyism, and giving the regime more time. These were measured using contradictory statements (where students were expected to agree with one statement and to disagree with the other statement). In Figure 5.4 it shows that 90% of students show commitment to regular, open and honest elections (even though they perceive the elections in their country as flawed); however, when the question involves an implicit evaluation of the current operation of elections, about 40% would consider also another way of choosing political leaders. This is further explained because so many students are not satisfied with the working of democracy in Tanzania. About 40% agree and another 40% disagree that there should be other methods for choosing political leaders. In other words, the findings again indicate that students demand more open and honest elections since they are not pleased with the way democracy (and especially elections) operate currently in Tanzania.

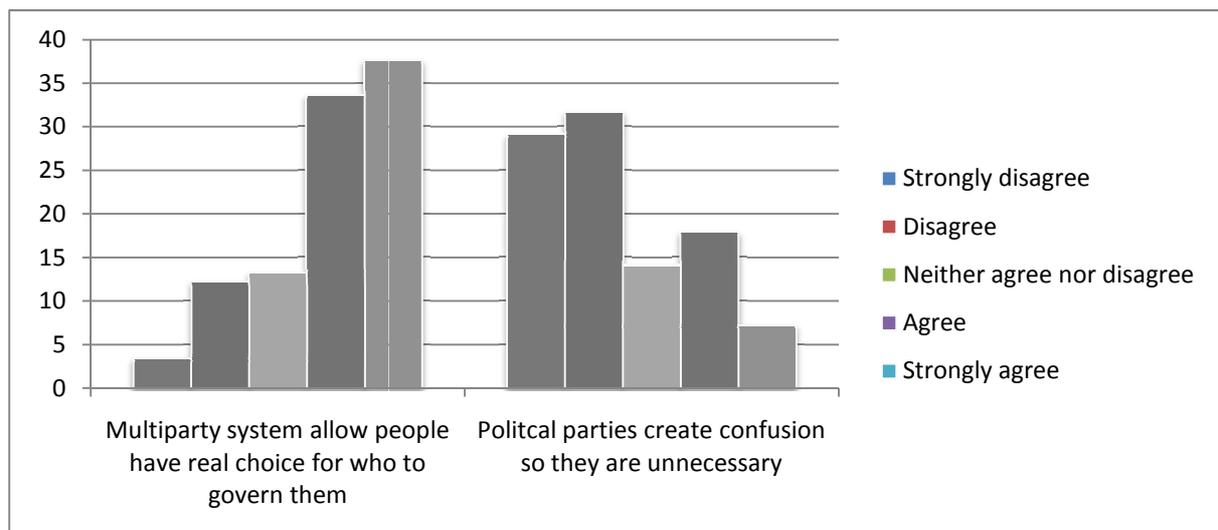
**Figure 5.5: Student demand for electoral democracy**



*N=400 Missing "regular, open, honest election"=19; "other methods"=22*

Secondly, indicators compared "students' preference for multi-party elections" against those "rejecting multiparty politics because they create confusion". Figure 5.5 (below) shows that 67% of students prefer many political parties; and at the same time disagree/strongly disagree with the notion that "many political parties create confusion" (61% rejected that statement). The responses to these two statements indicate that students really demand democracy and are aware of the other options (which they do not support). Students indicate how they demand democracy and they are ready to follow what it takes to be democrats.

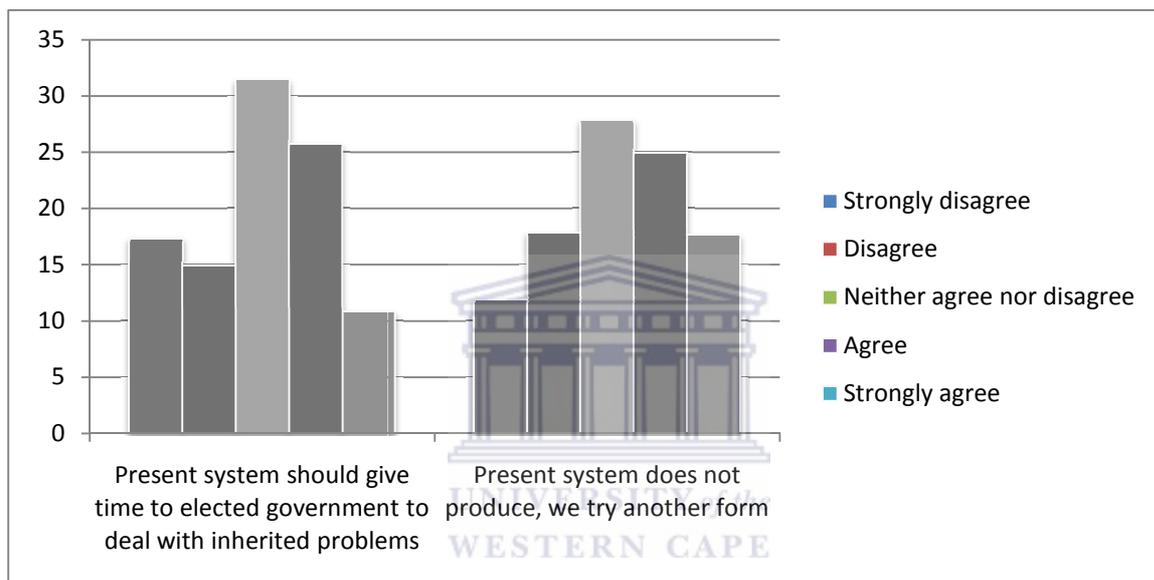
**Figure 5.6: Student demand for multi-partyism**



*N=400 Missing "multiparty system"=23; "confusion"=27*

These findings again confirm that students support democracy, but seemingly have doubts about the way it operates. Figure 5.4 shows that 90% agree/strongly agree that there should be regular, open and honest elections in a democratic state; which is further corroborated in Figure 5.5 which also shows a high level of support for multiparty democracy. Over two-thirds agree that multiparty elections allow people to have real choices of who should govern them, and accordingly close to two-thirds disagree that having many political parties creates confusion.

**Figure 5.7: Students’ willingness to give regime more time**



*N=400 Missing “give more time”=31; “try another form”=31*

Considering the levels of support for democracy in relation to earlier findings about satisfaction with the current regime, it is therefore not surprising that there is considerable ambiguity as to whether the current political system should be given more time or whether Tanzania should try another system of government. Figure 5.6 shows that over 30% of students neither agree nor disagree whether the current government should be given more time to deal with problems. Against that, about 42% agree/strongly agree that if the present system does not produce results, it would be better to try another one (as against 30% who reject that idea and almost 30% who are undecided). Here, students are uncertain as to whether the elected government should be given time to deal with problems. A considerable proportion agrees that there should be changes in the system if it does not work. In Tanzania the same political party has dominated politics since the establishment of multiparty political system (indeed since independence), leaving other opposition political parties weak. It is

possible therefore that students' wish for changes may be seen as a wish for a change of ruling party.

Apart from supporting democracy, students are also seen to *reject non-democratic rule*, which further underpins their commitment to democracy. The rejection of non-democratic rule is measured by three questions, i.e. rejection of one-party rule, military rule and presidential/strong man dictatorship.

It is found that four-fifths disapprove/strongly disapprove with allowing only one political party to stand for election and hold office (i.e. 81%; N valid=369); over three-quarters (77%; N valid=353) rejected military rule; and a great majority reject presidential/strong man rule as a replacement for election and parliament (89% disapprove/strongly disapprove of strong man rule; N valid=348).

In summary, it is clear that the majority of students show great *support for democracy and reject non-democratic alternatives*; but at the same time there is also evidence that many students want change in how democracy and the current government operates in Tanzania. Students clearly understand the meaning of democracy and the majority prefers 'popular participation' as a way of conceptualising democracy. When given a list of various kinds of potentially essential features of democracy, students continue to be slightly more inclined towards procedural rather than substantive understandings of democracy.

Moreover, students show commitment to democracy by rejecting all forms of non-democratic alternatives offered to them. (The same also holds for the analysis of student support for student representation at university level of decision making.) Hence, I do not reject my hypothesis that students have more support for democracy than its non-democratic alternatives. However, considering student support in relation to satisfaction with regime performance, it shows that students are clearly ambiguous regarding the question as to whether the present system should be given more time to deal with inherited problems. Thus the commitment to the idea of democracy and dissatisfaction within Tanzanian 'hybrid' democracy produces a high level of ambiguity towards the current political system.

### **5.3.5 Students as 'committed democrats'**

As a way of summarising these findings, I use the notion of 'committed democrat' to establish how many students actually *always prefer democracy* and, at the same time, *always*

reject non-democratic alternatives in the survey. Table 5.6 shows that almost half of students are democrats.

**Table 5.6: Committed Democrats**

		Preference for Democracy					
		Non demo preferred		It doesn't matter		Demo-preferred	
		counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
Reject all non demo	Not reject	0	0	5	1.6	6	1.9
	Reject	44	14	22	7	<b>152</b>	<b>47.5</b>

*N=400; Missing 80*

Among these two variables (i.e. preference for democracy and rejection to all non-democratic alternatives), I just ran a crosstabs to have how many of them are really committed democrats. Democrat students are expected to prefer democracy and at the same time reject all non-democratic alternatives. Two variables were involved; these are a new variable that included three questions on rejection to non-democratic alternative against a question that measured students' preference for democracy. If so, those who always prefer democracy and those who always reject non-democratic alternatives are my committed democrats. It is indicated in the table above that 152 students (47.5%) are committed democrats; they always prefer democracy and always reject non democratic alternatives. The same was observed after creating a new dummy variable, which measures "always democrats" and "not always democrats". In that variable it is observed that 47.5% students are always committed democrats against others (i.e. 52%). This is a good indication in support for democracy.

#### **5.4 Students' support for democracy**

This section deals with the question "What factors explain students' support for democracy?" As noted in chapter three, three sets of factors are being investigated. They include certain social factors such as gender and age, institutional factors such as membership of voluntary associations, and cultural factors, i.e. trust. Students' support of democracy is measured using their responses to three related statements:

1. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
2. For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.
3. In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.

Students were asked to agree with that statement which is closest to their views. For the purpose of the analysis, students' responses were ordered whereby responses to statement 1

are considered as “always prefers democracy”; statement 2 as “it doesn’t matter”; and statement 3 as “non-democracy can be preferable”. I will investigate in the following subsections whether there are any explanations for the different levels of support for democracy (as expressed in relation to these statements) among the students at the University of Dar es Salaam.

#### **5.4.1 Social factors and support for democracy**

In studying the effect of different kinds of social factors on students’ support for democracy, a number of variables were involved. I wanted to know to what extent students’ social differences such as gender (male/female) and rural or urban origin correlate with variation in support for democracy among these groups of students.

##### ***5.4.1.1 Gender and the support for democracy***

With regard to gender, my hypothesis is that *female students have more support for democracy than male students*. This is because currently females in Tanzania have been more active in advocating and supporting changes in their society, more specifically those aspects which relate to social relationships between men and women, and are therefore regarded as aspects of democracy. To start with gender, I run a crosstab between student gender and the support for democracy. Gender composition in my data set indicates that there are more male students (62%) than female students (38%) at UDSM. This ‘skewed’ distribution of gender in the sample reflects the overall gender distribution in the student body, provided that gender was used among the stratification criteria to ensure a representative sample (see chapter four).

Table 5.7 below indicates that there are variations in the support for democracy among students of different gender. It shows that female students are more supportive of democracy than male students, as about three quarters of female students (75%) always support democracy while less than two thirds of male students (59%) always do that. Moreover, a higher percentage of male students (27%) would agree to non-democratic government than female students (11%); at the same time, not only are there more males who are indifferent (doesn’t matter) but actually more are non-democratic. At that stage then, we only have a descriptive analysis which does not indicate whether this support is significant or not.

**Table 5.7: Support for democracy by gender as independent variable**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
<b>Gender</b>	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
Male	139	59	32	14	63	27
Female	106	75	20	14	16	11

*N=400, Missing 24*

I went further with testing as to whether the findings of Table 5.7 are statistically significant. Since my variables comprise 'nominal' and 'interval', I applied Eta statistical measure to see the relation that stands in this analysis. The finding shows that Eta statistical measure indicates 0.183, which shows that there is a weak but statistically significant correlation between gender and support for democracy. Therefore I accept my hypothesis that female students support democracy more than male students, as there is a significant (but weak) association between gender and support for democracy.

#### ***5.4.1.2 Rural and urban origin and support for democracy***

The second analysis to be checked on social structure and the support for democracy is the students' place of origin (whether they come from an urban or rural home). My hypothesis is that *students of urban origin are more supportive of democracy than those from rural areas*. This follows the experience that urban people were the first to support democracy with no doubts, wanting changes in their mode of life. They are much more exposed to media and all forms of debates compared to rural people. Exposure to news media, in particular to newspapers, is said to be generally a good indicator of support for democracy in Africa. The data set indicates that the student body is divided by half between students from urban and rural areas.

I ran crosstabulation between these two variables (place of origin and support for democracy). The results show that approximately two-thirds of both groups (62% for rural areas and 68% for urban students) always support democracy. The next step involved testing for association between place of origin and support for democracy. I used the same Eta statistical measure to see the relation, which indicated it is 0.082, indicating no significant association between these variables. Therefore I reject my hypothesis which stated that 'students of urban origin are more supportive of democracy than those from rural areas' and accept the null hypothesis.

### 5.4.1.3 Age and the support for democracy

Thirdly, I analysed the relationship between age and support for democracy among UDSM students. My hypothesis is that *younger students are more supportive of democracy than older students*. Students' ages in the sample range widely from 20 to 37 years. However, students' mean, median and mode age are all directing to 24 years of age. Before analysing, I created new categories dividing students into five groups; 24 years (which is the median and mode), one year up and down, then less or above that, to have five groups. These are: <23, 23, 24, 25 and >25. The number of students in each of these age categories is as follows: <23 years: 41 (12%); 23 years: 85 (25%); 24 years: 87 (25%); 25 years: 68 (20%); >25 years: 62 (18%); and 57 missing (N. valid=343).

Table 5.8 below indicates that all age groups, by more than 60% support and always prefer democracy, led by students in the 23-24 years of age range (68%). It can also be noted that older students (between 25 – 25 and above) are those who are highly supportive of non-democratic government by 29% and 26 % respectively, but a higher number of younger students (age below 23 and 23) are indifferent (saying 'it doesn't matter').

I tested the variables using Pearson's R (which accommodates interval by interval variables) with a result of 0.287. This shows that the relationship is weak and does not have any significance when measuring the correlation between these two variables.

**Table 5.8: Age and support for democracy**

Ages	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
<23	22	61	8	22	6	17
23	55	68	12	15	14	17
24	58	68	12	14	15	18
25	40	61	7	11	19	29
>25	37	65	5	9	15	26

*N=400, Missing=57*

In conclusion I can say that, generally all groups of students show support for democracy. These are the groups of gender, place of origin, and age among students at UDSM. It has been shown that female students marginally show more support for democracy than male students; I found that there is no statistically significant difference in the support for democracy between urban and rural students' and between students of different age groups. I

can therefore say that, among students' social groups, gender makes more difference in the support for democracy than other social group.

#### 5.4.2 Institutional factors (students' political participation) and support for democracy

In order to study the effect of different kinds of institutional factors on students' support for democracy, variables related to students' political participation and association membership were investigated. On one hand, political participation involves questions that investigate students' participation in formal voting and informal activity such as contacting officials to raise issues or attending a demonstration; on the other hand it includes also civic participation such as active membership in voluntary associations and party identification.

##### 5.4.2.1 Political activism and support for democracy

With regard to students' political participation, my general hypothesis is that *students who support democracy are also politically involved*. I first look at student participation in less formalised, individual and collective civic activism. My independent variable measures whether students had participated in several political activities, like (1) 'attendance at political meetings', (2) 'have contacted a government official to raise a complaint', (3) 'wrote a letter to daily newspaper raising an issue' or (4) 'attended a political demonstration or protest march'. Students' responses were coded to create simple categorical variables (i.e. "0 = no, I have not done that" and "1 = yes, I have done that once or several times") to measure students' level of participation and support for democracy. Table 5.9 below indicates in an index of student activism the extent of student participation in the four types of activities, whereby 1 (one) refers to participation in one of the activities (e.g. attending a meeting), 2 (two) indicates participating in two types of activities and so forth.

**Table 5.9: Students' political activism and support for democracy (dummy)**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
<b>Political activism</b>	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
Don't participate in any activity	83	22	22	06	19	05
Participate in 1 activity	70	19	16	04	25	07
Participate in 2 activities	52	14	05	02	17	05
Participate in 3 activities	28	07	05	01	13	04
Participate fully (all 4 measured activities)	12	03	02	0.5	05	01

*N=400, Missing 24*

The table presents a mixed picture between students' support for democracy and their participation in various political activities. About 22% of all students who support democracy indicate that they do not participate in political activity at all. It can also be noted that only 3% of students who fully support democracy have also been participating fully in all four given participation measures; 19% take part in one activity; 14% participate in two activities; and 7% take part in three activities. On the other hand, less than 20% of all students are grouped as indifferent, and fewer students (about 22%) support democracy and participate at different levels. So, about 41% of students tend to participate in one way or another in activities that were available to them, leaving about 22% who do not take part in any of them.

When I turned to testing for significance/association of these two variables, the chi-square indicated 0.546 (which is a measure testing independence/association of two or more categorical variables), which tells that there is moderate association between support for democracy and students' political participation. I therefore accept my hypothesis that students who support democracy are also politically involved, as more than half of them do.

#### ***5.4.2.2 Voting and support for democracy***

One would assume that preference for (representative, multi-party) democracy involves also students' participation in voting in the last general election. I still want to test my hypothesis that students who support democracy are also politically involved. Generally, the sample shows that more than half of the students (57%) participated in the election, while the remaining 43% did not. It should be noted that the general election referred to here is the 2005 one. So among these students; 9 students (2.6%) were not able to vote (since they were below the required age), about 309 students (77%) voted for the first time, and it was the second time or more to vote in a general election for the remaining 24 students (7.4%).

The table below shows that a greater majority of those who do prefer democracy voted in the last election than those who claim *not* to prefer democracy. Of those who say they would prefer non-democratic government, 15% voted, while 37% of those who always prefer democracy voted in the last general election. This is not surprising, since it is expected that those who prefer democracy usually participate in activities like voting. Perhaps this finding can be understood in the following way: those saying they prefer democracy are at the same time not satisfied with the way things are, while those who say they do not prefer democracy,

imply that they are not satisfied with the present regime, and so they do not take part in its procedures, like voting.

**Table 5.10: Supporting democracy and voting attitude**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
Voting	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
I voted	139	37	25	07	55	15
Did not vote	106	28	27	07	24	06

*N=400, Missing 24*

Further testing using Eta indicates a value of 0.133, which means that there is weak but significant association between support for democracy and participating in democratic activities like voting. Therefore, in most cases, as I have been saying above, those not supporting democracy are somewhat more likely to vote (although the significance is weak) and those supporting democracy do not really see the need to vote, because they are satisfied with the current regime.

#### **5.4.2.3 Association membership and support for democracy**

The next step involved measuring the relationship between students' support for democracy and association membership. Association membership is measured by asking questions that probe students' involvement with off-campus (at national level) religious groups as well as secular voluntary associations (i.e. two questions), as in Dar es Salaam there are lots of off-campus organisations of civil society. I changed the association variables to create a simple index with the categories: 'not a member/inactive member'; 'active member/leader in 1 association'; and 'active member/leader in 2 associations'. I then ran a crosstab to investigate the variations in support of democracy that exist among students with a different level of involvement in association membership. The findings are that 86% of students claim to have active membership in religious groups and 68% say they are members in a non-religious group. Under one dummy variable (combined association in religious groups and involvement in secular voluntary associations 'off-campus') indicate that 33% students are not involved, 29% are indicated as involved in one of the two, and 61% are involved in both types of associations provided.

**Table 5.11: Association membership and support for democracy**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
<b>Membership</b>	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
Member in 2 associations	136	39	25	07	55	16
Member in 1 association	67	19	16	05	20	06
Not a member	28	08	5	01	0	0

*N=400, Missing 48*

Table 5.11 above, shows that students who prefer democracy makes up the largest proportion of those involved in association membership. Of those supporting democracy, 39% are members of various associations, against 12% of those who don't always support democracy and are members of associations. It can also be noted that there are no students who are not members of associations who prefer non-democratic government. Further reading shows that students who say they are not members make the smallest group (only 1% of students) of indifferent (doesn't matter), while 7% are associated in both types of associations and 5% are involved in 1 association. I can say that student involvement (especially in more than one association) creates larger groups of those who are becoming indifferent.

Testing the significance of these readings, Eta measurement indicates 0.169 which basically means there is a very weak association between these variables, which is not statistically significant. This leads me to say that association membership does not necessarily influence a student to become a good supporter of democracy. Though, simple crosstabulation has also indicated that those who are more involved in associations are more supportive of democracy than others (indifferent and supportive of non-democracy).

#### **5.4.2.4 Student leadership and support for democracy**

The last group to be analysed involves students in leadership positions (SL) against those students who are not in formal leadership positions (SNL). My hypothesis is that *SL support democracy more than SNL*. I say that because it is presumed that students who participate in democratic processes like representing others understand much more of the system used and so they would support it more than those who are a bit further from what really happens. Distribution among SL and SNL in my sample show that there are 315 SNL against 73 SL (with valid N=388, Missing 12).

A crosstab between students and support for democracy show that 67% of SNL prefer democracy compared to 55% of SL. It can also be seen that 28% of SL actually prefer non-

democratic government compared to 20% of SNL. At the same time there are more SL who are indifferent (doesn't matter) towards democracy (17% SL compared to SNL 13%). From that, further testing using Eta shows 0.104, which indicates a very weak/no relationship between these two variables (i.e. support for democracy and student leadership position). Therefore, I decline my hypothesis since there are proportionally more SNL who support democracy, in a context where there is, however, only a very weak / no association between student leadership and the support for democracy.

### **5.4.3 Cultural factors and the support for democracy**

Trust is the major variable that was mentioned in my theory chapter (chapter four) among the cultural factors that may influence support for democracy. In this section I test this proposition and measure students' trust (or lack thereof) towards different groups and institutions as a potential predictor for support for democracy. My hypothesis is that *students' trust in institutions increases the support for democracy*.

I have ten questions that measure trust in the survey but I grouped them into four groups. I asked students whether they trust (1) other students on campus (student leaders and other students in general); (2) university leaders/constituencies on campus (student leaders, top management and academic staff); (3) Tanzanians in general (fellow citizens and traditional leaders); and (4) the Tanzanian government/ state institutions (the President, parliament, police and judiciary). All these groups were made after factorising the variables; hence these groupings seemed to go together.

Responses to these questions were decoded to have three categories, whereas '1' = "trusting" is really "trusting somewhat/trusting a lot"; the "just a little" is more like the in between answer, so it is represented as '0' which is "no trust" including the "no trust at all/don't know". This aims at making the reading simpler and in a summarised manner. Descriptively, it is found that academic staff receives more trust (72%) than others, followed by other citizens (65%) and the least trusted is university management (33.2%). The most not trusted is university management (35%) followed by police and traditional leaders (25%).

General descriptive analysis (Table 5.12 below) on trust indicates that out of these four groups, most of them receive 'low trust', rather than 'trust' or 'no trust'. It is indicated that students only have 26% of low trust, followed by state institutions (21%), Tanzanians in general (19%) and campus leaders (15%). On the other hand, Tanzanians seems to be more

trusted among these groups by having 36%, followed by students only (34%), campus leaders (20%) and state institutions becomes the least trusted (15%). Most of these institutions mentioned though receive low trust from students; as ‘campus leaders’ is (65%), state institutions (60%), Tanzanians in general (45%) and student only (40%). It can be seen that there are less trust (no trust/low trust) than been fully trusted by students.

**Table 5.12: Students’ trust in other groups<sup>31</sup>**

	High trust		Low trust		No trust	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
Students only	130	34	156	40	102	26
Campus leaders	77	20	249	65	57	15
State Institutions	61	15	227	60	77	21
Tanzanians in general	132	36	163	45	68	19

*N=400, Missing “students only”=12; “campus leaders”=17, “state institution”=35, “Tanzanian”=37*

I went further trying to measure students’ trust and the support for democracy. I ran a crosstabulation between support for democracy variable and each created variable under trust.

#### **5.4.3.1 Trust in fellow students and support for democracy**

Firstly, I measure trust in fellow students and the support for democracy. Findings in Table 5.12 below indicate that preference for democracy has more students than indifferent and those preferring non-democratic government. Preference for democracy show that 20% of students have high trust, 29% have low, while only 16% show no trust at all in fellow students.

**Table 5.13: Trust students only and support for democracy**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non-demo preferred	
<b>Trust</b>	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
High trust	74	20	14	4	32	9
Low trust	105	29	20	6	24	7
No trust	58	16	14	4	23	6

*N=400, Missing 36*

It can be observed that in these two variables, most of students are in the category of low trust compared to high trust and no trust.

<sup>31</sup> Findings were such that all ‘0’ is “no trust”, ‘1’ is “trust” and all that were in between like 0.25, 0.33, 0.5, 0.67, 0.75 were categorized under “low trust”

### 5.4.3.2 Trust in campus leaders and support for democracy

Secondly, I measured students' trust in campus leader and the support for democracy. Findings indicate those students who have high trust and those who have low trust in campus leaders have higher support for democracy, as they have 14% and 43% respectively (Table 5.12 below). It can also be seen that students who have low trust (43%) are the highest though they support democracy and trust campus leaders as indicated in Table 5.13 below.

**Table 5.14: Trust in campus leaders and support for democracy**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
	counts	percent	counts	percent	counts	percent
High trust	51	14	11	03	08	02
Low trust	145	43	26	07	57	16
No trust	31	09	12	03	11	03

*N=400, Missing 40*

It can be seen that many students who support democracy indicate low trust in campus leaders. The next measure involves students' support for democracy against trust in fellow Tanzanians.

### 5.4.3.3 Trust in Tanzanians in general and support for democracy

Trust in Tanzanians in general (as in Table 5.14 below) indicate almost the same as shown above, since the group that does not prefer democracy is low in support for democracy by 22%, compared to those who prefer democracy (by 65%), while those who say it doesn't matter have 13% of support for democracy.

**Table 5.15: Support for democracy and trust in fellow Tanzanians**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
	Count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
High trust	87	25	15	4	26	8
Low trust	100	29	21	6	34	10
No trust	37	11	11	3	15	4

*N=400, Missing 54*

It can also be noted that those preferring democracy indicate high trust in fellow Tanzanians (by 25%), low trust (29%), and no trust is only 11%. This shows little difference with support or democracy and trust in campus leaders. Then the last part is about trust in the state institutions and support for democracy.

#### 5.4.3.4 Support for democracy and trust in state institutions

Lastly, I measure trust in state institutions and the support for democracy. Table 5.15 below is a crosstabs between trust in government institutions and the support for democracy.

**Table 5.16: Trust in state institutions and preference for democracy**

	Preference for democracy					
	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
High trust	43	12	5	1	12	3
Low trust	139	40	31	9	46	13
No trust	44	13	11	3	17	5

*N=400, Missing 52*

The table above indicates that almost half support democracy and show low trust in state institutions (40%). It can also be seen that most students prefer democracy (by 65%), but out of those preferring democracy 13% say they have no trust in state institutions. It can also be noted that there are very few students (about 13%) who are indifferent, and those not preferring democracy 21% with most of them showing low trust in state institutions (13%). All in all, all categories of trust that I have measured indicate to have low trust against these variables presented, while having less students as indifferent and no trust. So I turn to test the association between trust and support for democracy among students.

#### 5.4.3.5 Testing trust and support for democracy

After seeing that there is low trust in state institutions within a context where there is almost 2/3 support for democracy among students, I turn to test the strength of relationship that exists between trust and support for democracy. I start by creating a 'trust index' by computing all ten questions. After running a series of tests, I ended up with Eta statistical measure, which measures the relationship between nominal by interval variables. Eta indicated 0.092 which means that there is a weak relationship between trust and support for democracy. This leads me to reject my hypothesis that student support for democracy increases with increasing trust in state institutions. This is supported by the finding that most types of institutions received low levels of trust from students, meanwhile there was high support for democracy.

## 5.5 Students' cognitive awareness of politics

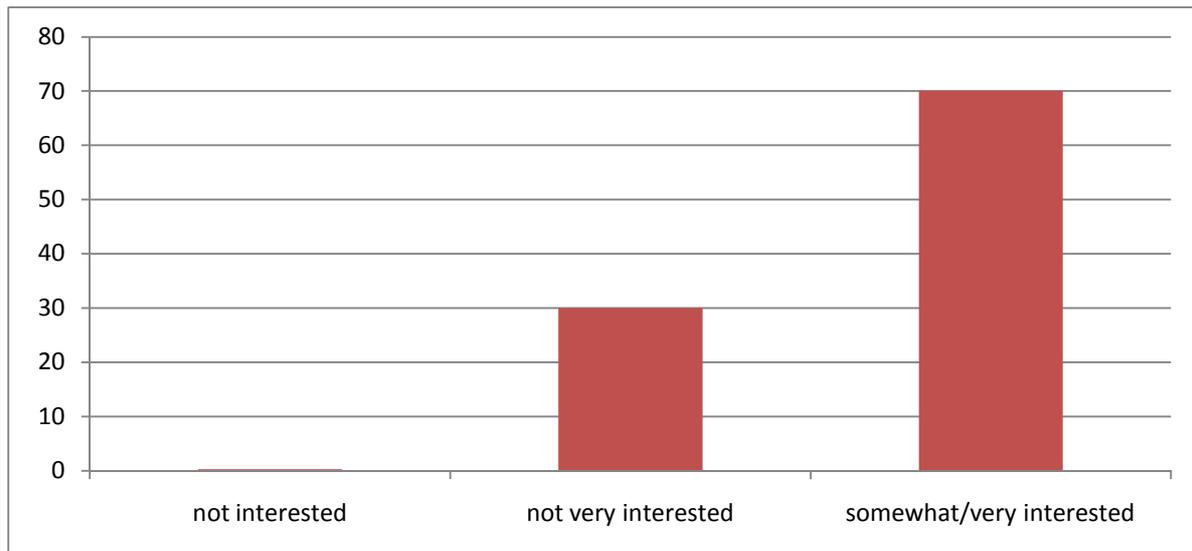
I also wanted to have an understanding of students' cognitive awareness. This is because I hypothesise that *students have higher levels of cognitive awareness and are involved cognitively in politics and governance*. This is because students want to know and usually follow what is going on in their political life. I suppose also they are much interested in receiving news through different media like radio, television and newspapers which trigger them to discuss current political issues with friends or relatives.

In studying students' level of cognitive awareness, several variables are involved. I wanted to know to what extent students are aware of national politics and democracy. In particular I intended to investigate the extent to which students are interested in public affairs, if they participate in political matters, and if they are cognitively aware of the political matters. Differences among different groups of students are described in the next sections. Descriptively, it is indicated that most students are cognitively engaged and aware of politics as shown below.

### 5.5.1 Students' interest in public affairs

Interest in public affairs had one question that asked whether students were *interested in public affairs (especially in politics and government)*. Responses provided to the question varied from 'not interested', 'not very interested', 'somewhat interested', 'very interested' and 'don't know'. In analysing, I recoded the responses into three, "0" to mean "not interested/don't know", "1" to mean "not very interested" and "2" to mean "somewhat/very interested". This summarises the responses as indicated in Figure 5.8 below.

**Figure 5.8: Students' cognitive engagement**



*N=400, Missing 1*

Findings indicate that the majority of students are interested in public affairs. Of all students, 70% (N=279) show that they are “somewhat/very interested” in public affairs, leaving those who are ‘not very interested’ to be 30% (N=119). Only 1 respondent (0.3%) indicated that s/he is not interested in public affairs. This is a solid indication that students are interested in public affairs as expected earlier. The next question involved their participation in discussions.

### **5.5.2 Students' participation in discussing politics**

Measuring students' participation in discussion on matters regarding politics and governance, I used one question which asked ‘*When you get together with fellow students, friends or family, do you discuss political matters?*’ Students were also provided with responses that ranged from ‘never’, ‘occasionally’, ‘frequently’ and ‘don't know’. I recoded these responses as “0” meaning ‘never/don't know’, “1” to mean ‘occasionally’ and “2” to be ‘frequently’.

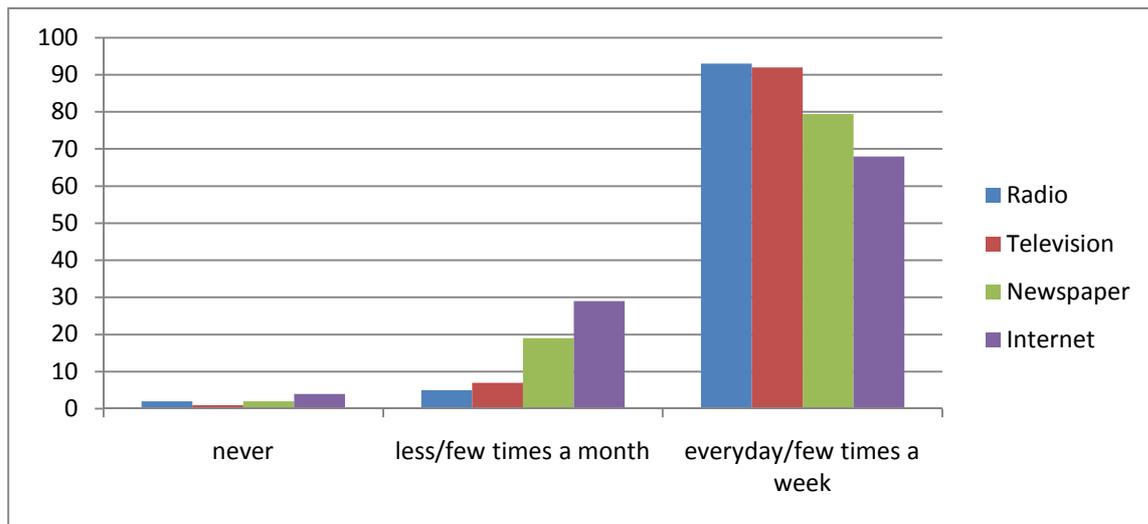
Findings indicate that only 4.5% students (18) say they never discuss politics, leaving 95.5% (380) saying that they occasionally discuss politics (*N=400, Missing 2*). Occasional discussion of politics with fellow students, friends or family is a better rate of political engagement among students. Since it was seen earlier that students are interested in public affairs, now it shows that they go further, even to having occasional discussion of politics. I then go further to see whether students are interested in media use as it stands, as one item that raises political cognitive awareness.

### 5.5.3 Students' media use

There were four questions that wanted to find out how students interact with media use. The question asked '*how often do you get news from the following source: radio, television, newspaper and internet?*' Responses were provided to have a range of sequence from 'never', 'less than once a month', 'few times a month', 'few times a week', 'everyday' and 'don't know'. I had to recode these responses for the purpose of analysis to have "0" meaning 'never/don't know', "1" meaning 'less/few times a month', and "2" meaning 'everyday/few times a week'. Figure 5.9 below summarise students' media use.



**Figure 5.9: Students' media use**



*N=400, Missing, Radio=22, Television=16, Newspaper=26, Internet=28*

In most cases findings indicate that most students use media almost every day. It is seen that radio use is the highest among students (everyday/few times a week) by 93%, followed by television (92%), newspaper (79%) and internet (68%). The findings also indicate that there is a reversal in media use regarding less/few times a month, as internet leads by 29%, newspaper 19%, television 7% and last is radio at 5%. Contrary to that, very few students say that they never engage with media, as it is 2% to radio, 1% to television, 2% to newspaper and 4% to internet which is the highest.

This indicates that most students are informed of political issues and are really cognitively engaged to have information and discuss politics with fellow students. Lastly I look at students' political awareness.

#### **5.5.4 Students' political awareness**

After having seen that students are interested in public affairs, that they participate in discussion with fellows and relatives and that they are well involved with media use, I turn to understand their political awareness (which involves identifying incumbents). Students with cognitive awareness and an interest in public affairs are expected to be politically aware, and able to identify incumbents at both local and national levels.

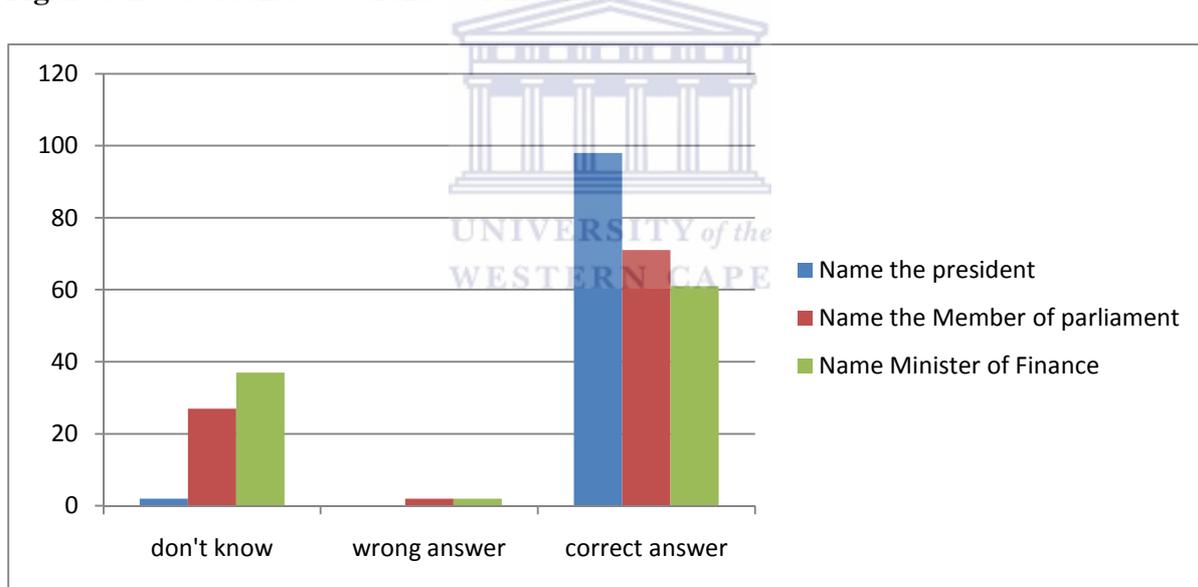
Two questions involved understanding students' political awareness. These measured students' ability to identify three political incumbents and required students to identify three administrative organs, both at national level.

In all these questions, students were supposed to write a name, number of years or periods or mention the state organ that was required, but also extra responses like “don’t know” and “know but can’t remember” were provided. The first part asked students “*if they can tell the name of (1) the President, (2) Member of Parliament and, (3) Minister of Finance*”. Second part asked students “*if they happened to know (1) which political party has most seats in the parliament (2) how many times can someone be elected as president and, (3) whose responsibility is it to determine whether or not laws are constitutional*”. The analysis began by recoding the responses into SPSS readable values, including “0” to represent ‘don’t know/know but can’t remember’, “1” to be ‘wrong answer’ and “2” to be ‘correct answer’.

#### 5.5.4.1 Students’ awareness of incumbents

Findings indicate (in Figure 5.10 below) that more than half of respondents can tell names of several incumbents who are in power.

**Figure 5.10: Students’ awareness of incumbents**



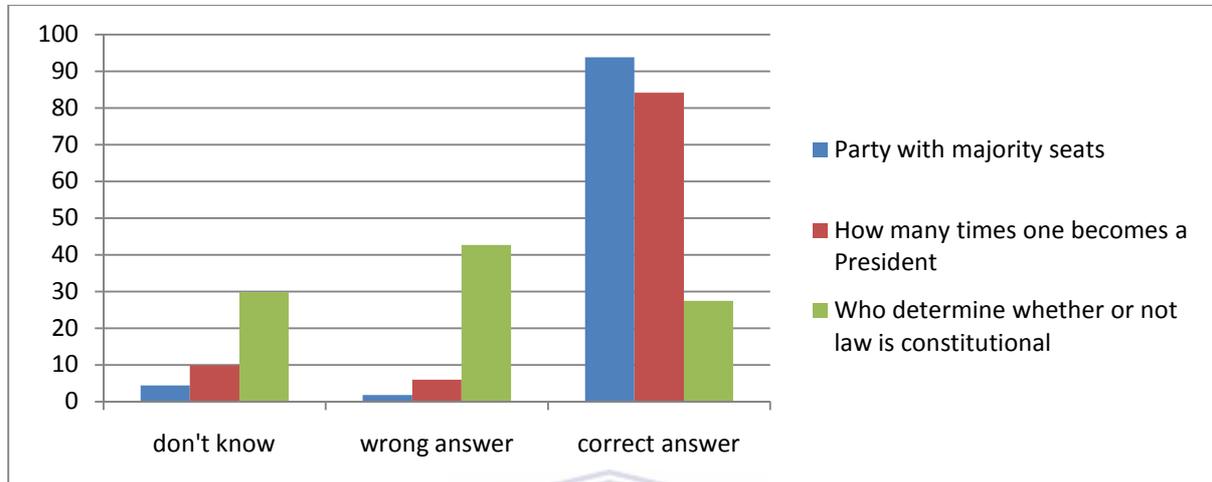
*N=400, Missing President=9, Member of parliament=20, Minister of Finance=22*

Almost all students were able to mention the name of the President (98.5%), while 71% mentioned correctly the name of their Member of Parliament, and 62% gave the name of the Minister of Finance. Less than 2% gave wrong answers, while those saying they don’t know are higher regarding the Minister of Finance (37%), Member of Parliament (27%) and lastly the President (1.5%). It can be concluded that most students are aware of several leaders who are in power, so they are students who are cognitively engaged with national politics. The second part represents awareness of several state rules and structures.

#### 5.5.4.2 Students' awareness of state structures and rules

The question wanted to see students' awareness of several regulations and organisational responsibilities.

**Figure 5.11: Students and state apparatus**



*N=400, Missing Majority party =12, Presidential=16, Constitutional = 18*

It can be seen that students are also cognitively aware of several national political regulations and information. It is found that more than 90% know which political party holds higher number of seats in the parliament, and 84% understand how many times a president can hold an office. Regarding whose work it is to determine whether or not the law is constitutional, the findings are uncertain, since 43% of students got it wrong, 30% said they don't know, and only 28% (mostly from the law faculty) got it right.

Generally it can be concluded that students are well interested in public affairs; most of them tend to participate in political discussions; students use media a lot to obtain news and be cognitively aware of politics in Tanzania; and students are politically aware and know the incumbents.

#### 5.6 Summary on students and democracy in Tanzania

Students' attitudes to democracy can be summarised according to what I have indicated in the sections above as follows:

- First, with regard to students' conception of democracy, students have shown a good understanding of democracy by conceptualising it in wider perspectives that cover minimum and maximum levels of democracy; they conceptualise democracy in

procedural rather than substantive terms; and they consider democracy as overwhelmingly positive. Moreover they can distinguish democracy from other non-democratic alternatives like authoritarian rule.

- Secondly, with regard to supply for democracy, students indicate that Tanzanian democracy does not meet their expectations. So they are not satisfied with democracy; elections are free but with problems and they believe that they have democracy with major problems.
- Thirdly, with regard to students' commitment to democracy, it is found that most students can define and conceptualise democracy from several perspectives, which indicates how committed they are; moreover they reject all non-democratic forms of government, and rather support popular representation at all levels of decision-making. It is seen that almost half of students are committed democrats.
- Fourthly, all groups (social groups) of students show support for democracy; further analysis indicates that female students show marginally more support for democracy than male students; secondly, there is moderate association between support for democracy and students' political participation. Other than that, it was clear that those not supporting democracy are more likely to vote than those satisfied with democracy. And lastly, association membership does not necessarily influence a student to become a good supporter of democracy.
- Under cultural factor, it is indicated that a weak relationship exists between trust and the support for democracy.
- Fifth, it has been found that students are interested in public affairs; they participate in discussing politics; media is used almost every day to be cognitively engaged, and they are aware of politics in the country.

After these findings, I then analyse student attitudes towards university governance. This next part covers student opinion on how their university is managed and governed.

### **5.7 Are students satisfied with the way their institution is managed and governed?**

After the analysis of students' demand for and perception of the supply of democracy in Tanzania, and their political behaviour and cognitive awareness regarding national politics, I now turn to students' political attitudes and behaviour in relation to university management. Several variables are going to be analysed in relation to university governance and democracy. The aim is to provide a general picture of student attitudes towards student

representation and university governance. Only selections of key variables (but not all that were initially included in the questionnaire) are going to be used in this analysis. Most of the analysis is done at a descriptive level.

### **5.7.1 Student satisfaction with the way their institution is managed and governed**

After having considered students' attitudes towards democracy and governance in Tanzania, this section looks at student satisfaction with the way UDSM is governed and student representation. Under this section, my hypothesis is that *students are not satisfied with the kind of governance that is applied in the university*. My hypothesis is based on the tacit belief that university administration does not consider students as serious stakeholders in its operations, as there has been a series of recurrent conflicts between student leaders and the university administration. Moreover, just before the data collection there was a student protest which ended in university closure for months (see chapter 2 section 2.5.5). Furthermore, I would like to see to what extent students consider their participation in university decision-making bodies as a case of democratic involvement. Thus, I will try to disprove this (negative) hypothesis.

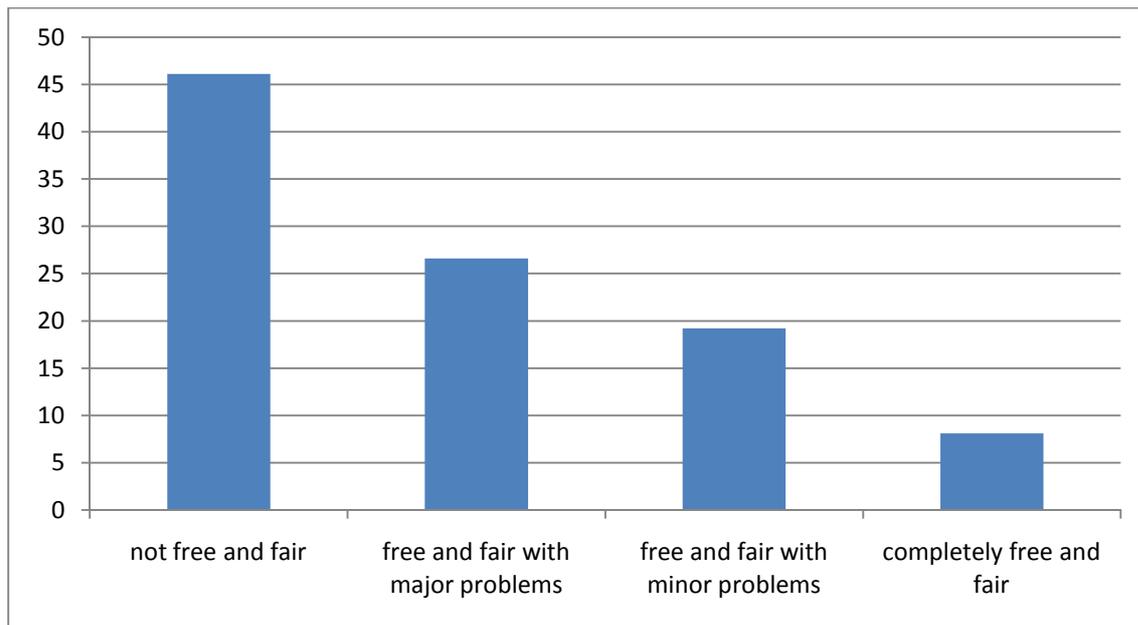
### **5.7.2 Satisfaction with institutional governance**

Here I measure at a personal experiential level how satisfied students are with the university governance system and student representation in particular. Indicators include student views regarding the freeness and fairness of the last University Student Representative Council (USRC) election, satisfaction with the performance of student representation in institutional decision-making bodies, and perceptions of corruption and trust.

#### **5.7.2.1 Satisfaction with institutional democracy**

The first question asked regarding student representation at UDSM was; "*How would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last DARUSO election?*". Several responses were provided to this question, including 'not free and fair', 'free and fair with major/minor problems', and 'completely free and fair'. Findings show that most students believe that the last USRC election (of 2008) was not free and fair as indicated in Figure 5.12 below.

**Figure 5.12: Satisfaction with last USRC election**



*N=400, Missing 5*

It is found that only 8% of respondents say that the last USRC was free and fair; a number of students say the election was free and fair with minor and major problems (19% and 27% respectively), and almost a half (46%) say the last USRC was not free and fair. Thus, over 70% of the students do not have faith in the election process and consider it to be flawed in serious ways.

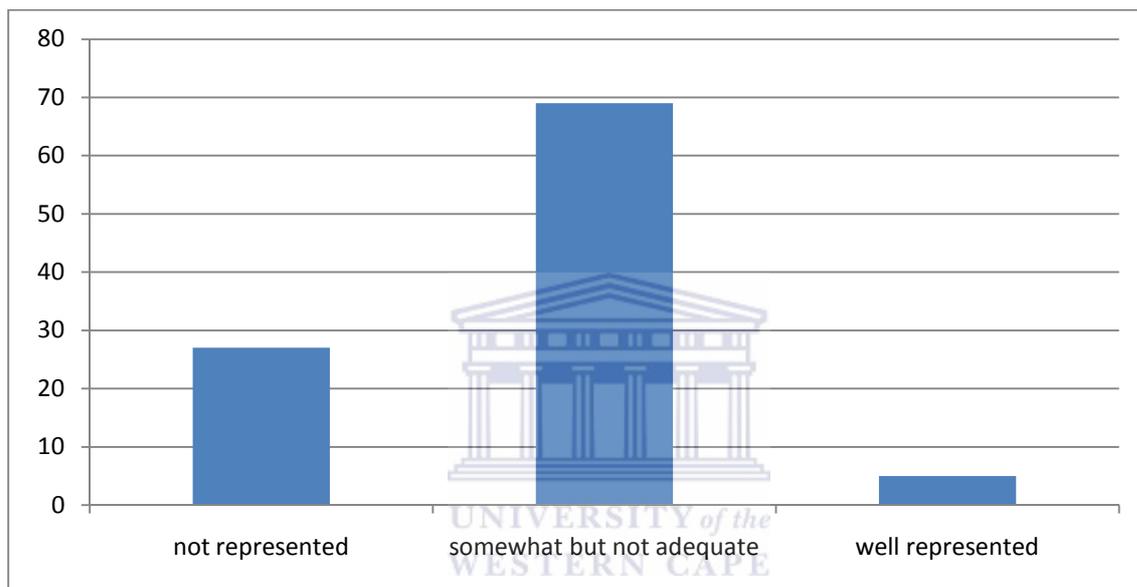
Turning to the second question, I wanted to establish the extent of students' participation in the DARUSO election, i.e. whether they voted or not. The second question was “*With regard to the last DARUSO (Presidential) elections (2008), which statement is true for you?*” The response list had a range of answers, which I combined into two sets (i.e. “I did not vote” and “I voted”). It is found that of the whole sample, only about a quarter (26%) of the students actually voted in the last DARUSO election, leaving 74% who did not vote in that election. It appears that there is a problem with the extent to which students perceive this election to be meaningful. This is further corroborated by the fact that the extent of non-voting and the perception of a lack of freeness/fairness of the election are almost equally high (at over 70%).

#### **5.7.2.2 Students' satisfaction with University representation**

Another way of investigating students' opinions regarding their representation in university governance is to ask directly about their view of the extent of student representation in university governance and the responsiveness of university leadership to ordinary students

(i.e. how much time university leaders, student leaders, and academics take to listen to students). There are three questions that probe students' opinions regarding representation at university level directly. First question asked "How do students view student representation in university?". The responses (as recoded) include students are "not represented", "represented but not adequate", "well represented". Findings reflect that the vast majority of students think that they are not represented, or not adequately represented (as indicated in Figure 5.13 below).

**Figure 5.13: Students' view on their representation at University**



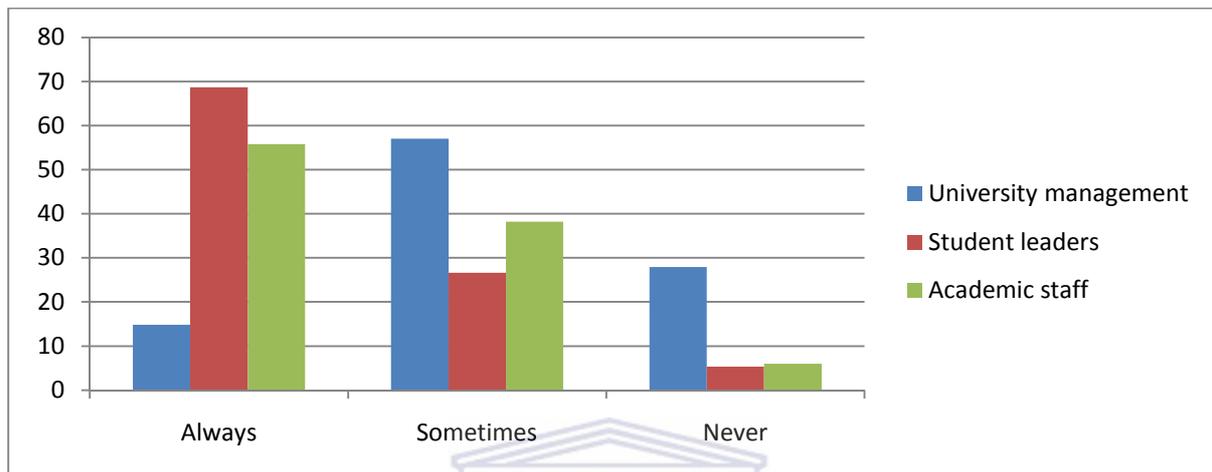
*N=400, Missing 7*

It can be seen that less than five percent (4.6%) have the view that students are well represented in university governance. At the same time, 27% say they are not at all represented, leaving 69% to say that they are somewhat represented but that they do not consider the student representation as adequate. These findings do not differ much from those of the second question that investigates students' opinions on their satisfaction with the way student representation works in their university. Findings show that 24% of students say that they are satisfied with the way representation works, with 12% saying that they are not represented at all. Again almost two-thirds of the students (64%) indicate that they are not satisfied with the way things are (in addition to those who think students aren't represented at all) (N=400, Missing = 1).

It is obvious that the vast majority of students at UDSM are not happy with the way student representation works. Further analysis involved analysing how students view the way

university management, student leaders, and academics take time to listen to what students have to say. Findings suggest that university management is the least responsive to what students think, and least often tries to listen to what they have to say (as indicated in Figure 5.14 below).

**Figure 5.14: How much do they take time to listen to students?**



*N=400, Missing, University Management=2, SL=2, Academic staff=2*

The findings indicate that student leaders are viewed as the most responsive group; 69% of students think that student leaders ‘always’ take time to listen to what their fellow students want to say. This is followed by perceptions of the responsiveness of academic staff (59% consider them as always listening to student concerns), but university management is endorsed as ‘always listening’ by only 15% of students. However, Figure 5.14 also shows that university management is at least considered to listen ‘sometimes’ to what students have to say (by 57%) and academic staff (38%). Conversely, it is also seen that 28% of students perceive that university management takes no time to listen to what they have to say.

### 5.7.3 Students’ support for university democracy

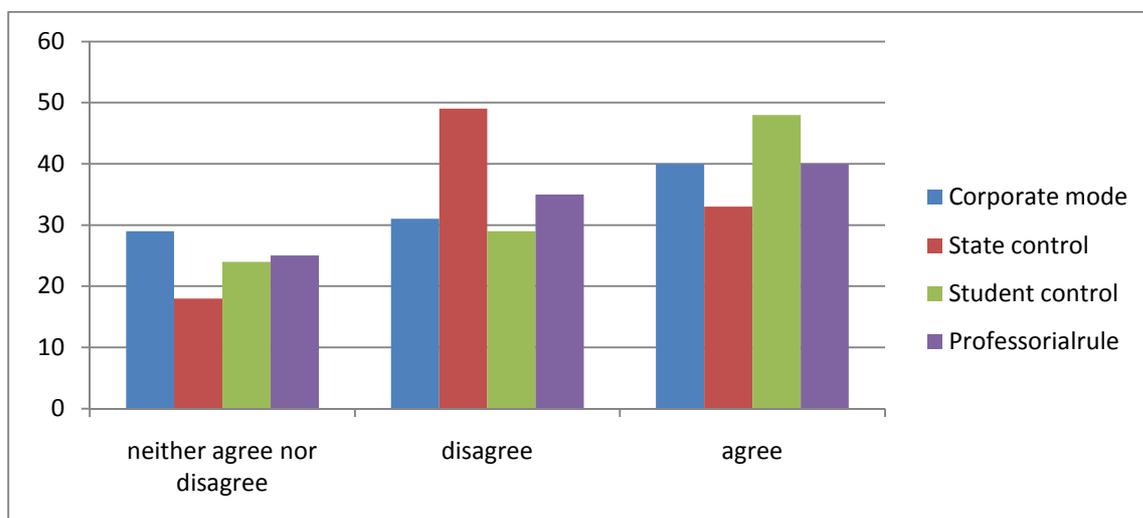
University democracy is well supported by students. Findings show that students support the representation of different stakeholders or constituencies in decision-making bodies within the institution. The idea of having student representation in university decision-making enjoys much support among students. Student representation in Council and Senate has 85% support; 75 % of students agree/strongly agree with the statement that “students should have a say in the appointment of academic staff and top management”; and correspondingly high

proportions of students (86%) reject the suggestion that “student representation in decision-making is a waste of time”.

Despite supporting student representation overwhelmingly, students have varied opinions about how they prefer their institution to be run. Four models of university governance were presented to students: a corporate-managerial model, the model of the student university, the classic community of scholars’ model, and the model of a government-run institution. As can be seen in Figure 5.15 there is a considerable amount of indecision and ambiguity towards the questions, with ‘neither agree nor disagree’ being the response of 18%-29% of students to each item.

More importantly, as may perhaps be expected, the model of the student university where “students have the predominant voice and run the university responsive to student interests” receives most support of all four models (47% agree/strongly agree), but fails to gain majority support (29% reject the model). Rather, about a third (31%) strongly disagree/disagree with the corporate university model implied in the notion that their institution should be run by management like a private business; while conversely almost 40% agree or strongly agree with this idea. Students disagree most with the idea of government taking decisions in their institution; almost half (49%) disagree/strongly disagree with this idea (and less than a third agree/strongly agree). At the same time 35% of students reject professors making decision without interference from any other stakeholders (while 40% agree/strongly agree). On the whole it appears that students prefer a model where all higher education stakeholders are involved in decision-making processes.

**Figure 5.15: Students rejecting non-representative university governance**



*N=400 Missin: Managerialism/State control=8, Student control/Professorial rule=10*

Thus, as Figure 5.15 above shows, students do not favour the kind of institution where any particular group would be predominant in decision-making (even students themselves). Rather, students want to be involved in decision-making, along with academics and top management, and they demand institutional autonomy by asking the government not to dominate decisions pertaining to the university.

#### **5.7.4 Accountability and student representation in institutional governance**

A final set of questions dealing with student representation considered students' views on leadership accountability within the university. I wanted to investigate students' opinion about the way institutional leadership should account to students, considering aspects of leadership accountability and students' roles in university management.

It is found that three quarters of students agree/strongly agree (75%) that university management should report and explain to students university policies and related issues regarding the running of the university. The overwhelming majority of students (90%) also insist that students themselves need to be aware of and examine university policies, so that they can take action to hold the university management accountable. Correspondingly, students are against the idea that their only role while at the university is to study (only 24% agree/strongly agree with the statement that "*students should concentrate on their studies and not waste time with student politics*") while the majority of respondents (55%) reject the statement outright.

#### **5.7.5 Student participation and campus politics**

Political participation is considered as one among other factors involved in democratic governance. Student participation in institutional politics may be assumed to influence their attitudes towards democratic governance (*see* chapter two in *sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4*). In this section I present students' participation in campus-based voluntary organisations, and their participation in campus-based politics and activism.

##### ***5.7.5.1 University-level civil society organisations***

At the national level 86% of students say they are involved in religious groups and 68% say they are members of non-religious groups. The same happens on campus, where most students are involved in, and feel closer to non-political associations than to student political

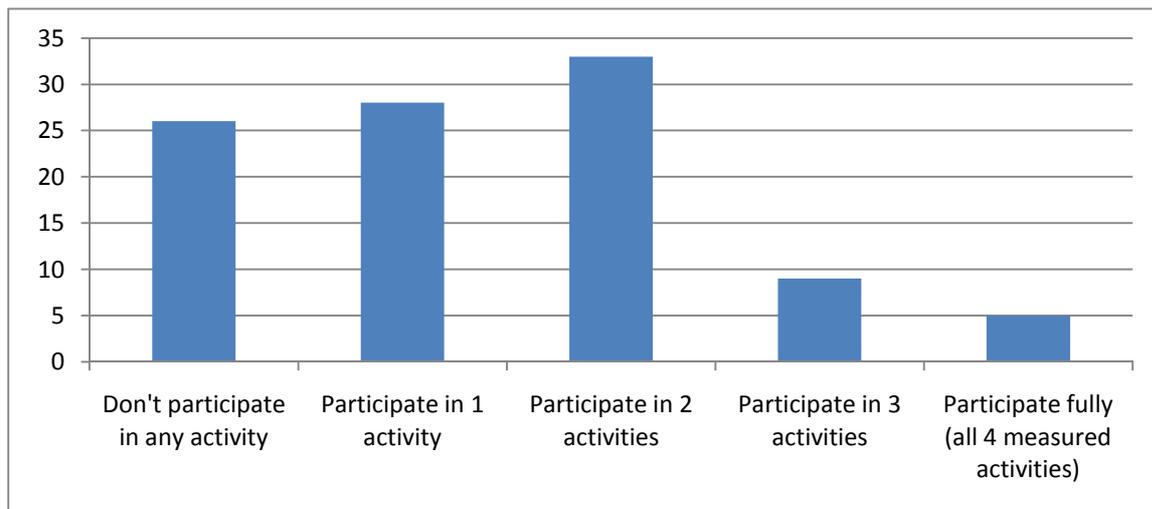
organisations. The number of students involved in non-political student associations and religious groups on campus is 83%; but only 44% feel close to USRC; and 33% acknowledge their membership of DARUSO (since all students are automatically members of DARUSO).

#### ***5.7.5.2 Student political activism at the university***

In this section I used voting and students' political participation to measure activism towards university management. The questions on voting wanted to know whether students participated in last DARUSO election. Students indicate that many of them did not vote in the last student election, as 42% say they did not vote while only 25% say they did. More than that, student activism included questions that probed whether students have been active (at campus level) in attending student protests, attending students' political meetings, have contacted university officials or have written a letter to student magazine or university management. Descriptive analysis indicates that 60% of students claim to have attended student political meetings; though only 19% have at least once contacted university officials to raise a complaint, with 80% saying that they would never do this. Only 10% say they once wrote letters to university management, but about 51% have joined other students in demonstrations.

Secondly, I created a new dummy variable that includes all four variables (attend student political meeting; contact university senior official; wrote a letter to student paper; and attend student protest march). Students' responses were coded to create simple categorical variables (i.e. "0 = no, I have not done that" and "1 = yes, I have done that once or several times") to measure students' level of participation and activism at university level. This enabled me to have a clear picture on how many students participate in numerous types of activism and others who do not. Figure 5.16 below shows the findings.

**Figure 5.16: Student political activism on campus**



*N=400 Missing=34*

It shows that about 26% of surveyed students do not take part in any type of student activism. The rest have participated in one way or another. Less than a third (28%) say that they participated in one of the measured activities in the past year; a third (33%) have taken part in two of the mentioned activities; 9% have been involved in three activities and 5% say they have participated in all types of activism (i.e. protesting, attending meetings, contacting officials, writing letters) in the past year. Therefore, although the majority of students show some active political participation, it is clear that the trend in most cases is for group participation rather than acting as an individual. The same has been observed with respect to student participation in politics off-campus. Moreover, it is also evident that students are much more involved in campus politics than they are in national politics. Lastly, as Altbach (2006) mentions, the innermost circle of highly activist students tends to be very small. At UDSM, the survey suggests that those who are highly active (i.e. not only attending and protesting but even confronting university officials personally and writing letters to student papers) and part of this inner circle of activists, are between 9-14% of the students.

### **5.7.6 Students' performance evaluation of university governance**

It has been shown in chapter three (section 3.5.5) that the performance of the existing regime causes people attitude direction, whether supporting the regime or rejecting it. Performance enables citizens to place a value on those political and economic developments which promise peace and prosperity. When citizens observe and experience this, the support for the existing regime increases among the community. Therefore if university governance performance delivers, then students will have a supportive attitude towards university governance. The following analysis takes into account students' demand for and perceived supply of institutional responsiveness and incumbents' performance.

#### ***5.7.6.1 Demand and supply of responsiveness in institution***

Student assessment of their demand for responsiveness is measured in terms of *policy demand* towards the university. Students were asked to identify what they think is most important to them as priorities of the university. The choice was between the following priorities: (1) university to provide qualifications for better jobs; (2) university to maintain the highest international standards; (3) university to offer wide variety of sports and social activities; (4) university to open doors to anybody who wants to learn; and (5) university to contribute to national development.

In response, 30% say the most important priority for the university is to maintain highest international standards; second most important is for the institution to provide students with a qualification to get a good job (24%); and the least or not important is offering a wide variety of sports and social activities (29%).

Apart from these findings, it is interesting that a great proportion of students (over 70%) actually perceive the *supply of responsiveness* as satisfactory as far as student leadership and academic staff and management is concerned (measured in terms of 'listening to what students have to say'). However, only 15% of university management are considered to listen 'often/always' to what students have to say (compare Figure 5.14 above).

#### ***5.7.6.2 Demand and supply of political freedom on campus***

Students also demand political freedom at institutional level. This is measured with questions about freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of press on campus. It is found that about 64% demand more freedom to start and join a student organisation; while the same percentage of students do not agree with the idea that university management should ban their

organisation simply because they go against institutional views and policies. Freedom of press within the institution (e.g. regarding student publications) received a high response, 90% of students being adamant that student media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down. Conversely, 75% of students disagree/strongly disagree with the statement that “*reporting on negative events harms the reputation of the university management; management has to close student publications that print such stories*”. Furthermore, 78% of respondents demand freedom of speech, as they want “*to be able to speak their mind free of any interference by the university, even extreme political views by students*”.

More mixed feelings are indicated in terms of students’ perception of the actual supply of these freedoms at university level. With regard to freedom of association, 64% perceive that they are ‘somewhat/completely free’ to ‘*start or join any student political organisation they want*’ in the institution (27% do not think so). A similar proportion of students consider themselves to be free to vote on campus without being pressured (69% somewhat/completely free vs. 29% not very free/not free). Freedom of speech, however, seems most under pressure. Less than half of students (42%) think that they are “*free to say what they want*”, while conversely 56% consider themselves ‘not very free/not free’ ‘to say what they want or think in this university’.



### **5.7.6.3 University incumbent performance**

Lastly, at institutional level, more than 62% of students approve of the performance of academicians in university decision-making. Student leaders gain approval from about 48% on their performance; and university management has the least approval (17%). About 34% of students say that they are not sure of how well the university management is performing.

The fact that almost 50% of students approve of the performance of student leaders, while there is little satisfaction with the way student representation works (as shown above) and little faith in student election suggests a systemic problem of student representation at UDSM.

### **5.7.7 Summary on students’ attitudes to university governance**

The analysis above indicates that generally students are not very satisfied with university management, and with the way student representation works in university governance. It can be summarised that:

- First, 46% students are not satisfied with the way student democracy operates in the university and so demand more representation. In addition, over half demand better performance from their representatives/leaders.
- Second, students demand that USRC elections become more free and fair, more student representation in university decision-making bodies. Moreover, the majority of students believe that university management does not always listen to what they have to say.
- Third, it has also been found that more than 75% students support democratic university governance, which means that key stakeholders, i.e. academic staff, top management and students, can participate in university decision-making. In addition, the survey finds that students seem to support institutional autonomy, since they disagree with government/state interference in decisions that are supposed to be made by the institution.
- Fourth, 75% students demand more accountability from university management and want to be allowed to have a voice on matters that affect their life at university. They think that, apart from studying, they have a role as stakeholders to contribute to politics and the running of the institution.
- Fifth, more students (83%) feel closer to non-political organisations than to political organisation like the USRC, but 44% feel close to USRC. This results from the fact that membership to DARUSO is compulsory for all students, but the majority do not acknowledge their membership as voluntary, and therefore feel closer to other organisations than to their student organisation.
- Lastly, students demand that their institution has policies that maintain international and high academic standards, and that they can be provided with such qualifications that are relevant in the labour market. They rate university management as listening the least often to what they have to say (compared to academics or student leaders). Moreover, a great majority of students (over 85%) demand more freedom of expression (thus compounding the demand for being heard). Moreover, they evaluate the performance of the university management very critically.

Having analysed student attitudes towards university governance, the last section of this chapter on the presentation and analysis of the survey data now looks at differences in attitudes between student leaders (SL) and student not in leadership positions (SNL).

## 5.8 Are SLs more democratic than SNLs?

This section investigates differences in political attitudes between student leaders and those not in leadership positions. As noted in chapter four, a specific subsample of student leaders was constructed in order to enable a comparative analysis of some of the students' attitudes and behaviours between those in formal student leadership (SL) and ordinary students who do not consider themselves as student leaders (SNL). In keeping with the notion that political participation has benefits for democratic citizenship, and conversely, that democratic values may incite students to participate more politically, my hypothesis is that '*student leaders are more democratic in their attitudes towards democracy than those not in leadership positions*'. Thus, in addition to the 'citizenship education' argument, I propose that there are some characteristics and attitudes that SLs have that may make them more democratic compared to SNLs. These include having a better understanding of democracy than others, having a higher demand for democracy, participating in and being more interested in politics than SNLs, and so forth. Those attitudes inspire a need to volunteer and represent others in various levels of decision making. The analysis takes some of the variables that indicated reasonable differences among these two groups.

### 5.8.1 Differences in the conceptualisation of democracy between SL and SNL

It is found that 49% of SLs conceptualise democracy as popular participation compared to 53% of SNLs who have the same understanding, which is below expectations (I had expected to have more SL than SNL). However, these differences are not statistically significant. Secondly, 21% of SLs conceptualise democracy in terms of civil liberties, compared to 16% of SNLs; and thirdly, 21% of SLs refer to democracy as political rights, while 21% of SNLs fall into this category.

From the analysis of the three major understandings of democracy (derived from the analysis of the first meaning of democracy given by students in their own words, compare Table 5.1), it can now be seen that when contrasted against each other, SL and SNL largely conceive of democracy in the same ways, i.e. referring to political procedure rather than political or economic outcomes.

Providing a student with a list of 'essential features of democracy' was another way of assessing students' conception of democracy (also see Table 5.2 for an overview of the whole sample). Among the two groups of SL and SNL, it is only '*multiparty election*' that reflected

a significant difference between them; as 67% of SLs named it as absolutely essential, compared to 79% of the SNLs. Provided that elections are a key feature in modern democracy, it is a rather counter-intuitive finding, that *less* student leaders would consider elections as an essential feature of democracy than SNL. Other features like majority rule; complete freedom to criticise the government; presence of basic necessities like shelter; jobs for everyone; equality in education and small income gap, are all supported as essentials in a democratic country at about equal levels between SL and SNL.

In general I can therefore say that there are very few significant differences in conceptualising democracy between SL and SNL. Thus, being a student leader does not make any significant difference with regard to a student’s conceptions of democracy, since both groups have come up with same meanings and have identified largely the same range of essential features that comprise democracy.

### 5.8.2 Differences in support for democracy

With regard to support for democracy I try to observe if there are any differences among SL and SNL towards support for democracy. This looks at two variables in particular: preference for democracy and satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania.

#### 5.8.2.1 Preference for democracy

Here I look at how students prefer democracy. This will involve a question that probed whether students prefer democracy, prefer or reject non-democratic government, or are indifferent in their regime demand. Table 5.16 below summarises the findings.

**Table 5.17: Differences in preference for democracy**

	Democracy preferred		It doesn't matter		Non demo preferred	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
SNL	197	67	39	13	57	20
SL	39	55	12	17	20	28

*N=400, Missing 36*

It can be seen that there are some small differences between SL and SNL in preference for democracy. The table indicates that 67% of SNL as against 55% of SL prefer democratic government, while there are 20% of SNL and 28% of SL who say that non-democratic government can be preferred. Thus, students in formal leadership position tend to be marginally *less* supportive of democracy than their peers (by 12 percentage points). Lastly, it

is observed that less than 20% in both groups are indifferent and say that it doesn't matter, which type of government reigns. I now look at differences in the degree of satisfaction with democracy between SL and SNL.

### 5.8.2.2 Satisfaction with democracy

In order to look at differences in students' perception of the supply of democracy in Tanzania, I take two questions: the perception of the freeness and fairness of the last national election; and the perception of the extent of democracy. The aim is to observe whether there are any differences between SL and SNL towards satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania. Responses were arranged to reflect whether students consider Tanzania a full democracy, a democracy with major/minor problems or not a democracy. Table 5.17 below summarises the differences that exist between SL and SNL.

**Table 5.18: Freeness and fairness of the last national election**

	Not free and fair		free and fair with major problems		free and fair with minor problems		Complete free and fair	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
SNL	84	30	64	23	107	38	27	0.7
SL	20	28	24	34	23	32	3	1.4

*N=400, Missing 32*

As it was in the preference for democracy, there are no big differences in satisfaction with democracy between SL and SNL. The table above shows that the number of SL and SNL who say elections are completely free and fair is negligible; as is the difference between those saying that elections are not free and fair (30% for SNL and 28% for SL) or free and fair but with minor/major problems (61% for SNL; 66% for SL). Similar findings emerge when observing students' perceptions of the extent to which they consider Tanzania a democracy.

The analysis therefore indicates in general that there are no statistically significant differences in opinions regarding support for democracy, preference for democracy and satisfaction with democracy in Tanzania among student leaders and students not in leadership positions.

### 5.8.3 Differences in commitment to democracy and rejection of authoritarianism

The next step in the analysis concerns differences in the rejection of authoritarian rule. As I noted above, student leaders are expected to be more likely to reject non-democratic rule than students not in leadership positions. However, I have already shown that SL and SNL have about the same level of preference for democracy. But commitment to democracy combines

preference for democracy and the rejection of all non-democratic alternatives to democracy. So I compare students' rejection of authoritarian rule between SL and SNL.

Findings from the survey show that SLs are slightly more against military government (87%) compared to 77% of SNLs. This was also observed in rejecting one-man rule, which indicate that SLs are perhaps more committed to democracy compared to SNLs. However, overall these differences do not tell us much (since differences appear to be only about ten percentage points in each of the variables used). That indicates that the differences among these two groups are minimal and negligible since all indicate very similar results.

Further analysis regarding the rejection of all types of authoritarian rule (conducted after creating a single dummy variable from all three) in Table 5.18 below still indicates no statistically significant differences between SL and SNL regarding the rejection of non-democratic rule. The percentages are the same in the approval of non-democratic rule (3% approve), and in rejection of all non-democratic rule (68% disapprove).

**Table 5.19: Differences in students' rejection of authoritarian rule**

	Approve all non democratic		Approve of two but reject one		Approve one rejects two		Reject all not democratic	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
SNL	9	3	20	7	58	22	182	68
SL	2	3	3	5	15	24	42	68

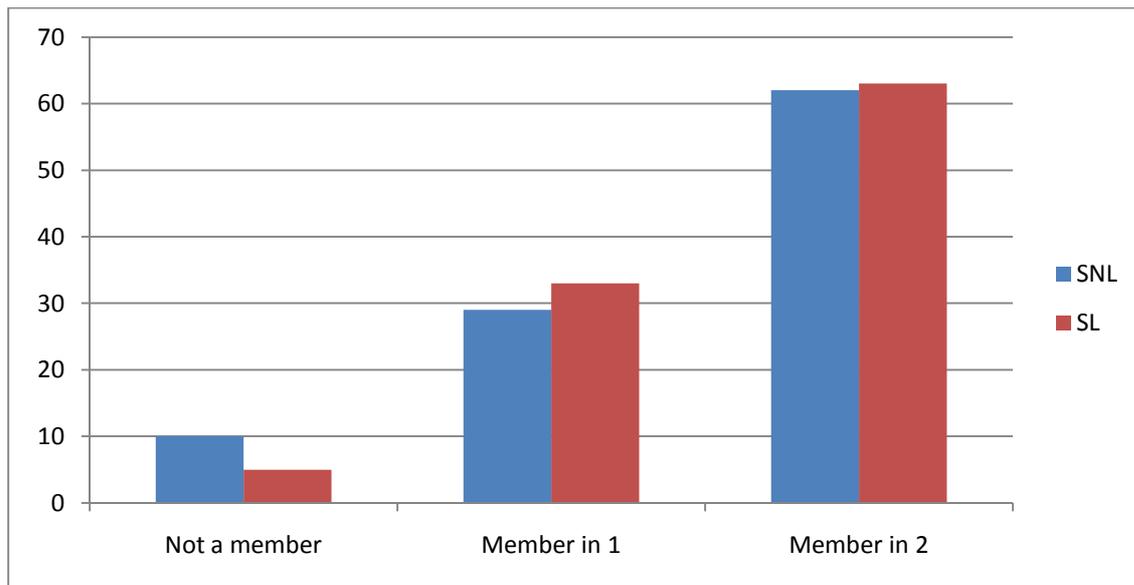
*N*; SL=72, SNL=328, Missing 69

#### **5.8.4 Institutional influences on the attitudes of SL and SNL**

In assessing institutional influences on the attitudes of students, the variables association membership, political participation/activism and voting are analysed to see the differences between these two groups of students (SL and SNL). The analysis involved comparing the political attitudes and behaviour of these two groups in terms of the above-mentioned variables. I use the dummy variables that I created earlier.

Thus, regarding participation in voluntary associations, it is found that SNL are marginally less involved in associations. Figure 5.17 below summarises the findings.

**Figure 5.17: SL and SNL association membership**



*N= SL, 73, SNL 327, Missing 42*

Further analysis indicates that there are no differences between these two groups of students regarding their active membership, since we see that 62% of SNL say they are members compared to 63% of the SL. This indicates no significant differences between the two student groups under study.

Secondly, I analysed differences in students' political activism between SL and SNL looking at their participation in protests, attending political meetings, writing letters to newspapers or contacting officials. It also indicates that 29% of SNL say they do not participate in any activity while 11% of SL says they don't participate in any activity. Again, 2.4% SNL say they take part in all activities while 16% say they participate in all activities (N=SL, 73, SNL327, Missing 43). Since the difference is more than 10% in each category I went further, testing for any relationship that can be seen in these findings. Further analysis to test correlation between these variables involved Eta statistical measure, which indicated 0.289. This indicates that there is a weak relationship, but it is significant.

Lastly I measure voting attitude among these student groups. Voting included voting in a general election as well as voting in the SRC election. A difference is indicated in voting in the SRC election. Whereas 78% of SNL say they did not vote, 56% of SL say that they did. This goes further indicating that only 22% of SNL voted while twice as many SL (44%) voted in the SRC election.

All the analyses continue to indicate little to no significant differences between SL and SNL in relation to institutional influences among student leaders and students not in leadership positions. This is further confirmed by Eta statistical measure indicating 0.021 (a weak relationship but significant). This adds to differences in political activism above that there are few differences between SL and SNL but that they have a weak but significant relationship.

### 5.8.5 Differences in cognitive awareness between SL and SNL

After the rather surprising results from the previous sections comparing the attitudes and behaviours of SL with SNL, the results from the analysis of cognitive awareness indicate that student leaders' interest in and awareness of politics seems to be higher in some instances than that of students not in leadership positions. For instance, 100% of SLs may be called *cognitively engaged*, as 89% are 'very/somewhat interested in public affairs' with the remainder indicating 'not very interested' (but no SL indicating 'not interested at all'). In contrast, only 65% of SNLs are 'very/somewhat interested' and over a third either 'not interested at all' or 'not very interested' (see Table 5.19 below).

**Table 5.20: Differences in interest in public affairs**

	not interested		not very interested		somewhat/very interested	
	count	percent	count	percent	count	percent
SNL	1	3	108	34	205	65
SL	0	0	8	11	65	89

*N: SL 73, SNL 327, Missing 13*

When looking at discussing politics with friends or relatives, however, almost the same percent between SL and SNL say they frequently or occasionally discuss politics (99% and 95% respectively). There is therefore not much difference between the two groups when comparing their frequency of discussing political matters with family or friends or when analysing media use (see Table 5.20 below). It could be said that the higher political interest of SL prevails even in conversations with SNL.

Another dimension of cognitive awareness of politics is the ability to correctly identify political incumbents. Here there are again some interesting differences, as 85% and 81% of SL correctly named their members of parliament and minister of finance respectively, but only 69% and 59% respectively of SNL. Thus there is a prima facie correlation between SL, interest in politics, and knowledge of incumbents. At campus level it is, of course, not surprising at all that 85% of SL managed to name the Vice-Chancellor correctly (compared to

79% of SNLs); and 60% named the Dean of Students correctly (compared to 25% of SNLs). After all, SLs have the opportunity (indeed the responsibility) to know and work with these university officials; hence it can be expected that they are more aware of incumbents. Considering that the USRC had been dismantled and reconstituted only months before the data collection, it is surprising that 53% of SL and 62% of SNLs considered the ousted president (Anthony Machibya) as still in power.

**Table 5.21: Differences of cognitive awareness between SLs and SNLs**

	Responses	SNLs		SL		Sig. level
		Observed counts	Percentage within	Observed counts	Percentage within	
<b>Public Affairs/cognitive engagement</b>						
Interest in public affairs	Very interested	205	65.3	65	89	.000
Discussing politics	Occasionally	296	94.6	72	98.6	n/s
<b>Cognitive Awareness/Media use</b>						
Radio use	Everyday	282	92.8	61	93.8	n/s
TV use	Everyday	279	91.5	63	92.6	n/s
Newspaper use	Everyday	232	77.9	58	86.6	n/s
Internet use	Everyday	201	67.7	47	71.2	n/s

*N=400: Chi - square Sig. (2-sided)*

With the use of the ‘row percentage strategy’ (indicated in Table 5.20 above), I went on testing the differences between SL and SNL’s interest in public affairs and media use. It came out that; in interest in public affairs, SL are more likely to be ‘very interested’ in public affairs than SNLs (as noted also above). There are no statistically significant differences in the discussion of politics with relatives and friends, and in media use (as observed above).

Therefore, statistically significant differences between formal student leaders and students not in leadership could only be observed with regard to interest in politics (whereby SL are more interested than SNL) and there are no statistical differences regarding discussing politics, and media use in general (radio use, tv use, newspaper use and internet use).

### **5.8.6 Differences between student leaders and students not in leadership positions**

In summary, the findings of the comparison between SL and SNL indicate that there are some differences in the political attitudes and behaviours between the two groups, some of which can be plausibly expected, and others are actually surprising and counter-intuitive.

- First, it is shown that between SL and SNL students, there are no significant differences in their respective conceptualisations of democracy.

- Second, both groups of students show roughly equal dissatisfaction with the way democracy operates in Tanzania. Also, they have about the same levels of commitment to democracy and rejection of any alternative to democratic government. Hence I am forced to reject my hypothesis that student leaders are more democratic in their attitudes towards democracy than those not in leadership positions.
- Third, looking at students' political involvement, it was found that SLs and SNL are equally involved in civil society; but SLs became more politically active than SNL, whereas the difference can be termed weak but significant.
- Fourth, despite SLs showing more interest and higher rate of political participation (like voting) than SNLs, there is also some relationship between SL interest in politics and knowledge of incumbents (this applies at national level as well as at campus level) than to SNL.
- Lastly, both groups are not happy with the performance of incumbents at all levels (institutional and national level), so they indicated no differences between them.

While it is clear that more work can still be done on the data and more tests are needed to show the statistical significance of some of the findings and differences between SL and SNL, it is also clear from the foregoing analysis that the hypothesis that “some characteristics and attitudes that SLs have, make them more democratic compared to SNLs” must be rejected.

### **5.9 Summary of findings on demand, supply and attitudes towards democracy**

From section 5.2 to 5.8 of this chapter, I have presented findings on student attitudes towards democracy, student attitudes towards university governance and, differences of attitudes between SL and SNL. The presentation was based on primary data collected in a student survey that measures the political opinions of students and student leaders at the University of Dar es Salaam. Most of the questions focused on students' conception of democracy; students' commitment to democracy; their satisfaction with the way democracy and governance work in Tanzania; and the equivalent notions adapted to studying governance and student representation at university level. Other items measure the social, institutional and cultural influences on students' views of democracy; students' cognitive awareness; and their performance evaluation of the working of democracy in university governance.

### **5.9.1 Students and attitudes towards democracy**

Several findings are worth being highlighted and summarised. Overall, the survey found that: (1) Students' understanding of democracy is related to political procedures and majority participation, e.g. government by, for, and of the people; majority rule; free and fair elections and political freedoms. (2) Students are not very satisfied with the way democracy works in Tanzania, and they lack full trust in government, perhaps because of perceived corruption. (3) Most students can conceptualise democracy, and support democracy and regular, open and honest elections, conducted among several political parties, and reject all non-democratic alternatives presented to them. (4) Students demand rights that enable democratic politics (i.e. freedom of press, speech and association). They are critical of the extent to which these rights are guaranteed (both at university level and beyond) and they think that currently elections do not do well in making leaders accountable to the people. (5) My preliminary analysis of the influence of sociological factors suggests that no single sociological factor (among gender, age, urban/rural origin) can be accounted for as explaining attitudes towards democracy among students. (6) Furthermore, most students are more involved with non-political organisations. If students actively participate in politics (or consider doing so), they prefer being involved in collective forms of presenting demands (like demonstrations) rather than individualised forms (like writing a letter or personally contacting an official). (7) Students are highly cognitively aware, highly interested in public affairs and most students discuss politics if not frequently then at least occasionally with friends and family.

### **5.9.2 Students and attitudes towards university governance**

With regard to student attitudes towards university governance, I found that: (1) Students are not satisfied with the manner in which democracy is applied within their institution. At the same time over half of students demand better performance from their representatives. (2) Students support representation in institutional decision-making bodies, not only for students, but for all stakeholders on campus. They want their voice to be heard in those bodies and have more representation. (3) Students want a greater stake of involvement in management affairs, especially on matters regarding students, and want to hold management accountable. (4) Students demand more democracy in USRC elections and more representation in university decision-making bodies and, (5) students prefer university policies that will maintain high academic standards and guarantee them good prospects in the labour market.

### 5.9.3 Student leaders and students not in leadership positions

Several findings were highlighted in the analysis indicating differences in attitudes between SL and SNL. (1) There are no significant differences in conceptualisation of democracy between the two groups. (2) Both groups of students have indicated no differences in their satisfaction with democracy delivery, since both show dissatisfaction with democracy; they have the same level of commitment to democracy and equally reject alternatives to democratic government. (3) SLs are more often involved in civil society and politics than SNLs; both at national politics and at institutional level. (4) SLs show higher cognitive awareness than SNLs; still there were no significant differences that support the idea that being a student leader enables one to be highly cognitively aware in political information and participation than those not in leadership positions. (5) Both groups are not happy with the performance of incumbents at all levels of governance (least happy with the performance of university management and most happy with that of academics).

All in all, these findings indicate students' attitudes towards higher education governance and politics in general. I can summarise these findings as;

1. Students prefer democracy to any other type of regime.
2. Students understand what democracy is, and conceptualise it mostly in procedural terms.
3. There is no particular structural variable that accounts for student attitudes towards democracy more than others (having looked at age, area of domicile, and gender).
4. Students are dissatisfied with the supply of democracy at institutional level; this is true for both SL and SNL.
5. Students are also not satisfied with the supply of democracy at national level; this was also the same between SL and SNL, and,
6. Student show a high cognitive awareness of politics at institutional and national levels.

In the next chapter I discuss these six key findings in relation to the reviewed literature (compare chapter two). This chapter will also provide a conclusion for this study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

#### 6.1. Introduction

In this study I described and analysed students' attitudes towards democracy, national politics and university governance, looking amongst other things at differences in attitudes between student leaders (SL) and those who are not in leadership positions (SNL). I applied to some extent the theoretical framework of Mattes *et al* (2005) of how people in Africa understand and develop their attitudes towards democracy. This was then adapted to a study of students so as to gain insight into their attitudes to politics and student involvement in university governance. I did this by conducting a survey among students at the University of Dar es Salaam to gain some understanding of how higher education contributes to democratisation in Tanzania. In this last chapter, I conclude with a high-level discussion of the findings from the survey in the light of my initial research problem and questions. While doing that I will highlight what I consider to be the main contributions of this study to the understanding of students' and student leaders' attitudes towards democracy, and I will point out some limitations and areas for further investigation.

#### 6.2 Findings and the reviewed literature

In this section, I discuss key survey findings in relation to reviewed literature that I presented in chapters two and three. I select some of the literature that has related findings so as to show the contributions of my study.

##### 6.2.1 Students and support/preference for democracy

In my study I found that the majority of students are supportive of democracy, whilst disapproving of the alternatives to democratic government. To some extent this echoes Evans and Rose (2007a, p. 14) findings that there is a relationship between education levels and preference for democracy and rejection of authoritarian alternatives in Africa. All indicators that tested support for democracy in my analysis received very positive indications towards support for democracy. It is also indicated that students perceive that the way and extent to which democracy is supplied does not meet their expectations.

Furthermore, student support for democracy found in my study can also be expected given previous studies of student activity in support of democracy. As I highlighted in my

discussion of literature on student political activism, students of UDSM have frequently been supportive of majority rule and popular participation in governance. An event like the 'Akivaga crisis' in 1970 at UDSM, when students demanded to be included in university decision-making bodies, is a good example. Other references include students' political activism in the 1960s when students went out demonstrating against the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (Zimbabwe); in the 1990s when students demanded government to be accountable for its actions, and demanded their right of association by having their own student union; and the recent boycott of the USRC election can be cited as a good example (*see* chapters 2 and 5). Attitudes such as these have been resurfacing since the 1960s, though currently students have been much occupied with 'bread and butter issues' compared to demanding democracy.

As part of the upcoming educated elite in African nations, students have been ready to fight for what they perceived as injustices. Hinton (2002) and Byaruhanga (2006) discuss what happened in Sierra Leone and Uganda in several situations, when students felt that they have an obligation to speak for others who are less privileged than them, and if possible tell the government what people really want. All in all, it is obvious that democracy is the more preferred government system than its alternatives among students, as my survey has also shown.

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### **6.2.2 Understanding of democracy**

African students have been involved in the democratisation of African politics since colonial rule. Munene (2003) and Luescher (2005) describe African students' early history of political activism as a response of an educated elite to its marginalisation by colonial rule. This could also be observed during the apartheid era in South Africa. However, multi-party democracy didn't survive long in the post-colonial decades in many parts of Africa and was only re-introduced in the course of the 1990s. Now that there are forms of electoral democracy in many African countries and in Tanzania in particular, the question is how students actually conceptualise democracy. Moreover, are they satisfied with the extent of democratisation and the existing regime which they encounter, i.e. a type of democracy which is often characterised as a hybrid regime? Several meanings of democracy were pointed out in chapters two and three of this study as a framework to analyse the way students conceptualise democracy.

My study shows that the overwhelming majority of student respondents from the University of Dar es Salaam understand democracy as a system of political rules and procedures that enable people to participate in decision-making within political society. It is a process that contains a series of activities like free and fair elections and other forms of popular participation, and conditions like political rights and civil liberties. Although I studied only students, there are similarities to the findings from Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 68/343) who indicate that Africans' understanding of democracy can be described as a kind of liberalism which emphasises procedural means that result from the supply of political rights rather than as an expectation of economic benefits. Students' conceptions of democracy can also be understood in Bernhagen's terms (2009, p. 31). He argues that democracy can be described by distinguishing it from authoritarian regime types, which as my survey shows, students also do successfully. Students' understanding of democracy can also be analysed in terms of Rose's distinction (2009, p. 12), which classifies democracy in terms of minimum or maximum levels. By mostly indicating forms of participation in politics and freedoms (like freedom of speech and association) in their definitions, the students in the survey can be said to conceive of democracy at a maximum level.

Students have also invested the meaning of democracy with the positive attributes of a perfect type of regime that enables citizens to be active in their political life. This, I argue, explains why some of them are led to be less satisfied with the actual operation of democracy, since their expectations may be beyond what can be accommodated in Tanzanian politics and governance. Altbach (1991), Hinton (2002), Munene (2003) and Byaruhanga (2006) note that students in Africa have often acted as the voice that represents the underprivileged in their nations (especially during colonial rule and again under single party rule and military governments in Africa and elsewhere). From what Africa has passed through since the independence era in the 1960s, students have frequently played a role of pointing fingers at their rulers to remind them of what is expected. As I have shown, this self-conception of students as a voice of the less privileged still has great currency at UDSM. Moreover, the disequilibrium between students' demand for democracy and the perceived supply of democracy suggests democratic reform potential (or even pro-democratic revolutionary potential) in Tanzanian politics from the student perspective.

### **6.2.3 Social structure, institutional influences, and democracy**

As noted in chapter two, Evans and Rose (2007a, p. 14) argue that education is the most significant social structural factor that influences an individual's attitude towards democracy in Africa. They find that support for democracy increases with each level of schooling. However, in a later publication Evans and Rose (2007b) say that education is not the only social structure factor which is a relevant measure of democratic attitudes; it is, however, the most viable one among other factors (*also see* Mattes and Mughogho, 2009).

My study agrees with Evans and Rose (2007a & b), in the sense that students can be categorised in one broad social group relevant for explaining political attitudes. I tested the influence of various social structure factors on students' attitudes towards democracy, targeting particularly the question of whether student leadership plays a role, but controlling for variables like gender, age, place of origin, and faculty of study. It was realised that no social structure factor had any greater impact than others in explaining students' attitude towards democracy (keeping in mind, however, that there is a weak but statistically significant association between gender and support for democracy). Moreover, the findings of my tests also don't support Altbach's (1991, p. 252-253) earlier findings that students from certain faculties are more inclined towards politics than others (or have significantly different political attitudes). On this latter point it is clear, however, that a strong assertion of this point would require more and different kinds of analyses and tests, not the least an analysis of the data using disciplines (or at least faculties) as analytic categories rather than the three faculty clusters (Commerce, Humanities/Law, Science/Engineering/Technology) that I used. Lastly, it has been shown that student leaders scored higher on several measures and tests compared to SNL, some of which relate to the extent of political participation and may be considered as implicit in (and thus confirming) the distinction between the two groups. But otherwise there are no significant differences in attitudes between different student groups that can be highlighted to have a significant impact on attitudes towards democracy.

### **6.2.4 Students' dissatisfaction with supply of democracy**

Most students have indicated dissatisfaction with the supply of democracy as they perceive it in Tanzania and also with the way institutional governance and student representation therein operates at UDSM. Dissatisfaction with the received political system has been a recurring phenomenon among African students. This can be seen from their involvement in regime politics, from colonial rule, through the single political party and military regimes, to the re-

emergence of multiparty democracy in the early 1990s. With reference to findings from mass samples, Mattes and Bratton (2007, p. 194) argue that dissatisfaction was in most cases motivated by economic hardship leading to demand for change in the political system. Although Mattes and Bratton argue that dissatisfaction with democracy goes together with support for democracy in Africa, they indicate that support for democracy has been affected by low levels of development and poverty, as well as by political factors such as a lack of civil liberties, low levels of interpersonal trust, and a breakdown of communication between governors and governed.

Students' dissatisfaction with the supply of democracy may be explained with reference to several factors. Since students have shown high levels of cognitive awareness of public affairs, their dissatisfaction may be a function of their understanding of democracy in relation to the perceived supply. In other words, students' 'maximum' conception of democracy creates expectations which the current regime cannot accommodate. Dissatisfaction may also arise from students' perception of actual maladies in the current political system. In this respect, for example, Shivji (1991) and Mpangala (1999) have argued that popular dissatisfaction with the supply of democracy is nurtured by practices of election rigging, conditions placed on civil society activity, restricted freedom of speech, and lack of personal security (e.g. due to civil wars and tribalism). My findings on students' perception of incumbent corruption and the extremely low levels of trust observed in the survey speak volumes here.

As I have shown in chapter five, students have indicated to a large extent that they are not satisfied with the way democracy works in all areas in which they were asked to give their opinions. That did not happen only at the level of national politics, but also in university governance where they are also not satisfied with the way student representation works. This appears so because students apparently perceive that their representatives are not being given prominence; a perception that may have been strengthened by perceived state interference in university matters. Moreover, students are generally not satisfied with the extent of rule of law, and the way incumbents have been performing their work. It is significant to note, however, that perceptions of corruption are (negatively) correlated with perceptions of trust and responsiveness. Thus, if perceptions of corruption can be reduced, levels of trust in leadership are likely to increase; conversely, if levels of trust and responsiveness can be increased, the perception that there is wide-spread corruption may also decrease. Enhancing

political freedoms, removing restrictions placed on civil society activity, increasing personal security along with increasing opportunities for meaningful political participation may therefore all address a great deal of dissatisfaction with democratic governance at all levels. The latter point is scrutinised further now.

### **6.2.5 Student leaders and students not in leadership positions**

In studying students as political role players, one of the aims was to consider if there is any variation in students' political attitudes when taking into account different levels of political participation. Two groups of students were selected to be studied i.e. student leaders and students not in leadership positions. Altbach (1991, p. 152) indicates that student activism is typically a minority phenomenon involving a politically highly interested and radical minority in the student body, while the majority is less politically involved. In addition, Luescher (2005) distinguishes between the formal political leadership of students, i.e. students with positions in student government and student representatives, and other politically inclined students, including student activists not in formal leadership (i.e. the informal student leaders). I take these two insights to help me understand the differences that exist between the attitudes towards democracy of student leaders and students who are not in leadership positions.

Although generally it has been indicated in this study that there are no significant differences in attitudes towards democracy between SL and SNL, several differences emerged in variables like involvement in civil society organisations and in the extent of cognitive awareness and other forms of political participation. This confirms to an extent the definition of student leaders used in this study who, however, were chosen differently, by asking in the survey what 'positions' a student has held in university governance.

It has been shown that at UDSM, SL and SNL have almost the same attitudes towards democracy. A majority of both SL and SNL support democracy (although SNL at a slightly higher degree), reject authoritarianism in equal proportions (over two-thirds each), and conceptualise democracy in very similar ways. This means that at UDSM leadership position is not a necessary factor to trigger support for democracy. Both groups apparently feel that they sail in the same boat, have closely similar demands and wish for the same level of democracy, at national level and at institutional level. They also evaluate political performance of incumbents similarly. One of the conclusions must therefore be that formal

participation in student leadership alone does not significantly influence students' support for democracy. Another one is that, given the similar attitudes, it does not appear necessary that student political activism is instigated from within the USRC. There are numerous politically informed and involved students at UDSM outside of formal student leadership, including the informal student leaders (as mentioned by Luescher, 2005) who can mobilise the political attitudes in the student body for action. Therefore, the notion of informal student leadership should be taken into account if one wants to closer understand the relationship between student leadership, student political activism and students' attitudes towards democracy.

### **6.2.6 Cognitive awareness and student attitudes**

Bratton *et al* (2005, p. 40) argue that support for democracy has cognitive elements and that a lack of popular awareness of public affairs can constitute an obstacle to support for democracy. Furthermore, Mattes and Bratton (2007) support a learning model to explain popular support for democracy, by suggesting that by developing greater cognitive awareness and better political performance, people learn both: the content of democracy and the consequences of democracy. Hence they argue for increased access to formal education and independent news media. Provided that my study was conducted with people that have a high level of education and very high levels of access to a diversity of news media, it would be expected that they support democracy strongly.

Cognitive elements that are required for higher levels of support of democracy have been found to be high among students. They have learnt both, about the content of democracy (as they understand and demand what is missing), and they know about the consequence of democracy (so they perceive what has been supplied and what they want to experience by having more democracy).

The findings on cognitive awareness among students can also be related to the fact that students, by definition, enjoy high levels of education. Thus, they have been able to demonstrate not only a high level of understanding of democracy, but they are also cognitively well engaged in, and acquainted with politics and governance (as shown in chapter 5). They have indicated that they have a high interest in public affairs and use a diversity of news media very frequently; they discuss politics among each other or with relatives and friends frequently and (perhaps because of that) they have the ability to identify political incumbents with ease.

In addition to that, it was found that the students at UDSM are involved in various groups of civil society, like religious groups, voluntary associations and non-political associations off campus as well as on campus. While this study finds student leaders to be more involved in national politics than those who are not in leadership positions, as far as cognitive awareness is concerned, most students appear equally well informed on national issues. It is evident, however, that SLs have an advantage on some campus-specific matters of cognitive awareness as shown when asked to name the Dean of Students.

Overall, my findings here appear to support Mattes and Mughogho's (2009, p. 6) point that formal education strongly correlates with news media use and knowledge of political information, while their specific tests could not be replicated for the purposes of this study. What has been shown in this study is that being a student leader does not guarantee that the person is more informed about politics in general than those who are not in leadership positions; it does however produce being more informed about politics in the immediate environment of one's office (e.g. knowing the Dean of Students). Moreover, SL primarily indicate also a higher active participation in political activity such as in political meetings, protests, contacting officials and writing letters (which, as I mentioned above, may be considered in parts implicit in the holding of a formal position as student representative on certain university bodies).

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### **6.2.7 Higher education's returns for democracy, campus life and university governance**

According to Mattes and Mughogho (2009), higher education's effects on news media use and political information are more modest than that of formal education in general – and news media use, they argue, best explains support for democracy in Africa. There have been few statistically significant differences between higher education and high school graduates in terms of political information, news media consumption and pro-democratic values. Therefore they argue that successive levels of formal education offer “diminishing returns” in terms of support for democracy. They conclude that higher education has an extremely limited contribution to support for democracy in Africa.

This general thesis cannot be tested directly by means of my data as I have data from students in higher education only. However, from my research it is observed that students are highly supportive of democracy; that the majority demands democracy; that they are not satisfied with current regime performance, and at the same time they perceive that the supply of

democracy is not up to their expectation. Students have shown high levels of political information and media use and have indicated a high level of understanding of democracy. How these levels hold up comparatively – e.g. when looking at mass samples or comparing UDSM students' attitudes with those of students at other universities – remains to be investigated.

I would suggest nonetheless that it takes more than considering news media consumption, political information and pro-democratic values, to measure higher education's impact on attitudes towards democracy. With reference to students, I add political participation (especially civil society participation) and other forms of cognitive engagement. Altbach's (1991) and Munene's (2003) arguments can be taken to account for the way students have been demanding democracy when they are not satisfied with regime performance. Satisfaction with democracy tends to play along with the cognitive engagement of citizens. Thus, I suggest that students' role in the democratisation movement and in politics more generally in Africa is a function of a general activist predisposition (that goes with youth), cognitive ability and, crucially, cognitive engagement and conditions for political activity and expression for which the university provides certain necessary conditions. The latter are, not the least, access to a diversity of news media; frequent discussion of politics with fellow students; the organisational platforms offered by campus life and student organisations; and related cognitive and material resources. This proposition could be further tested.

However, the question remains whether the kind of findings and conclusions generated by this study can really be attributed to the persons studied *because of their three years of experience on a university campus*. Cloete *et al* (1999) and Cloete (2000) argue that universities play various roles in shaping students' attitudes towards democracy. Cloete *et al* (1999) caution against dependence on the curriculum only for shaping the democratic attitudes of students. They insist on building confidence in students in what makes up democracy. Higher education institutions should ensure that a student is attached to the institution as *citizen* so as to promote democratisation. Cloete (2000) suggests that higher education should be promoting peace and critical skills to further the objectives of democracy, whereby by imparting relevant skills and knowledge, a new basis for social and political attitudes is created for citizens who will be ready to defend democracy against the excesses of both, the elite and the underclass. Therefore, by having more democratic practices

on campus, students' socialisation into democratic practices may be facilitated (*compare Cloete et al, 1999, p. 41*).

In the light of my findings, these arguments suggest that a lot has to be done on the UDSM campus (and in the way democracy works in Tanzania). University management ought to involve students in decision-making processes in a manner so as to create a sense of 'university citizenship' and the creation of positive perceptions about university governance (which are lacking now). However, the findings of this study point to a contrary reality. Apart from student leaders who feel close to USRC, students who are not in leadership positions seem to be as far away from the official student government body, i.e. USRC, as they are from university management. Most students do neither trust student leadership nor the management; while they are keen to hear more from management, demand accountability, and, for the lack of information, fear that many managers (and student leaders) are involved in corruption. In short, communication between leadership and student body seems wholly inadequate. Students in general seem to have lost confidence in the structures of university governance (including student representation), and hence they demand more citizenship (rights and participation) in the university (and beyond).

Considering student support for representative-democratic forms of university governance and the perceived lack of such provision in the current model of student governance at UDSM, it can be expected that there will still be trouble in the future with student strikes and demonstrations. Moreover, as I have shown in the previous section, co-opting formal student leadership or muzzling them will unlikely quell the "activist impulse" (Altbach, 1991). Like at national level, the disequilibrium between demand of democracy and supply harbours the potential for more or less radical pro-democratic reforms of university governance.

Lastly, Hinton (2002) discussed students' role in a country that is still based on elite system of education. At the example of Sierra Leone, Hinton indicates that students regard it as their political role to speak and take action on behalf of the more marginalised. This role conception and behaviour can also be seen in my study, since students agree that apart from studying, they have precisely a role in analysing national policies, and in participating in national debates, speaking on behalf of those who are less privileged than them. If students are pushed by that attitude towards political engagement, then they deserve credit, and their attitude towards democracy is not to be ignored, but deserves to be nourished.

Overall, the university management and national government will find my findings useful, as a way to plan forward to engage with students' perceptions and hopefully to change things. The role of higher education in a democracy in the creation of enlightened, active and critical citizens should start ideally and practically already at the level of educational institutions, who show themselves teaching and practising forms of democracy compatible with local political culture and popular aspiration. Instead of criticizing and blaming students whenever they rise up and demand what they perceive is right, government can use such instances to educate the people what exactly is happening and what government is doing. It is not a sin for a democratic government to accept that there is a weakness somewhere in its machinery which students have managed to locate and pinpoint. Rather, such instances present opportunities to extend the democratic space and thus to serve rather than quell the democratic aspirations of young citizens.

### **6.3 Implication and recommendations of the study**

With respect to politics and governance at national level, the survey has found that while students are highly supportive of democratic governance, they do not think that the present political system lives up to these expectations. Students consider democracy mainly in terms of political participation and civic liberties; while their main critique is a lack of trust in government and a sense that there is too much corruption in government. On the one hand, a government serious about dealing with corruption and intent on building trust in society may address these issues by expanding the space for free civil society activity (within a framework of rule of law and personal and communal security). On the other hand, providing more opportunities for students to politically participate at national level would not only serve students' democratic aspirations but might also create conditions for growing trust, and both, dispel wrong fears of corruption and provide opportunities for fighting corruption. Also it might encourage students creating confidence to talk to their leaders expressing their problems in an open way (i.e. personally contacting officials) rather than thinking that leaders do not listen to what people have to say and considering them as corrupt.

With respect to the university in particular and university management, the survey also suggests the following recommendations. It is significant to note that students consider as the two top priorities for UDSM to offer high international academic standards and provide students with an education that prepares them adequately for the labour market. In this, students show that they understand and are committed to the university's core functions.

Moreover, the majority of students (and student leaders) are well aware of the different roles that different groups in the university have to play in governing the institution towards fulfilling these functions. Hence, when offered the choice, students do not think it wise for the institution to be run either by students exclusively or by academics only; nor would they like a situation where the university is managed by its executive like a corporate business; or where government takes all decisions unilaterally. Rather, students consider it important for all stakeholders to be included in university governance – which implies a democratic, corporatist model of university governance. At this point, however, students don't think that university governance is living up to the expectations involved in this model. Educating and creating awareness among students on how university management and governance operates may be a starting point to deal with wrong perceptions that issue from misinformation and a lack of mutual trust and tolerance along with real reforms in university governance.

With respect to student leaders, the survey also provides the following recommendations. Student leaders conceptualise democracy just like African mass publics mostly in procedural terms; they are not satisfied with the performance of democracy in Tanzania, even though they support democracy in general. SL also indicate that they are more involved in politics and are more cognitively engaged with politics than SNL. SL consider that they are well represented compared to SNL who feel they are not represented and are not sure of the way representation works in their university. It is therefore recommended that USRC (and DARUSO) should be more open when representing others in the university decision-making bodies by not only reporting back to the student body, but reporting accurately and on time. Student leaders should also lobby through the proper channels of present decision-making bodies on matters that involve student interest. The university may assist USRC to function properly by accepting (sometime) when some decisions are made that do not meet with student expectations.

At various points I have already noted particular points that require further research or more and different kinds of analysis. More generally, I would like to recommend that surveys be done involving the other groups that make up the university community such as lecturers and support staff, top management and administrators. A governance model that has the support of the community it applies to has legitimacy and usually leads to harmony within that community, creating a sense of trust among citizens. These additions would also allow more analyses using the existing survey data.

My data could also be usefully further analysed and compared with that of mass publics generated by the Afrobarometer. Though students have largely not yet been in the real arena to practice and be involved in 'big politics', they are mature enough to contribute to their community, also considering what has been happening in student politics over the years (at UDSM and in other major universities across the globe). My study wanted to explore how students conceptualise democracy and what their attitudes are towards democracy and governance; it therefore comes as an addition to Afrobarometer studies conducted across numerous African nations. More analysis needs to be done to explain African attitudes and therefore a comparative study between my data collected from students and Afrobarometer data would be useful (but this study did not try to attempt this).

Therefore, studying students only may not be the best way to have a clear understanding of higher education's contribution to support for democracy and democratisation in Africa. The function of higher education includes creating independence of mind, producing, imparting and disseminating knowledge, among others. Yet there are other institutions of society with a bearing on deepening democracy and other politically significant groups. While my study is largely limited to describing and analysing the data from my survey, a systematic comparison with Afrobarometer data would certainly shed more light on African political attitudes, on the one hand, and on the contribution of higher education to democracy, on the other hand. In addition, new data sets should be gathered investigating in detail other politically significant groups, and other people in higher education institutions, like lecturers and support staff, and managers. This will altogether only add to a deeper understanding of the role of higher education (among other social institutions) in the consolidation and deepening of democracy in an emerging democracy.

Lastly, as I have indicated above, I recommend that the Afrobarometer finding that higher education's additional contribution to support for democracy is minimal, is explored further (*see* Mattes and Mughogho, 2009). My study explored students' attitudes towards politics in Tanzania, linking it with how students also relate politically to their most immediate level of governance (i.e. university governance). Whether people's involvement and participation in various levels of decision-making (especially in their most immediate, e.g. local, level of governance) has any influence on their attitudes towards national politics (or other factors as noted in my study) remains to be studied further and could be done using my own as well as Afrobarometer data.

## 6.4 Limitations of the study

In this research, some aspects regarding the contribution of higher education to democracy, democratisation and university governance have been investigated. Although, this has been conducted and studied using a survey, it can be seen that it contains some limitations inherent in this research design, and other limitations with regard to my application of methodology and analysis. Moreover, as I noted above, the study is also limited in its particular focus and thus leaves space, and opens up new space, for further research.

It is in my view important to remember that the findings from this study are all based on students' self-reported attitudes and behaviours. The study therefore does not necessarily describe what is actually happening (i.e. what students are doing and perceiving) but what students say they do and say they perceive. This is not to devalue the method or findings; moreover, considering one's perceptions can in itself lead to a mobilisation of attitudes. Furthermore, while students' reported perceptions do not necessarily reflect what is happening on the ground, they indicate very clearly what is perceived to be happening and thus pinpoint to the informed observer problems in communication (e.g. where students may be misinformed about what is happening).

Known methodological limitations related to my instrument include that the questionnaire may well be considered as too long (and future studies should therefore seek to reduce the number of questions/dimensions to be studied). The length of the questionnaire should be such that it takes respondents less than thirty minutes to attempt it. The length caused less reliable responses in the later questions as students got tired of it along the way and some did not answer the final section (as discussed in chapter 4). Moreover, there is a lot of data that I could not use in this analysis because it would have extended beyond the limitations of a dissertation.

There are also some limitations inherent in the sampling. As I discussed in chapter four, it was not possible to do a probability sample based on the selection of individual students, but it was necessary to sample a class/programme within a faculty (to retain representivity across faculties). Sampling whole classes creates a second set of sampling challenges, as now individuals within classes should be sampled again. If that is not done, it leads to a higher return rate of the questionnaire than what is required and to certain biases, whereby large classes become overrepresented in the sample as a whole. This could have been corrected

statistically by re-weighting responses from each class. However, the questionnaire did not collect data about which responses were gathered in which class (but only data on faculty of study, degree and year of study). As it turned out in the comparative analysis of students by faculty, however, there was actually no statistically significant variation of attitudes between students of different faculty clusters.

A similar limitation applied to some of the analysis results from not weighting the subsample of student leaders, even though I deliberately oversampled this group. Ideally, a sample that includes a subsample which was deliberately oversampled should have been re-weighted to a realistic proportion in the student body when they are all considered as one group. However, as it turned out in the comparative analysis of SL and SNL, there was actually very little variation of attitudes between SL and SNL (except in those cases that were indicated in chapter five).

As can be seen in chapters four and five, in my statistical analysis I have performed only a limited number of statistical tests on the data and stayed close to the data rather than aggregating indicators to the extent suggested in the conceptual map. I performed certain tests because they yielded useful results which allowed me to consider my hypotheses and thus investigate my research questions. I am aware, however, that for instance creating more complex indices of certain indicators could have provided a more accurate and sharper picture than what I was able to do. Moreover, the construct validity between indicators and certain concepts was taken for granted from the Afrobarometer, and only limited tests of fit in this regard were made (e.g. no factor or reliability analyses were conducted in the creation of indices). The richness of the data lends itself to many more and different types of statistical analyses and related aggregations than could be performed within the limitations of a dissertation such as this.

At a theoretical level, I have also found that studying political opinions can be a bit tricky. Since my study is formally in a programme of higher education studies, which is multi-disciplinary, various theoretical aspects of attitudinal study (political, psychological, etc) could have been taken on board. It can be seen that I have rather embedded my study within a broad multi-disciplinary body of literature and focused on making an empirical contribution rather than investigating and expanding a particular existing theory fully. Only the Afrobarometer studies, of which the work of Bratton *et al* (2005) may be considered seminal,

has guided the study to a large extent. However, as I mentioned, my study has remained mostly at a descriptive level so as to make an empirical contribution to understanding students' political attitudes and support for democracy.

Lastly, at a more practical level, provided that my study was conducted as a dissertation, I had to abide by the rules, regulations and, more especially the timetable of my home university and the university where I actually conducted the study. This might have caused some limitation due to the political atmosphere at the case university during data collection, involving a lack of confidence of some respondents based on the thinking that this survey might be a way of the university to pinpoint the student activists. As I indicated in chapters two and four, by the time of the survey, students had no elected government/executives. Student government was composed of a transitional executive after USRC had been dissolved by the university management, and the elected student leadership who had been accused of instigating students to protest a few months earlier was disbanded and some were banned from campus, criminally charged by the university, and awaiting trial. During the data collection of the survey, students had only been back for a few weeks and were basically under pressure preparing themselves for semester examinations. This context might have prohibited some students from being completely open, fearing consequences that might follow, even though I always pointed out that the survey was for academic purposes only, anonymous and voluntary.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

In chapter one I formulated my objectives and research questions. This was based on gaps that I identified from previous studies on student politics and studies of attitudes towards democracy in Africa. Chapter two went further by outlining and discussing several studies pertaining to students, on one hand, and democracy/democratisation in Africa, on the other hand. Chapter three chiefly looked at the way attitudes towards democracy have been studied in the African context by the Afrobarometer studies and pointed out key findings. In chapter four I highlighted the way my study was conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam with third-year students. In chapter five, students' conception and attitudes towards democracy; their perception of the supply of democracy; and their commitment to, participation in, and awareness of, democratic governance were presented and analysed. Lastly, this chapter has discussed the findings in relation to previous studies and outlined the implications, recommendations and limitations of this study so far.

From chapter one I indicated that the attainment of higher education may provide students with a critical mind towards economic, social and political development at individual and society levels. Democratisation may be considered a special aspect of political development (conceived broadly), which is what this study has been dealing with. It was pointed out that the central concern of this study was to investigate the political attitudes and behaviours of students as well as to consider factors and attitudes that provide evidence of a contribution of higher education to democracy. In particular, I investigated students' understanding of the content of democracy; satisfaction and commitment to democracy through cognitive awareness; experience of performance of government; and students' participation in and support for democracy. The study looked primarily at students' political attitudes in relation to two levels of governance, i.e. their most immediate experience level of governance and dominant national level of governance.

The study was situated, on the one hand, within the literature of studies on public opinion in Africa and, on the other hand, literature on student politics. With regard to the former, Afrobarometer studies have been conducted for more than ten years in sub-Saharan Africa. Bratton *et al* (2005), Mattes and Bratton, (2007), Evans and Rose (2007a & b) and, Mattes and Mughogho (2009) have been using this data and provided analyses relating their findings to African cultural values, institutional influences, and social structures in African societies. It was realised already by them that education plays a major role when it comes to how people receive information and make use of it relevant for policies and their attitude towards democracy. Furthermore, I premised my study on the assumption that the university as an institution and as a community that involves students in some decision-making has a role to play in developing students' perception of democracy and governance. Literature on student politics shows that students and student representatives, and student organisations like USRC, have a role to play as far as politics and democracy is concerned.

I showed that student politics, student activism and related student organisations and movements, have a long and proud history in Africa. Moreover, some African heads of states and leaders have actually emerged from the ranks of student activists and their contribution to democracy has been and is still being received. Taking this as points of departure I considered students as among the newly emerging elite in African society and asked what political orientation they have, whether they demand democracy, and what institutions are supposed to provide democratic governance, taking into account different levels of

governance and different types of political office. My entire set of questions has been outlined previously and is summarised in Appendix VII. To reiterate briefly and at a more general level, my findings are as follows:

The first question which this dissertation investigated was what is students' understanding of democracy and its features? I have analysed student responses with regard to the meaning and definition of democracy and what they may consider as essential features of democracy. My hypothesis was that student leaders are more committed to democracy than students not in leadership. The results were that students have correctly distinguished democracy from other non-democratic regime types by choosing conditions like the right to vote, to run for public office; freedoms of association, expression, and press. Also, in a 'wish list' of essential features of democracy students added to their procedural conception of democracy more substantial demands like provision of full employment, basic necessities and equality. So the answer is that students understand democracy in a wider perspective and at a 'maximum' level.

Secondly, with respect to the question whether students are satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania, I analysed students' views of the supply of democracy with reference to the performance of democracy (at national level) and student representation and university governance (at institutional level), trust in government/student leaders/university leaders and, perceptions of corruption. My proposition was that students are not satisfied with the supply of democracy. The result was that the supply of democracy does not meet student expectations as to how they understand it. At the same time it can be seen that students are not quite satisfied with university governance by indicating dissatisfaction with USRC elections, student representation in decision-making bodies, and the way student representation works in general.

Thirdly, another question was whether students are committed democrats. My proposition was that students are committed and support democracy at institutional level as well as at national level. I analysed students' views with regard to their ability to define democracy, their expressed support for democracy and rejection of authoritarianism, and support for student representation. I used a crosstabulations to identify the democrats among students, using preference for democracy and rejection of non-democratic alternatives as variables. The results show that students in general are fairly committed democrats; they support democracy

in general but seemingly have reservations about the way it operates currently. Hence it is not surprising that there is considerable ambiguity whether the current regime should be given more time (or whether a different form of government should be tried out). Overall it is clear that students showed great commitment to democracy; this may also be the reason why they do not favour a kind of institution that embraces a non-democratic system of governance.

The fourth question was about factors that explain student support for democracy, by looking at factors such as social factors (such as gender, age and place of origin), institutional factors (such as political activism, voting, association membership) and cultural factors (such as trust). Looking at social factors, I had several propositions including (1) female students support for democracy more than male students. In my analyses I also used Eta statistical measure to observe the significance of association between social structure factors and support for democracy. It was found that female students support democracy more than male students i.e. there is a significant but weak association between gender and support for democracy. (2) At face value, students from urban areas appear more supportive of democracy than those from rural areas. However, tests indicate that there is no statistically significant association between support for democracy and students' place of origin. (3) Younger students appear more supportive of democracy than older students; however, statistical results showed again that the weak relationship between age and support for democracy is actually not statistically significant.

Furthermore, I answered the question regarding the impact of institutional factors towards students' support for democracy. In particular I used student political activism, voting and association membership as independent variables and found that there is moderate association between support for democracy and student political activism; there is weak but significant association between support for democracy and participating in political activities like voting; and, there is no association between support for democracy and students participating in various associations and organisation. Furthermore, I found that students are more involved in non-political associations than in political organisations. Most of them say they are involved in religious groups off-campus and take part in voluntary associations off-campus. It was also observed that more students prefer to participate in protests and demonstrations rather than in more individualistic forms of political expression e.g. contacting officials personally. Lastly, it was found that there is a weak relation between level of trust and support for democracy.

Lastly, I considered the question regarding students' cognitive awareness. My hypothesis was that students have high levels of cognitive awareness and are involved cognitively in politics and governance. I took into consideration students' interest in public affairs, frequency of discussing politics, frequency of news media use and students' political awareness of key incumbents and political institutions. Findings indicate that the majority of students are highly interested in public affairs and frequently discuss politics. Most students use a diversity of news media almost every day (including the internet) and are well informed of political issues and cognitively aware of politics. In general, it is therefore indicated that students are cognitively highly engaged and aware of politics.

In a broader sense then, answering my three main questions, which asked 'what are students' attitudes towards democracy?', 'are students satisfied with the way their country is governed and the way their institution is managed?', and 'are student leaders more democratic than students not in leadership positions?' I can say the following: With regard to national level, students understand what democracy is and they are not satisfied with the performance of democracy. Also, the vast majority of students understand very well what democracy is and support it; they have high demand for political rights and use those rights by being involved in a variety of civil society organisations, including student organisations and non-political organisations. Students are cognitively aware of and engaged in politics. At university level, the picture is very similar in that students are not satisfied with the supply of democracy within the university though they support student representation in the university decision-making bodies, and want more representation and involvement in deciding the affairs of the university. Students also demand more democracy within USRC. Moreover it was found that there is no significant difference between SL and SNL in the way they conceptualise democracy; both of these groups are not satisfied with democracy and have about the same level of commitment to democracy. Yet, SL are more involved in civil society and politics than SNL and SL showed slightly higher cognitive awareness than SNL, particularly when it comes to knowing university officials (which may be expected).

Finally then, students' and student leaders' attitude towards democracy have been shown to be positive. Students are not satisfied when they realise that the procedures they have learnt to believe in, are not practically observed and adhered to in university life and political life beyond the university, and therefore they sometimes become unfriendly and confrontational. The situation in higher education institutions and national politics may cause people who

have attained higher education to realise that what they learnt is not practised in the real world, and hence their democratic aspirations are dampened. Maybe this is part of the untold story of Mattes and Mughogho (2009). After three or more years of education at university (or in a different post-secondary educational institution) where they come into contact with the ideas of freedom and independence, they realise that they are still not able to communicate critically and freely analyse and challenge the regime. This may in the long run produce changes in their attitudes and participatory habits to what was introduced to them during their education. And yet, my study shows that students thirst to communicate their opinion, which is perhaps why most students involved in the survey praised having the opportunity of participating in a survey on higher education and politics in Tanzania, especially at UDSM.

In a democracy it is among the roles of the education system, government and other social institutions to operate by rules and procedures, and have programs and means that will develop democratic citizenship. Moreover, many studies show that democratic citizenship can and should be learnt and practiced by citizens whilst they are still at educational institutions, including universities. While some of the previous student leaders have managed to climb the political ladder to the national political arena, the majority of students and student leaders could participate in other spheres of civic activity, social institutions, and other levels of governance, and with the right kind of background make contributions throughout their lives in the development of democracy in their respective communities as well as at national level.

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APPENDIX I

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

2<sup>nd</sup> January 2009

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**Vice Councillor,  
University of Dar-es-Salaam,  
P.O. Box 35091,  
Dar-es-Salaam,  
Tanzania.**

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: ANGOLWISYE M.  
MWOLLO-NTALLIMA**

**Angolwisye M. Mwollo-ntallima**, student number **2860538** is a fully registered student of the University of the Western Cape. He is enrolled in the NORAD-sponsored Master of Education (Higher Education Studies) programme, which is a collaborative programme involving the University of the Western Cape, University of Oslo (Norway), Makerere University (Uganda) and the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET).

**Mr. Mwollo-ntallima, A. M.** research proposal was recently approved by the Faculty of Education's Higher Degrees Committee, and I am therefore writing to kindly request that you grant him permission and support to collect data for his dissertation research. I wish to assure you that the data to be collected shall be utilised strictly for the study and utmost confidentiality and other ethical considerations shall be adhered to as well.

Should you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me at the following email address: [gouma@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gouma@uwc.ac.za) or telephone no. +27(0)21 763-7100

Thank you.

Yours sincerely



Dr Gerald W. Ouma

Co-ordinator, Master of Education (Higher Education Studies) programme

## APPENDIX II

Angolwisye M. Mwollo-ntallima,  
P.O Box 53840,  
Dar -es-Salaam.  
15<sup>th</sup>, January, 2007.

The Vice Chancellor,  
University of Dar-es-Salaam,  
P.O. Box 35091,  
Dar-es-Salaam.

Dear Sir/Madam,

### **RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT AT YOUR INSTITUTION**

I am a Tanzanian who is currently enrolled for Masters Program (MEd, HEMA) at the University of Western Cape in South Africa. Currently I am here in Tanzania to conduct a research as part of my study program.

My research seeks to collect data from several organs/groups of your institution, these includes;

- i. Student body, where about four hundred students will be asked to respond through questionnaires, they are expected to come from all faculties at the UDSM, this group will involve finalist students (third/ fourth year undergraduate students).
- ii. Student leaders, this group include all students who have been in position to represent others in various institutional decision making bodies or are student leaders of any kind that influence student affairs. They are too, supposed to come from undergraduate programs, they will respond through questionnaires.
- iii. Dean of student office; where several information are going to be collected through interview, discussion and from university documents, and
- iv. Institution administrative officer; where several documents regarding higher education policy are going to be reviewed and discussed through interview.

I expect to conduct my research between last two weeks of February and first three weeks of March, this year at The University of Dar es Salaam, Mlimani Campus.

Attached find letter from my program coordinator from The University of the Western Cape.

It is my expectation that all will be done well and it will end as scheduled.

Thank you in advance,

*Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwollo-ntallima*  
2860538,  
*MEd (HEMA), University of Western Cape*

APPENDIX III

**UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM**  
**DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH**  
P.O. Box 35091 ■ DAR ES SALAAM ■ TANZANIA

Tel: 2410500-8 Ext. 2087,2077,  
2410743, 2410727  
Mobile: 0773 771555  
0784 767247



Fax: 255 022 2410743  
255 022 2410 023  
e-mail: [research@udsm.ac.tz](mailto:research@udsm.ac.tz)

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

23<sup>rd</sup> January, 2009

The Deputy Vice-Chancellor – Administration,  
University of Dar es Salaam.

The Dean of Students,  
University of Dar es Salaam.

**Re: RESEARCH FACILITATION – MR. ANGOLWISYE MALAISYO  
MWOLLO-NTALLIMA**

I am writing to introduce to you Mr. Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwollo-ntallima, a Master's student in the University of Western Cape, South Africa.

Mr. Mwollo-nallima is currently in the country to conduct his dissertation research. He wishes to collect data from the UDSM main campus. His research focuses on "Higher Education and Social Development: Contribution of Student Leadership and Organisation in the Development of Democracy in Tanzania". The research period is from February to March 2009.

It will be appreciated if you will grant the student any help that may facilitate him to collect data smoothly and achieve his research objectives.

Mr. Mwollo-ntallima's request documents are attached herewith.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Saida Yahya-Othman'.

Prof. Saida Yahya-Othman  
**DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH**

## APPENDIX IV

# UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY VICE-CHANCELLOR  
(ADMINISTRATION)

*P.O. BOX 35091 - DAR ES SALAAM- TANZANIA*

Tel.: 022 2410500 - 8 Ext. 2003  
022 2410394 - Direct Line  
Fax: 022 2410718 /2410078  
Your Ref:  
Our Ref: AB3/12(B)



Telegram: University of Dar es Salaam  
E-mail: [dvc-pfa@admin.udsm.ac.tz](mailto:dvc-pfa@admin.udsm.ac.tz)  
Website: [www.udsm.ac.tz](http://www.udsm.ac.tz)

3 February, 2009

Deans and Directors  
University of Dar es Salaam

**Re: RESEARCH FACILITATION: MR. ANGOLWISYE MALAISYO MWOLLO-NTALIMA**

This is to introduce to you Mr. Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwolo-ntallima, a Master's student from the University of Western Cape, South Africa.

Mr. Mwoilon-ntallima is in the country to conduct research as part of his study programme. He plans to be at UDSM main Campus for five weeks from mid-February 2009. His research topic is on "Higher Education and Social Development: Contribution of Student Leadership and Organization in the Development of Democracy in Tanzania".

Kindly provide any assistance that he may require in order to achieve his research objectives.

Thank you for your continued cooperation.

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of N.G. Mshigeni in black ink.

N.G. Mshigeni (Mrs.)  
for **DEPUTY VICE CHANCELLOR**  
**(ADMINISTRATION)**

cc: DVC (ADMIN) – on file  
cc: DHRA – on file

## APPENDIX V

### UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

#### Project Title:

#### **Higher Education and Democracy: A Study of Students' and Student Leaders' Attitudes towards Democracy in Tanzania**

#### **What is this study about?**

The research is being conducted by a M.Ed. (HEMA) student from the University of the Western Cape. The research studies the contribution of higher education to democracy in Africa, specifically in Tanzania and at the University of Dar es Salaam. The study involves a survey of the political opinions of students; it collects views from students about the way their country is governed and their university is managed.

#### **What is the purpose of the project?**

The purpose of the Higher Education and Democracy Project is to improve our understanding of the link between higher education and democratic citizenship in Africa *inter alia* by studying the attitudes of students in African universities towards democracy and citizenship on and off campus. The present questionnaire is the data collection instrument of the survey. It is designed to gather the views of students about the way Tanzania is governed and students are involved in university governance.

#### **Who participates in the survey? How can I participate?**

A sample of third year undergraduate students (from all faculties) and student leaders is asked to participate in the survey. Students are not selected directly; rather a number of third year courses in each faculty were randomly chosen in the sampling process and all students taking that course are invited to participate. Participating in a survey means filling in the questionnaire. This happens either during a lecture or a tutorial or, in some cases, during a special session organized outside of teaching time. It takes 30 – 45 minutes to fill in the questionnaire.

Those who participate in the survey do so anonymously. All the information obtained is only used in aggregate form and no individual student can be personally identified through the survey.

#### **Can I refuse to participate? How do I benefit?**

Yes, every student can refuse to participate; participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate you must indicate so by signing the consent form (next page). You have the right to withdraw from the project at any stage. If you like further information about the project, raise a complaint, or withdraw later, you can contact any of the persons whose contact details are overleaf.

There are no direct benefits for the participating students or the case universities.

#### **What will the data collected by means of the survey be used for?**

The data will be used to write research reports and other research publications for people who are involved in policy-making (in government, NGOs, funding agencies, and universities). The general objective of the policy reports is to support policy-making that seeks to improve the contribution of higher education to democratic citizenship in Africa.

**Has this questionnaire been independently approved?**

The questionnaire has been checked and pre-approved in an ethical review process conducted by Faculty Board Research and Ethics Committees, and Senate Research Committee both of University of the Western Cape. Conducting the survey at University of Dar es Salaam has also been permitted by the University Executive.

**Where can I get more information, complain or follow-up on the results?**

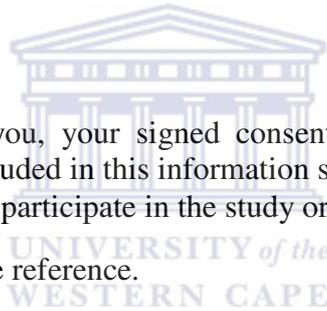
This research is being conducted by Mr Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwollo-ntallima; I am a registered student at University of the Western Cape with number 2860538. I can be contacted on Cell phone number: (+255) 0713 597 627 and email: [2860538@uwc.ac.za](mailto:2860538@uwc.ac.za) or [angolwisemalaisyo@yahoo.com](mailto:angolwisemalaisyo@yahoo.com).

Complaints about the research can also be directed to Dr Nico Cloete of the University of the Western Cape who is directly involved in the study as my supervisor. He can be contacted by phone +27 21 7637100 and emails: [ncloete@chet.org.za](mailto:ncloete@chet.org.za).

**INFORMED CONSENT**

Before I proceed to interview you, your signed consent to participate in this project is required. The consent form is included in this information sheet so that you review it and then decide whether you would like to participate in the study or not.

You may keep this page for future reference.



# UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

## Faculty of Education

Private Bag X17, Bellville, 7535, South Africa

Tel: 021-959 2809, Fax: 021-959 2872

### INFORMED CONSENT

#### TITLE OF THE RESEARCH

#### Higher Education and Democracy: A Study of Students' and Student Leaders' Attitudes towards Democracy in Tanzania

If you agree to participate in this research study, your signed consent is required before I proceed with the interview with you.

#### CONSENT FORM

I have read the information about this research study on the *Participant information sheet*. I have been given opportunity to ask questions or inquiries have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby;

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I noted the information on the project and had an opportunity to ask questions about it.
- I agree to my responses being used for research purposes on condition that my privacy is respected.
- I understand that my personal details will be used in aggregate form only so that I will not be personally identifiable.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project and that I have the right to withdraw at any stage.

\_\_\_\_\_  \_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Name Signature of Participant  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
Consent Date

# Questionnaire

## **Instructions**

→ Please read carefully and answer all questions.

→ Circle the answer which is the **best match** to your current view, e.g. **Yes**; **3**  
or write your answer in the space provided.

→ If you make a **mistake**, please **cross out the wrong** answer and circle the better answer, e.g. ~~8~~ → **10**

→ Unless it is specified otherwise, circle only one answer per question.

## **Section A: Some Facts about Yourself**

To start out we would like to ask a few questions about your personal and academic background, your views on the economic conditions in Tanzania and your interest in politics and government.

<b>A1. Please provide your academic and personal background information</b>						
a. Faculty of study	Please write here:					
b. Degree and programme of study						
c. Year of Study (1 <sup>st</sup> year, 2 <sup>nd</sup> year...?)						
d. Sources of main financial support for your studies.  I am mainly/fully funded by: (choose one)	Government (no pay-back)					1
	Government (some pay-back required)					2
	The university (no pay-back)					3
	The university (some pay-back required)					4
	Private scholarship/bursary					5
	Family/personal funds					6
	Bank /study loan					7
	Other (please specify):....					8
Don't know					999	
e. Gender	Male 1			Female 2		
f. Age (in Years)						
g. Place of origin (before joining the institution)	Rural 1			Urban 2		
h. Nationality	Please write here:					
i. Home Language / Ethnic Group						
j. 'Racial group' (if applicable)	Black/ African	Asian/ Indian	White/ European	Coloured	N/A	Don't know
	1	2	3	4	0	9

<b>A2. Please indicate your <u>current</u> and <u>former</u> student leadership positions at university level.</b>		
	Yes	No
a. Are you currently a student leader in your university?	1	2
b. Were you previously a student leader or student representative at university?	1	2
c. Did you ever stand for an election as student leader at university level?	1	2

<b>A3. Please circle <u>all</u> the student leadership positions you are <u>currently</u> holding and have <u>previously</u> held at university level: (Circle <u>all</u> the applicable positions.)</b>	
Class representative	1
Student leader/representative in the faculty (e.g. chairperson, secretary)	2
Student leader/representative in a student hall residence (e.g. chairperson, secretary)	3
Member of the Student Parliament (e.g. MP of USRC)	4
Executive member of DARUSO (e.g. DARUSO President, Minister/Deputy, Speaker)	5
Student representative in the University Senate	6
Student representative in the University Council	7
Student representative in an other University body (e.g. Student Affairs Committee)	8
Editor of a Student Publication	9
Other (please specify):	10

<b>A4. Do you have any religious affiliation? (Please only circle one).</b>	
<b>CHRISTIAN GROUP/DENOMINATION</b>	
a. Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Coptic	1
b. Mainstream Protestant (Reformed, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist)	2
c. Other Protestant (e.g. Evangelical/Pentecostal, Born Again, African independent church)	3
d. Others (Jehovah's Witness, 7th Day Adventist, Mormon) Please specify:	4
e. Christian only (without specific denomination)	5
<b>MUSLIM GROUP/DENOMINATION</b>	
e. Sunni (including Ismaeli, Mouridiya, Tijaniya, Qadiriya brotherhoods)	6
f. Shia	7
d. Muslim only (without specific subgroup)	8
<b>OTHER GROUPS</b>	
g. Traditional African Religion/Ethnic Religion	9
h. Hindu	10
i. Jewish	11
j. Other religion (please specify):	12
k. Agnostic (don't know if there is a god)	13
l. Atheist (don't believe in god)	14
<b>m. Don't know</b>	999
<b>n. None</b>	0

<b>A5. In general, how would you describe:</b>						
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly Bad	Very Bad	Don't Know
The present economic condition in Tanzania?	5	4	3	2	1	9

<b>A6. Looking back, how do you rate the economic condition in Tanzania compared to twelve months ago?</b>						
	Much Worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much better	Don't know
The economic condition in Tanzania?	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>A7. Looking ahead, do you expect the economy in Tanzania to be better or worse in twelve months time?</b>						
	Much Worse	Worse	Same	Better	Much Better	Don't Know
The economic condition in Tanzania?	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>A8. How often do you get news from the following source?</b>						
	Everyday	A few times a week	A few times a month	Less than once a month	Never	Don't know
A. Radio	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. TV	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Newspaper (including student newspaper)	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Internet (Online News)	4	3	2	1	0	9

<b>A9. How interested are you in public affairs (especially in politics and government)?</b>	
Very interested	3
Somewhat interested	2
Not very interested	1
Not interested at all	0
Don't know	9

<b>A10. When you get together with fellow students, friends or family, do you discuss political matters?</b>	
Frequently	2
Occasionally	1
Never	0
Don't know	9

<b>A11. There are many ways to govern a country. Would you approve of the following alternative?</b>						
	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
A. Only one party is allowed to stand for election and hold office	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. The army comes in to govern the country	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Elections and parliament are abolished so that the president can decide everything	1	2	3	4	5	9

**A12. What do you understand by the word “democracy”? Please provide up to three different ways in which you understand “democracy”.**

(a) \_\_\_\_\_

(b) \_\_\_\_\_

(c) \_\_\_\_\_

**A13. How important is religion to your life?**

Not at all important	1
Not very important	2
Somewhat important	3
Very important	4
Can't tell	8
Don't know	9

**A14. How important is your ethnic group / language group in your life?**

Not at all important	1
Not very important	2
Somewhat important	3
Very important	4
Can't tell	8
Don't know	9

## Section B: Your Involvement in Student Politics

In this section, we would like to ask you about your views on student politics, your participation in student politics on campus and your assessment of student representation in the university's decision-making processes.

**B1. Do you feel close to DARUSO and USRC?**

Yes, I feel close.	1
No, I don't feel close	0
Cannot tell	8
Don't know	9

**B2. Are you involved in any of the following? (In what capacity?)**

	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't know
A. DARUSO (incl. USRC etc.)	3	2	1	0	9

B. Non-political student associations (e.g. sport club, religious society, academic, professional)	3	2	1	0	9
--	---	---	---	---	---

**B3. Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year?  
If not, would you do this, if you had a chance?**

	YES, I did that			NO		Don't know
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	But I would probably if had a chance	I would never do this	
A. Attended a political meeting of students (e.g. a mass meeting)	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Contacted a senior university official (e.g. Vice-Chancellor) to raise an important issue or submit a complaint	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Wrote a letter to a student paper or make a pamphlet to protest about an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9
D. Joined others in a student demonstration or attended a protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9

**B4. Can you tell me the name of:**

	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember
A. The President of DARUSO?	Name:	0	1
B. The Vice-Chancellor of UDSM?	Name:	0	1
C. The Dean of Students?	Name:	0	1

**B5. Do you happen to know:**

	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember
A. Which university body holds the Vice-Chancellor accountable?	Name of Body:	0	1
B. Which group constitutes the main membership of the University's Senate?	Name of Group:	0	1
C. Who appoints students as representatives to participate in the University Council and the University Senate?	Name of Body:	0	1

<b>B6. With regard to the last DARUSO (Presidential) elections (2008), which statement is true for you?</b>	
There was no election	0
I voted in the election	1
I decided not to vote	2
I could not find a polling station	3
I was prevented from voting	4
I did not have time to vote	5
Did not vote for some other reason	6
Don't know/ can't remember	9

<b>B7. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last DARUSO election? Was it...:</b>	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand the question	8
Don't know	9

<b>B8. In this university, how free are you...</b>					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know
A. To say what you want/think?	1	2	3	4	9
B. To join any student political organisation (other than DARUSO) you want?	1	2	3	4	9
C. To choose who to vote for in student elections without feeling pressured?	1	2	3	4	9

<b>B9. In your opinion how do you view the extent of student representation at your university today?</b>	
Students are well/adequately represented in university decision-making	4
Students are represented, but it is not completely adequate	3
Students are somewhat represented, but it is not adequate at all	2
Students are not represented	1
Do not understand question / Do not understand what 'student representation' is	8
Don't know	9

<b>B10. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way student representation works in your university? Are you...</b>	
Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Students are not represented	0
Don't know	9

## Section C: Your Views on Student Representation and University Governance

In this section, we would like to ask you to ask question about the university community, your assessment of the performance of those entrusted with taking decisions and your preferences for the way the university should be run.

**C1. How much do you trust each of the following type of people? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?**

	Not at all	Just a little	I trust them somewhat	I trust them a lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. Other students on campus	0	1	2	3	9
B. Elected student leaders / representatives (e.g. DARUSO President; MPs of USRC; chair of halls)	0	1	2	3	9
C. Academic staff (e.g. professors)	0	1	2	3	9
D. Top management of the university (e.g. Vice-Chancellor, College Principals, Directors)	0	1	2	3	9
E. Other Tanzanians in general	0	1	2	3	9

**C2. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?**

	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. University management (e.g. Vice-Chancellor, College Principal, Dean, Dean of Students)	0	1	2	3	9
B. Student leaders (e.g. DARUSO President, cabinet)	0	1	2	3	9
C. Academic staff (e.g. professors)	0	1	2	3	9

**C3. How much of the time do you think the following people try their best to listen to what students have to say? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?**

	Always	Often	Only sometimes	Never	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. University management (e.g. Vice-chancellor, Dean of Students)	3	2	1	0	9
B. Student leaders (e.g. DARUSO President, cabinet)	3	2	1	0	9
C. Academic staff (Lecturers, Professors)	3	2	1	0	9

**C4. Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the following people have performed their jobs over the past twelve months? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?**

	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Dis-approve	Strongly dis-approve	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. University management (e.g. Vice-chancellor; College Principal; Deans)	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. Your student leaders	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Academic staff (e.g. professors)	5	4	3	2	1	9

**C5. Who should be responsible for...?**

	Vice-Chancellor/ Top Management	Professors and Lecturers	Students or Student Leaders	National Government	None of them	Don't know
A. Making sure that, once elected, student leaders do their jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Making sure that academics (e.g. professors, lecturers) do their jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Making sure that the Vice-Chancellor and top management do their jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	9

**C6. There are many ways to govern a university. Would you agree/disagree with the following statements?**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Dis-agree	Strongly dis-agree	Don't know
A. The top management runs the University operating on corporate business principles.	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. National government makes all decisions in the university in the national interest.	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Students have the predominant voice and run the university responsive to student interests.	5	4	3	2	1	9
D. Professors decide without interference from others based on intellectual criteria.	5	4	3	2	1	9

<b>C7. If you had to choose one, which of the following should be the most important for the University?</b>							
	Provide me with the qualification to get a good job	Maintain the highest international standards	Offer a wide variety of sport and social activities	Open the doors to anybody who wants to learn	Contribute to national development	None of them	Don't know
A. Most important?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
B. Second most important?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
C. Least/not at all important?	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

<b>C8. Would you agree/disagree with the following statements?</b>						
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
A. Students should have a say in the appointment of academic staff and top management (including the Vice-Chancellor).	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. In our university these days students should show respect for authority.	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Student representation in the University Council, Senate and their committees ensures that the student voice is heard.	5	4	3	2	1	9
D. Including students in decision-making is a waste of time for everybody involved.	5	4	3	2	1	9
E. Student leaders must ensure that the top management explains to them how they spend student fees and government money.	5	4	3	2	1	9
F. The Vice-Chancellor should not waste time explaining himself to students.	5	4	3	2	1	9
G. All students should be aware of and examine University policies and actions to keep the University leadership accountable.	5	4	3	2	1	9
H. Students should concentrate on their studies not waste time with student politics.	5	4	3	2	1	9
I. Students should be able to start and join any student organisation they like (including student political organisations), whether	5	4	3	2	1	9

or not the university approves.						
J. The university should ban student organisations that go against its views and policies.	5	4	3	2	1	9
K. Student media/papers should report on the mistakes of top management (e.g. corruption) without fear of being closed down.	5	4	3	2	1	9
L. Reporting on negative events like corruption and mismanagement harms the reputation of the University. Management must close student publications that print such stories.	5	4	3	2	1	9
M. Students should be able to speak their minds free of any interference by the University, even extreme political views may be.	5	4	3	2	1	9
N. The University should <u>not</u> allow the expression of extreme views by students.	5	4	3	2	1	9

**C9. There are different visions of the university. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Do you agree/disagree strongly?**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
A. The university is first and foremost an academic facility and learning community made up of teachers and students.	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. Students lack the competence to make decisions that concern the university. They must concentrate on their studies.	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Professors should be the main decision-makers in the university because they have the most expertise.	5	4	3	2	1	9
D. The university's main purpose is national development.	5	4	3	2	1	9
E. The university is such an important national resource that national government must take the decisions affecting the university.	5	4	3	2	1	9
F. Student representation in university decision-making is really only training students in	5	4	3	2	1	9

leadership skills.						
G. A university is like any community where people live and work together; it should be governed democratically.	5	4	3	2	1	9
H. Students should have the same rights and powers to participate in university decision-making like all other university members.	5	4	3	2	1	9
I. If students disagree with it, the university should not be able to implement a decision.	5	4	3	2	1	9
J. The university is first and foremost a service provider. Courses and degrees are its products. To be financially viable it must be run like a private business.	5	4	3	2	1	9
K. Students are like clients of the university. They must pay for their education and in turn have the right to complain when they don't get the best value for money.	5	4	3	2	1	9
L. Top management (e.g. the Vice-Chancellor) must run the University like a business. Management must fire professors who are not profitable.	5	4	3	2	1	9

## Section D: Your Interest and Involvement in National Politics

More than half the way already; We now turn to general questions about governance and more specific ones about politics in Tanzania including questions about your interest and involvement in national politics.

<i>DI. Have you been involved in any of the following activities in the past year? If not, would you do this, if you had a chance?</i>						
	YES, I was involved			NO		Don't know
	Often	Several times	Once or twice	But I would probably if had a chance	I would never do this	
A. Attended a political gathering/meeting	4	3	2	1	0	9
B. Contacted a government official to raise an issue or make a complaint	4	3	2	1	0	9
C. Write a letter to a local/national newspaper about an issue	4	3	2	1	0	9

D. Attended a demonstration or protest march	4	3	2	1	0	9
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

<b>D2. Do you feel close to any particular political party?</b>	
No, I do not feel close to any party	0
Yes, I feel close to a party	1
Cannot tell	8
Don't know	9

<b>D3. Are you personally involved in any of the following? In what capacity?</b>					
	Official leader	Active member	Inactive member	Not a member	Don't know
A. A political party (or youth wing of a political party)	3	2	1	0	9
B. A religious group (e.g. church, mosque) off campus	3	2	1	0	9
C. Other voluntary association, sport club or community group off campus	3	2	1	0	9

<b>D4. With regard to the most recent national general election (2005), which statement is true for you?</b>	
I was too young to vote	0
I voted in the election	1
I decided not to vote	2
I could not find a polling station	3
I was prevented from voting	4
I did not have time to vote	5
I did not vote for some other reason	6
Don't know/ can't remember	9

<b>D5. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of the last national general election (2005)?</b>	
Completely free and fair	4
Free and fair, but with minor problems	3
Free and fair, with major problems	2
Not free and fair	1
Do not understand the question	8
Don't know	9

<b>D6. In your view, who should be responsible for:</b>						
	The President/ Executive	The Parliament/ Local Council	Their Political Party	The Voters / Citizens	None of them	Don't know
A. Making sure that, once elected, Members of Parliament do their jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Making sure that, once elected,	1	2	3	4	5	9

local government councilors do their jobs?						
C. Making sure that the President and Ministers do their jobs?	1	2	3	4	5	9

<b>D7. In this country, how free are you...</b>					
	Not at all free	Not very free	Somewhat free	Completely free	Don't know
A. To say what you want?	1	2	3	4	9
B. To join any political organisation you want?	1	2	3	4	9
C. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured?	1	2	3	4	9

<b>D 8. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?</b>	
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	3
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable	2
For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	1
Don't know	9

<b>D 9. Can you tell me the name of:</b>			
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember
<b>A. The President of Tanzania</b>	Name:	0	1
<b>B. Your Member of Parliament</b>	Name:	0	1
<b>C. The Minister of Finance</b>	Name:	0	1

<b>D10. Do you happen to know:</b>			
	Please write here:	Don't know	Know but Can't Remember
A. Which political party has the most seats in Parliament?	Name of political party:	0	1
B. How many times someone can legally be elected President?	Write number of times:	0	1
C. Whose responsibility is it to determine whether or not a law is constitutional?	Name of body:	0	1

**D11. In order to call a country a 'democracy', please tell me which ones of the following features below do you think is essential or not important at all?**

	Absolutely essential	Somewhat Important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know
A. Majority rule	0	1	2	3	9
B. Complete freedom for anyone to criticize the government	0	1	2	3	9
C. Regular elections	0	1	2	3	9
D. At least two political parties competing with each other	0	1	2	3	9
E. Basic necessities like shelter, food and water for everyone	0	1	2	3	9
F. Jobs for everyone	0	1	2	3	9
G. Equality in education	0	1	2	3	9
H. A small income gap between rich and poor	0	1	2	3	9

### Section E: Your Views and Assessment of Politics and Government in Tanzania

In this section we would like to ask you some general questions about your views on politics and government in Tanzania.

**E1. If you had to choose, which of the following things should be a government priority in your country?**

	Maintaining order in the nation	Giving people more say in government decision	Protecting people's right to live freely	Improving economic conditions for the poor	None of these	Don't know
A. Most important?	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Second most important?	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Least/not at all important?	1	2	3	4	5	9

**E2. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Tanzania today?**

A full democracy	4
A democracy, but with minor problems	3
A democracy with major problems	2
Not a democracy	1
Do not understand question/do not understand what 'democracy' is	8
Don't know	9

**E3. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Tanzania? Are you...**

Very satisfied	4
Fairly satisfied	3
Not very satisfied	2
Not at all satisfied	1
Country is not a democracy	0
Don't know	9

<i>E4. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Do you agree/disagree strongly?</i>						
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
A. Citizens should be more active in questioning the actions of the national leaders.	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. In our country, these days' citizens should show respect for authority.	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Once elected in office, political leaders are obliged to help their ethnic group.	5	4	3	2	1	9
D. Since political leaders represent everyone, they should not favour their own ethnic group.	5	4	3	2	1	9
E. People are like children, the government should take care of them like parent.	5	4	3	2	1	9
F. Government is like an employee; people should be the bosses who control the government.	5	4	3	2	1	9
G. Government should be able to ban any organisation that goes against its views.	5	4	3	2	1	9
H. People should be able to start and join any organisation they like, whether the government approves it or not.	5	4	3	2	1	9
I. Government should be able to close newspapers that print stories it does not like.	5	4	3	2	1	9
J. The news media should be free to publish any story that they see fit without fear of being shut down.	5	4	3	2	1	9
K. Government should <u>not</u> allow the expression of political views that are fundamentally different from the views of the majority.	5	4	3	2	1	9
L. People should be able to speak their minds about politics free of government influence, no matter how unpopular or extreme their views may be.	5	4	3	2	1	9

<i>E5. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Do you agree/disagree strongly?</i>						
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know
A. We should choose our leaders in this country through regular, open and honest election.	5	4	3	2	1	9
B. Since elections sometimes produce bad results, we should adopt other methods for choosing our political leaders.	5	4	3	2	1	9
C. Many political parties are needed to make sure that the people of Tanzania have real choices in who governs them.	5	4	3	2	1	9
D. Political parties create confusion. It is unnecessary to have many political parties in Tanzania.	5	4	3	2	1	9
E. The parliament should ensure that the president explains to it regularly how the government spends the taxpayers' money.	5	4	3	2	1	9
F. The president should not waste time by justifying the government's actions to parliament.	5	4	3	2	1	9
G. Opposition parties should regularly examine and criticise government policies and actions.	5	4	3	2	1	9
H. Opposition parties should concentrate on cooperating with government and helping it develop the country.	5	4	3	2	1	9
I. University students must examine and criticise government policies and actions on behalf of those who are less privileged in the country.	5	4	3	2	1	9
J. University students should concentrate on their studies and not become involved in politics.	5	4	3	2	1	9
K. The news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the government.	5	4	3	2	1	9
L. Too much reporting on negative events like corruption only harms the country.	5	4	3	2	1	9

M. The constitution should limit the president to serving a maximum of two terms in office.	5	4	3	2	1	9
N. There should be no constitutional limit on how long the president can serve.	5	4	3	2	1	9
O. Our present system of elected government should be given more time to deal with inherited problems.	5	4	3	2	1	9
P. If our present system cannot produce results soon, we should try another form of government.	5	4	3	2	1	9

We are almost done, there are only very few questions left.

<b>E6. How much do you trust each of the following? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?</b>					
	Not at all	Just a little	Some what	A lot	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. The President of Tanzania	0	1	2	3	9
B. The National Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. The Police	0	1	2	3	9
D. Courts of Law	0	1	2	3	9
E. Traditional Leaders	0	1	2	3	9

<b>E7. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption? Or haven't heard enough about them to say?</b>					
	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. The President and Ministers of Tanzania	0	1	2	3	9
B. Members of Parliament	0	1	2	3	9
C. The Police	0	1	2	3	9
D. Judges and Magistrates in Courts	0	1	2	3	9
E. Traditional leaders	0	1	2	3	9

<b>E8. How often do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say?</b>					
	Never	Only sometimes	Often	Always	Don't Know
A. Members of Parliament of Tanzania	0	1	2	3	9
B. Elected Local Government Councillors	0	1	2	3	9
C. Traditional Leaders	0	1	2	3	9

**E9. Do you agree or disagree of the way that the following have performed their jobs over the past twelve months? Or haven't you heard enough about them to say?**

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know/ Haven't heard
A. The President of Tanzania	1	2	3	4	5	9
B. Your representative in Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	9
C. Traditional Leaders	1	2	3	4	5	9

**E10. Think about how elections work in practice in Tanzania. How well do elections:**

	Very well	Well	Not very well	Not well at all	Don't Know
A. Ensure that the members of parliament reflect the views of voters.	3	2	1	0	9
B. Enable voters to remove from office leaders who do not do what the people want.	3	2	1	0	9

**End. Thank you for participating in this survey! I hope you enjoyed it.**



**CONCEPTUAL MAP TO THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

Angolwisye Malaisyo Mwollo-ntallima (MEd-HEMA)

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
Demand for Democracy	Demand for Democracy	SL-Support for student representation	C8a & b. Voice in appointing academics/management vs. Respect for authority
			C8c & d. Representation in Council/Senate/Committees vs. Tokenism
		NL-Support for Democracy	D8. Support for Democracy
			E5a & b. Choose leaders through election vs. Other methods
			E5c & d. Multi-party system vs. many party create confusion
			E5o & p. Time to deal with problems vs. try another regime
		SL-Reject non-representative university governance	C6a. Reject managerialism
			C6b. Reject state control
			C6c. Reject student control (student university)
			C6d. Reject professorial rule
		NL- Reject authoritarianism	A11a. Reject one party rule
			A11b.Reject military rule
			A11c.Reject presidential dictatorship

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
	Demand for Rights	SL- Freedom of Association	C8i & j. Right to start or join a student organisation?
		SL- Freedom of Press	C8k & l. Right of student press to publish without fear of closure?
		SL-Freedom of Speech	C8m & n. Right to express views including extreme political view?
		NL-Freedom of Association	E4g & h. Right to start and join org regardless of govt approval?
		NL-Freedom of Press	E4i & j. Right of press to publish without fear of closure?
		NL-Freedom of Speech	E4k & l. Right to express views unpopular with government?
	Demand for Accountability	SL-Citizen Responsibilities	C5a. Responsibility for ensuring student leaders do their job?
			C5b. Responsibility for ensuring academics do their job?
			C5c. Responsibility for ensuring top managers do their job?
		SL-Leadership accountability to students	C8e. Top management accounts to students vs. waste of time
			C8g. Student involvement for leadership accountability vs. waste of time
		NL-Citizen Responsibilities	D6a. Ensuring members of parliament do their job
			D6b. Ensuring local government councillors do their job
			D6c. Ensuring that the President & Ministers do their job
		NL-Leadership accountability	E5e&f. Parliament to hold govt accountable vs. waste of time
			E5g&h. Oppositional parties examine and criticise policies vs. cooperate
			E5i&j. Student to hold govt accountable (as privileged citizens) vs. study

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
			E5k&l. Media investigate and report corruption vs. harming the country
	Demand for Responsiveness	SL-Policy Demands	C7a. Most important University priority
			C7b. Second most important University priority
			C7c. Least important University priority
		NL-Policy Demands	E1a. Most important national priority
			E1b. Second most important national priority
			E1c. Least important national priority
Supply of Democracy	Supply of Democracy	SL-Performance of student representation	B7. Freeness & fairness of recent student election
			B9. Extent of student representation
			B10. Satisfaction with student representation
		NL-Performance of democracy	D5. Freeness & fairness of recent national election
			E2. Extent of democracy
			E3. Satisfaction with democracy
	Supply of Rule of Law	SL-Trust student reps/University	C1b. Trust in elected student leaders/representatives
			C1c. Trust in academic staff
			C1d. Trust in university management

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
		NL-Trust state/govt institutions	E6a. Trust the President
			E6b. Trust the national assembly
			E6c. Trust the police
			E6d. Trust the courts of law
			E6e. Trust traditional leaders
		SL-Corruption	C2a. Corruption: University management
			C2b. Corruption: Student leadership
			C2c. Corruption: Academic staff
		NL-Corruption	E7a. Corruption: The President/Ministers
			E7b. Corruption: Representatives to the National Assembly
			E7c. Corruption: Police
			E7d. Corruption: Judges & Magistrates
			E7e. Corruption: Traditional leaders
	Supply of Rights	SL-Freedom of Association	B8b. To join any student political organisation you want
		SL-Freedom of Speech	B8a. To say what you want
		SL-Freedom to vote w/out pressure	B8c. To choose who to vote for in student elections without feeling pressured
		NL-Freedom of Association	D7b. To join any political organisation you want
		NL-Freedom of Speech	D7a. To say what you want
		NL-Freedom to vote w/out pressure	D7c. To choose who to vote for without feeling pressure

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
	Supply of Accountability	NL-Electoral system	E10. Electoral system enables voter to remove unresponsive leaders
	Supply of Responsiveness	SL-Representation performance	C3a. Listen to students: University management
			C3b. Listen to students: Student leadership
			C3c. Listen to students: Academic staff
		NL-Representation performance	E8a. Listen to the people: Members of Parliament
			E8b. Listen to the people: Elected local Government Councillors
			E8c. Listen to the people: Traditional Leaders
		SL-Incumbent Performance	C4a. Performance: University management
			C4b. Performance: Student leadership
			C4c. Performance: Academic staff
		NL-Incumbent Performance	E9a. Performance: The President
			E9b. Performance: Representatives to the National Assembly
			E9c. Performance: Traditional Leaders
		NL-Electoral System	E10a. Electoral system ensures that National Assembly reflects voters
Attitude to Democracy	Understanding Democracy	SL/NL-Definition of Democracy	A12a. Own conception of 'democracy'
			A12b. Own conception of 'democracy'
			A12c. Own conception of 'democracy'

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
		NL-Essential features of Democracy	D11a. Majority rule
			D11b. Complete freedom to criticise the government
			D11c. Regular election
			D11d. At least two political parties competing with each other
			D11e. Basic necessities like shelter, food & water for everyone
			D11f. Jobs for everyone
			D11g. Equality in education
			D11h. A small income gap between rich and poor
	Civil Society Org's Attitudes	SL-Association membership	B2b. Member of non-political student org/club/society
			A3i. Editor of a student publication
		NL-Association membership	D3b. Member of a religious organisation off campus
			D3c. Member of other org/club/society off campus
		SL-Party identification/member	B1. Identifies with student political organisation
			B2a. Member of student political organisation
		NL-Party identification/member	D2. Identifies with a political party
			D3a. Member of a political party
	Attitudes towards Others	SL-Interpersonal Trust	C1a. Trust in other students on campus

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
		NL-Interpersonal trust	C1e. Trust in other citizens in general
	Identity	Social Identity	E4c&d. Leaders should not favour own groups vs. favours
			A13. Importance of Religion (Religiosity)
			A14. Importance of Ethnic Group (Tribalism)
	Cognitive Awareness	SL/NL-Cognitive Engagement	A9. Interest in public affairs in general
			A10. Discuss politics in general
		SL/NL-Media use	A8a. Radio
			A8b. TV
			A8c. Newspaper (Including student paper)
			A8d. Internet (online news)
		SL-Political Awareness (Incumbents)	B4a. Know president of Student Union/SRC
			B4b. Know Vice-Chancellor
			B4c. Know Dean of Students
		NL-Political Awareness (Incumbents)	D9a. Know the President of the Republic
			D9b. Know Member of Parliament
			D9c. Know the Minister of Finance of the Republic

TOPIC	CONCEPTUAL FAMILY	CONCEPT	ITEM IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE
	Political Participation	SL-Political leadership positions	A2a. Current student leadership involvement
			A2b. Previous student leadership involved
			A2c. Stood as a candidate for a student leadership position
			A3. Current & previous student leadership position held
		SL-Electoral	B6. Voted in last student election
		NL-Electoral	D4. Voted in the last national election
		SL-Communing/Contacting	B3a. Attended a political meeting of students
			B3b. Contacted a senior university official to raise an issue/complain
			B3c. Wrote a letter to a student paper/pamphlet
			B3d. Attended a student demonstration/protest march
		NL-Communing/Contacting	D1a. Attended a political gathering/meeting
			D1b. Contacted a government official to raise an issue/complain
			D1c. Wrote a letter to a local/national newspaper
			D1d. Attended a demonstration/protest march

*Angolwisye M. Mwollo-ntallima (2009), Based on Conceptual Map of Round 3 Afrobarometer*

## APPENDIX VII

### Summary of Research Questions, Hypothesis and Tasks

	Questions	Tasks	Hypothesis/ Propositions	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables
1	What is the students' understanding of democracy and its features?	Analyse the meaning and definition of democracy Analyse features of democracy	Students understand what democracy is	SL Vs SNL	Student conceptions of democracy
2	Are students satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania?	Analyse students views on supply of democracy	Students are not satisfied with the supply of democracy in Tanzania	SL Vs SNL National Vs Institutional levels	-Satisfaction with democracy -Freeness & fairness of elections -Extent of democracy
3	Are students committed democrats?	Analyse students commitment to democracy	Students prefer democracy above its alternatives	SL Vs SNL National Vs institutional level	-Support for democracy -Reject authoritarianism -Support representation -Ability to define democracy
4	What are factors explain students' support for democracy?				Support/preference for Democracy
	Can social factors (such as origin, gender, age) explain variation in students support for democracy?	Run Pearson's R to see the relationship	Female/urban/younger students are more supportive of democracy than their counterparts	* <u>Social factors</u> -Gender -Age -Area of origin	Preference for democracy
	Can institutional factors explain variation in students support for	Use Eta statistical to measure associations	Students who are politically involved	* <u>Institutional factors</u>	

	democracy?	between support for democracy and institutional factors	support democracy	- student participation in active politics -voting -associational membership	Preference/support for democracy
	Can cultural factors (such as trust) explain variations in students' support for democracy?	Test trust and support for democracy among students (Eta statistical measure)	Students trust of institutions increases the support for democracy	* <u>Cultural factors</u> Trust of: -fellow students -campus leaders -Tanzanians -state institutions	Preference/support for democracy
5	Can the extent of students' cognitive awareness explain variation in students support for democracy?	Run descriptive analysis on variables related to cognitive awareness	Students have higher levels of cognitive awareness and are involved cognitively in politics and governance	-Interest in public affairs -Participate in discussion -Interest in media use -Political awareness	Student leaders (SL)  Students not in leadership position (SNL)