

National higher education reform in Tanzania: Understanding institutional and state leaders' responses to access and quality initiatives at selected public universities.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



FACULTY OF EDUCATION

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Department of Higher Education Studies, University of the Western
Cape**

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By
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Supervisor: Prof Beverly Thaver

November 2015

KEYWORDS

PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES

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THE MKUKUTA

HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY

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ACCESS

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FOUCAULT

TANZANIA



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ABSTRACT

National higher education reform in Tanzania: Understanding institutional and state leaders' responses to access and quality initiatives at selected public universities.

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Like many universities across the globe, African universities were not exceptional in so far as they were under the control of their nation states. While studies have explored the relationship between the State and the universities, this thesis argues that notwithstanding the debate around the issues of universities' continuous demand for autonomy as against the pressure for accountability, universities in Africa can also challenge the state in hidden ways especially around issues of higher education policy.

In substantiating this argument, this researcher has employed Foucault's (1979) concept of governmentality as the 'conduct of conduct'- and its subcomponent of power which points to the multiplicity or fluidity of power as originating from diverse sources. Within the exercise of power, institutions have to make the choice of freedom and resistance to state expectations. In this study, the public universities in Tanzania are expected to be responsive to a national priority poverty reduction policy (the MKUKUTA) that reflects the access and quality initiatives for the reform of higher education institutions. However, there is evidence in literature that wide consultation is one major aspect of the policy formulation, especially the poverty reduction policy paper. This researcher argues that in spite of the evidence in literature in respect of wide consultation, the case of public universities in Tanzania was quite different at systemic level. Aside from the issue of co-ordination at systemic level, this study also argues that the state is interested in regulating public universities to ensure their responsiveness to the MKUKUTA objectives. Drawing on a Foucauldian discourse, this researcher understand the state's choice of using funding for universities as a form of surveillance or panopticon to regulate institutional activities to fit the policy objectives. Even though the state uses funding as a form of surveillance, this researcher argues that the public universities, in their exercise of power, within the fluidity or multiplicity of power can choose

to freely regulate their institutional activities that are aligned to the MKUKUTA objectives to their own advantage to raise an additional internal funding stream.

This study is based on a qualitative research approach and indirectly also draws on the methodological framework of social constructionism. Being a qualitative study, it utilized structured interviews to engage respondents from three public universities, state agencies, international aid partners and the policy secretariat to understand the extent of responsiveness of the public universities to the mandate of the MKUKUTA for higher education.



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DECLARATION

I declare that “National higher education reform in Tanzania: Understanding institutional and state leaders’ responses to access and quality initiatives at selected public universities” is my own work; that it has not been submitted before for any examinations or degree purposes at any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Catherine Chinenye Maduekwe

November, 2015



Signed

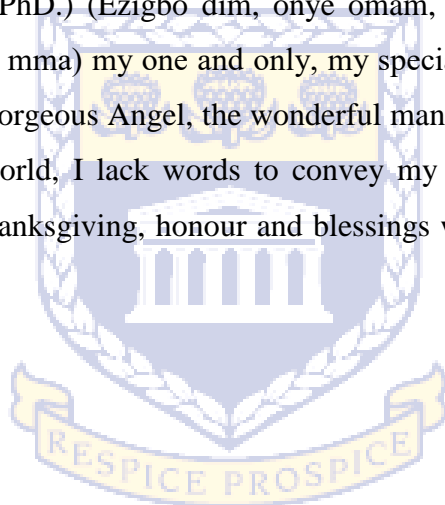


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DEDICATION

Be it far from me O Lord that anyone should take this glory, just like David in 1 Samuel, 26:16 “poured it out unto the LORD”. In the same vain O Lord, God almighty I give you all the glory, all the adoration, all the honour, all the praise, all the worship, all the thanksgiving. I pour out this PhD and its many blessings as a libation to you my God for indeed you are God and there is no other! You the God that watches over me, you never did sleep nor slumber. You kept me through this and you brought me forth through it victorious. You fought my battles and you gave me victory, a victory so great that the testimony is re-sounding even now!

To Dim Anthony Maduekwe, (PhD.) (Ezigbo dim, onye omam, onyem ji eme onu, ometum n’obi, onyem ji eje mba, dike di mma) my one and only, my special gift from God, the world’s number one amazing Dim, my gorgeous Angel, the wonderful man that believes in me and gave me an open check to fly the world, I lack words to convey my appreciation. You are loved beyond your imagination and thanksgiving, honour and blessings will never cease at your door step! I am forever grateful!



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To my babies, Nkem, Tim, Favour, Winifred, Simon (CJ), and Bobo, thanks for all the love and the patience when I had to be away from home. To CJ and Bob Kajoh, both of you started calling me Dr even before I could think of the title, now you can say it boldly though I would not want you to.

The journey of higher education started for me with my Uncle, the late Mr Paul Ukenna who paid my fees during my undergraduate days. He however, could not live to see his little girl reach to this stage. May your soul continue to rest in peace, amen.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

KEYWORDS.....	2
ABSTRACT.....	3
DECLARATION	5
DEDICATION.....	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	7
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	10
LIST OF FIGURES	17
LIST OF TABLES.....	18
CHAPTER ONE.....	19
INTRODUCTION	19
1 Introduction.....	19
1.1 Brief history of higher education in Tanzania.....	19
1.2 Higher education and development of Society	26
1.3 State control of African higher education institutions	27
1.4 Accountability and autonomy in Tanzania	29
1.5 Policy reform: access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy in Tanzania.....	30
1.5.1 Enrolment and the Tanzanian debate.....	31
1.5.2 Quality in Tanzanian higher education	33
1.6 The Landscape of higher education in Tanzania.....	37
1.6.1 University of Dar es Salaam	37
1.6.2 The Sokoine University of Agriculture, Morogoro	38
1.6.3 Mzumbe University.....	39
1.7 Problem statement.....	40
1.8 Aims and objectives	40
1.9 Research questions.....	41
1.10 Foucault and governmentality.....	41
1.11 Significance of the study.....	42
1.12 Organisation of the study	43

CHAPTER TWO	45
REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE: UNIVERSITY – STATE - SOCIETY	45
2 Introduction.....	45
2.1 Social function of universities.....	45
2.1.1 The knowledge production and dissemination function of universities	46
2.1.2 Maintenance and preservation of shared culture	48
2.1.3 Universities as providers of skills for social mobility	49
2.2 Accountability in the higher education setting: How does the state govern?	51
2.2.1 Political accountability	51
2.2.2 Bureaucratic accountability	52
2.2.3 Legal accountability	52
2.2.4 Professional accountability	52
2.2.5 Market accountability.....	53
2.2.6 Accountability debate in the Tanzanian and African setting	54
2.3 Autonomy in the higher education setting: How do universities respond?.....	56
2.3.1 Types of autonomy	57
2.4 University and state relationship around autonomy	58
2.4.1 Autonomy at African universities	61
2.5 Core functions of universities	63
2.5.1 Teaching.....	63
2.5.2 Research.....	65
2.5.3 Community service	66
2.6 Universities and the concept of change.....	67
2.6.1 Universities and responses to change	67
2.6.2 Universities and the challenges of change.....	68
2.7 Perspectives on access to higher education.....	70
2.8 Perspectives on quality in higher education.....	73
2.9 Policy implementation in higher education.....	78

2.10	Foucault’s Governmentality as the theoretical lens for this research.....	80
2.11	Understanding the concept of governmentality	81
2.12	Governmentality and the concept of power	83
2.12.1	Power as a form of regulation and control	84
2.12.2	The concept of surveillance - Panopticon.....	85
2.13	Global Governmentality.....	87
2.14	Normalisation.....	88
2.14.1	Understanding the concepts of dispositif and normalisation.....	89
2.15	Power and freedom	92
2.16	Resistance within the exercise of power	93
2.17	Governmentality and rationality	95
2.18	Governmentality and the state.....	96
2.18.1	Understanding power relations within the state.....	97
2.18.2	Power relations within society.....	98
2.19	Conclusion	101
CHAPTER THREE		102
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....		102
3	Introduction.....	102
3.1	Schools of thought in methodology	102
3.1.1	Positivism	102
3.1.2	Critical theory.....	104
3.1.3	Constructivism	105
3.1.3.1	Variations of constructivism	109
3.1.4	Identified Epistemological Underpinning for this Study.....	109
3.1.5	Understanding the higher education reform from a qualitative approach.....	111
3.2	The Research Design	111
3.2.1	The research strategy: case study.....	113
3.2.2	Criteria for selecting the three public universities.....	113
3.3	Research Technique	115

3.3.1	Data Collection Procedure	115
3.3.2	Interviews.....	115
3.3.2.1	The reasons for selecting interviews as a technique	116
3.3.2.2	Types of interviews	116
3.3.2.3	Approaches to interviews	117
3.3.2.4	Designing the interview questions.....	117
3.3.2.5	Criteria for selecting respondents.....	118
3.3.2.6	Piloting and planning the interviews	120
3.3.2.7	The interview process	121
3.3.3	Documents	122
3.3.4	A summary of the data collection process.....	123
3.4	Accessing the research sites and ethical clearance	123
3.5	Interpretation and Analysis of the Data	125
3.6	Ethical Considerations	126
3.7	Limitations and scope	126
CHAPTER FOUR.....		128
ACCESS		128
4	Introduction.....	128
4.1.1	Perceptions of the Executive Leadership and Deanery	129
4.1.2	Government mandate for public universities	130
4.1.3	Expanded access in the number of students given placement.....	134
4.1.4	Expanded access gender	137
4.1.5	Introduction of new programmes and courses	139
4.1.6	Establishment of new centres and new campuses.....	142
4.1.7	Increasing access as a form of generation of extra funds.....	145
4.1.8	Expansion of academic staff	146
4.2	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training	148
4.2.1	Perceptions of the Ministry and the Directorate of Higher Education.....	148

4.2.2	Alignment of the elements of the MKUKUTA activities at public universities	148
4.2.3	Widening the skills development platform.....	152
4.2.4	Access in terms of an increase in student enrolment.....	153
4.2.5	Expansion of infrastructural components.....	157
4.2.6	The establishment of new universities	159
4.2.7	Limitations in terms of academic staff.....	160
4.3	The Perception of the Accreditation Body.....	162
4.3.1	Liberalization of higher education through increasing the number of universities and degree awarding institutions	162
4.3.2	The establishment of private universities.....	164
4.3.3	New programmes and courses as instances of the access mandate.....	165
4.3.4	Expanding in terms of enrolment	166
4.3.5	Introduction of the central admission system	168
4.3.6	Inadequate provision of infrastructure for the expanded access.....	169
4.4	Perceptions of the Policy Secretariat - the MKUKUTA Secretariat.....	171
4.4.1	Generation and funding of research for the nation's use	171
4.4.2	Strengthening capacity or supporting human development initiatives	172
4.4.3	Limited coordination of public universities	174
4.4.4	Opportunity for liberalization of higher education provisions	176
4.5	Perception of International Aid Partners.....	177
4.5.1	The constant increase, "numbers are growing"	177
4.5.2	Establishment of the central admission system	178
4.5.3	Funding through the higher education student loans scheme.....	180
4.5.4	Disparity between the budget, funding allocation and what is obtainable in practice 181	
4.5.5	"Business as usual" with teaching and research as core functions of Universities ..	182
4.5.6	Increase in enrolment with the introduction of new courses	183
4.5.7	Review of curriculum	184

4.5.8	Infrastructural provisions.....	185
CHAPTER FIVE		189
QUALITY.....		189
5	Introduction.....	189
5.1	Senior Executive university Leadership at Public Universities	189
5.1.1	Perceptions of the Executive Leadership and the Deanery.....	189
5.1.2	Institutionalizing quality through the establishment of quality assurance systems	190
5.1.3	Developing regional and global quality education structures and practices.....	193
5.1.4	Course delivery as an instance of quality.....	195
5.1.5	Demands of the labour force as an instance of quality	197
5.1.6	Assuring quality in the curriculum	198
5.1.7	Training and retraining of staff	200
5.1.8	Infrastructural provision and development.....	202
5.1.9	Quality and quality assurance processes through collaboration.....	204
5.2	The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training	206
5.2.1	Perceptions of the Ministry and the Higher Education Directorate	206
5.2.2	Recruitment and provision of qualified academic staff.....	206
5.2.3	Provision of infrastructure.....	209
5.2.4	Provision of teaching and learning materials	211
5.2.5	Engagement of donor partners through the Science, Technology and Higher Education Programme	212
5.3	The Perceptions of the accreditation body.....	213
5.3.1	Challenge of quality with regard to international standard demands	214
5.3.2	Training of academic staff at public universities	215
5.3.3	Accreditation of university programmes	218
5.3.4	Establishment of quality assurance structures	219
5.3.5	Collaboration with donor partners	220
5.4	Perceptions of the State Policy Secretariat.....	222

5.4.1	Challenge of quality within increased access.....	222
5.4.2	Training of academic staff.....	224
5.4.3	Quality as Customised Programmes	225
5.5	Perceptions of International Aid Partners	226
5.5.1	Non prioritization of higher education in the MKUKUTA document.....	226
5.5.2	Quality is a challenge	228
5.5.3	Qualified staff.....	229
5.5.4	The provision of Infrastructure to strengthen quality	230
5.5.5	Review of Curriculum.....	232
CHAPTER SIX.....		235
ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY USING FOUCAULT’S CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENTALITY		235
6	Introduction.....	235
6.1	The origin and ownership of the MKUKUTA reform as a form of governmentality.....	236
6.2	Power localisation and state regulation of institutional practices to align with the MKUKUTA	237
6.3	State regulation of the access initiative as a form of ‘capillary power’	238
6.4	State regulation of institutional funding as a form of surveillance	239
6.5	Establishment of quality assurance strategies as a form of surveillance.....	241
6.6	Regulation of the MKUKUTA objectives as a form of global governmentality	242
6.7	Normalisation of access for institutional income generation	244
6.8	Institutional regulation of provision of resources as a dispositif	246
6.9	Understanding institutional exercise of freedom in the regulation of access around size and	250
6.10	Limited national coordination of public universities at systems level during policy formulation	251
6.11	Conclusion and recommendation.....	253
6.12	Recommendations.....	255
APPENDIX A 1		283
APPENDIX A 2.....		284
APPENDIX A 3.....		286

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: The diagrammatical impression of the research design.**Error! Bookmark not defined.**



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Gross Enrolment Ratio for Eastern African States (Based on available Data).....	31
Table 1.2: Increase in Enrolment Trends in Tertiary Education in African Countries.....	32
Table 2.1: Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio in Different World Regions (1999-2005) in Percentages	72
Table 3.1: Validity Procedures Using Qualitative Assumptions and Diverse Epistemological Frameworks.....	110
Table 3.2: Research Sites and the Number of Respondents	120
Table 3.3: Data Collection Process.....	123



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

This research will critically explore the nature and extent of responsiveness of selected public universities in Tanzania, to a national higher education reform initiative. Particularly, I am interested in how public universities in Tanzania have responded to the higher education reform initiative in the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction Initiative popularly known as *Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania* in Swahili (hereafter referred to as the MKUKUTA), established by the Tanzanian Government.

The aim of this chapter is to ensure a tight background and motivation for this study while highlighting the history of higher education in Tanzania. There is the engagement with the debates around accountability, autonomy and policy reforms in universities, while also drawing from the access and quality initiatives of the MKUKUTA reform within the Tanzanian higher education landscape. The chapter also engages with the history of the universities in this study while pointing out the problem that generated this study, the aims, objectives and research questions within the framework of the Foucault governmentality framework. Lastly, the chapter highlights the significance and boundaries that are drawn around the research.

1.1 Brief history of higher education in Tanzania

The question of the presence of higher education in Africa during the pre-colonial period has been the subject of higher education debate (Ajayi et al. 1996:4 Assie-Lumumba 2006:25). With the colonisation of Africa by the British government, missionary education was established as a form of higher education within the period (Onsongo 2007).

When the British colonised the sub-Saharan African region and Tanzania, the colonization provided an avenue for missionaries to initiate higher education in the region. The essence of the institutional provision for their colonies was to meet the proselytising or evangelizing mission of the missionaries, to promote literacy for easy religious instruction and to train local teachers and assistants (Wesonga, Ngome, Ouma, Wawire 2003 and Onsongo 2007:113). At the beginning of the 20th century, there was no formal higher education in

Africa especially during the period preceding the First World War (Lyons 1970 and Ashby 1966). Apart from the efforts of the missionaries to provide higher education, the British Government through its colonial officials, did not have any official educational policy and as such paid little or no attention to education provision (Lulat 2003). The approach of the Second World War brought about many changes and the official educational policy that favoured education provision in the colonies. The British colonialists then set up committees to ensure an official education policy for the African colonies or territories (Lulat 2003) with the intention of providing education for Africans who would support their colonial administration. A number of university colleges with affiliation to British universities were set up during this period. The independence (post-colonial) period saw the establishment of universities emerging from British colleges. From these first universities in the independent states, Africa witnessed the establishment of further universities to train staff for the independent African nations.

Tanzanian independence from colonial rule in 1961 came with milestones in Tanzanian social life as a nation and especially within the higher education system. In 1961, higher education was provided to Tanzanians through the University College, London with the University of Dar es Salaam as a constituent college (Mkude et al. 2003). In 1961 Tanzania became part of East Africa University that had university Colleges in Kenya, Uganda and also Tanzania (Leach et al. 2008 and URT 2011). By the year 1970, Tanzania and two other East African nations, namely Kenya and Uganda had each established a national university as opposed to the East African University. The University of Dar es Salaam therefore became a fully-fledged university and the only public university in Tanzania in 1970, established by the Parliamentary Act No. 12 of that year (Mkude et al. 2003 and URT 2011). Some of the reasons for the division of the University of East Africa includes: “Tanzania's wish for autonomy so as to introduce more radical reforms at its university that are consistent with the socialist transformation - the Ujamaa - taking place in the country” (Omari 1991:183).

The independence period was marked by the establishment of Tanzania's first national university. The president of the young Tanzanian nation became its foremost Chancellor. There are indications that most of the new African nations appointed their presidents as Chancellors of the post- independent universities (Omari 1991). This practice reflected the existing situation that saw the church and the state as one (Omari 1991). Such a practice

among the new African nations conferred ceremonial powers on the new presidents but as time went by, these presidents took an “authoritative role in the management and administration of higher education in a rather hegemonic way” (Omari 1991:182). These authoritative roles included the Chancellor’s right to decide on the Vice Chancellor, the headship of senate and appointment of institutional staff. The appointment of the president of the Tanzanian nation as the Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam signaled some consequences. It was considered partly positive, as it was viewed as offering the university and its affairs a “high profile in national politics” (Mkude 2003:1). Another view however, was negative, as it signaled control of the higher education system and the university in particular by the state, which could entail the loss of university autonomy for the Tanzanian nation.

The history of the Tanzanian higher education system especially during the post independence era links to the inauguration of the Ujamaa, a type of African socialism introduced by President Nyerere immediately after independence. By 1967 the president, Nyerere introduced his “version of African Socialism” that had the developmental philosophy of common and shared essentials in “the Arusha declaration” - the inauguration of the Ujamaa - (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003: 62- 63). Nyerere believed in African Socialism as the only system of development for a new and developing nation and hence his insistence on Ujamaa. Ujamaa saw the “localisation of the factors of economic development and the utilization of all national resources and institutions towards development” (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003: 63), as the way forward and to earn the satisfaction of the populace. There has been some critique of the concept of Ujamaa (Stoger-Eising 2000: 134 and Osabu-We 2000: 171).

The post-independence era saw the proliferation of universities and other higher education systems in Tanzania. The University of Dar es Salaam, which was established immediately after independence later became a parent university with its Agricultural Faculty becoming a full-fledged university now called the Sokoine University of Agriculture, in Morogoro region. Other universities, Ardhi University in Dar es Salaam and Muhimbili university of Health and Allied Sciences all came from the stable of the University of Dar es Salaam with a host of university colleges. A full history of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Sokoine

University in addition to Mzumbe University will be traced later in this chapter as they are part of the institutional sites of this research.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the implementation of reforms in Tanzania especially within the education sector. These reforms seemed to have been propelled by the introduction of the Education Sector Analysis which became a catalyst of these reforms with attention to ensuring quality, access and equity (HEDP 2010). Following these reforms was the introduction of the Education and Training policy of 1995, the policy for all levels of the education sector. In addition to the Education and Training policy, there was also the introduction of the Technical Education and Vocational Training Policy of 1996 and the National Higher Education Policy of 1999 (MOEVT 2010) The main mission of the Education and Training policy was to provide guidance for the education system at all levels in Tanzania. In providing guidance, the Education and Training policy was interested in providing the modalities for increased access and quality education among others like the MKUKUTA and the VISON 2025 (MOEVT 2010). Following the introduction of the Education and Training policy, in 1997 the stakeholders in education, donor partners and the national Tanzanian government collaborated in developing the Educational Sector Development Program. The Educational Sector Development Program had two revisions, the first was in the year 2001 and the second was in the year 2008.

The end of the 20th century signaled another form of growth in the Tanzanian higher education system. Tanzania witnessed the growth of the university sector, with increased pressure on these institutions. The higher education landscape in Tanzania is the outflow of this phenomenon. The expansion of the higher education system during the post-independence era was to meet the needs of the young African nation. The higher education system in Tanzania had to “expand dramatically” and offer educational opportunities for the increasing population which yearned for higher education within the period (Browne 2007:253) and that was a way of implementing the Education Sector Development Program.

The introduction of the Education Sector Development Programme led to the establishment of a working relationship with donors and stakeholders in education in Tanzania (MOEVT 2010). Such development of a new relationship culminated in the development of new programmes for different tiers of education. The implementation of the Educational Sector

Development Programme led to the development of the Primary Education Development Programme that was implemented between 2002 and 2006, the Secondary Education Development Programme of 2004 and subsequently the Higher Education Development Programme of 2010 (MOEVT 2010). The Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 was introduced in 1999 (URT 1999) as a developmental framework that has the aspiration of seeing Tanzania grow into a middle income level state with a strong economy according to the stipulated mandates in the MKUKUTA policy paper of 2005. As mentioned above the MKUKUTA (URT 2005) is a poverty reduction strategy paper of the Tanzanian government.

The World Bank (WB) introduced the poverty reduction strategy papers in the year 2000 which outlined the need for sub-Saharan African countries like Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, among others to introduce a number of development initiatives and poverty reduction policies (WB 2000). In addition to the document outlining several aspects of development for African countries, one of the important aspects of the initiative was the need to rearrange debt. Such rearrangement of debt was part of the overall plan to regulate the debt of highly impoverished African Countries (WB 1999). In this regard, several of the African countries mentioned above began implementing the substantive policy aspects of this initiative. In light of this, the Tanzanian Government, after implementing the World Bank initial Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (henceforth known as PRSP), (WB 1999) decided to establish a national initiative intended to reduce poverty and accelerate economic development, hence the introduction of the MKUKUTA. In Tanzania therefore, the MKUKUTA is an internal governmental process as it originates from the local Tanzanian Government as against the PRSP which was an external governmental process originating from the World Bank. Part of the expectation of the policy document is that higher education just like in other countries across the globe as evidenced in scholarly literature (Brock-Utne 2000; Singh 2001; Tilak 2003; Bloom et al. 2006 and Mamdani 2008) will provide a platform for poverty reduction and economic development in Tanzania.

In summary, the more recent policy documents in Tanzania include (1) the MKUKUTA Government policy document (United Republic of Tanzania/Vice President's Office 2005) which is the policy paper that this research is based on. The MKUKUTA has an operationalizing document; its offshoot that is termed (2) Higher Education Development

Programme (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2010) and (3) the successor policy and strategy paper of the MKUKUTA termed the MKUKUTA 11 which came into effect in 2011 (United Republic of Tanzania/Vice President's Office 2011). In addition to all these policies are (4) Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 document which is the bedrock on which all these policies rest (United Republic of Tanzania 1999).

The first poverty reduction strategy paper that was initiated by the World Bank in 2000 was implemented by the Tanzania national government just like in other African nations. The implementation period stretched over three years, from 2000 to 2003. This initial poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) served two main purposes. First, it served as an instrument for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative. Secondly, it provided a framework for coordinating the poverty reduction initiatives of the Tanzanian nation. The poverty reduction strategy paper also became a firm foundation on which the Tanzanian government established the formulation of the present policy, namely the MKUKUTA. In addition to being part of the poverty reduction strategy paper of the World Bank, the Tanzanian nation has also been a signatory to international and regional agreements that are related to poverty reduction and economic development such as the Millennium Development Goals; the East African Economic Community and Education for All, among others.

Most policy documents in Tanzania make reference to poverty reduction and always view education as a tool for national economic development. The Tanzanian nation prepared the MKUKUTA in June, 2005 which was informed by the aspirations of Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 and originates from the Vice President's Office (URT 2005). The MKUKUTA policy document focuses on the equitable growth and governance of Tanzania when compared to the first poverty reduction strategy paper of the World Bank which was drawn with the main intent as a condition for debt relief and poverty reduction. The MKUKUTA policy document serves as an instrument for mobilizing efforts and resources towards targeted poverty reduction outcomes and economic development. It also serves as a technology of power that the Tanzanian government utilizes for the effective management and governance of the people. The MKUKUTA policy document highlights the importance of higher education as a vehicle for social and economic development, with specific linkages to a country's science and technology systems, which in turn would contribute to poverty reduction (URT/VPO 2005:9).

One of the reasons for this doctoral study is an interest in how higher education could potentially contribute to economic and sustainable development in Africa. In this regard, Bloom, Canning and Chan, (2006) outline the extent to which the World Bank as an international financial aid institution has been foregrounding primary education over and above that of higher education. In light of the latter, the World Bank has been placing limited emphasis on higher education in Africa in past years.

Some of the literature has critiqued the role of the World Bank for placing too much emphasis on primary education at the expense of higher education. For example, the World Bank which was supposed to be helping African nations in the fight against poverty was at the same time discouraging investment in higher education (Cloete 2012; Mamdani 2008; Maassen et al. 2007; Bloom et al. 2006; Gyimah-Brempong, Paddison, & Mitiku 2006; Sawyerr 2004; Brock-Utne 2002). The discouraging attitude towards higher education in Africa existed in spite of the fact that the Western World has developed mainly as a result of investments in Science and Technology subjects which are only taught in higher education (Bloom et al. 2006). The over emphasis on primary and secondary education to the detriment of higher and tertiary education reduces or completely erases “indigenous capacity for research and innovation” (Crossley 2001; Tikly 2004:190) which are the bedrock for reducing poverty as well as a basis for development of countries that are interested in education as a tool for economic development. Although these indications feature prominently, the World Bank’s interest with reference to the poverty reduction strategy papers cannot be over emphasized. We need to establish how independent these poor African states really are if the World Bank has to dictate their policy initiatives. Is this a form of governance of African Nations by the World Bank?

Debate also exists about the role of higher education in terms of advancing the economy and economic development globally and locally in Africa including Tanzania (Alexander 1998). Higher education has also been seen to have a great impact on economic growth and poverty reduction in Africa. This is in spite of the fact that the international community emphasized primary and secondary education as critical for the reduction of poverty in African nations (Bloom et al. 2006: iii). This long standing discouragement of African nations from higher

education can be attributed to the reduction of funding and the disregard for higher education that was suggested by the World Bank from 1985 to 1999 (Bloom et al. 2006: iii).

Aside from discouraging African states investment in higher education, the International Monetary Fund also saw higher education for Africa as a private benefit for individuals and not impacting on society at large (Brock-Utne 2000; Mamdani 2008 and Tilak 2003). The question may be asked: why is there such disparity in Africa? In what ways can higher education contribute to alleviate poverty in Africa? Based on literature assertion that education is a tool for development, is Tanzania doing anything about this recent realization and recant from these same donor agencies who believe that tertiary education is a catalyst for economic development (Bloom et al. 2006:4)? These were questions that triggered this researcher's interest in a doctoral study as I searched for answers and reasons for such anomalies and differential treatment by donor agencies.

1.2 Higher education and development of Society

What were scholars telling us about the field of higher education, society and development?

Higher education as an agent of development is an existing framework in the developed world. Scholastic writings in recent times have estimated that higher education affects economic development both for "private and societal benefits" and probably for the public good (Brock-Utne 2000; Singh, 2001; Tilak 2003 and Mamdani 2008). Scholars like Macerinskiene and Vaisksnoraite (2006:1) view the influence of higher education on society from three parameters in terms of the impact within the local economy and externally through the purchase of goods and services. Such impact occurs through the direct expenditure of institutions and its immediate stakeholders namely staff, students and parents. Another aspect is the accruing financial as well as "non-financial benefits" to society and its individuals who pursue higher education and lastly, the fact that tertiary education is seen as emphasizing "knowledge creation" among others (Macerinskiene and Vaisksnoraite 2006). This implies that tertiary education is the main producer of "innovative research and development" that benefits society and accelerates economic development (Macerinskiene and Vaisksnoraite 2006:1). These views have led to the current idea of viewing universities as the bedrock for "extracting economic and competitive benefit for knowledge production" (Harloe and Perry 2004: 214). This notion of extraction and benefit from knowledge production entails that

society expects universities to be established, not only for knowledge production but also to ensure the diffusion of such knowledge to the larger society. Universities as a key institution in the knowledge economy are therefore concerned with the “production of high level skills and knowledge innovation” that revolve around the university’s major focus namely, “the production, application and dissemination of knowledge” (Bailey, Cloete and Pillay (2011:2).

There is the further argument that universities should not only be seen as a major agent and “key instrument for national development but should also be integrated into national development policies” (Yesufu 1973:38). This argument stems from the fact that the new universities were expected to alleviate poverty for their new nations and their populace as well as bridge the economic gap between Africa and the developed world (Sawyer 2004:2). On extension, the argument entails integrating and encouraging universities in Africa to participate in responding to national development policies that target poverty reduction. Such realization of the need to integrate and encourage universities to engage in responding to priority development policies has also gained ground in Tanzania. For Tanzania, such realization may impact on Tanzanian higher education policies as they unfold in shaping events around higher education in this East African nation. Relating these to this research, I am interested in understanding the extent to which public universities in Tanzania are contributing towards reducing poverty through their engagement with the access and quality mandates of reform.

1.3 State control of African higher education institutions

The various Acts establishing different universities in different countries in Africa stipulate that universities should be largely free from government control. However, notwithstanding the stipulation and appellation that institutions operate in an environment of academic freedom and autonomy, universities are frequently besieged by society and are sometimes overwhelmed by the problem of “living up to the expectations of its societies” (Alexander 2000:413). Society tends to become “deeply engaged with the on-going power disputes over internal and external control” (Mintrom 2008:231) at universities. This can be supported by looking at the situation in most of the newly independent states especially with the Tanzanian example where the chancellor decides on the headship of the senate and the recruitment of staff (Omari 1991).

Kwapong (1992:7) views the above as a matter of great concern and one that fuels the crises between (African) universities and their government. With regard to the governance of universities, the African states through their governmental agencies, control universities by routinely appointing key university administrators and members of the university councils. This was the case at the university of Dar Es Salaam, (Ajayi et al. 1996:119) - extended to every aspect of university development, human resource development and allocation - were also integrated into government centralized planning. With the Tanzanian situation, the national government was viewed as being responsible for university staffing, recruitment and transfer from university to government agencies (Mama 2003). The control of institutions by their local government, extended to different organs in the different professions, civil service, semi- government organizations and national institutions (Ajayi et al. 1996; see also Mama 2003). In this regard, issues of resistance or protest from the students and staff became national issues that were given national attention by making it a political issue (Ajayi et al. 1996:117). The state controlled every aspect of university life and universities became political institutions since their activities were viewed from a political perspective (Court 1974; see also Ajayi et al. 1996). There is the argument that state control of the university system was specified. Such specification of state control included the state identifying the number of students that were admitted to a specific course at universities. Hence there is the argument that every graduate produced by the University of Dar es Salaam is a “planned statistic” (Thompson 1977:211). It is a planned statistic as the state interferes with the number, either in terms of the over - or under - production of certain categories of graduates. Through its different organs, the government decides on “the national requirements of high level man-power in the different professions, in the civil service, in the parastatal organizations and in national institutions” (Thompson 1977:202). This implies that the state determines the number of enrolments at universities so as to meet the required specialization that the nation needs. However, there are limits to the number of students that are given access to universities in Tanzania. The implication is that the university can only train the number of graduates that the state allows and in whatever field the state desires (Thompson 1977).

The need to live up to the expectations of the state and demands of society has created tension in higher education systems in Africa. The tension is especially noticeable with declining funding from government and constantly increasing demands on universities for

expansion and quality. These tensions and the struggle between the university, its society and state is mainly because the university is “both involved and withdrawn; both serving and criticizing; both needing and being needed” by its state and society (Alexander 2000:414). These realities notwithstanding, universities are expected to expand access and guarantee quality. At the same time, the state has emphasized, created and refined diverse evaluation programmes that are to be used in “monitoring” and conducting an “assessment of university effectiveness and productivity” (Alexander 2000:413). Such demands bring about tension as the university views such demands as an infringement of their autonomy. Looking at the MKUKUTA mandates critically, the aspect of the initiative has put in place instruments of monitoring and evaluation as well as assessment of the effectiveness and productivity of public universities. This is supported by the fact that “every budgetary need and request for funds is tied to the implementation of the MKUKUTA objectives” (Rweyemamu 2009; UNESCO/ESRF 2011). Such action was seen as mitigating university autonomy and academic freedom. The university therefore can be said to have lost its ability to enroll students and train manpower as the government decides on enrolment numbers. This foregrounds the issue of accountability and autonomy of university systems in Tanzania and different parts of Africa.

1.4 Accountability and autonomy in Tanzania

The debate around accountability of African states and their higher education systems is linked to the debate around financial resources and how the resources are allocated since the national government provides the major funding for public universities. There is a view of accountability as a governmental mechanism to ensure universities’ engagement with knowledge creation and dissemination (Bramwell and Wolfe 2008). Such engagement maybe linked to their core functions of teaching and training, research and community engagement. It could also be perceived as a mechanism to ensure the provision and enhancement of quality education (Gumport 2000) and to ascertain that “students are really well educated when they graduate” (Ajayi et al. 1996:170).

Accountability may therefore be viewed as a governance principle to steer universities to be responsive to governmental mandates and policies in the African context. This is evident in the Tanzanian situation where public universities are expected to be responsive to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document through access, quality,

funding, and community service (URT 2005). At the same time, there is the principle of autonomy that also confronts the university sector in Africa. There are varied approaches to the idea of autonomy which will be addressed in Chapter Two. For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that in the context of higher education in Africa, there have been various scholarly debates (Ajayi et al 1996; Alexander 2000; Waghid 2002). The debates are about the increasing tensions that arise when the governments reduce funding allocation and / or other demands. For example, the implementation of the MKUKUTA is one such pressure being placed on universities, which in turn, reduces the levels of independence. This is evident in the governmental mandate in the MKUKUTA that dictates that universities increase access and provide quality education, among others (URT 2005). This study will examine the extent to which the MKUKUTA document is a mechanism for governments to ensure that universities are accountable to national priorities.

Given the accountability factor, the MKUKUTA policy is the technology for regulating the sector, in terms of access and quality. In the following section, certain general ideas are raised pertaining to the debate in the African context, following which I address the components of the MKUKUTA as it pertains to the policy mandates of access and quality.

1.5 Policy reform: access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy in Tanzania

The Tanzanian situation, with regard to the access debate is not different from the debate of other neighbouring countries in Africa. Tanzania, like all its neighbours, has struggled with the issue of enrolment, a necessary tool in enhancing access and quality (Bloom et al. 2006:79). Table 1.1 below shows the Tanzanian situation with regard to enrolment in comparison with its sister nations on the East African landscape.

Table 1.1: Gross Enrolment Ratio for Eastern African States (Based on available data)

Country	1985	2001	2002	2004	2009
Burundi	0.55	1.14	1.18	2.33	2.68
Kenya	1.28	2.81	2.81	2.90	4.05
Rwanda	0.34	1.71	1.94	2.66	4.82
Tanzania	0.26	0.69	0.81	1.25	3.37
Uganda	0.79	2.75	3.04	3.48	3.69

Source: World Bank Statistics, 2010

A closer look at Table 1.1 above shows the available statistics and the trend over the years. The table indicates that Tanzania has had low access on the average when compared to its sister nations in the Eastern African region. The last year of this table shows that Tanzania has made progress and has a better enrolment trend when compared to Burundi. It may be worthwhile stating that there is no specified reason for the years chosen as shown in Table 1.1 above, but that it may be linked to available data directed to the World Bank. The interest in this study is to ascertain the role of the MKUKUTA in this period as shown in the increase between 2004 and 2009 in Table 1.1.

1.5.1 Enrolment and the Tanzanian debate

Looking at access from the view of enrolment, the expected age of entrance into university education or higher education institutions in Tanzania is twenty years. This is quite high when compared to what is obtainable globally, namely an average of eighteen years (Hoogeveen and Ruhinduka 2009). The reason for the higher age of participation in higher education in Tanzania is as a result of the fact that Tanzanian children start primary school a year later than their counterparts. This also implies that they also spend more years in pre-tertiary education and as such they enter university at a relatively late age, spend more years at university and graduate at an older age (WB 2010). The implication is that with Tanzanian children entering school late and then finishing pre-tertiary education late, the attrition rate is increased before they even commence tertiary education.

Given the effort to increase access over the years, Tanzania still shows evidence that the rate of dropouts and completion is to an extent stagnant. The high rate of attrition in the Tanzanian educational system may be attributed to indicators such as ‘poor school

preparation, and weakness of the university teaching and learning system” (Akoojee and Nkomo 2007: 385). Such reason for the high attrition rate raises the question around the quality of education being offered in the university system.

Table 1.2 below shows an increase in enrolment within the African sub-region that shows the rate of increase not only in Eastern African states but in the whole region as seen from available statistics.

Table 1.2: Increase in Enrolment Trends in Tertiary Education in African Countries.

Country		Tertiary Enrolment			Percentage Increase
		1999	2005	1999-2005	Annual Average
Burkina Faso	9,878	27,942	182%	30%	
Burundi	5,037	16,889	235%	39%	
Ethiopia	52,305	191,212	265%	44%	
Kenya	47,254	93,341	98%	16%	
Lesotho	4,046	7,918	96%	16%	
Mali	18,663	32,609	75%	12%	
Mauritius	7,559	16,852	122%	20%	
Rwanda	5,678	26,378	365%	61%	
Senegal	29,303	59,127	102%	17%	
South Africa	632,911	735,073	16%	3%	
Swaziland	4,880	5,897	21%	3%	
Tanzania	18,867	51,080	171%	28%	

Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2007

Table 1.2 above shows the trend with regard to the rate of enrolment in Tanzania and its neighbouring sister nations in the East African region. There is a picture of a huge demand for higher education as evident in Table 1.2. Such desire for higher education can only be met by increasing the number of universities and opening their doors to access by the citizenry. Access has been related to issues of massification in higher education as well as an increase in enrolment (Higgs 2010). The need for access to higher education in Africa can be related to the situation in Tanzania which arose after the outcome of the Education for All Dakar

conference (UNESCO 2008). The Education for All Dakar conference expressed the idea of extensive expansion of enrolment and a demand for access from early childhood education to higher levels. The issue of increase in access and the provision of quality education from early childhood to higher levels are part of the key items in the reform agenda of the MKUKUTA policy document (URT 2005). The Dakar conference encouraged the provision of “more access to knowledge and skills to young people and adults, increase adult literacy by 50% and improve quality” (UNESCO 2008:15). These, together with the EFA conference in Jomtien (UNESCO 1990), made it possible for developing countries, including Tanzania, to indicate a commitment of achieving the MDG’s and the Dakar intentions which are all geared towards increasing access and enrolment at higher levels.

The pressure and the need to meet the commitments of both the Jomtien and Dakar conferences accelerated the provision of access to education in the African region including Tanzania (Little et al. 1994). Lewin (2009: 154) argues that with the dawn of the year 2000, most countries had achieved universal access to primary school enrolment. Such an achievement may imply the need for expanded access to secondary schools to accommodate the graduates of the primary school system. Hence there is the new pressure and commitment from African states (Lewin 2008a) to provide access for this group. In another vein, it was pointed out that countries within the sub Saharan African region were encountering difficulties in providing universal access to education. Such difficulty therefore called for reforms in their educational sectors to be able to provide and afford sustainable education (Lewin & Caillods 2001; UNESCO 2008 and Lewin 2009).

1.5.2 Quality in Tanzanian higher education

The debate on advancing and assuring quality in higher education will be addressed in Chapter Two. Most higher education institutions in Tanzania and in Africa generally are beleaguered with multiple problems such as the need to increase access and poor infrastructural development. In most African nations, Tanzanian inclusive the emphasis is on the provision of access or expanded enrolment at the universities.

Within the arena of higher education in Tanzania, quality provision has been emphasized and even linked to enrolment, especially in the MKUKUTA policy paper. There is evidence of growth in the figure of higher education enrolment from 23, 603 in the year 2001/2002 to 55,

134 in the year 2004/2005 and the latest record of the year 2011 was 139,638 (URT/BEST 2011:137) that calls for increasing interest and emphasis on quality. The Tanzanian nation in its Vision 2025 development statement emphasizes the need for “a high level of education at all levels ... so as to meet the challenges of development and attain competitiveness at regional and global levels” (Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, Vision 2025 Doc 1999:5).

This statement in the Vision 2025 document, besides the mandate of the MKUKUTA, also emphasizes quality education at all levels and the need for public universities to produce graduates that are globally competitive (VPO/URT 2005). With such a demand, public universities in Tanzania are expected and are put to task to ensure academic quality and standards that are comparable to what is obtainable regionally and on the international higher education landscape. Public universities are to offer quality education so as to gain the confidence of their stakeholders, the public, and the government. This is important as the stakeholders are interested in the quality standards at universities and the quality of education that is available to the students. The MKUKUTA policy paper indicates the state notion of quality and their intention of demanding quality education at public universities (URT 2005). The Tanzanian higher education development programme also emphasizes quality education at university level (URT/HEDP 2010). There is the emphasis that quality education offered to students may entail that the graduates may eventually become skilled workers, professionals in different endeavours and those who will eventually take over the affairs of the state (URT/HEDP 2010).

To restate the critical need for quality education, the government of Tanzania set up the Tanzanian Commission for Universities (TCU) in 2005 as the Quality Council. Universities Act No. 7 of 2005 designates that TCU was mandated as the agency to audit the quality assurance mechanism of universities regularly, among other things. In essence, TCU is the agency in charge of quality and also determines the establishment of programmes, courses and registration of new universities in Tanzania, among many other functions.

Quality is an important attribute in the Tanzanian higher education system as it is across the global higher education system. The need to ensure quality in the higher education system and to maintain “academic quality and standards” in the Tanzanian higher education system

is of great value to society, the state and also critical in the international academic environment (Manyaga 2008:169).

Linking the aspirations of the Vision 2025 stated above to the expectations of the MKUKUTA policy document and its higher education reform initiative, one will observe that there is a linkage and an agreement in terms of the quality objective of the two documents. The MKUKUTA policy document captures it succinctly stating that:

In order to make a dent on poverty reduction through higher education, science and technology, it requires provision of quality education from early childhood to higher levels and research activities that are tailored to the local environment. (URT/VPO 2005:9).

In this policy statement quality is also emphasized similar to what is envisaged in the Vision 2015 document above. There is the emphasis on the need for quality education to be provided at all levels of education in Tanzania. The statement above emphasizes the great importance that is attached to the provision of quality in the overall education system. The question is what constitutes quality in the Tanzanian environment with regard to its public universities. We will delve into quality at the global level in Chapter Two.

The MKUKUTA reform document identifies operational targets for higher education institutions within the access and quality paradigm. Some of the ways that the access and quality targets were captured in the document include:

Increased enrolment in higher and technical education in universities and in technical colleges to 50, 000 full time students and 15,000 part time students, 25,000 distant learning students by 2008 and improved knowledge on entrepreneurial skills among youths (URT the MKUKUTA 2005: Annex 16; 17).

The identified strategies that higher education should utilize to ensure quality and access are specified as:

Improve quality and efficient provision of education for higher and technical institutions in order to increase enrolment, access and equity; Design human resource development fund for higher education and technical education staff development (URT the MKUKUTA 2005: Annex 16; 17).

From the above, there is a strong and dynamic linkage with issues of access and quality in the MKUKUTA policy document and also in higher education debate. Bergquist (1995) captures it succinctly by emphasizing that quality cannot be discussed without access in the same way that access debate are linked to the intention of achieving success with quality. The existing link between access and quality can be utilized in resolving the contention between “access by participation” (Akoojee and Nkomo 2007: 396) and the possibility of any substitution or confusion of expanding access within a challenge of quality. However, public universities are expected to come out with a commitment to transform the higher education system within the emphasis of increased access and quality. The MKUKUTA mandates for higher education in Tanzania and makes it clear about the need for public universities to provide quality education. Thus, with the Tanzanian nation engaged in providing expanded access, they are also demanding that access goes with quality education at all levels from early childhood to higher levels (URT the MKUKUTA 2005:9).

My research interest in this field is to critically examine how public universities in Tanzania respond towards achieving the stated aims of higher education reform for public universities in the MKUKUTA Government policy. This research concentrates and focuses on how public universities in Tanzania have responded to the access and quality mandate of the reform initiative. The higher education reform initiative is part of the many reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy paper. To re state, the MKUKUTA is a poverty reduction policy paper entitled the National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction Initiative established by the Tanzanian government. With the aforementioned observation in mind this researcher realizes Codd's (1988) assertion which argues that understanding a policy document starts from understanding the context of the policy since “policies do not develop in a vacuum” (Jane and Wegrich 2006:45; Hogwood and Peters 1983).

1.6 The Landscape of higher education in Tanzania

The Tanzanian experience with universities dates back to after independence in 1961 with the establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam in 1970. The University of Dar es Salaam was a constituent College of the university of London in 1961 (Mkude, Cooksey & Levy 2003). In 1963, the present University of Dar es Salaam, together with the University of Nairobi and Makerere University were a part of the constituent colleges that made up the university of East Africa. The Dar es Salaam College was a law campus. With independence spreading all over Africa and the need for national symbols of independence as well as the escalation of the demand for higher education in the region, the East Africa university split into three distinct universities for the three countries. One these three universities is the University of Dar es Salaam (Cooksey, Mkude & Levy 2003).

With the socialist state and the socialist economic system in practice, most services and institutions, including education, were solely controlled, regulated and owned by the state. The reason for such socialist economic practices and state ownership of essential services and institutions was to ensure that society at large had equal and free access to and participation in all the services and activities of the institutions (Ishengoma 2010). Today, Tanzania can be said to be operating an open market economy as against a socialist state.

Presently, Tanzania has a total of fifty one degree awarding public and private universities, including numerous colleges, university centres and institutions that are engaged in higher education provision (URT/TCU 2012). Of these universities, eight of them are public universities and not for-profit universities; nine of them being for-profit or private universities. In addition, there are 18 university colleges and centres, and sixteen non-university but degree awarding institutions (URT/TCU 2012). The history of the three selected public universities that are involved in this study is briefly set out in the sections below.

1.6.1 University of Dar es Salaam

The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) was established by the government of Tanzania under the UDSM Act No. 12 of 1970 (URT 1970). After Tanzania gained independence in 1961 (at the same time that many of the African nations were gaining independence), there was also a desire for national higher education. Independence was viewed as a trigger to start

the significant development of African universities (Ajayi et al. 1996; Sawyerr 2002; Mama 2003:102). After the splitting of the university of East Africa in 1970 following the independence of most African nations, the University of Dar es Salaam, became a fully-fledged university (Omari 1991:181; Yesufu 1973:38).

In 1984, the University of Dar es Salaam became a parent university to its Faculty of Agriculture which subsequently became a university – the Sokoine University of Agriculture - located in Morogoro (Mkude et al. 2003). The University of Dar es Salaam also saw its other University college of Lands and Architectural Studies become Ardhi University in 2007 after it had operated as a constituent college of the parent university from 1996 to 2007 (Internet search on Ardhi university website 2015). According to information from the Tanzanian Commission for Universities, (2008) in the year 2006 the university of Dar es Salaam acquired three constituent colleges in Dar Salaam and its surrounding environment namely: Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCH for short); Dar es Salaam College of Education (DUCE for short); University College of Engineering and Technology, (COET for short); as well as the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication (IJMC). Students were initially admitted to the university on a full scholarship and there were no private fee paying students in its early years. But with the trend of dwindling financial resources, as shown in the literature on higher education finance, the cost sharing scheme as well as the loan scheme is currently the main source of funds for university students admitted to study at UDSM (Ishengoma 2011). The University of Dar es Salaam is still located on the beautiful landscape of Observation Hill in Dar es Salaam.

1.6.2 The Sokoine University of Agriculture, Morogoro

As noted earlier, the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) is an offshoot of the University of Dar es Salaam. It is located in the Morogoro region of Tanzania. It was established by the Parliamentary Act No 6 of 1984. Presently, the university has about four campuses and one constituent college. The single constituent college is the Moshi University College of Cooperative and Business Studies known as MUCCoBS. The four campuses are the Sokoine University of Agriculture's main campus, the Solomon Mahlangu Campus in Morogoro, the Olmotonyi Campus in Arusha and the Mazumbai Campus in Lushoto. Sokoine University, like all universities, has core university functions - teach, research and community engagement - and it also included a fourth one, outreach. This emphasis of

outreach is quite important as SUA research is agriculturally based and the university engages the local communities in their research and dissemination. Sokoine University offers both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes under the auspices of its four main faculties namely the Faculty of Agriculture, Faculty of Forestry and Nature Conservation, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Faculty of Science. Sokoine University also has the Directorate of Research and Post Graduate Studies, the Institute of Continuing Education Development Studies Institute, the Computer Centre, the Pest Management Centre and a host of others institutes. Sokoine University also offers diploma and certificate and non-degree courses in addition to its undergraduate and graduate programmes (internet search on SUA).

1.6.3 Mzumbe University

The Mzumbe University (MU) was established by Universities Act. No. 7 of 2005, however it started operating officially in terms of the Mzumbe University Charter, 2007. The university Act of 2005 annulled the Mzumbe University Act. No 9 of 2001. The present day Mzumbe University is on the site of the former Institute of Development Management (IDM) which had been in existence since 1972 and was only transformed into Mzumbe University in 2001. The university has a satellite campus in Dar es Salaam that offers a Masters programme in Business Administration and Public Administration. As it had been a former IDM, the university can be said to have been in existence for over 50 years and has experience and expertise in business management training, public administration, accountancy, finance, political science, administration of justice and good governance (Mzumbe University 2011). The Institute of Development Management was a local government school established by the British Colonial Administration for training chiefs, councillors and local authority heads. Later on the Institute of Development Management became a higher learning institution for training professional managers in the public and private sectors.

As a specialised university, it offers undergraduate and graduate courses in five faculties namely, Commerce Science and Technology, Social Science; Law and Public Administration and Management. The university has been growing especially through its satellite campus in Dar es Salaam. This section concludes the important advancements of higher education in Tanzania drawing from the African perspective.

1.7 Problem statement

In this study, the assumption is that public universities in Tanzania are responding to the national higher education reform initiative as stipulated in the MKUKUTA document of 2005. Most policy documents in Tanzania have always seen education and especially higher education, as a tool to address national economic development. The argument and debate on and around higher education and development indicate their evolving role in the development of Africa's nations. There is also the need to understand higher education through empirical research and its contribution to economic development and poverty reduction.

This research is therefore interested in ascertaining the nature and extent of responsiveness of public universities in Tanzania to the MKUKUTA initiative which has poverty reduction as its overall basic mandate. This study investigates how public universities interpret and respond to the higher education reform initiative/mandates of access and quality, as stipulated for higher education reform in Tanzania in the MKUKUTA document of 2005. It will also explore the nature and extent to which other state institutions and stakeholders in higher education have responded to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA document. The MKUKUTA policy document, being a policy document that has its origin from the PRSP, is the main policy from which the reform initiative is drawn. The main question in this research lies within the extent of interpretation and engagement of public universities with both the access and the quality mandates.

In the section above, I have outlined the background to my study as well as the motivation for this study. I have also located my study within relevant literature by tracing the history of the MKUKUTA, higher education and development and the statement of the problems. These are all important as they help in ensuring that the research is located within scholastic literature both in Africa and globally, as I investigate public universities' responsiveness to the higher education reform initiative with special reference to the access and quality initiative in the national government policy - the MKUKUTA.

1.8 Aims and objectives

The major aim of this research is to investigate the nature and extent of responsiveness of public universities in Tanzania to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA initiative.

The specific objectives of this research are:

- To understand public universities interpretation of the higher education reform initiatives as stipulated in the MKUKUTA document of 2005.
- To ascertain the extent of engagement of the public universities with the access initiative of the higher education reform initiative.
- To ascertain the extent of engagement of the public universities with the quality initiative of the higher education reform initiative.
- To understand the perception of other state institutions, agencies, parastatals and other stakeholders in higher education in Tanzania to the extent of engagement of the public universities with the access and quality initiative of the higher education reform initiative.

1.9 Research questions

- How do public universities interpret the higher education reforms initiatives that are stipulated in the MKUKUTA document of 2005?
- What is the extent of engagement of the public universities with the access initiative of the higher education reform initiative?
- What is the extent of engagement of the public universities with the quality initiative of the higher education reform initiative?
- What is the perception of other state institutions, agencies, parastatals and other stakeholders in higher education in Tanzania to the extent of engagement of the public universities with the access and quality initiative of the higher education reform initiative?

1.10 Foucault and governmentality

A close observation of the view of Foucault (1991:103) on the concept of governmentality and based on one of its definitions as a concept that utilizes the “continual definition and redefinition of what is within the competence of the state” as well as the challenges was perused in the development of the research questions. Governmentality is also about the techniques, rationalities, practices and strategies that can be readily employed by the state for the exercise of power over society. In this case, universities are part of society ruled by the

state and these rationalities apply to these institutions since governmentality operates within the scope of institutions in a society (Foucault 1991:103; Kerr 1999:189).

As stated above, the research questions were developed and sharpened after an initial pilot study as well as using Foucault's concepts as a medium for defining them. Foucault's concepts that were used in determining and defining the research questions under Governmentality studies were Power, Normalization, Panopticism, and Rationality, among others.

1.11 Significance of the study

This study was conducted in Tanzania and involved the three foremost public universities in the country to understand the extent of their engagement and implementation of the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper. Universities in Africa, like their global counterparts, are expected to "rise up" (OCED 2007:11) and link with societal aspirations of economic development and poverty reduction. To rise up to this challenge, universities are therefore to look beyond their traditional roles of teaching and research and begin engagement that will ultimately meet the aspirations of their national priority policies and in this case, poverty reduction (Castells, 2001; Bloom et al 2005; and OCED 2007).

Given the high expectations of national governments and society of their universities as well as using empirical research to illustrate the responsiveness of universities to these aspirations of poverty reduction, this research is therefore important in addressing issues of responsiveness of public universities with regard to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. Some of the anticipated results of this research are expected to contribute to the improvement of the strategic planning process at public universities in Tanzania.

This study will also provide a platform for universities to appreciate their role in contributing and achieving national policy goals. Universities can also develop a *raison d'etre* in ensuring the incorporation of expected higher education initiatives in national policy documents into their planning documents. The outcome of this research, it is hoped, will equip as well encourage universities on the need to refer to national policy documents and to ensure the incorporation of such policy documents in their activities.

Finally this research is significant for the government and the rationalization of governance within its society will provide a footprint for policy makers, formulators, implementers and analysts when thinking of national policy and university responsiveness.

1.12 Organisation of the study

The Chapter one of this study sets out the broad background and motivation of the study with a historical overview of higher education in Tanzania. The chapter further draws from the available literature on higher education to engage with the debate around accountability and autonomy at universities. The access and quality debate in the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA are engaged in as part of the policy reforms. The higher education landscape in Tanzania is set up in this chapter and it also traces the historical background of the universities that are the research sites for this study.

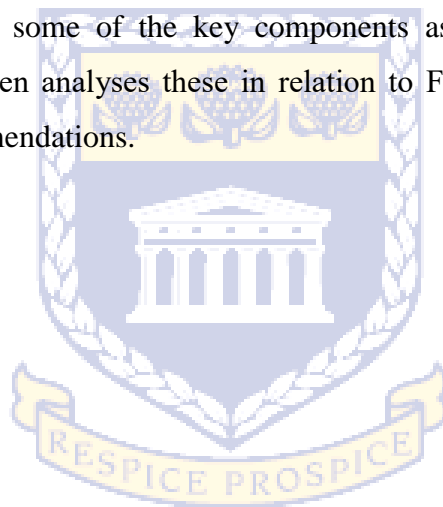
In addition, there is the outline of the problem statement of this study, detailing of the aims and the research questions which the study is to respond to. In this chapter the significance and the boundaries of the study are drawn around the research. This chapter ends with the organisation of the whole dissertation.

Chapter two identifies the global literature around higher education and the state, starting with the social function of universities. It continues with the debates around accountability and autonomy, the core functions of universities, emphasizing the function of teaching, research and community development, the debate around social change and responsiveness while drawing out the tension. There is also the discussion around institutional behaviour, university adaptation to change and perspectives on the access and quality within the global, African and Tanzanian debate with close interaction with the policy document. This chapter ends with the discourse around policy implementation and the debate around the sensitizing framework for this study which is the concept of governmentality, a Foucauldian framework that is used in the understanding of power and its subcomponents.

Chapter three is on the methodology. This chapter includes the different schools of thought on the methodological paradigm, the particular identified epistemological underpinning for this research; qualitative research and all the debate around it are engaged in. Furthermore, this chapter includes the research design and the methods that were utilized in data collection in achieving the stated objectives of this research debate.

Chapters four and five provide the presentation and the interpretation of the data on the access and quality initiative. In presenting the data from the various authoritative positions, it seeks to identify potential patterns and themes.

Chapter six, brings together some of the key components as these emerged in the data presentation chapters, and then analyses these in relation to Foucault's key concepts. This chapter ends with the recommendations.



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CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE: UNIVERSITY – STATE - SOCIETY

2 Introduction

The focus of this study is an understanding of the practices of one policy reform, as it unfolds within the Tanzanian higher education environment. Given this focus of the way policy intersects with that of the state and the government and how public universities are engaging with the policy, it is important to identify the tensions inherent in the relationship between the university, state and society.

In the light of the research, this chapter's aim is to provide an outline of the global literature around higher education, the state and society. Starting from the social functions of universities, how scholars understand the social purpose of higher education, it hints on the concept of the African university as a developmental oriented university. It traces the social function of the university from the knowledge production function to the preservation of culture and lastly the social mobility function. Since one aspect of the tension around governance is about institutional accountability and autonomy, it therefore outlines how these debates have been addressed on the international higher education landscape. From here, the chapter outlines the core functions of universities in terms of teaching, research and community engagement. It also gives some glimpse into the issue of institutional responsiveness to their nation states and their societies. Since universities are subject to change, the chapter will also highlight how scholars have understood these changes more especially with literature on the shape of policy implementation and how policy unfolds. The chapter concludes with an outline of the varying perspectives on access and quality.

2.1 Social function of universities

There is an approach that argues that the university does not exist in a vacuum but is part and parcel of its society, its culture and is expected to meet the needs of that society and culture. The university is that “place in our society” where we come to “an understanding of ourselves as individuals committed to specific projects within a community, having a recognizable culture and a shared identity” (Crawley 2000:29). This captures the fact that the university, in whatever society, sees itself as a member of that society and as such has some expected obligations towards that society.

In Africa, and especially in Tanzania, universities were established to offer educational opportunities for the increasing population that was yearning for higher education (Browne 2007:253). Nyerere, the first Tanzanian president, had the notion of the university as an agent of the nations' development. To Nyerere (1967), universities in poor African countries are to link their activities in responding to issues of immediate need of the nation state, hence the justification for any expense accrued by the university is the developmental agenda of such a university. Within Nyerere's view, the role of the university is to "contribute, give ideas, manpower and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development" (Coleman 1994:335). This also confirms the belief that universities in every nation should be seen as agents and instruments of development of their society (Bloom et al, 2005), their people and even of democratic tendencies. The university should therefore be a necessary instrument to "enhance nation building, leadership as well as emphasizing cultural adaptation and unity" (Singh 2011:69-70).

Within the global debate, the expectations of society of its universities seem enormous and in some instances have been regarded as "complex" (Bleiklie 1998: 90). Such responsibilities include the "preservation of knowledge" (Sawyer 2004; Atuahene 2011), the "development of knowledge" (Neaves 2000: xiii) and the imparting of that sense of self and of community. Within these expectations, the university may provide the individual with essential skills, the knowledge to take his or her place in the affairs of the nation (Neaves 2000) in terms of "social mobility" (Zeelen 2012:163). The more society expects from our institutions of higher learning, the more these responsibilities expand in complexity and in consequence (Neaves 2000). Within these identified perspectives, I will outline the social functions of universities which have been identified as "development of knowledge" (Neaves 2000) around dissemination, preservation and creation of knowledge. I will generally term it the knowledge production function; the maintenance of our shared culture (Crawley 2000), sometimes termed the preservation of our culture (Gumport 2000) and the impartation of skills for social mobility (Moore 2004; and Zeelen 2012).

2.1.1 The knowledge production and dissemination function of universities

With regard to the knowledge function of universities, universities are perceived as involved in "making the hoard of knowledge produced" (Calhoun 2006: 9) which implies knowledge production. Universities are also viewed as involved in ensuring that the knowledge produced

is preserved and made available to society by ensuring expanded access to the citizenry. Expanded access entails the transformation as observed in recent times from elite access to mass, then universal access (Brennan 2004; Trow 2007) and “to enhance quality as well as cut costs” (Gumport, 2000:69). The need to expand access so as to increase knowledge production and increase enrolment at Tanzanian universities is enshrined in the reform of higher education in the MKUKUTA policy document (URT, 2005)

In understanding knowledge production, universities are perceived as institutions that are engaged with “developing the skills for acquiring new knowledge and the capacity for using knowledge as a resource in addressing societal needs” (Sawyer 2004:3). Such knowledge “developments have brought, on the one hand, demands for new kinds of knowledge, and new modes of knowledge production and dissemination” (Sawyer 2004:3). The imperative is that universities are interested in solving their societal demands through utilization of the knowledge produced at the institutions. As universities engage with their societies, they produce new knowledge which is disseminated and also preserved by the global society. As agents of knowledge production and dissemination, universities engage in bringing about the “mechanisms of knowledge transfer” (Bramwell and Wolfe, 2008: 1175-1176). This may entail the demand for new modes of knowledge which gives birth to the transfer of knowledge within societies. With regard to the knowledge function of universities, knowledge is perceived as defining the core academic activity of the universities. Hence, knowledge is “the prime material around which activities in universities are organised” (Clark 1983 and Gumport 2000:81-82). Such organisation of the institutional activities around knowledge may be the reason that they are fondly referred to as “knowledge based institutions” (Clark 1996:429).

The knowledge function implies that universities as pivotal institutions are engaged in the “process of collective self enlightenment” (Barnett, 2000:69). The university can only be relevant within the debate of collective self enlightenment by providing and creating knowledge that will positively affect society. In creating or producing knowledge that benefits society, the university may consciously determine that “certain ways of organizing knowledge offer the possibility of sustained insight, even to the point of a systematic claim on wisdom” (Clark, 1996:420). Such insight is not just for universities but also for society at large. In essence, as universities create and disseminate knowledge, they also become

enlightened on the practices around its society. Hence, they may be better equipped to be responsive to societal needs. This is buttressed by the argument that “existing knowledge influences the extent to which new knowledge is created, and the new knowledge that is formed is converted to existing knowledge in the form of new products and services” (Smith, Collins & Clark 2005:346). These new products and services within the public university discourse could imply that new graduates are highly competitive, which leads to new research findings and the breakthrough that have a positive effect on society.

2.1.2 Maintenance and preservation of shared culture

Within this perspective, the university is regarded as part of the “cultural subsystem of society, catering to certain cultural needs” (Wittrock, 1993:305). As part of the sub-system of a society, universities are distinguished by their ability to intertwine or partner with society. Through partnership with society, the university will ensure the manifestation of its industrial, economic and social impact that will accrue benefit to society and contribute to the economic and socio-political organization of the nation state (Wittrock, 1993).

To be able to preserve our shared culture, universities have to become involved with their surrounding society and not operate from a distance - the ivory tower perspective. Within the debate of the university as an ivory tower, there is the understanding of an elitist, “standoffish” institution, separate from its society (Ooro, 2013). We observe that the debate and call for autonomy is linked to the idea of the university as separate from its society where it does not have to explain to society or the state what it teaches, researches, what knowledge is produced and the many ways that it engages with its community through community outreach. Within such a separatist idea of a university that is unconnected to its society, the supposition that “autonomy is of necessity, parochial” (Schmidlein and Berdahl, 2011:71), can actually be evidenced. The preservation of the cultural heritage is also linked to ensuring that universities are involved in ensuring that legacies like “the cultivation of citizenship” are enhanced (Gumport, 2000:71). With the enculturation of citizenship, the individual who has access to higher education is equipped with the “formation of individual character and habits of mind” (Gumport, 2000:71). On the other hand, the accountability debate at universities is geared towards ensuring that universities are part of their societies and are held accountable by their societies and the state beyond issues of finance. This also extends to the overall

activity of universities which possibly includes the training of the youth to be found worthy in character and learning.

Within the mandate of the reform initiative of the MKUKUTA policy paper, universities are expected to be held accountable for the key mandates in the policy paper. Such key mandates extend beyond access and quality education to include development of a labour force that is creative and globally competitive and engages in research activities in a local environment. Furthermore, there is a need to ensure that graduates from Tanzanian universities are globally competitive. The overall essence is poverty reduction through higher education, science and technology (URT 2005).

2.1.3 Universities as providers of skills for social mobility

Universities, by their mission and core function, engage in teaching, research and community engagement and train graduates as part of their mission. Universities also prepare students to ensure competencies and preparedness to face life formally and informally. Universities as higher education institutions engage in teaching to impart “income generating skills because many of their graduates could be absorbed by the formal labour market” (Zeelen, 2001:160; see also Jahn & Zeelen, 2003). Such engagement in the training of students and graduates for the labour market may also be viewed within their function of training of professionals to contribute to the development of their countries.

In another vein, universities may be said to be engaged in the training of only the elite of society when they train professionals. The engagement with training the elite may mean equipping a few individuals to occupy distinct and “elite positions and hence different opportunities for upward social mobility” (Brennan and Naidoo, 2008:288). Such training and education may endow the graduates with an “increased opportunity for social mobility” (Altbach, 2000:2). Such concentration of training of the elite may “create opportunity for inequalities” (Altbach, 2000) in the social mobility circle. Universal access as a transformation agenda in universities has increased social mobility among all social classes. Given the aforementioned, an increase in access to higher education could also be linked to achieving the notion of higher education for private and public good (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009) and graduates that are globally competitive (URT 2005).

There is the assumption that access to higher education increases the probability of social mobilization and “enhances productivity in the labour market” (Brennan & Naidoo, 2008:290). Such a supposition is justified by the argument of higher education for private good (Altbach et al. 2009). This implies that possessing a higher education credential attracts special skills and rewards that may enable the person to be more efficient and more equipped to function in society and state. However, Brown and Hesketh (2004) have raised some doubt with regard to the above assertion of higher education for higher productivity and for upwardly mobile graduates in society. Within their supposition, Brown and Hesketh (2004) argue that the provision of access to higher education, even to the elite, may not imply that such graduates will be employed in suitable and high paying jobs. This may bring about an argument that success in higher education may not equal success in life or success in securing highly paid and upwardly mobile jobs.

Another argument with regard to the university as a provider of skills is that higher education may be perceived as creating inequalities in society between those who have access and those who have not. Even though there is a contradiction around the social mobility function of universities, it may be imperative to highlight that access to higher education makes for the “public and private good” (Gumport 2000; Altbach et al. 2009). It may also contribute to an extent to the improvement of the life of the individual and his family. In a research within the Africa context to illustrate the private good and social mobility of higher education, it was highlighted that universities are viewed as a passport to becoming an elite and a prerequisite for social mobility and social climbing (Lebeau 2008; see also Sawyerr 2002; Lebeau & Mills 2008; Zeelen 2012). The research explored the argument that societal and individual pressure to access higher education is rooted in the need to achieve social mobility and attain an elevated status in society at large (Minnis 2006; see also Zeelen 2012). This is against the notion of contributing to ensure “the intrinsic motivation and capabilities for academic knowledge” (Minnis 2006; see also Zeelen 2012:163). This section has discussed the social functions of universities and identified them as the knowledge and dissemination of knowledge function, the maintenance and preservation of our shared culture function and finally the skills for social mobility. These social functions stand alongside the core functions of universities which will be discussed later.

Given that this study seeks to probe the ways in which institutions have responded to the policy initiative, the policy practices are about what the state (or government) does in relation to universities. The study has therefore sought to understand the debate as it unfolds in terms of the relationship between the state and institutions. A critical component of the relationship between the state and its higher education institutions is about the concept and practice of accountability and autonomy. The following section outlines key elements of this broad relationship and the debate around it.

2.2 Accountability in the higher education setting: How does the state govern?

There are diverse ways of understanding the concept of accountability. Romzek (2000:22) briefly defines the concept of accountability within the environment of institutional accountability as the “answerability for performance”. In other words accountability is the ability to respond to probes or to show evidence of performance. His definition is somewhat in close alignment to Trow (1996:310) who argues that accountability is the “obligation to report to others, to explain, to justify, to answer questions about how resources have been used and to what effect”. The two definitions (Romzek 2000; and Trow 1996) reveal that accountability involves providing reasons for whatever action an institution took and why they did what they did, in other words justifying their actions. Similar interpretation of the two definitions may entail looking at the response that institutions elicit before their institutional authority so as to be judged accountable. The question then is who is holding whom accountable in an institution? What is the effect of accountability on institutions?

In outlining the elements of accountability Romzek (2000) extends her voice to defining accountability within the state and higher education relationship. Romzek (2000: 23-28) identifies four different paradigms within which accountability can be analyzed namely: political, bureaucratic, legal, professional and lastly Justice and Miller (2011) added a fifth one, the market accountability paradigm.

2.2.1 Political accountability

Political accountability denotes the accountability that encourages responsiveness to the needs and expectations of citizens, authorities, constituents and even the state. With political accountability, the responsiveness of the official or the institution is dependent on the politicians’ mandate or supervision. There is a notion that such responsiveness to politicians

is expected to be within an environment that is secure (Romzek 2000). A secure environment is ensured through norms, values, sanctions or punishment of those in authority and the mandate they expect the institutions and its officials to be responsive to (Romzek 2000).

2.2.2 Bureaucratic accountability

The bureaucratic or hierarchical accountability has to do with the supervisory relationships for managing and controlling public agency expectations (Romzek 2000). It deals with the relationships and priorities of the top hierarchy and is all about an organised and established relationship that exists between a subordinate and a superior. This may entail the need for effective supervision of all those concerned by their superiors. It extends to the supervision of identified operating procedure, identification and mandatory keeping to rules and regulations as well as enforcing orders within the institution or organisation (Romzek 2000). An example of a political relationship is the relationship between the state through its ministry in charge of higher education and the universities.

2.2.3 Legal accountability

Legal accountability is about the expectation of institutions and their embeddedness within the relationship that is established in a contract (Romzek 2000). This is the only type of accountability where two independent organisations are involved but one organisation holds the other accountable for the state or the bigger constituency. It entails an institution or organisation being in control or holding another in control to ensure the implementation of accountability. In this type of accountability, there is always a controlling institution, an outsider that is concerned with imposing legal sanctions on another organisation or institution which is also independent but being held in control through contractual agreements or obligations (Romzek 2000). An example of such legal accountability in the higher education arena is the buffer bodies and their accreditation and insistence on quality education at universities.

2.2.4 Professional accountability

Lastly, there is professional accountability which is a type of accountability that entails great regard or reverence of expertise and professionalism. It dominates in the environment of skilled and professional employees that are involved in the managing of complex and diverse situations and problems. This accountability demands that organisational or institutional

control is left to the employees who are skilled to handle them. This kind of professional accountability may be feasible in the relationship between a professional body and their parent organisations like the medical council and the trained doctors that practice medicine or even scientists and their professional bodies.

2.2.5 Market accountability

In addition to the identified four types, Justice and Miller (2011:316) have also in their research suggested a fifth paradigm in the accountability discourse which they termed “market accountability”. In this type of accountability, the relationship between the public and the private partnership that is evident in programmes, organisation, institutions, investments and even projects, is brought into the discourse. Market oriented accountability may indicate the profit oriented administration of institutions as an “industry”, or as “a corporate enterprise” that the leaders use as “performance indicators” to ensure that it is profit oriented (Bleiklie 1998:94; Olssen and Peters 2005:1 and Shore 2010:15 - 16). The essence of the privatisation of institutions is to make them more commercial oriented. These five paradigms of accountability have been used as a framework in understudying accountability at different times by different scholars. This is beyond the scope of this research.

The type of accountability that is advocated for the university system is the professional and political form as a base for their “source of standard for performance” (Romzek 2000:25). Professional accountability can be said to be reflective of “a work arrangement that gives rise to high degrees of autonomy to individuals who base their decision making on internalised norms of appropriate practice” (Romzek 2000:25). This means that individuals or institutions that show evidence of accountability are given more autonomy or freedom and trust with regard to decision making within the organisation or institution. Political accountability on the other hand is the relationship that “affords managers the discretion or choice to be responsive to the concerns of key interest groups such as elected officials, clientele groups and the general public” (Huisman and Currie 2004:530-532 and Romzek 2000:25). Having outlined the many types of approaches to accountability, there is a need therefore to engage with the debate around accountability within the Tanzanian and African context.

2.2.6 Accountability debate in the Tanzanian and African setting

In the Tanzanian situation, the debate around universities and state accountability are linked to the funding of the institutions (See Chapter 1.5) Universities are expected to be accountable and responsive to their states to ensure adequate funding. Within this expected responsiveness, the government of Tanzania views both the national budget and the financing of higher education institutions as major instruments that can be used to steer universities and hold them accountable to implement the MKUKUTA reform especially within the key mandates of this research namely access and quality. This implies that accountability is linked to funding and may lead to the control of universities by their governments.

Within the expectation of accountability, there is the linkage of university funding to the reform initiative for public universities in Tanzania. Rweyemamu (2009:16) argues that the government budget is supposed to be a key instrument for implementing the MKUKUTA reform. The consequence of such expectation is a close link between institutional funding through the national budget and the reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA. Within such framework of funding within the MKUKUTA activities, the Tanzanian government in one of the MKUKUTA appraisal documents (URT 2008), specifies the budget guidelines as the main framework for funding or resource allocation to institutions (URT 2008; Rweyemamu 2009). Such a framework implies that as long as public university activities are tailored to the MKUKUTA and are a reflection of the MKUKUTA priorities in the framework, they will be funded (URT 2008; Rweyemamu 2009). That is a form of control, as funding is used here as a form of surveillance (Foucault, 1979) to ensure that universities implement governmental mandates.

Accountability of the higher education institutions within such a framework of linkage of funding to the MKUKUTA priorities becomes a democratic process as it is an approved requirement to ensure the implementation of a national priority policy. There is the view of Johnston (2001:24) that the demand for higher education to be accountable “is a clear democratic requirement” because it is part of universities social responsiveness to its national state. With government using funding as a means to dictate, ensure compliance with governmental mandates and control institutional activities, democracy may not be the word.

Within the framework of the African higher education landscape as in the global higher education space, pressures abound on the higher education system. The pressure is directed at universities and higher education institutions to embrace change and be more socially responsive to their state and society. There is the expectation that universities should make a shift, not only from massive access, to universal access but also from disciplinary research to problem solving research and be responsive to the “demand for social relevance and accountability” (Waghid 2002:470). Within such expectation then, accountability may be viewed as a measure or the identified process to determine the responsibility of universities to their state through their research engagement. It may also be understood from the direction of the extent that public universities are socially responsive and relevant in meeting the expectations and needs of their society and state.

There is the argument around state involvement in university activities and the accountability debate with suggestions for a remarkable shift in universities’ approach (Olssen and Peters 2005). Part of the remarkable shift is for higher education institutions to be more “defined and justify their institutional existence” (Olssen and Peters 2005:1). Such an emphasis may lead to new expectations of universities by their states and greater demand for them to link their activities to national policies. The emphasis on universities to link their activities to national policies, quality assurance issues and performance indicators may be viewed as a form of state control which may also imply checkmating autonomy.

There is an assumption that “some degree of financial autonomy is essential for the effective operation of African universities” (Ajayi, et al. 1996:171). Another supposition “suggests sanctions since accountability signals state ability to steer universities to adhere to obedience, while universities are made to conform to state policies, rules and procedures” (Thaver and Thaver 2009:69). This raises the question of accountability and state control of universities to ensure that universities conform to state priority programmes and probably global tendencies. In Tanzania, linking funding to the higher education reform is an aspect of state control of institutions that entails that all the research, funding needs and budgets of universities in Tanzania indicate adherence to reform initiatives (Rweyemamu 2009; UNESCO/ESRF 2011). Could such a funding policy possibly be a threat that is undermining university autonomy in Tanzania? Debate around issues of funding and autonomy between the state and its universities, indicate the need to portray unequivocally that “real autonomy does not exist

for institutions especially for universities” (Light 2001:1155). It is imperative to look closely at the governmental mandate in the MKUKUTA policy paper that has dictated initiatives for universities ranging from access, quality and a competitive labour force to funding and local based research (URT 2005).

In this section, the study has outlined the discourse around accountability with regard to the global debate, the many faces of accountability and has engaged with the Tanzanian and African view of accountability in the higher education systems. The next chapter will have a close look at the discourse around universities and their demand for autonomy.

2.3 Autonomy in the higher education setting: How do universities respond?

Autonomy has been defined in various ways by different scholars. Berdahl defines autonomy as the “power of a university or college to govern itself without outside controls” (Berdahl 1990:171-172). He applied autonomy to the relationship that exists between the “state, coordinating boards and higher education” (Berdahl 1990:171-172) in the British environment. Further argument on his notion of autonomy was that “too much autonomy may be a signal that could have a consequence of an unresponsive university to its society” and the state (Berdahl 1990:172).

Autonomy could also be understood as the “identification of authority” (Levy 1980:4). From this perspective, the idea of autonomy is “hidden somewhere within the university” (Levy 1980:4) and the provision of authority at the university is an aspect of autonomy. Authority may be understood as the “university’s way of control over components of institutional self-government” (Levy 1980:7). The engagement of universities with their core functions under the direction of university management (authority) may be an instance of autonomy (Levy 1980). To universities, autonomy connotes the “idea of freedom” and universities have fought for it as they perceive it as an “indispensable value” (Ajayi et al. 1996:167). The notion of freedom or autonomy in terms of academic freedom is about the ability of leadership to manage the university as an autonomous community without much interference from the state. Autonomy may therefore be viewed as the reinforcement of these freedoms by the nation state so that universities can operate without much dictation or interference from the state (Levy 1980).

Such freedom propagates the argument of autonomy as the responsibility and the authority that propel universities to go about achieving their goals and policies. Autonomy is also viewed as “institutional self government” which comprises institutional freedom with regard to appointment, academics as well as financial freedom (Levy 1980:4; see also Ordorika 2003). The idea of institutional self government may be supported within the view of autonomy as institutional decisions around teaching, research and community engagement.

There is the reference of an autonomous university as a power within a power (Levy 1980). The indication of the university as a power within a power may conjure up the interpretation that a university is autonomous, while existing within a power and power here is the state or the national government. It may be important to distinguish that the notion of the university as a power within a power is an integral part of the state and vice versa. This may be illustrated with the understanding that the state contributes and finances universities and ensures that there are higher education policies that guide the affairs of higher education. In addition to these, the state also creates buffer bodies that are in charge of accreditation and ensures that quality is given priority at universities. When viewed critically therefore, autonomy may not imply that the public universities can exist outside of their states but instead, they exist within the state, they exist within the “spirit of partnership with the state” (Ajayi et al. 1996: 167). Within the view of university autonomy as power within a power, there is a view of “power – over” and “regulation” (Waghid, Berkhout, Taylor & de Klerk 2005:1178) of universities by the state. The state may be “exercising power” (Foucault 1991:79) probably as a governmental process or rationality over universities through the states’ control and regulation of institutional activities or through ensuring that universities are “given appropriate orders” (Foucault 1991:79). An instance is the case of the governmental mandates in the reform of the MKUKUTA policy paper which public universities in Tanzania are to implement (URT 2005).

2.3.1 Types of autonomy

There are two identified types of autonomy that are still current in the debate around autonomy in recent times. They are namely: the substantive and procedural autonomy (Berdahl 1990). Substantive autonomy denotes the type of autonomy that relates to the “goals, policies and programmes that institutions have chosen to pursue” (Berdahl 1990:171-172) in other words, the self defined and assigned goals and programs of institutions

themselves. Procedural autonomy is used to refer to the “techniques selected to achieve the chosen goals” (Berdahl 1990:171-172). Substantive autonomy that a university exercises or enjoys is within the view of the university as a corporate form that determines its own goals, objectives and programmes while procedural autonomy is about determining the means of achieving these set goals and objectives as a corporate form (Berdahl 1990).

There is the notion of understanding how the state is intervening in the “autonomy issues in the university” especially within the dimension of substantive or procedural autonomy (Berdahl 1990:172). The understanding, intervention and exploration of autonomy from views of the procedural autonomy may entail the engagement of the state in the university activities. The state may engage with universities in areas like audits and pre-audits, purchase and control over purchasing of items used by university and infrastructure construction directed by the state. This engagement may become a challenge and task for the university and may also affect their efficiency and become counterproductive. The question then should be: how does such engagement of the state in the day to day activities of the university “prevent universities from achieving their goal and institutions” (Berdahl 1990:171)?

Substantive autonomy and state interference is about state intervention within the question of how “substantive goals affect the heart of the academe” (Berdahl 1990:171). In other ways to resolve such sensitive issues, there are the views on negotiation and lobbying with regard to the state and university functioning. Negotiation may entail the need for partnership and sharing of power with regard to decision making (Berdahl 1990). Such partnership and sharing of power between the state and universities may extend the discourse around the extent of autonomy at public universities in Tanzania as against state interference.

2.4 University and state relationship around autonomy

The role of the university as an engine of development (Castells 1991) be it human resources development or human capital development, may initiate debate around the issue of autonomy or “trust and confidence” (Thaver &Thaver 2009:66) in the higher education system. This is important considering that “the countries where these universities operate have some expectations of them” (Maduekwe 2015:147). The societies are also not left out as they expect universities to “provide answers and meet the needs that confront them” (Maduekwe 2015:147). In addition, there may be the expectation that universities become

transparent in their relationship to their state and their society. In other words, universities are expected to be self regulatory and uphold accountability to not only the state but also to the public in their functions and their roles (Pityana 2004 cited in Thaver and Thaver 2009). Such huge demand and expectations from the state of its higher education system can only be obtainable in an environment of stability and respect of institutional values. The state may have a vision of its higher education institutions as strong institutions worthy to be trusted, to deliver what is expected of them. There is a view that the university as an institution occupies an enviable position when compared to other institutions of the state. Universities occupy the 'ivory tower' position and can be likened to sanctity, appreciated, and trusted institutions (Ooro 2013). An institution with the designation of an ivory tower can be said to be set up as an example, to be set on a pedestal for other institutions to measure against. In contrast to this special place of the university within the state, there are the marked misunderstandings and the observant tension in the relationship.

Within higher education institutions, the tension in the relationship between the state and universities has been outlined in literature (Ajayi et al. 1996; Mama, 2003). In most states or nations, the mention of the name university and their demand for autonomy is associated with a troublesome set that appeals to negative reactions and emotions. The relationship between the state and higher education around autonomy is linked to funding and as such funding is used as a control or a regulatory mechanism. Universities are only interested in having absolute, complete autonomy but detest state involvement which they interpret as negative. There is a call for a more constructive view (Newman 1987) in the relationship as is obtainable at American universities. A more constructive view may go beyond the negative insinuation that is ascribed to the state and the good reference to absolute autonomy. The notion is that there is a need for institutional autonomy as well as state involvement in the affairs of the universities. The importance of such cohesion between universities, the states and society with regard to state involvement, institutional autonomy and the responsiveness of universities is important. Such importance is a signal to the idea of ensuring that universities operate to achieve their purpose, their values, their mission and even their vision.

Ordorika (2003) argues that the state and its higher education institutions interact in an environment or the "realms of laws, rules and regulations" (Ordorika 2003:363). It is within these realms of established laws and regulations that state policies are initiated and

universities are expected to be responsive to them through their activities. It is also within these regulations and laws that university activities are defined by the state. The notion of the state regulating institutional activities through policy, questions the notion of university autonomy as universities have the right in ensuring the engagement of their activities without state interference (Saunders 2005; Divala & Waghid, 2008). The supposed institutional activities within the framework of institutional autonomy include among others, the right to determine university academic grounds with regard to who teaches what, what is taught, how it is taught and even issues of determining who is allowed access to the university (Berkhout, De Klerk, Taylor, Van Wyk and Waghid 2005; Divala and Waghid, 2008).

Furthermore, the interaction between the state and its institutions raises the issue of state regulation of institutions as a way of exercising “power over” the institutions (Waghid et al. 2005:1177). Such exercise of power over the institutions by the state also questions the notion of autonomy at universities in Tanzania with special reference to this research objective – state mandates that are specified for universities – within the reform in the MKUKUTA policy document. The effectiveness of autonomy at institutions may only be achieved around state engagement with universities in “jointly developing power” (Waghid et al. 2005:1179) to ensure a harmonised and homogeneous university state relationship. The argument for the state to jointly develop power with the institutions paradigm, will not be based on the notion of regulation of institutional activities but instead a joint effort by the state and institutions to “improve and effectively control any challenging situation that may arise” (Waghid et al. 2005:1179).

Governments or states are viewed as the owners of higher education institutions since these institutions were foremost established as state or public institutions (Ordorika 2003). As state or public institutions, universities depend on the state for their funding and the state as a “resource provider, exercises great powers” (Slaughter 1997:68) over these institutions. In recent times across the globe, there has been a reduction in the funding of universities and the call for reduction in funding (Thaver & Thaver 2009) of higher education regardless of the contrasting call to increase enrolment in higher education at the same time (Menon, Cele and Bhengu 2006). Such a call for reduction in funding and the subsequent call also to increase enrolment may strain university activities and may affect the issues around the autonomy and accountability debate.

There is a suggestion that the relationship between accountability and autonomy exists more in theory than in practice (Berdahl 1990). A critical look at such a notion of the relationship between how autonomy and accountability affect each other both in theory and in practice therefore calls for the need to find a middle place of compromise. The middle position within the accountability and autonomy debate may be understood by considering the changes that higher education has had to cope with. Some of these changes are the move from “elite to mass” systems and then a progressive change “to universal access” (Trow 2005:1).

The supposition that the changes in higher education include the move from the elite to the mass and then to the universal system has been re-echoed in recent times (Brennan 2004; and Trow 2005). Another view of the middle position involves the expectation of universities to be more accountable to their societies and the use of accountability to ensure that the states “force higher education to change the way it conducts its business” (Alexander 2000:415) while still trying to uphold autonomy. The discussions so far have touched on the debate around accountability and autonomy. The state expects its universities to be accountable, especially with regards to funding, while universities are insisting on autonomy to be able to engage with their core functions without state interference.

2.4.1 Autonomy at African universities

There is the supposition around “the question as to what constitutes autonomy in universities” (Ashby 1966) especially in African universities. University autonomy is dependent on and achievable within the discourse around the “essential ingredients” that are widely accepted by a nation (Ashby 1966:296). Such essential ingredients include the selection of staff and placement of students, determination of the curriculum content and degrees to be awarded, management of funding by the state and allocations as well as expenditure matters (Ajayi et al. 1996; Hall and Symes 2005) especially at universities in developing African states. Autonomy can be defined as:

The freedom and independence of a university as an institution to make its own internal decisions, whatever its decision making processes are with regard to academic affairs, faculty and student affairs, business affairs and external relations (Ajayi et al. 1996:243).

This definition above seems to be quite extensive and can be seen to mean that university autonomy may imply a self-governing university without governmental interference. As a self-governing institution therefore, my understanding is that such an autonomous university is at liberty to select its own students, employ its own staff, promote and relieve its staff of their duties, set its educational standards and be free to award degrees to whosoever it chooses. The issue of state control of the Tanzanian higher education system in Tanzania where every graduate is a planned statistic questions the issue of university autonomy (Thompson 1977; See Chapter 1.3).

The autonomous university from Ajayi et al. (1996) above may also have the freedom to be in partnership with whosoever it chooses in industry, government agencies and parastatals. The understanding of Ajayi et al. (1996) above is that an autonomous university is one that makes its own decision on its curriculum design and review. It develops its own programmes, determines the growth, enrolment and placement of students and manages the funds allocated to it by the state without interference. Such a university determines the area of research to be involved in within the university itself and without (Ajayi et al. 1996). If the autonomous university has to decide all of the above dimensions without the state, such an autonomous university may “connote independence of the state” (Moja 1995; Ajayi et al. 1996:167) as against partnership with the state even with the state being the main provider of funding to the universities.

Apart from the discussion above, governments are making universities “more accountable”, taking steps to engage them to be “more responsive to their states” (Shore, 2010:15) through the use of funding. The engagement of funding by local government to ensure university responsiveness to its state is through the introduction of new funding mechanisms. A case in point is that of the Tanzanian state where university funding is linked to the implementation of the MKUKUTA national priority policy as indicated earlier. Such expectation and introduction of new mechanisms are channelled to ensure that universities are held accountable and sometimes made to conform to new systems of measurement. With the accountability of the university to state, the state is also encouraging a link up to international evaluations procedures that have resulted in a strong “reshaping” (Shore 2010:15- 16) of the higher education operation and landscape. Regardless of the call for accountability by the

state and the demand for autonomy by the universities, there is the expectation that universities will change their pattern and system of business (Alexander 2000). In addition to the above, universities are overwhelmed by the problem of “living up to the expectations of its societies” (Alexander 2000:413) which may inadvertently create tension in the higher education system. This section has engaged with the accountability and state debate in literature generally and the next section will present the debate around the core functions of universities. Within this debate, the function of teaching, research and community service will be presented.

2.5 Core functions of universities

Universities globally have the key or core functions of teaching, research and community engagement. This section will engage briefly with the university core functions of teaching, research and community engagement or service. In this brief discussion of the literature, I will engage with the debate on each of these functions and see how they have evolved in the international debate.

2.5.1 Teaching

Among the traditional functions of universities, the first is that of teaching. The practice of teaching has to do with educating and the art of imparting knowledge through “sharing the knowledge base of universities” (Chatterton & Goddard 2000:483). Understanding teaching as one of the core functions of universities may elicit the view that teaching is a primary goal that the university seeks to achieve. Teaching is understood as targeting human capital development for research purposes (Altbach, 2008). Within such a dimension, teaching provides an avenue for knowledge production and development as well as knowledge dissemination (Gibbons, Limigies, Nowontny, Schwartzman, Scott and Trow 1994; Jacob and Hellstrom 2000; Kruss 2004; Atuahene 2011). There are arguments in literature that universities were foremost established as teaching institutions (Clark 1983; 1998; Castells 2001). The research function was a later development that originated from German universities in the 19th century (Atkinson and Blanpied 2007:1). It may be pertinent to point out that universities do not have the mandatory feature of teaching but that universities are viewed as the sole institutions that engage in the award of “formal and socially valued degrees up to the level of doctorate degrees” (Van Schalkwyk 2010:51).

Within the debate on universities and their teaching functions, scholarly views (Gibbons et al. 1994; van Schalkwyk 2010; Pinheiro 2011 and Cloete et al. 2011) highlight the fact that universities are mainly involved with the generation and production of knowledge through their teaching function. Teaching within the discourse of these scholars above may involve the engagement with formal university programmes and courses which are conducted at post-graduate, undergraduate, diploma, certificate levels and also within their research engagement (Gibbons et al. 1994; van Schalkwyk 2010; Pinheiro 2011; and Cloete et al. 2011).

Universities as institutions recruit students from their immediate communities and beyond. The teaching function therefore may have an impact on the immediate university community where the university is domiciled. Within the debate of the teaching function of the university is the issue of “new modes of knowledge production and dissemination” (Jacob and Hellstrom 2000; Sawyerr, 2004:3 and Kruss 2004). Universities are perceived as agents of knowledge creation and dissemination by engaging in bringing about the “mechanisms of knowledge transfer” (Bramwell & Wolfe, 2008: 1175-1176). Such engagement with the generated body of knowledge may be utilized in “developing skills for acquiring new knowledge and the capacity for addressing societal needs” (Sawyerr 2004:3).

The challenge is to get universities to be more responsive to their communities by meeting their needs in terms of ensuring that mechanisms of knowledge are utilized for skills development. Aside, there is also the challenge of creating a comfortable environment where these universities may also respond to their environment by accelerating mobility both nationally and internationally (Chatterton & Goddard 2000). This is in addition to the need to increase global competitiveness among staff and students so as to carve a niche in the global market (Chatterton & Goddard 2000). Universities are known to provide training and are also responsible for educating the “growing number of professions” (Altbach 2008:6) and the citizenry who provide the needed skills for the “economy and society” (Altbach 2008:6). These professions include the training of teachers, top professionals to head national governments, business executives, priesthood, law and engineers. These provide and train the “competitive labour force” (URT/VPO 2005:19) that are in great demand at local level for economic development and also in the international arena.

In the debate on the function or mission of the university and engaging with the core function of teaching, universities are perceived as organisers, repositories and producers of knowledge (Altbach 2008). Through their academic libraries universities are familiar with the preservation and organisation of knowledge (Baker 2001). The organisation of knowledge through the university academic library is a non-profit endeavour that provides support for its community and beyond. They also engage in providing narratives, ideas and debate on a country's development; in terms of national or economic development (Ordorika & Pusser 2007). In addition to engaging with debate on a nations' economic development, universities are also involved in a historical role with regard to initiating nationalistic ideas and expertise for nation building (Ashby 1966; Altbach 2008).

2.5.2 Research

The function of research was introduced into universities around the 19th century with faculty members engaging in knowledge production and dissemination (Jacob and Hellstrom 2000; Kruss 2004; Atkinsons and Blanpied 2007:1). The research function of the university involves the production of knowledge and particularly basic knowledge that may be exported and utilized by the academic community (Chatterton and Goddard 2000). There is another view that the knowledge generated from university research was not meant for those outside the academic community- including their region and local communities (Chatterton and Goddard 2000). However, it seems this is changing with universities being encouraged to engage and link their research to industrial needs (Altbach, Gumport & Johnstone 2001) and even their local communities and region. Despite the former supposition of restricting generated knowledge from universities, there is another view that research universities generate knowledge that cuts across the general spectrum of disciplines (Atkinsons & Blanpied, 2007:1). They also contribute to the development of local, regional, national and international economies (Atkinsons & Blanpied, 2007:1; Mintrom, 2008: 231).

With generated knowledge from universities being utilized across the globe, there are signals for universities to commercialise research globally and also to link research to the immediate community so as to access sponsors (Chatterton & Goddard, 2000). There is the hint about understanding knowledge production, commercialization of research, and linkage of research with local communities, its effect on the nation and across the nation as well as how it has completely changed how universities engage with their research function (Gibbons et al.

1994). It may denote a call to establish some linkages with external research outlets and institutes, research centres and science parks to be part of the wider knowledge community. Such collaboration between universities and other research institutes and partners may indicate an expansion in research activities as a result of the wider and bigger collaboration. It may also entail moving research away from traditional academic institutions to other interested bodies like research centres, science parks and institutes that engage in research.

Universities may show elements and instances of responsiveness within the dimensions of research in the higher education/industry partnership (Altbach, Gumport and Johnstone 2001). Such responsiveness may lead to curriculum review, innovation, research renewal and review of course contents to meet industry requirements (Singh 2011:62). The merits could also signal an expansion in employment possibilities in the community, the region and regional development. The next core function to be engaged with is the community engagement function of universities. This is important as universities are expected to produce and disseminate knowledge as well as engage with their communities as they respond to the reform initiatives (URT 2005).

2.5.3 Community service

Apart from the university's function of teaching and research a third function subsists, that of community service and consultancy. The community engagement function of the university is widely contested (Akpan et al. 2012), though it seems difficult to identify the actual activities that are involved and identified as community engagement. The community engagement function of the university may be encapsulated in its role of affecting different aspects of society. This role extends to engaging in activities like its interactions with civil society, with the media, arts, technology innovations, and debate around governance. It may extend further to its engagement in the provision of extra mural classes, e-learning activities, evening classes, volunteering, mentoring, adult education and even leadership provision. Another view of the community engagement function of the university may be the use of "university expertise and university resources" to aid and respond to the community (Singh 2011:63). This role is supported by most analysts and viewed as universities with a strong link to their communities which accrues endowments to universities themselves (Chatterton & Goddard 2000). The community service and consultancy role of universities is viewed as part of the

“social responsibility of universities towards their communities” (Chatterton & Goddard 2000:489).

In their engagement with their community, universities have in a way been able to break out of the “ivory tower” (Ooro 2013:48) denotation of elitists who are separate from the community. As ivory towers, Nyerere (1967) viewed universities as “mirija” or ‘parasites/blood suckers’ who feed on the sacrifice of the poor people who invested much in building the universities. With the eradication of the ivory tower title that have kept them from interacting with society, the community engagement function enables universities to become “good community players” (Bramwell and Wolfe 2008: 1175-1176).

The community service role of universities has received many commendations and widespread awareness in recent times as part of their traditional role. Agencies that may be pushing for the sustenance and encouragement of this role have been the supranational agencies that have drawn the attention of the global community to problems such as climate change, poverty, economic development and even environmental degradation and how universities may become agents of change and alleviation through responsiveness.

Given the heightened social demand on universities to expand their activities, the state is making increasingly more demands and universities are under pressure to meet these expectations. In this regard, universities are expected and sometimes are subjected to change at a variety of levels, as an institution in terms of its systems, executing its core functions at individual level (in terms of students, academics, staff) and broadly in terms of connecting and forming partnerships with the community (Bramwell and Wolfe 2008). The way in which scholars have addressed these pressures to change viewed from the position of institutional responses, will now be discussed.

2.6 Universities and the concept of change

2.6.1 Universities and responses to change

In this section, the discussion will be on how universities are adapting to change or are resisting change. This will be discussed within the body of literature on the relationship between universities, the state and society as well as the criticisms that have emanated from

that angle. One of the challenges that universities have faced across the global higher education landscape is the “inherent resistance to change” (McGuinness, 2011:139).

2.6.2 Universities and the challenges of change

One of the challenges facing public universities globally is the continuous demand by state and society to provide access and expand its activities so that more and more students will have the opportunity of higher education (Mkude et al. 2003; Teferra and Altbach 2004). With the increased demand for access coupled with dwindling funding from the state, it becomes a herculean task to meet state expectations. Such a position calls for a change in the usual way things are done and may create an “awareness to change” (McGuinness 2011:140) at universities. Some of the changes with regard to the function of universities may include the review of the curriculum and new methods of teaching and learning which may affect leadership functions at the university. Universities are still engaging, responding and functioning to ensure that teaching, research and community engagement are part of their institutional core activities which may elicit criticism. There are still instances of indictment of universities with regard to their societal engagement and responsiveness (Alexander 2000) as well as the accusation and criticism about universities and their resistance to change.

Part of the criticism of universities with regard to resistance to change (Neaves 1995; Ooro 2013) brings to mind the concept of the ‘graveyard’ or ‘cemetery’ (Lohmann 2002). The university is perceived as “naturally, inherently, antithetical to change” (Lohmann 2002:3). Thus to mobilise a university to change for any reason; be it state dictated, policy motivated or globally induced takes a great deal of time and much debate; hence to move a university is “like moving a cemetery” (Lohmann 2002:3). For academia and the university, there is the tendency to continuously repeat what the other has said through “quotations or paraphrasing” and hence routinely “crib clichés from each other’s speeches and writings” (Lohmann 2002:3). The question about the research emerging from universities probably lies within that latter assertion. The implication of Lohmann’s (2002) observation is that research involves the possibility of reading, quoting and building on the strength of earlier writers or researchers. Hence universities may be recycling and rotating around the same themes either for or against them in their research. Yet, to “manage academic she likens to herding cats and to change curriculum; to moving a cemetery” (Lohmann 2002:3). She continues that universities “hate to change anything” from “obsolete infrastructure and equipment that only

end up being guzzlers for funds” (Lohmann 2002:3) that could be invested elsewhere to be productive. Change is something that is real and inevitable and as such public universities around the globe are increasingly becoming susceptible to change.

Looking at universities as instruments of development that the nations established to meet the needs of their citizens, Lohmann (2002) argues that they should provide responses and explanations for the difficult problems in their community like “problems of specialization and protection” (Lohmann 2002:7). The whole system of the university, its structure and its organisation may be hinged on providing legitimate specialization and protection for its community, staff and students from each other and from external critics.

Change has also been observed in universities as a result of the incessant demand for access and expansion of enrolment. With increased enrolment and expansion of access, university education is available to an increasing population. There is an observable shift from the notion of the university as a “cultural training ground for young minds” to being perceived as the “major agent for government investment in human development and capacity building” (Alexander 2000:415). In nations across the globe where higher education investment has been given a national priority, there is the observed “global economic advantage” (Alexander 2000:415) that has sprung up. Such economic advantage may indicate an improvement in the quality of higher education offered to the people and an increase in human resources. The impact on human resources enabled society and its universities to be on a strong footing to be able to “compete in the global market” (Alexander 2000:415).

The tendency to embrace change is observable as we look at the debate outlined above. Some of the changes include the introduction of the research function to the known and original function of universities as teaching (Atkinsons and Blanpied 2007). Another is the move from the ivory tower to the entrepreneurial paradigm (Etzkowitz, Webster, Gebhardt and Terra 2000), from limited access to mass education (Trow 2005) and being recognised as a “key sector in African development” (Teferra and Altbach 2004:22).

Still on change and resistance to change, Meyer, Ramirez, Frank and Schofer (2007:195) observe that some universities may choose to change while others may close their borders to change. They note that for particular universities whose systems are more attuned to change,

they also have a strong inclination to be responsive to society. Such strong inclination to responsiveness may mean that universities are open to dynamic societies which are also undergoing periodical changes (Meyer, Ramirez, Frank and Schofer 2007). And for universities who are more attuned to being closed, their responsiveness to society is also very challenging. Relating these positions to the debate on higher education institutions in Africa, the policies around higher education are always changing. They change as they are influenced not only by the nation state but also by the global arena and sometimes by the donor and supranational agencies (Brock-utne 2003). This is evident with regard to the World Bank which initially de-emphasized higher education but is now encouraging it (Bloom et al. 2005).

The Tanzanian situation in respect of change and reform in the higher education sector, has witnessed a substantial change in its higher education system or landscape. The change can be attributed to two major issues namely: the increase in enrolment as well as the growth and reform of the higher education system from the post-colonial era to the present day. These same factors also affected the comprehensive changes in higher education in countries in Western Europe such as Norway (Bleiklie 1998: 87) where reform was “conceived before and parallel” to the increase in access and expanded enrolment of students in higher education. In the case of Tanzania, Ishengoma (2007:86) views the Arusha declaration as one of the crucial factors that led to the transformation that cut across Tanzania’s development in terms of its economic and educational policies. After the Arusha declaration, much has changed also in terms of the higher education landscape as Tanzania moved from being a socialist state to becoming a federal state. This section has engaged with the debate around universities, their tendency to change and be responsive to the state and society.

The next section will capture the international debate on access and quality. This is important as this study is a policy implementation study that is interested in the access and quality mandate of the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper. There is therefore the need to engage with the debate on access and quality in higher education.

2.7 Perspectives on access to higher education

Access has been linked to massification and viewed as one of the pivotal forces that put pressure on universities (Altbach 1982). Altbach (1982) describes massification as one of the

most critical exerting forces that universities are facing in modern times. As universities engage with access demand, there is the expectation of the move from massive access to universal access, from disciplinary research to problem solving research and also the “demand for social relevance and accountability” (Waghid 2002:470). In essence the demand for access goes beyond increasing enrolment but also links with the university’s social relevance to society.

However, in spite of all these strategies massification in higher education seems to have created the problem of moonlighting of academic staff from public universities (Thaver 2004; Zeelen 2012; and Ologunde, Akindele, and Akande 2013). As more universities are established and the rate of enrolment of students increases, academic staff tends to move from one university to the other in order to teach. The rate of enrolment or growth in enrolment in higher education across the globe in the past decade has shown a large increase since the inception of higher education. There may be a need to also consider the existence of a tension between the increase in access and how it affects the quality of education being offered. This may be addressed by the data from this study.

Given this increase in enrolment and access globally, higher education in the sub-Saharan African region has remained the lowest compared to others within the same period. The demand for higher education by society and its citizens has induced states and their higher education system to ensure the task of providing not only an increase in higher education access but also addressing the quest for quality education. The need for increased access may be linked to the global need to have a better life which higher education can motivate through providing high social mobility (Zeelen 2012).

The notion of the move from elite to mass education and then to universal education as advocated by Trow has been observed (Brennan 2004; and Trow 2007). The trajectory of the growth or change in the higher education sector with regard to access has been a “current nuance in the higher education debate” (Brennan 2004:24). Trow (2007) raises the argument of a complete move from the elite to the mass and the universal stages. However, there may be the “definite possibilities of examples of elite forms surviving in the mass and universal stages” with regard to the access debate (Brennan 2004:24). With the move from mass to universal access, there is the observable increase in enrolment of students in the higher

education system globally. Such increase across the globe has been captured in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1: *Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio in Different World Regions (1999-2005) in Percentages*

Region	1991	1999	2002	2005
Arab states	n/a	19	20	22
Central & Eastern Europe	32	39	50	57
Central Asia	29	19	23	26
East Asia & the Pacific	n/a	14	19	24
Latin America & the Caribbean	n/a	21	26	30
North America & Western Europe	51	61	67	1
South & West Asia	n/a	n/a	9	10
Sub Saharan Africa	n/a	4	5	5

Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2007

Table 2.1 presents evidence that there has been a considerable increase in the enrolment rate across the globe especially from the year 1999 to 2005 according to the available statistics. The African sub-region observed some growth in the year 1999 but they did not make any notable growth between the years 2002 to 2005. In addition, Table 2.1 shows that Africa has the lowest rate of enrolment when compared to other regions of the world.

Such low levels of enrolment in tertiary education may further more be compounded by the fact that Africa is in need of development, but also of capacities that could steer development in terms of human resources and financial resources among others in all sectors of development and the economy. Such decline in “public resources” for development may have contributed to the reduction in quality of education that is available to Africa as argued by Mama (2003:107). The consequence of compromised quality in higher education includes among others the fact that African universities may be producing graduates who may not fit into the workplace both regionally and globally as a result of questionable education for its citizens and a deplorable situation at the universities (Assié-Lumumba 2006).

Apart from the quality issue and deplorable situation in which African universities operate, there is an observable increase in the number of universities in Africa after independence as well as the need for expansion as a result of accelerated demand for higher education by society. Without doubt, it can be said that higher education in Africa, when compared with what is obtainable on the global landscape, has been low, especially with reference to the gross enrolment ratio (GER) (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2007). Although, within the African region it has not been stagnant as there is evidence of an increase that is higher than the provision of jobs by the economy and institutions (Assié-Lumumba 2006).

Linking the access debate to the quality issue, states expect their universities to be responsive to them through the provision of quality education to those that need the education. There is evidence of compromised quality (Assié-Lumumba 2006), nevertheless, there is still the need to discuss the quality issue within the discourse on teaching.

2.8 Perspectives on quality in higher education

Quality as a concept in higher education is highly contested, with several researchers not proposing any known and acceptable interpretation in the quality debate (Worthington and Hodgson 2005). To some researchers, there is no acceptable definition of quality (Barnett 1994), while others like Harvey and Green (1995) and Green (2006) have attempted a definition of the concept that has become a landmark definition. Harvey and Green (1995:10) view quality as a “relative term”. The relativity of the term quality can be seen in the way it is understood. It may be understood as relative to the institutions, to the students, to the stakeholders, even to the academics themselves, relative to the circumstance in which quality discourse is addressed.

There are different definitions and understanding of quality in higher education. According to Tam (2001:47), quality to the government may mean the production or graduation of “scientists, doctors” and skilled personnel that society requires. To the scholar or the intelligentsia, the ability of universities to produce persons with higher “intelligence” acumen and who are empowered to offer services for the dissemination and enhancement of “knowledge” could be seen as quality (Tam 2001:47). To the industrialist it could mean the production of graduates with “high skills”, who are willing to acquire more skills and

knowledge and “to adapt to changes” and to methods and with an open and flexible “mind” to offer services (Tam 2001:47).

In addition to the relativity of the concept quality, Harvey (2006:2) views quality as an instrument that is used to guarantee “compliance”. Such certification or guarantee of compliance is necessary since one of the criteria used to ensure quality and the provision of quality by evaluators is “alignment”. The question is alignment to what? Within the MKUKUTA programme, can it be said that quality is the alignment of public universities to achieving the expectations of government as enlisted in the MKUKUTA reform agenda for higher education institutions in Tanzania? This can be answered within the research question on how the universities and the state agencies construct quality in Tanzanian public universities.

In trying to convey an acceptable notion of quality, Harvey (2006: 4 – 15) gives a five feature definition of quality: “Quality as exceptional or as excellence; quality as perfection or consistency; quality as fitness for /or purpose; quality as value for money and lastly quality as transformation”. Harvey’s (2006) definition of quality has to a great extent become the basis for so many academic writings and debate in higher education. Harvey (2006) elaborates that “quality as exceptional or as excellence can further be broken down into the traditional definitions of quality; the exceeding high standards of excellence; the checking standards and the assuring of excellence” (Harvey, 2006: 4). On the theme of quality for perfection and consistency, he elaborates on assuring consistency. On the notion of quality as fitness for/ or purpose, he emphasizes customer requirements, the mission based fitness for purpose and the assuring of fitness. On the notion of quality with regard to value for money, Harvey emphasizes assuring the value of money. He also views the notion of quality as transformation and from the perspective of enhancing the participant or provider and empowering the participant (Harvey 2006).

Most scholastic literature has based its definition and explanation of quality on these sub-themes itemised by Harvey (See Tam 1999; Morley 2003; Wangenge-ouma 2008; and Harvey and William 2010). Morley (2003) has to a great extent lent her voice to Harvey’s definition as she sees the same terms “enhancement, development and improvement” as terms that have added some moral standing to the concept of quality.

The view of quality as exceptional or something of excellence may be attributed to the notion that quality marks off as something “special” (Harvey and Green 1993) or something unique. The notion of quality as “excellence” has also been propagated by other scholars (Thaver 2006). Quality is related to the exhibition of “very high standards/excellence” or a concept that could be related to success in having or possessing the maximum required standards in comparison with others under the same conditions. Within this view, quality is understood from the perspective of exclusiveness, distinctiveness and a high status. These could be viewed within the higher education provisions and also in the status of the product due to the value placed on it by the people, the stakeholders and even the customers themselves.

Another view of the concept of quality with regard to the term “exceptional” is the notion of exceeding high standards or excellence. Using excellence to ascertain quality implies that there may be the need for benchmarks, for targets and a set of criteria to determine quality and to determine high standards as against the lack of such in the traditional view. Within the dimension of excellence, quality is perceived as checking standards and assuring standards.

Another view of quality is that it is reflected as perfection or as consistency. Quality is here construed from the point of “perfections”, without any blemish or defect but “consistent” in perfection (Harvey 2006:6). Quality when viewed from the lack of blemish, flaw or defect suggests “reliability” with regard to quality culture. Within the perception of quality as perfect or consistent is the notion of assuring consistency. Relating and assuring consistency within the higher education landscape has not been the norm as quality defined within the consistency paradigm applies mainly to organisations and services (Harvey 2006).

There is a view of quality as ‘fitness for purpose’ (Harvey 2006). To view quality as fitness for purpose entails quality as an accomplishment of a set of specified outcomes. To be considered as “quality”, there is the need then for institutions to meet a certain specific purpose that underlines their establishment. This way of viewing quality is not the same as quality from the perspective of high class, something elitist, or something special (Harvey 2006) or a herculean task to be accomplished. Within this notion, quality is perceived as customer requirements, as mission based fitness for a purpose, as assuring fitness which may be applied in the higher education environment with regard to assessment procedure on the

institution to ensure that either the external standards or the internal mission and objectives are met. Another way of evaluating quality through the fitness for purpose paradigm is through the engagement of accreditation panels to assess their compliance to standards set by professional bodies (Harvey, 2006).

The fourth way that Harvey defines quality is with reference to value for money. Using value for money as a criterion in the definition of quality highlights the issue of the quality of provision, process and outcome in relation to the monetary value of accomplishing provision, process and outcomes (Harvey 2006). Quality is therefore viewed with regard to the return on investment and this is accomplished with the realization of set outcomes within an affordable price. Quality as money is understood within the dimension of assuring value for money. Considering quality as value for money may imply that higher education institutions may only produce graduates who are considered qualified or competitive in the labour market within a fixed cost or price. The feedback system could be applied here in relation to higher education institutions where students are seen as paying customers to whom standard services are provided. Is it problematic to assess teaching within the value for money notion as against measuring infrastructure and other facilities in university system?

The last concept that Harvey utilizes in his approach to define quality is the view of quality as transformation. This notion has enjoyed the appendage of being seen as the classic notion with regard to its qualitative change and the ability to effect change from one step to another, from one state to another (Harvey and Green 1993). The concept can be used for different categories like human beings, institutions and organisations and even products and services offered by institutions. Within the higher education environment, transformation is understood as the process of enhancing and equipping students and the dissemination of new knowledge for their development (Harvey and Green 1993). To institutions, transformation may entail their ability to provide transformative teaching, research and learning to their customers (Harvey and Knight 1996). In another vein, Eckel, Hill and Green (1998) prove that transformation impedes on institutional culture by affecting and even effecting change in the basic assumptions and institutional characteristics, products and institutional processes. Within this view of quality as transformation is the notion of quality as signalling and enhancing the participant or provider, empowering the participant and quality as assuring transformation.

Like quality, quality assurance has become increasingly the focus of international debate around higher education and its global landscape (Kells 1994; Harman 1996). With the debate around quality and quality assurance systems, there seems to be heavy pressure from all stakeholders in higher education to ensure the implementation of quality assurance systems in higher education (Bradley 1993; Mok 2000). Many distinguished scholars (Ball 1985; van Vught and Westerheijden 1993), have tried a definition of the quality assurance mechanisms and just like with quality, there is no one acceptable definition within the field of higher education that defines quality assurance. Another interesting definition views quality assurance “as systematic management and assessment procedures adopted by universities to assure achievement of specified benchmarks” (Mok, 2000:155). This definition views quality assurance as systemic management which entails that universities have to present a strategic plan within the system on how best to go about ensuring the actualization of quality assurance systems. As university management comes with a strategic plan in achieving quality assurance, they also incorporate the definite ways of ensuring that the specific benchmarks that are established by either universities themselves or by the government through the steering of the higher education system, are achieved.

While universities engage with quality assurance mechanisms, the systemic plans and achievement steps may call for reviews for the institutions themselves and for their academic activities. Institutional reviews may entail reviewing their objectives, their mission statement and even their academic programmes, to see how they all are targeted to ensure the achievement of the quality assurance process. Such a review may tend to locate universities within the fitness for purpose definition of quality (Harvey and Green 1993). Another scholar, Vlăsceanu *et al.* (2004:47), views the fitness for purpose description of quality within institutions to be achieved when those institutions achieve the standards that have been set for them either by themselves, the government or any other body that may be steering such institution.

Extending further the notion of quality assurance, Kohler (2003) aligns it with whatever that is considered quality. Kohler argues that quality assurance is “a notion of the existence of and the quest for quality, a willingness to provide quality, a concept of quality, implementation of quality, monitoring of quality, and iteration of this sequence in the light of experience

towards enhancing quality” (Kohler 2003:317). Within this definition therefore, quality assurance may entail the need to commit or the determination to ensure that an enabling environment is set in motion for the achievement of quality at universities or higher education institutions. There may be the need to commit to a pre-determined culture and standards that are set up by the university which may be termed quality culture (Kohler 2003). Going by my own understanding which was gleaned through my reading during my engagement with this research, I have tried a definition of quality assurance as the institutionalization of a culture of quality and excellence in an institution through the incorporation of diverse dynamics to ensure the enhancement of quality in an enabling environment and to ensure that quality as a culture is experienced, felt and thrives in that institution.

In rounding up this section, it may be pertinent to note that the MKUKUTA policy document expects universities to provide quality education to its students and learners. In what ways is quality education provided and how do these public universities interpret quality within the MKUKUTA mandate? Within the confines of my research area, the MKUKUTA document expects universities to increase access, provide quality education and research activities that are tailored to the local environment. They expect a competitive labour force and the need to strengthen the link between universities and local communities (URT/VPO 2005:19). These are the aspirations of the Tanzanian government towards its higher education systems and the hope that through these expectations, it will reduce poverty. A critical examination of such expectations looks herculean but the aim of this research is to ascertain the extent of engagement and responsiveness of public universities to specifically, the access and quality initiatives of the reform. Being a policy based research there is therefore the need to delve into the debate around policy implementation on the higher education landscape.

2.9 Policy implementation in higher education

In this section of the literature, the study will engage with the literature on the meaning and definitions of policy. For the purpose of this study, and given that it is based on a policy text, it is important to understand the shape of policy debate around formulation and implementation.

Ball (2011:3) defines policy as an “authoritative allocation of values”. Policies may be viewed as the values that are ascribed to a particular decision, plan or objective. Within such

understanding of policy as value is the Kogan (1975:55) definition of policy as the “statement of prescriptive intent”. Such definition may also be related to Ball’s argument that “policies are the operational statement of values”. Values may still have to be understood and appreciated and even questioned around validation of the value that may be considered to be able to make meaning of these definitions. Within policy intentions, values are set by the national government and it could be perceived as the policy intent, agendas, goals and even objectives that are set by the central government. Within such understanding therefore, higher education policy will be around the values, the intents, consequences and even the critique that will project educational outcomes, educational images that meet the need, the intentions and the desires of the national government.

Considering the field of higher education policy within the perspectives of policy dynamics may entail its location within the wider environment of public policy. Within the policy literature, and the framework of policy in education, Ball (1990; 1994) argues that policy in education should be seen as not only text but also as a process. As a process then, policy in education may be synonymous with the need for change and the need for reform.

Higher education reform and policy are most times a consequence of change or are in need of new elements and new directives so as to ensure that higher education is being driven to achieve its core and social functions. With achieving their core and social functions, the higher education system is steered through change and reform to become “more self regulated, dynamic and sometimes innovative organisations and institutions” (Gornitzka, Kyvik & Stensaker 2005:35). Within every reform, both in higher education and elsewhere are the debate around change. The change scholar, Fullan (2007:42), views change, and subsequently reform as something people do not “relish”, as change is difficult and we usually “find change distasteful” (see also Berlach 2010:1). Despite the inherent resistance to change as observed in the literature and highlighted in this study, universities within this research are expected to be responsive and implement the higher education reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy.

The next section will discuss the sensitizing lens for this study. Foucault’s concept of governmentality is the sensitizing lens that has structured and framed this study (Merriam, 2001:45). Foucault’s concept of governmentality has been mostly used as a conceptual lens in

understanding the developed economies of Western Europe. This section will also highlight the understanding of governmentality in higher education and its application. Emphasis is placed on power and its diverse subthemes as aspects of governmentality. The study will therefore seek to locate the empirical data generated from this research within the broad concepts of these highlighted Foucauldian terms. The analytical commentary chapter will apply these Foucauldian concepts to the empirical data at the last chapter.

2.10 Foucault's Governmentality as the theoretical lens for this research

This research study explores the ways in which a particular policy unfolds in practice. In seeking to understand the idea of policy in practice, implies political control, authority and power at the level of the government/state and individuals. On this basis, the study has drawn on Foucault's concept of governmentality to assist in understanding how policy is put into practice. In light of the aforementioned, this section outlines how Foucault approaches the concept of governmentality and in so doing the section also highlights the crucial aspect of the concept, namely, that of power relations.

The concept of governmentality has been applied in general in Western developed economies in order to understand the relations between state and society around the issues of governance, power relations and policy. In the light of this scholars like Gordon (1991), Rose (1993) and Dean (1998) have conducted research on governmentality. Dean (1998) focussed on the existence and practices of governmentality in modern societies. Modern societies here refers to Western developed economies. Dean (1999) draws his argument from the definition of governmentality as a "conduct of conduct" (Foucault 1982:220) which he conceptualises as the "attempt to rationally affect the conduct of others and ourselves" (Dean 1999:198). Dean identified the diverse concepts of power with regard to pastoral power and bio-politics among others (Dean 1999). Rose (1996) has written on how Foucault's concept of governmentality as being applied to governance and how it affects the subject or the population over time. Gordon (1991) was more interested in knowledge and power and how power evolved from sovereign power in the top echelon in governance to power that is exercised by the population at all levels for the good of society.

The choice of governmentality as the sensitizing framework for this research is based on the fact that it has been used by scholars in understanding higher education policies (Fejes 2006;

Fimyar 2008). The significance for this research is that while the concept has been used to understand the systems in Western Europe, there has been minimal application to the study of countries in the African sub-region. Others like Tikly (2004) have applied the concept of governmentality to the study of education policy in South Africa in the form of a journal article and Pam Christie (2006) in the changing dimension of higher education policy in post apartheid South Africa, also a journal article. In addition, Olivier (2010) also did a scholarly article on Foucault and individual autonomy. This study seeks to draw on the concept of governmentality to understand the higher education response to poverty reduction policies in an impoverished African nation. This study seeks to make a modest contribution by applying it to the implementation of a poverty reduction policy initiative in the higher education setting in Tanzania.

2.11 Understanding the concept of governmentality

Foucault (1991) was interested in understanding the ways in which the different patterns of power were exercised in Europe. He applied the term governmentality in his understanding of technologies of governance around the sovereignty of power in Europe (Foucault 1991). Foucault defines the concept of governmentality as “the conduct of conduct or the power to act on the action of others” (Foucault 1982: 220- 221). Within the definition of the concept of governmentality as the conduct of conduct lies the assumption about the practice of modern states that exercises control over its subjects or population and the rationalities that are advanced to make the practices appear normal (Foucault 1982). The terminology population in Foucauldian term is understood as made up of individuals, the government itself and even the institutions or organisations within the government (Dean 1999 following the work of Foucault, 2000). A view of governmentality as the conduct of conduct may be applied as the practices of government that are interested in the effects of governance on the actions of others, be it an individual, institution or organisation. Foucault (1988) was interested in the diverse practices, rationalities of the state and the agencies of government which include institutions and authorities that are employed to shape the population positively. Government for Foucault entails “the techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour” (Foucault 1988:81). Such mentality or practices by the government for the governing of the state could be processed or implemented from a distance through state agencies and institutions among others. Linking this to my research, the reform initiative is a governmental strategy that public institutions in Tanzania as state agencies are expected to engage in so as to achieve the

overall aim of the governmental practice or rationality, namely to use the policy as a tool for the alleviation of poverty.

The concept of governmentality entails two distinct terms, one of which is “mentality” and the other “governing”. With reference to the former, mentality is a “mode of thought that is employed in the practice of governing” (Lemke 2002:50). The activities of governing involve the practices of government (Foucault 1991; 2007). The term mentality has to do with the rationalities or the mentalities that underpin the identified practices of government (Foucault 1991; 2007). The practices of government may involve the mentality of rationalities that may dictate how the government relates, or the techniques that are employed in the practice of government towards its subjects. These may entail controlling the people, shaping their conduct and even making them to act in a particular way, termed normalisation. Within this understanding therefore, governmentality may involve the “relation between the government of the state, the government of the self and the construction of the subject” within an environment of the state (Lemke 2000:2–3).

Foucault (1991) defines governmentality from the perspective of new methods of thinking, a new method of understanding power and the exercise of power in societies. In defining governmentality, Foucault was specific in viewing it as:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analysis and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power (Foucault 1991:102 - 104).

From the above, we observe that the concept of ensemble is important and needs to be understood within the framework of the concept of governmentality (Foucault 1991). An ensemble may comprise “thoughts on how to move the government forward, thoughts on achieving effective and efficient welfare” (Li 2007:276) for the citizens or the population as well as a technique to achieve such. The state may be viewed as an aspect of the ensemble and could be the starting point for the exercise of power (Foucault 1991). From this angle, governmentality may be both “internal and external in creating a dynamic state in the modern day” (Foucault 1991:102). The dynamism of the state therefore may induce it to define and redefine its “tactics, rationalities, practices and mentalities, competences, skills of governance

and challenges” (Foucault 1991:103; see also Kerr 1999). The idea of viewing the concept of governmentality as an ensemble may signal the need to view government programs as intervention with regard to their effect on society (Herbert-Cheshire 2000). As interventions, such programs may contribute in abolishing the often held view of a huge and powerful state that is the source of supreme power. Although the view of government programs as interventions persists, there is an opposing view (Herbert-Cheshire 2000). This view calls for the need to discard the lenient approach that tends to give attention to government programs as intervention but instead to ensure that such “intervention of government is viewed in a relatively hidden” or unrecognisable form (Herbert-Cheshire 2000:204 see also Rose & Miller 1992). This study will seek to interpret the concept of the origin and ownership of the MKUKUTA reform as the concept of governmentality. Within such understanding of the origin of the MKUKUTA, the study may also highlights aspects of intervention by non-governmental actors of the state.

2.12 Governmentality and the concept of power

For Foucault (1980b:119) power does not need to be located in a particular, central source for example, in the state, instead:

Power should be seen as a productive network that is running or working through the whole social body. Power is not to be localized in a single source, is not to be entitled to a single person and neither to be viewed as a commodity or piece of wealth (Foucault 1980a:98).

In this regard, power is viewed as operating across social bodies such as organisations, institutions and family that is at all levels within the framework. No single person has a domination of power as power is no longer viewed as supreme belonging to a few elite but to everyone. With such an understanding of power, Foucault (1980) envisaged effects of power to “circulate through progressively fine channels, gaining access to individuals themselves, to their bodies, their gestures and all their daily actions” (Foucault 1980:151-152).

To Foucault (1980) power is to affect people positively and does not have to be domiciled in a single hand but to slowly and consciously circulate to the entire population. A further view of power is propagated by Foucault (2003) within the key perspectives of “power as being

productive, facilitative and creative” (Foucault 2003:307). Such attributes of power are meant to strengthen and support the practices of governmentality. There are several components of approaching power and these key perspectives of power are interested in understanding, outlining and organising a specific population or individuals that are governable within the state. There is the notion that people tended towards power because of its attributes of “repressiveness and negative command” on the one hand (Foucault 1977:23), and the notion of power that reiterated as the “positive effects of power” on the other hand (Foucault, 1977:23). Understanding power as having positive effects, power is accepted and held onto because it “traverses and produces things, stimulates pleasure and initiates discourses” (Foucault 1977:23). It operates across the social body faster than a negative instance that is “repressive in function” (McKee 2009:470). The key issue in Foucault’s work was not only the deconstruction of the phenomena of power but rather looking into the many ways that human beings as individuals and members of the governable population are governed effectively for society’s good (Foucault, 1977). Power is therefore viewed from the perspective of a cherished phenomenon that acts not on individuals outside its space but instead operates inside the individual through himself (Miller 1987:2).

Another concept of power is the notion of power as “management of possibilities and the eagerness to structure the probable action of others” in place of violence or coercion (Foucault’s 2003:138). The implication is that power could be used to initiate peaceful coexistence and control human behaviour to avoid violence. Foucault’s concept stands in contrast to traditional notions of power which are understood as “casual and mechanistic; negative and repressive towards the human agency or as manipulative in its supremacy” (Clegg, 1989; see also McKee & Cooper 2008; McKee 2009:471). The concept of power will be utilized in the analysis of the diverse ways that the Tanzanian state regulates the institutional practices within a localised power source, the public universities.

2.12.1 Power as a form of regulation and control

In seeking to understand how power operates within an environment of freedom, population raises another concept of power as regulation or control of its subjects. By depicting the concept of power as being dependent on the way “some act on others” (Foucault, 2000:340) could also suggest aspects of control and regulation. In this respect, Foucault argues that power as a concept is not affected by an uncomfortable domain, in times of struggles but may

still be able to yield fruition within such a domain (Foucault, 1980). Power may be viewed as being fruitful or capable of providing a productive network if considered as a web that produces positive effects in the system as opposed to a negative concept that is viewed as repression, control and regulation of its population (Foucault, 1980). Viewing power from the perspective of yielding fruition and positive effects could be linked to Foucault's, description of "power as a capillary" (Foucault, 1980:39). As a capillary, power is understood from "the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions, attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980:39). Within such understanding therefore, power may be seen as intruding into not only the instituted agencies of the state but also into the individuals and the population who occupy the state. In this way, power is used to affect their daily lives and actions. Waghid et al. (2005) argue that state regulation of institutions through any form of governance is actually a way through which the state exercises power over institutions. Such regulation of institutions by the state questions the existence of autonomy and academic freedom (Waghid et al. 2005:1177) and is an instance of capillary power. The exercise of power denoted through the concept of capillary may therefore be said to be the "conduct of conducts; a form of governing" (Foucault 2000:341). Such conduct of conducts may be provoked and utilized to act upon the possibilities and actions of other people by controlling, repressing and regulating their actions (Foucault 2000). The understanding of the concept of power within its sub component as a form of capillary power will be utilized in the discussion and applied to the state regulation of the access initiative of the higher education reform in the MKUKUTA as a form of capillary power.

2.12.2 The concept of surveillance - Panopticon

Foucault developed the concept of the Panopticon in relation to his research on (hidden) surveillance in prisons (Foucault 1979). The use of a hidden device whether material or human was part of the "mechanism of hierarchical observation" (Brigg 2002:430). Panopticism as a mechanism of hierarchical observation acts as a "fundamental point that is the origin of light that exposes or shines through everything as well as a locus of convergence" for everything that was to be made evident (Brigg 2002:430). Panopticon or surveillance is viewed by Foucault (1979) as "a perfect eye that could not evade anything and a centre that attracts all eyes or gaze" (Foucault 1979:173). The panopticon brings together two very essential constructs of surveillance during examination namely the hierarchical

observation as well as the normalizing gaze. The normalizing gaze for Foucault (1979) involves instituting an “apparatus of surveillance over persons and institutions, a visibility” or possibly invisible as used in the prisons (Foucault, 1979:184).

Through this visibility, the person or institution can be distinguished from others and can be judged from and by others. The normalising gaze of institutions and individuals also helps to cluster or put them into systems of knowledge so as to ascertain their capabilities and capacities (Foucault, 1979). Clustering or putting individuals as well as the population into systems helps to justify the need to require outside intervention for the individuals or institutions (Foucault, 1979). For Foucault (1979), this implies that in the “examination there is need for the super- imposition of power and knowledge relations at their very most visible” situation (Foucault 1979:185).

The panopticon as a surveillance or monitoring gaze as emphasized by Foucault (1979) is not only to be used in terms of localised systems like the prison alone or within a particular “disciplinary technology that can control and monitor inmates” (Foucault 1979:205). It is also proposed that the panopticon can be utilized as a “generalizable model of functioning” (Foucault, 1979:205) and can be applied, just like governmentality, to different aspects and situations. It can be utilized within the relations of power as the “diagram of a mechanism of power or a mind map of power relations that is not limited to an ideal form” or identified space (Foucault 1979:205). Hence Foucault signals that the “prison resembles factories, schools, barracks, hospitals” (Foucault, 1977:228) and these institutions also resemble prisons by the way they engage in watching their members.

In seeking to understand the concept of Panopticon, the exercise of power operates effectively through frequent exposure to society, individual or institution it is meant for (Foucault, 1979). The implication is that the subject or inmate is aware that he is being watched or he is visible to those in authority (Foucault, 1979). Such knowledge of his/her visibility exacts on him the need to carry out his responsibilities and be accountable or responsible for his actions or inactions.

In applying Panopticon to governmentality and relations of power, there is “no marked use of overt force” (Brigg 2002:433). The non existence of overt force may not translate to the fact

that the operation of power is not happening. Brigg (2002) is of the view that the particular type of power that functions through development cannot be easily explained “through the sovereign conceptualisation of the state” (Brigg 2002:433). His reason is that such sovereign conceptualisation was better applied during the colonial era than in contemporary times where nation states are self governed. This study will seek to apply the concept of power as a form of surveillance in the understanding of the state regulation of funding to ensure public university engagement with the MKUKUTA reform initiatives.

2.13 Global Governmentality

The term global governmentality refers to the way in which supranational agencies such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) integrates global practices into local contexts. To restate, global governmentality refers to the functions of supranational agencies in which formally or informally, they are involved in the regulation of the higher education activity for instance in other nations outside of Western developed economies in Europe. The notion of governmentality in the state is informed by a school of thought who argues that governmentality may embrace what is happening at global level with state governments and supranational agencies. Dean (2002:) argues that “global governmentality” is advanced by supranational agencies such as the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organisation (WTO) and Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (Dean 2002:53). Global governmentality is advanced to function through what is obtainable in the “arts of domestic government within nation-states” (Dean 2002:53).

By engaging with national government, the proponents of global governmentality, gives nation states the impression that the new art of governance or technology of government being propagated by supranationals is locally owned and by giving the nation states the pride of ownership, they also try to expand and generalize them globally (Dean 2002; see also Joseph 2010). This may tend to remove the existing “liberal art of government and integrate the local nation states into a global order or a major planetary nomos or world order” (Dean 2002:53).

Another notion of global governmentality views the concept as an “analysis of the different functions of supranational agencies in trying to integrate globalisation even in places where

local base may not be tenable to such techniques” (Joseph 2010:243). Global governmentality may refer to the functions of supranational agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations and its agencies that are involved with their intervention in terms of donor aid and funding in other nations outside of Western Europe and developed economies as is evident in the initial PRSP in impoverished sub Saharan Africa. This study will seek to apply the concept of global governmentality in the understanding of the diverse interventions of the International Aid Partners to ensure the engagement and implementation of the MKUKUTA objectives at public universities in Tanzania.

2.14 Normalisation

The concept of normalisation signals interplay between the individual/population and the power relations existent within the state for the purpose of achieving set goals and objectives (Foucault, 1979). Normalisation is hinged on power relations within Foucauldian sub themes like rationality, resistance, freedom and panopticon among others.

In terms of understanding the concept of power from Foucault’s perspective, it has to be viewed both as relational and as conditional (Foucault, 1980). Power is relational based on what it is applied to in terms of state agencies, institutions, organisations, and strategies, among others. On the other hand, power is conditional based on its expectations and the reason for it. Within this study, power is relational as it engages and regulates public universities to implement the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. At the same time, power is conditional as the expectation is that public universities implementation of the reform will contribute to the overall aim of the policy document which is poverty reduction. Foucault was positive in his analysis of power, and was not linked with “normative judgement about relations of power” (Brigg 2002:426). Brigg, (2002) agrees with Foucault’s notion of power as a “complex strategic situation” and maintains that the view of power is more of the bringing together of relations that makes up the complex strategic relations around power (Brigg (2002:426). In trying to utilize this concept of power around development projects therefore, Foucault introduced two critical concepts namely “dispositif and normalisation” (Brigg 2002:426).

2.14.1 Understanding the concepts of dispositif and normalisation

Foucault (1980:194) defines dispositif as a “heterogeneous ensemble of discursive and material elements - for example, discourse, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions, and so on - and the system of relations ... established between these elements” (Foucault, 1980: 194). This implies that the concept of dispositif is related to the manner that governing takes place and engages institutions, and laws, discourse among others in its engagement of agencies within the state. Dispositif can therefore be appreciated as being quite relevant at the macro level of the normalisation apparatus (Foucault, 1979). The normalisation apparatus:

...brings five quite distinct operations into play: it refers to individual actions to a whole that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed. It differentiates individuals from one another, in terms of the following overall rule: that the rule be made to function as a minimal threshold, as an average to be respected or as an optimum towards which one must move. It measures in quantitative terms and hierarchies in terms of value the abilities, the level, and the nature of individuals. It introduces, through this value-giving measure, the constraint of a conformity that must be achieved. Lastly, it traces the limit that will define difference in relation to all other differences, the external frontier of the abnormal. (Foucault, 1979: 182-183)

From the above quotation, normalisation signals the interplay between an individual, a single entity with to the whole of the population for the purpose of achieving set goals or objectives. Such an interaction initiates an opening for comparison and could create the necessity for differentiation among the interacting factors. The interaction in other words could lead to comparing the interactive factors and also identifying the differences between the interacting actors in an atmosphere that is both conducive and lawful (Foucault, 1979). This interaction within the legal space may create an opportunity for evaluation in terms of what is done, how much is done and grading the performance with regard to hierarchy. In this regard, Foucault (1979) seems to be using normalisation as a trigger, a signal of relationship between the nation state and its population. Briggs (2002) argues that Foucault may be switching the concept of a nation state for individuals in an effort to utilize “normalisation in

comprehending development and achievement of set goals and targets” within the state (Briggs 2002:427).

Foucault (1979) gives an analysis of the operation of normalisation at state level which digresses to an extent from his earlier work on normalisation at individual level. However, the operation of normalisation fits well within the horizon of his “concept of power and how it works or operates” (Foucault 1979:177-184) as opposed supreme power. Foucault in his lectures signals a shift of power from the existent centralized sources of power, namely the state, to what Sawicki (1991) terms “heterogeneous ensemble of power relations that were operating at the micro level of society” (Sawicki 1991:23). This may mean that power flows not in a hierarchical but instead in a linear way. Normalization at state level is not prohibitive but instead depends on the “comprehension of power at different levels and sites just like that of an individual within the state” (Brigg 2002:427). This research is therefore interested in ascertaining the extent to which universities could normalise the access and quality mandate of the reform. The question may be around the extent of engagement of the normalisation of the initiatives in an environment of freedom and resistance and how it could affect the autonomy of the universities.

The notion of normalisation at state level as different from the normalisation of the individual subject is based on Foucault’s (1991) understanding of the “existing modality of government” (Foucault, 1991:102). In analysing the modality of government, Foucault was of the view that “individualizing operation of power” (Foucault, 1991:102) is an aspect of normalising power operations which are quite critical in the administration of the population. There is the argument that the nation-state has a central role in the development of the *dispositif* – “the total way or manner that governing takes place which may not be a constitutive of power” (Brigg 2002:428). Understanding *dispositif* from the argument of not being “constitutive of power” (Brigg 2002:428) may be viewed from the aspect of the engagement of development partners like the World Bank and their initiatives in impoverished Sub Saharan African countries. This can be viewed from the perspective that different and diverse instruments, projects, actions or measures of development project or conjectures from multilateral agencies and their partners are made to look like state initiated or owned projects (Brigg, 2002; see also Dean, 2002; Joseph, 2010). This is important considering that the nations that these development projects are being dictated to, are also independent nations though the

assumption is that the development partners do not wield power over such independent nations (Brigg, 2002; see also Joseph, 2010). Without such notion of local ownership, the *dispositif* may not be easily eased into the state. Within such understanding therefore, Brigg, (2002) understands the state as not very “omnipotent, omnipresent or efficient to manage the intricacies and differential motivations of institutions and people” that are part of the development project and the development *dispositif* (Brigg 2002: 428).

Applying normalisation within the state and its institutions and population, Foucault (1979) argues that normalisation does not operate as an island nor does it isolate the entities around it. Instead, normalisation operates by diligently engaging entities and subjects in the “regime of power” (Foucault, 1979:141). The implication is that normalisation helps in determining gaps as well as levels of interaction between entities, their nation states and its population. Such engagement of the nation states and its population is a signal to “determine their hierarchy” on the basis of developed or underdeveloped norms (Brigg 2002: 428).

While considering the engagement of normalisation for the determination of gaps and levels, there is the view that normalization entails ascertaining the extent of a “single social field that operates through a framework of formal equality” (Brigg 2002:428) may provide the basis of its operation. This may mean that the establishment of a single social field may be important in ensuring that the norm becomes relevant for the particular framework to be achieved. As a comprehensive mechanism, normalization does not operate as a separate, distant entity from other technologies like the “technology of hierarchical observation, or the “technique of examination” (Rose, 1996:26). The process of hierarchical observation or technique of examination is understood within the issues of measurement or evaluation on the basis of achieving the rationalities and the goals that were behind the relations of power. Within such a framework, Foucault (1979) argues that the “normalisation mechanism together with hierarchical observation connects visibility and surveillance with the induction of the effects of power” (Foucault, 1979:170-171). From the foregoing, it seems that both at the institutional and the individual level, the effect of normalisation may produce an intricate phenomenon that may bring about the good of society through the engagement of diverse technologies and techniques of governance.

Within this understanding, the initial poverty reduction strategy paper was a construct of the World Bank to help develop and reduce poverty among impoverished African states. Yet, the World Bank mandates these countries to only formulate the poverty reduction strategy paper through a widespread consultative process and linkages amongst their people. The motive was to force the initial poverty reduction strategy paper to take the form of a national development program, a dispositif of governance. The Tanzanian government developed the MKUKUTA a local policy document that involved very widespread consultation. Nevertheless, the World Bank may have provided some intervention in the form of technical assistance during the overall processes of the MKUKUTA. Such provision of intervention may call to question the extent of their normalisation in the formulation and implementation of the dispositif as well as the question of ownership of the policy instrument.

The analytical commentary which is the synthesizing of the research will sieve through the data gathered and presented in this research. The analytical commentary will seek to comment on the extent of normalisation of the dispositif the MKUKUTA and the ownership question of the policy. It will also engage with the diverse forms of regulation and control of public universities by the state through the policy instrument – the MKUKUTA. This study will seek to apply the concept of normalisation in the understanding of the way that public universities have normalised the access initiative for income generation.

2.15 Power and freedom

Foucault has a view that power operates within an atmosphere of freedom. In understanding power as freedom, Foucault, (1980) is of the opinion that power may not be related “only to as a force that says no” (Foucault, 1980:89). Foucault indicates that “power traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, and forms knowledge and is achieved and indicated through a network” that is not only productive but runs through the whole population and social body (Foucault 1980: 119). The understanding of freedom within this construct of power has implication for the persons, institutions and agencies where power may operate. The implication is that the population where power operates may have the freedom to take action concerning the demands within the practices and rationalities of governance. Such agencies of power according to (McKee, 2009) could engage in making decisions; and react to governmental ordinances, instructions and commands. They may also be free to resist such governmental instructions in order to showcase or control their conduct of power. Power in

this way then becomes, “not against nor a contrast to human freedom and agency but encourages or accepts it” (McKee 2009:471).

There is a view of power that implies that “power is dependent on the way some act on others” (Foucault 2000:340). Such understanding of power as being dependent on the act of one on others may imply the existence of “actors and their strategies who may be interested in shaping the behaviour of others” within the given power relations (Foucault 2000). Such dependence on associations in shaping the act of others could imply that power may be relational and could operate within a network of persons or agencies or associations in an environment of freedom. Foucault (1980) recognises the network of power and this is highlighted in the observation of power as not originating from one source but “from innumerable points” (Foucault 1990:94) as highlighted earlier. This reinforces Foucault’s argument that “power is employed and exercised through a network of organisation” (Foucault 1980:98).

From the above, power is viewed as operating in a web of network and could be interpreted as “goals, motivations and intentions” or interventions (Foucault 2000:338). Such elements of power relations that are labelled as goals, motivations and intentions may be manifested in diverse forms and could be a consequence of some conditions, some actions that could happen in diverse locations and may also all be pulled into a “response to a specific circumstance” (Foucault 2000:338). This study will seek to apply the concept of power within its component of freedom in the understanding of the way that public universities have exercised their freedom in regulating the access initiative.

2.16 Resistance within the exercise of power

Another view of power is the notion of understanding the exercise of power through resistance. Foucault argues that such notion highlights that power could be resisted even by the persons involved in governing (Cooper 1994). Highlighting the place of resistance within power relations may not indicate that power be “overthrown, destroyed or even over looked” (McKee 2009:471) nor emphasize the notion of resistance and force. Even Foucault within the framework of a “web of power” draws our attention to the need to scrutinize the “forms of resistance against different forms of power” as a means or a strategy of analysis (Foucault 1980:97). His interest in using this strategy of analysis is to elaborate on power relations, the

exercise of power and to comprehend the location of power with regard to the question of how and where application of power takes place and its effect on the population (Foucault 1980). Power as shown in the earlier discussion operates within the freedom of the individual, the state and the actors involved in the various forms of power relations.

Such freedom to react either affirmatively or negatively has given birth to the “array of possibilities that paves the way for diverse response and results” (Foucault 2000:340). In understanding the different array of possibilities, the responses or results of resistance may indicate “repression or suppression of autonomy which may be a signal of a negative effect of resistance” (Foucault 1980:89) that may hinder freedom and the engagement of the population or the institutions.

While drawing from the array of forms of power as signaled above, power relations in an environment of such a large web of network of actors who are interdependent may yield the possibility of added resistance as the interaction among the actors may be complex (Foucault 1980). The interaction between interdependent actors in the power relations nexus may signal an interaction of actions (Foucault 2000). Such interaction of actions could “incite, induce, seduce, make things a little bit easier or difficult, release or contrive, push actions to the extreme, constrain or forbid absolutely” (Foucault 2000:341). However, there may be also the possibility that such power relations among the interdependent actors may not only suggest an open “complex reaction of resistance but instead a set of actions upon other actions” (Foucault 2000:341). Such actions upon other actions may become a source of tension in the relations of power that may signal that “the exercise of power becomes a central problematic” (Foucault 1988:104) and could result in resistance.

Public universities are expected to engage with the reforms in the MKUKUTA policy. In engaging with the reforms, resistance may not be ruled out since universities to some extent tend to be autonomous and may not be under direct scrutiny of any power or authority. Relating the above to this study on the responsiveness of public universities to the MKUKUTA policy document may signal instances of public universities tending to resist the implementation of the policy. Public universities may resist by creating difficult complex situations as they engage with the higher education reform initiatives. The view of resistance

as a concept of power may be employed in this study to ascertain the extent of public universities resistance to the implementation of the reform, especially at systemic level.

2.17 Governmentality and rationality

Understanding the concept of governmentality as the “governing and modes of thought within the analysis of political rationality is indicated in the technologies of power” underpinning them. (Lemke 2002:50). Foucault is not interested in the existence or non existence of a relationship between the practices of government and the rationality of government (Lemke 2002). Instead Foucault is interested in “discovering the kind of rationality that the government uses” (Foucault 1981:226) to positively affect the population.

Governmentality as a “political rationality” has the capacity to encourage the populace or society to become economically motivated (Foucault 1991:79). As a political rationality, it may be understood also as a political process (Foucault 1991). This may result in an interaction, not only for the individual himself but also for the community or collective bodies within society “in which exercising power is rational” (Foucault 1991:79). Within the framework of political rationality, collective bodies such as institutions, universities, public administrations, corporations and even the state may be induced to be responsive, autonomous and engage with state priorities as well as display its autonomous and individual responsibility (Foucault 1991).

This study seeks to understand the diverse ways that the state steers public universities in Tanzania to respond to the mentality of the state – the higher education reform initiative of the MKUKUTA policy. As well as national state steering of public universities, the research is interested in ascertaining the extent of engagement of International Aid and their steering of universities in an independent nation through offering assistance and interventions. Such interventions in the higher education landscape of independent states by International Financial Institutions are perceived as mostly linked to their efforts in alleviating poverty (Smith 2005). The concept of rationality as a power relation is applied in this study of the MKUKUTA policy as a rationality of government that targets poverty reduction and economic development.

2.18 Governmentality and the state

With regard to the state, Foucault (1991) used the concept of governmentality to understand the dynamics and practices that impact on the relationship between state, government and its institutions including state and non state actors. Foucault did this by introducing a new kind of concept of governing that entailed taking power from the centre (sovereign power) as outlined earlier. In signalling this form of power or “complex form of power” Foucault linked it beyond the state and society. This form of power is related to the police that were used as instruments in securing the internal stability of the state (Foucault 1991:104). In this respect, the police could be said to be the ensemble that is a special instrument that is used as a procedure to install sovereign power over the state (Foucault 1991). The discussion of governmentality as a new form of power does not indicate the disappearance of sovereignty of the rulers in these societies. The lack of sovereignty of the rulers in these societies results in a problem between the government and the mechanisms being used by the sovereign rulers. This gave rise to a process called the “governmentalisation of the state” (Foucault 1991:91). The term may be signaled as the process of governing the state and society.

However, Rose (1999:19) gives a definition of the term as:

an invention and assembly of a whole array of technologies that bring together the calculations and strategies of the constitutional, juridical, fiscal and organisational powers of the state in an attempt to manage the economic life, social habits and health of the population (Rose 1999:19).

From the above, the state may through its government assemble several forms of technologies. These technologies that the state may assemble include all the processes of government and the programs that the state has set up as a way of governance (Rose 1999). The ensemble may be understood to include policies, acts, edicts, mandates as well as initiatives of government that allow the government to exercise its power and its process of governing the state apparatus. These ensembles, mandates and policies cannot exist without the state since “power is everywhere” (Foucault 1990:93). This study is therefore interested in the extent of engagement of public universities in Tanzania with the reform initiatives in the technology of governance, the MKUKUTA. In carrying out this research, the concept of governmentality is used to structure and to frame the study and will be used in analysing and synthesizing the empirical data from this study.

Foucault (1991) argues about the state practices of the concept of governmentality as both an “internal and external process” (Foucault 1991:102). It is internal when the processes, policies, and mandates originate from the state and external where the non-state actors, apparatuses, organisations and institutions are engaged to ensure both the implementation and effectiveness of the state’s actions (Foucault 1991:103). This study seeks to interpret the MKUKUTA 1 and the reform initiatives of access and quality in the policy paper, drawing on the ideas of governmentality. It particularly seeks to interpret the state engagement of its public universities as the instrument of governmental rationality with the state’s goal of alleviating poverty and accelerating economic development.

2.18.1 Understanding power relations within the state

Foucault’s (2007) view of the state can be seen from how he draws a relationship between the concept of power and that of the state, more especially in terms of how power is exercised by the state. In his writings on power, Foucault views power around “the concept of power to the state” (Foucault 2007:110) as being practiced from “innumerable points” (Foucault 1990:94). This implies that power may not be obvious from only a supreme head but also originates from multiple sources. To substantiate the notion of multiple sources of power, Foucault argues that “power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everything” (Foucault 1990:93). The assumption of power being and operating from everywhere may signal that agents of power also may be located everywhere at every point in time. Foucault views agents of power to include: “social scientists, psychologists, teachers and governmental agencies that include planners, policy analysts and researchers, politicians” and every day citizens of the state (Foucault 1990:93; see also Richardson 1996:280).

Further in his analysis of power, Foucault, identifies a form of power that can be linked to diverse techniques namely: “of observation, calculation, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex power” (Foucault 2007:108). What this means is that power transcends individuals and places but also operates on phenomena, strategies, events and situations that may appear complex. On the other hand, this kind of power that Foucault (2004) notes is quite different from sovereign power that is only interested in territory and disciplinary power that functions in a more coercive, repressive or penetrative way. This view of power is not from the historical

form of a tyrannical state as understood with the issue of sovereign power but is used administratively for regulation and discipline (Foucault 1990). He imagines a state that was characterised to a large extent by the population and not its territory (Foucault 1980). Such a state tends more towards economic exploitation or knowledge and ideas of security. However, there is the assumption of a new technique of government around power which is different from the regulation of the state through supreme power. Foucault (2001) views the new techniques of government coming with its benefits to the state through ensuring survival and shaping the states' ideology. This new technique of government of the state is understood as "governmentalization of the state" (Foucault 2001:220). Rose (1999) gives a vivid definition of the governmentalization of the state as an "invention and assembly of a whole array of technologies which are channelled at the calculations and strategies of the constituted juridical, fiscal and organisational powers of the state" in an attempt to manage the economic life, social habits and health of the population (Rose 1999:18). Population here refers to the individual member or groups who are governed and how they are governed (Foucault 1991:103; see also Fimyar 2008). The concept of governmentalization of the state involves all the techniques, policies and processes that are used in the art of government (Rose, 1999). These techniques, processes and policies may target constituted institutions in the state such as, financial institutions, universities and academic institutions, health institutions, administrative institutions and the economy as well as all the other agencies or powers of the state for the well being of society.

2.18.2 Power relations within society

As outlined earlier, Foucault's interest is not in who possesses power as much as it is in the "exercise, application, effects and how power circulates through and in the social systems" (Foucault 2001:123). Foucault wants to see power as it relates to the people, to the population and ministers to them and not against the population to the advantage of a few supreme leaders. His argument is that the ruling group, the elite and those individuals in government may not and are not the inventors of "methods of government" (Foucault 2001:123) Rather, Foucault (2001) argues that the ruling class may make use of what is already existent on the ground by "adopting, adapting and developing them for their needs in a structured state" (Foucault 2001:123). The intention of the ruling group operating within the framework of central source of power is to dominate. In the process of domination, power operating at a micro level may be used as a regulation mechanism to "colonise, use, inflect,

transform, displace, extend and even in accelerating wide ranging mechanism in the state” (Foucault 2004:301). Given the assumption that power operates at a micro level and may be exercised for domination, the “technique of power is not only sourced from a social group but also from innumerable sources” (Foucault 1990:94). This perspective of power is quite opposite to what was obtainable in earlier periods when the notion of absolute power and the state were the central source of power (Foucault 1991). The concept of governmentality may therefore be advancing the view that emphasizes the reversal of the notion of central power and domination as supreme and as controlling of the population by a few elite (Foucault 1991). The process of state domination of the population in state relations and power came as a result of control and supremacy that express the consequence of power operating at a micro level (Foucault 2004). To exercise or to resist the control or supremacy of such dominating power comes with a varied and multiple effects on the population and the state. The resistance of the control of power could affect how the state regulates the individual, institutions and the population in general.

Foucault (1980), in discussing governmentality and its application to the population, is interested in “how is it that at certain moments and in certain orders of knowledge, there are these sudden take offs, these transformations which fail to correspond to the calm, continuist image that is normally accredited” (Foucault 1980:112). Such sudden take offs and transformation happens in institutions, hence the professions can actually become instruments of governmentality to actualise the transformation that transcend the calm image that institutions are noted for. Within the regularisation of the MKUKUTA by the state, public universities may experience certain transformation as a result of engaging with the policy document. Such transformation may be beyond the normalised image and concept of what public universities are known for. Such transformation whether within expected outcomes or beyond may involve and affect every aspect of university life. Public universities as institutions are organised around human managers, leaders and professionals. In this regard, the practice of governmentality can therefore be seen to include several parties, institutions as well as their professionals. In seeking to understand the nature of these practices, the concept of governmentality may enable one to bring in different parties with different stances and ideas that may work together, even in complex situations (Foucault 2000). Governmentality therefore has to contend with these issues and this makes it quite complex to practice and to implement governmental rationalities.

From the above, it is clear that Foucault's concept of governmentality is about an observable shift from the understanding of ruling on the one hand to that of governing on the other hand. Such a shift could imply that the idea of governing may involve the steering of governmental agencies and institutions or the exercise of control over such agencies, professions and institutions of the state (Foucault 1979).

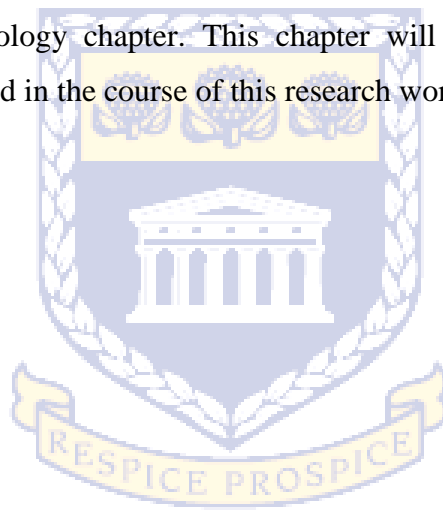
By way of concluding this section on the theoretical lens, the concept of governmentality may therefore be understood as ensuring a shift from supreme rulers, who may exhibit supreme or autocratic power over life and death (Foucault 1979), to power that originates from multiple sources. It can also be viewed as an art of governing that involves the idea of power not residing in a single source but rather in a population, hence the notion that "power is everywhere" (Foucault 1990:93).

In this research therefore, public universities are autonomous institutions and the Tanzanian government is interested in engaging them to ensure the implementation of the reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy document. With the understanding of power as operating across different spaces in society, including in micro situations and the assumption that "power is everywhere" (Foucault 1990:93), the state can therefore ensure the exercise of power across different places, and in diverse areas and spheres of governance. With such understanding of power as operating and residing in micro situations, public universities are visualised as micro systems and situations where power can be exercised through state agencies and supervising ministries to ensure that they engage with the MKUKUTA objectives for higher education reform and for poverty reduction across the state and society.

This section has identified how Foucault's concepts have been used as a conceptual lens in understanding the developed economies of Western Europe. It has highlighted the understanding of governmentality in higher education and its application. Emphasis is placed on power and its diverse subthemes as aspects of governmentality. The study will therefore seek to locate the empirical data generated from this research within the broad concepts of these highlighted Foucauldian terms. The analytical commentary chapter will apply these Foucauldian concepts to the empirical data from this research.

2.19 Conclusion

The chapter is a literature review chapter and has elaborated on the social functions of universities. The literature captures the debate around accountability and autonomy in the higher education field while also focusing on the core functions of universities. The chapter delves into the debate on accountability and autonomy drawing inferences from Africa and Tanzania. The debate on the tension at universities is discussed with particular reference to universities and social change. Also, the section ends with the debate around governance within the specific discourses on access, quality and quality assurance globally and policy implementation. Lastly, the section ends with the discussion on the sensitizing lens for this study which is Foucault's concept of governmentality and its subtheme of power. The next chapter will be the methodology chapter. This chapter will detail the methods and the methodology that was engaged in the course of this research work.



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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3 Introduction

There are various ways and approaches drawn on by scholars, to conduct research. There is a dense literature on this topic, including that conducting research be effected from a quantitative as well as quantitative level. Each of these has their specific languages, terminology and concepts. Given this backdrop, this chapter outlines the methods, approaches, techniques and procedures that have been utilised in this study.

It begins with an outline of the various methodological schools of thought that can be utilised in conducting different research. Cognizant of the variety of approaches, this section briefly summarises three of the main schools of thought, in order to show which approach has been adopted in this study. It describes the procedures for conducting this research about the responsiveness of public universities in engaging with the higher education reform initiative of access and quality in Tanzania. Furthermore, the chapter elucidates the techniques that have been used in carrying out the research. My research has been conducted as a qualitative approach with an interpretive paradigm. There are three identified schools of thought and these will be briefly outlined.

3.1 Schools of thought in methodology

Different schools of thoughts have been signaled in research methodologies, each of which is underpinned by different worldviews or paradigms. The broad traditions or paradigms will be discussed below.

3.1.1 Positivism

A positivistic framework is about the “nature of reality and the notion that reality consists of micro level (atomistic) and independent events” (Hume 1993; quoted in Kaboub 2008:343). The positivist framework is premised on a scientific method and approaches reality as one that is real, fix and ‘out there’. Within that view “reality is real, is generally apprehendable or understood as fixed” within an independent existence that can be studied through applying

scientific laws and systems (Guba & Lincoln 1994: 108 - 109). Within positivistic framework “the investigator and the researcher are assumed to be independent entities” (Guba & Lincoln 1994). This implies that the investigator can investigate or research the object of investigation without influencing it. Hence “real events can be observed empirically and explained with logical analysis” (Kaboub 2008:343) without any bias, values or interference from the researcher.

The positivist research paradigm relates more to research issues around “scientific methods, statistical analysis and generalizable findings using a control group, pre test and post test methods” (Mack 2010:7). The positivist perspective is based on the researcher as an “observer of an objective reality” (Mack 2010:7). The argument is that a researcher working within a positivist framework does not influence the object of the research but carries out the research independently without bias and without influencing the research or impacting value on the research (Guba & Lincoln 1994). Within the positivist perspective, research instruments are verified and the “knowledge that develops from such lens is on careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that is existing in the world” (Creswell 2014:7). This will now be outlined.

The positivist and post-positive frameworks have been critiqued for applying scientific research methods to social science research or research on human beings. This is because the methods used in natural sciences research may not augur well in learning solutions where meaning is construed (Mack 2010). In carrying out research that is underpinned by the positivist paradigm, the validity and reliability of the research is among the set of criteria used in ascertaining the research findings (Guba & Lincoln 1994).

The concept of validity is defined as determining whether the findings are accurate from the “standpoint of the researcher, the participant and the reader of the account (Creswell & Miller 2000; Creswell 2014:201). Validity as an idea in research can be said to be an important signal of qualitative research that ensures that the researcher “checks for accuracy of the findings of the research through the use of certain procedures” (Creswell 2014:2001). Validity is explained within the framework that a research item is able to accurately measure what it is intended to measure (Bell 2014; see also Bell 1987).

The concept of reliability refers to the researcher's approach that is considered consistent across different researchers and diverse projects (Gibbs 2007). Reliability is defined as the "extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study" (Joppe 2000: 1). Further elements of the concept of reliability focus on whether the "result of an inquiry can be reproduced under a similar methodology then the research instrument is considered to be reliable" (Joppe 2000: 1). It could also relate to instruments in a research study being able to produce consistent results in a differing set of conditions (Mouton & Marais 1990).

Some of the critiques of positivism are regarding its application originally to the natural sciences and subsequently being adjusted to social science research (Popper 2005). The implication is that some researchers may be wary of accepting results and research from social science that applied the positivism framework (Mack 2010). A further critique relates to the doubt and disagreement on the notion that "positivist science provides ideal knowledge" (Cohen, Marion & Morrison 2007:11). The next school of thought, namely, critical theory, will be outlined.

3.1.2 Critical theory

Critical theory is underpinned by the principle that focuses on "the emancipation of individuals and groups in order to build an egalitarian society" (Cohen et al. 2007:26). In critical theory, research is construed to ensure that the "understanding and aims give account of the diverse behaviour in societies and to also ensure that there are observable changes" (Mack 2010:9). The critical theoretical framework is shaped by the arguments that the historical structures that may not be natural, about the presence or absence of change and about the possibility of overhauling a social system (Guba & Lincoln 1994). From a critical theory vantage point, this enables one to engage with research in a manner that seeks for societal transformation or that the research becomes a catalyst to change a social system. The researcher is therefore implicated in the research.

On the basis of the above, the critical theory approach is based on the assumption that there is an interactive link between the research and the researcher, in other words that the researcher is not separated from that which is being studied. From this angle, "the ideas, beliefs, values and indications of the researcher could influence and affect the research" (Guba & Lincoln

1994:109). In essence, critical theorists may not hold an unbiased, neutral position from their inquiry and their findings (Guba & Lincoln 1994) hence the possibility of an established relationship between the research and the researcher. With such a relationship the tendencies of dialogue and interaction are enhanced to enable the transformation of any existing misunderstanding or ignorance (Guba & Lincoln 1994).

The perspective of critical theory offers a picture therefore that highlights practical knowledge, around differing perspectives that may be moral, or political, and around different social contexts and social orders (Johnson & Duberley 2000). The transformation of existing misunderstanding and ignorance about reality may create awareness of the reality; and bring about change and informed insight (Guba & Lincoln 1994). The creation of awareness and the possibility of transformation are critical signals in appreciating the quality of an inquiry (Fay 1993). In critical theory therefore the possibility of eroding ignorance may result in the researcher's voice being enhanced (Giroux 1992). The voice here is that of a transformative individual with a consciousness that positions him or her to exploit the research area, confront ignorance, existing misunderstanding and misapprehensions of the social structure (Giroux 1992). Such a voice may therefore enhance the quality of the research. However, there seems to be a dissenting voice that argues that "when it comes to research quality, it is not always the case that anyone's opinion about quality is just as good as the next person's, because some people have no training or expertise or even interest in research" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2005:16). Such an assumption may prompt the need to evaluate the use of a research framework through means other than an internal evaluation or an "orientation that does not prize logical consistency" (Alexander 2006:208) in ascertaining the value of the research and or the quality of the result.

3.1.3 Constructivism

The framework of constructivism understands knowledge from the vantage point that "constructs something within a social context in a collaborative way" (Gaytan 2013:1). The constructivist framework is embedded in the knowledge theories of psychology, cybernetics and philosophy (Mir & Watson 2000; see also Von Glaserfeld 1995).

One principle of a constructivist framework focuses on the view of knowledge as theory driven (Fosnot 1996). From the perspective of researchers as actors and realists, the constructivist theorists view the process of investigation as being conducted by a researcher who is analogous with that of a sculptor (Fosnot 1996). In this respect, the researcher is viewed as having an imagination that is theory driven just like the artist. There is the engagement with the imagination to create a new model termed knowledge in the same way that a sculptor produces a new work of art or replicates an existing one which however will be new to his range of work (Mir & Watson 2000).

A second principle of constructivism is that it does not make a distinction between the researcher and those being researched. In other words, there is no detachment between the researcher or the subject of the phenomenon that is being researched. The implication is that the theoretical position of the researcher or the researchers' philosophical position may determine the results of his inquiry (Gergen 1995). This principle is based on the assumption that truth or the reality of any phenomena or the findings of any inquiry may only be socially construed (Mir & Watson 2000; see also Canella & Paetzold 1994).

The third principle is that there is not a clearly defined separation between theory and practice as there is no agreement on the possibility of theory driving practice or the reverse (Mir & Watson 2000). Constructivists highlight an interactive link between theory and the argument is that theory exists in the environment of both pre- and post- practice.

The approach of constructivism is about reconstructing the reality of people and extends to the construction and interpretation of both the researcher and the respondents to discover meaning and information. Constructivists are more inclined to the "pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended and contextualised perspectives toward reality" (Creswell & Miller 2000:125). In ensuring validity, the constructivist has a set of labels with relation to trustworthiness (Creswell & Miller 2000). Therefore in discovering meaning, information and findings from research, there may be the need to assess the findings to ensure they relate to the inquiry.

To the constructivists, the existence of rules and principles are not independent but are theories in the world of knowledge and research (Mir & Watson 2000). In essence, theory may be the driving force behind the diverse aspects of empirical research or inquiry and the

understanding of “observation, the chosen research designs and experiments, the identified measurement techniques that are legitimate” (Mir & Watson 2000:942) and the selected problems that are to be researched. This could imply that the constructivist theorists view research as theory dependent. Within such assumption of a theory dependent research, there is a view that theoretical leanings of the inquirer or researcher may dictate and determine their position, their constructions and understanding of the research problem (Mir & Watson 2000). Similar to the above is the assumption that constructivists through their theoretical leanings, “determine their choice of procedures for the research, what is to be observed, how it is observed and what evidence, that may yield” (Boyd 1991: 202). Such assumption of research being theory dependent contests the notion of an inquiry that is impartial, detached, and carried out in value-free subjects, that are interested in discerning phenomena and objects that are clear, to not only the researcher but to the population (Boyd 1991).

The constructivists approach is based on certain criteria for assessing or judging qualitative research or inquiry. Among these criteria is trustworthiness in qualitative research. The constructivist approaches “credibility and transferability” as benchmarks that frame trustworthiness in qualitative research (Morrow 2005:251). Within the constructivist framework however, “credibility in qualitative research is said to correspond to internal validity in quantitative approaches, transferability corresponds to external validity or generalizability, dependability to reliability, and confirmability to objectivity” (Morrow 2005:251 -252; see also Creswell & Miller 2000).

The concept of credibility in research is viewed by Lincoln and Guba (2000) as internal validity and is understood within its relationship to internal consistency. Credibility is associated with the notion of “how we ensure rigor in the research process and how we communicate to others that we have done so” (Gasson 2004: 95). Within such framework, the concept of rigor in research may mean a prolonged period of research, engagement with the research participants, prolonged observation at the research sites, utilization of research assistants, reflexivity, analysing the cases and participant crosscheck of data generated (Gasson 2004). Credibility is critical in constructivist research to ensure trustworthiness and tends to signal the need for thick description (Creswell and Miller 2000).

Within the constructivist approach when referring to understanding and meaning making, they draw on the concept and practice of thick description. This is understood as “deep, dense, detailed accounts” of the reality, the research and its findings and thin description is the very opposite (Denzin 1989:83; see also Creswell and Miller 2000). Thick description also relates to the extent that the researcher or investigator is able to give a richly, detailed description of the respondent’s experiences of the topic or the phenomena under study and the natural setting, culture or context of the phenomena. Thick description enables the reader to have a “feeling or the experience of the phenomena” (Creswell and Miller 2000:128) and helps the reader to engage with the narrative. In that way, credibility when established in reality, allows the reader to feel they have experienced the phenomena or situation.

Transferability relates to the question of “how far a researcher may make claims for a general application of their [sic] theory” (Gasson 2004: 98). Transferability is the ability of the reader to engage with the findings of the research and to be able to generalize the findings to a natural setting or culture, hence, the researcher is expected to provide all available information on herself/himself and the research process (Morrow 2005). This is important to enable the reader to have adequate information about whether to transfer the findings from the investigation or not.

The concept of dependability within constructivists’ approach is a parallel criterion to reliability. Reliability means that “the way in which a study is conducted should be consistent across time, researchers, and analysis techniques” (Gasson 2004: 94; see also, Gibbs 2007 and Creswell 2014). To be able to ensure the reliability of the findings in an investigation entails continuously repeating the process of the research that led to the findings. Such repetition may mean critically tracking the research design, the research activities, emerging themes, data collection processes and its analysis as well as any correlating information from research assistants that contributes to the findings of the research (Morrow 2005).

The concept of confirmability in qualitative research is a ‘parallel notion of objectivity’. Confirmability may mean that “findings should represent, as far as is (humanly) possible, the situation being researched rather than the beliefs, pet theories, or biases of the researcher” (Gasson 2004:93). The implication is that the data is an integral part of the findings and is a signal to the quality of the findings. Morrow (2005) argues that in ensuring confirmability,

the integrity of the investigators findings is underpinned by the data. This implies that the data is significant, must be preserved and that the analysis and findings from the data are to confirm to the audience, the adequacy and authenticity of the research findings (Morrow 2005).

3.1.3.1 Variations of constructivism

In the debate on constructivist approaches in research, differing variations have been listed. There are four variations to the constructivist approach namely, radical constructivism, social constructivism, feminist standpoint epistemologies and educational connoisseurship (Guba & Lincoln 2000). Given that this study draws on the variations of social constructivism, this will be outlined.

The concept of social constructivism is understood within the framework of meaning that is “negotiated socially and historically” (Creswell 2003:8). This implies that meanings are socially construed in an environment of interaction with other persons or people and not just for individuals. Social constructivism is also about the social construction of meaning and knowledge by ensuring the population understands the rhetorical aspects of construction in a credible and legitimate reality (Parton 2003). Within such understanding of meaning and knowledge, “social constructions imparts on people both practically and politically” and as such yield an interactive interaction (Parton 2003:6). Relating social constructivism within the dimension of theory of knowledge views theoretical bodies that builds up disciplines as “human constructs” (Philips 2000:6). The “form that knowledge has taken in these theoretical fields has been determined by such things as politics, ideologies, values, the exertion of power and the preservation of status, religious beliefs and economic self interest” (Philips 2000:6).

3.1.4 Identified Epistemological Underpinning for this Study

The sections above have elaborated on the different philosophical assumptions or frameworks that can be engaged in any study namely the positivist approach, the critical theory and the constructivist worldview. This research will however employ the constructivist framework in understanding the extent of engagement of public universities in Tanzania with the access

and quality mandates of the higher education reform initiative of the MKUKUTA policy document.

Social constructivism as indicated earlier in this section engages with the construction of realities, and in this instance, engages with the political realities of a reform initiative in a policy document. This research will engage with the views and understanding of those that are living out the experience of the reality of the reform initiative at public universities. Such engagement will therefore examine and interpret the specific reality of how the respondents have engaged with the reform in the policy document. The notion of this investigation as the engagement of a setting or a “world through activity” within the context of lived reality is one of the bases for this research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:3). Such an inquiry in a world through activity implies an observation and interpretation of the practices and processes of engagement with the reform as the reality for the essence of transforming the world. Such transformation is what is expected as public universities engage with the reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. The above discussion on the different epistemological approaches that can be engaged in carrying out a qualitative research and the diverse perspectives of the procedures and their assumptions are summarised in the table below.

Table 3.1: *Validity procedures using qualitative assumptions and the diverse Epistemological frameworks*

Epistemological Framework	Positivist	Constructivist	Critical Theory
Researcher Perspective	Triangulation	Confirming and Disconfirming evidence	Investigation reflexivity
Respondent Perspective	Cross checking by research respondents	Prolonged intervention at research site	Collaboration with diverse settings/culture
External Audience perspective in the research (Reviews and readers)	The Audit Trail	Thick and very rich description	Peer contribution and debriefing

Table 3.1 above indicates the three epistemological approaches and how they are perceived by the researcher, the respondents and the external audience. The particular character and criteria of each of the frameworks are outlined.

3.1.5 Understanding the higher education reform from a qualitative approach

The research premise for this study is oriented around an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of higher education reform in Tanzania, with a specific focus on that of the MKUKUTA initiative. In terms of investigating the elements of the initiative, that is, in seeking to understand and inquire into the phenomenon, it will draw on a qualitative approach (Henning, van Rensburg and Smit 2004). There are certain identified characteristics of qualitative research that mark it out from the other types of research such as quantitative or the mixed methods research. Some of these characteristics (of qualitative and quantitative research methods) will be outlined briefly in order to provide the methodological basis for how this research was conducted.

At its simplest level, qualitative research methods refers to non numerical data that is presented in words, whereas by contrast, quantitative data is presented numerically. However, it is worthwhile to note that there are deeper distinctions or differences in the two approaches that go beyond numerical procedures (Creswell, 2014). In this respect, the debate is also about different approaches to how knowledge is produced, and the relationship between the knower (the researcher) and what is being researched. This was outlined at the start of the chapter. At this point, it is important to note that when approaching the data collection and interpretation, an experimental or positivistic approach that argues that the findings are made on the basis of observed regularities that are generalizable across settings (Creswell, 2014). On one hand, there is the interpretative /naturalistic framework that includes perspectives such as symbolic interactionism where meaning is socially produced (Creswell, 2014).

In this research study, I have sought to make sense of the MKUKUTA phenomena in terms of the meanings that the different individuals bring to them. Towards this end, this study involves the use of a variety of materials and techniques that include those of case study, personal experience, interviews and the analysis of historical texts. Data collection as an aspect of the research design is developed later on the chapter.

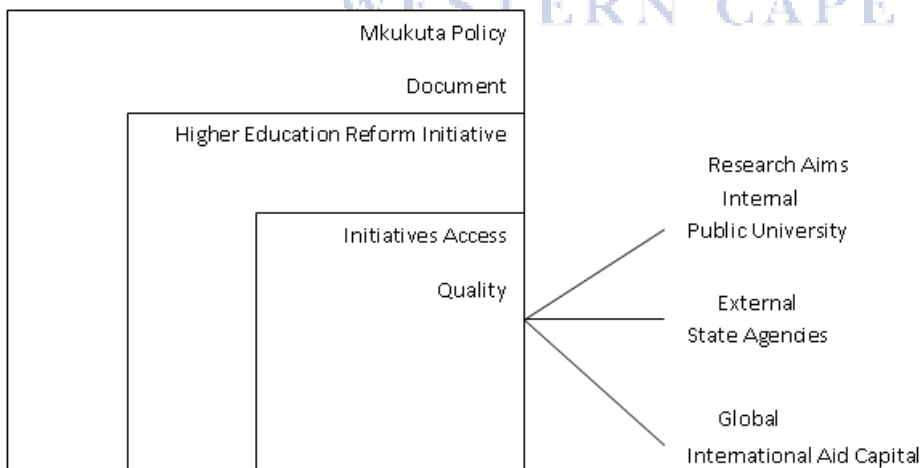
3.2 The Research Design

The main aim of this qualitative study is an understanding of the extent of engagement with the access and quality initiatives of the higher education reform in the MKUKUTA policy

document by public universities in Tanzania. The public universities in their relationship with the state and society are expected to engage in these initiatives. The higher education reform in the MKUKUTA policy is a policy document that lists mandates for the higher education system in Tanzania. There is the argument that qualitative research design with an interpretive paradigm contributes to the researcher’s appreciation and his efforts to “document the actor’s point of view and translate it into a form that is intelligible to readers” (Neuman, 2006:72). Locating this research within the qualitative design is important in order to ascertain the extent of engagement of public universities with the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy. Within this research, what is being investigated is how the public universities in Tanzania have engaged with higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper with particular attention to the access and quality initiatives.

More detailed information about the research design is captured in Figure 3.1 below. The diagram below highlights the relationship between this research and the actualisation of the research aim. The bigger framework is the policy document, the MKUKUTA, and it contains the reform initiative for higher education institutions. The identified initiatives that the research is engaged with are the access and quality initiative. The research aims are therefore viewed within the engagement of the reform initiatives, internally at the institutional level, namely the public universities, externally at the state level, namely: state agencies and globally at the international level, which is the international aid.

Figure 3.1: The diagrammatical impression of the research design



3.2.1 The research strategy: case study

This study is interested in the extent of engagement and understanding of the access and quality reform initiatives of the MKUKUTA policy document by public universities in Tanzania. There is the selection of the case study for the chosen strategy and the sites of the three public universities in Tanzania are suited to the research project. The data collected in this study is related to by the engagement of the case study design. Case study as a design or an inquiry is engaged in by many fields of study and research. The case study is utilized when the investigator or inquirer “develops an in depth analysis of a case or cases” and the cases could be an event, a process, a situation, an institution or institutions or an individual (Creswell, 2014:14). In qualitative research, cases are bounded within a specified time, specific activity or activities and the investigator carries out data collection procedures during the specified time schedule (Yin, 2009; 2012).

Stake, (2005 and 1995) identifies the three types of case studies as intrinsic, instrumental and collective. An intrinsic case study is understood as a study that a researcher engages in as a result of a genuine interest to better understand a case (Baxter & Jack 2008). An instrumental case study is used to understand a particular situation and gain insight into an inquiry or a theory. In this understanding, the case is understood to appreciate an external interest (Stake 2005; 1995). A collective case study is viewed as similar to the multiple case study and is used in an environment of engaging more than one case study to appreciate an understanding of issues around them (Yin 2003). My study engages three public universities in Tanzania to ascertain their extent of engagement with the access and quality initiative of the reform initiative in the policy paper. Choosing a case is premised on the view that it is an “opportunity to learn” and from which the investigator will be given the opportunity to learn the most from the case (Stake 2000:451). In the understanding of selecting a case or choosing a suitable case (Yin 2009), this study engages the practices in terms of how the access and quality initiative unfolds at three public universities in Tanzania.

3.2.2 Criteria for selecting the three public universities

In the contextual chapter on Tanzania and Africa, the historical evolution of higher education in both Africa and Tanzania has been outlined. As elaborated in Chapter 2.6, Tanzania has a total of fifty one degree awarding, public and private universities including numerous colleges, university centres and institutions that are engaged in higher education provision

(TCU 2012). These fifty one universities vary in range and mission. Of these fifty one universities, eight are public universities, nine are private universities. In addition, there are eighteen university colleges and centres, and sixteen non-university but degree awarding institutions (TCU 2012). Of all these (fifty one) universities, this study focuses on the following, using specific criteria.

The foremost is the University of Dar es Salaam. This is the first public university that was established in Tanzania in the post-independence era. The University of Dar es Salaam, a public university located in the capital city of Dar es Salaam, was chosen as the foremost university in Tanzania. The second university chosen for this study is the Sokoine University of Agriculture, a public university which is also the only major agricultural based university in Tanzania. It is an offshoot of the University of Dar es Salaam, its parent university. The third university, a public university, chosen for this study is the only Administrative and Management based university in Tanzania, the Mzumbe University.

In choosing the sites for this study, the purposeful selection technique was employed. Purposeful selection criteria entails the use of a technique that “leads to selecting information rich cases, those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research” (Patton 2002:46). The three universities were chosen for this study as the oldest public universities and universities that have a history that is linked to the growth of Tanzania as a young African independent nation. In other words, as the Tanzanian nation experienced social and economic growth, these universities were fully operational and actively involved in their core functions and also in ensuring development in the nation.

Another reason for the selection of these universities is the suggestion from the Tanzanian research supporting team that their members of staff were independently engaged by the MKUKUTA secretariat to deliver lectures at rural level during the MKUKUTA era. The piloting of this research was also carried at universities in Tanzania and the results from the pilot tests showed that the senior executive leadership of the three public universities also engaged with the MKUKUTA initiatives at various stages.

3.3 Research Technique

The technique that is used in this study includes interviews and documents. The following section will outline the debates around interviews, selection of respondents for the interview, piloting the interview questions and conducting the interviews.

3.3.1 Data Collection Procedure

In qualitative research, there are many ways of engaging in data collection. Some of the most commonly used are observation, interviews, documents and audio visual materials. This research draws on techniques such as interviews, documents, internet generated articles, and policy materials among others as the sources of primary and secondary data.

3.3.2 Interviews

Using interviews as a form of data collection implies an interaction between the inquirer and the respondent to elicit information. It implies that human beings as respondents are viewed as a source of data. Within such understanding, data is no longer “external to individuals but instead knowledge is regarded as being generated from humans through conversation” (Kvale 1996:11). Interview is about “interaction of human beings on a chosen topic for knowledge production that emphasizes the social situatedness of research data” (Kvale 1996:14). The implication is that interviews are seen as an exchange of views between human beings on the impression of the world they live in, that is captured in their own words and around their natural setting or culture.

In carrying out an interview, there are some features of an interview that may be viewed as complicated or problematic. Cohen, Marion and Morrison (2000) identify these features as differing factors between persons that are inevitable in interviews. Such differing features include “mutual trust, social distance and the control that the interviewer has over the whole interaction” (Cohen, Marion and Morrison 2000:267). The second feature is the “uneasiness of the respondent which could result in avoidance tactics, especially in questions the respondent consider deep” (Cohen, Marion and Morrison 2000:267). The uneasiness factor may be perceived where the respondent considers the probe intricate or political and views disclosing such delicate information to a stranger or outsider as unsafe as the case may be. The third feature that could indicate complications during the interview is where “both interviewer and respondent are bound to hold back part of what it is in their power to state”

(Cohen, Marion and Morrison 2000:268). The last feature is when “the meaning of things is opaque to one of the parties, even in an environment of genuine communication” (Cohen, Marion and Morrison 2000:268).

3.3.2.1 The reasons for selecting interviews as a technique

There are several reasons for choosing interviews as a technique for gleaning data in qualitative research. At a baseline, it is about the probing and /or an assessment of a phenomenon that otherwise would not be accessible via a document. There are several other reasons of which includes “providing a type of mechanism and effecting therapeutic change” (Cohen, Marion and Morrison 2000:268). Using this technique of gleaning and gathering data through interviews, the researcher elicits information and the respondent supplies information. These exchanges only happen between human beings and within an environment of an interaction.

3.3.2.2 Types of interviews

Most scholars identify the different types of interviews as standardized, in-depth; ethnographic, elite, life history and focus groups (LeCompte & Preissle 1993). Each of these serves a specific function in terms of the gleaning of data. Bogman & Biklen (1992) identify semi structured and group interviews; Lincoln & Guba (1985) list structured; and semi structured interviews. However, Creswell (2014) identifies interview types as “face- to- face, telephonic, focus- group and e-mail interviews” (Creswell 2014: 191). The structured interview is used mostly to elicit a deeper interview where the researcher is aware of his or her limited knowledge and information (Cohen et al. 2000). The structured interview is used by the researcher in “framing the question to supply the needed knowledge” (Lincoln & Guba 1985:269). Semi structured interviews are used where the “inquirer is not aware of what he or she does not know” and wants to elicit such information from the respondent (Lincoln & Guba 1985:269). The focus group is utilized “in interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group” (Creswell 2014:190). With a focus group, the interview is “unstructured and a few open-ended questions are asked that are used to elicit information, views and opinions of the participants” (Creswell 2014:190). A critical element in these different types of

interviews is that “attention is given to the voice and feelings of the respondent” and captured with minimum influence from the researcher (Fontana & Frey 1994:365).

3.3.2.3 Approaches to interviews

There are various approaches to the ways in which interviews could be conducted. These range from an unstructured, semi and to fully structured interviews. The unstructured interview is an open-ended interview while taking interview notes or using a voice tracer to audiotape the interview and transcribe it (Creswell 2014). Another approach is to conduct a semi-structured, open-ended interview while taking interview notes or using an audiotape to capture the interview and later transcribe it (Creswell 2014). Another approach is to “conduct a focus interview, take interview notes or audiotape the interview and then later transcribe it” (Creswell 2014:193). Another way is to conduct different types of interviews through using an e-mail or internet, face to face interview, focus group discussions, on-line focus group and telephonic interviews (Creswell 2014). This research on the responsiveness of public universities in Tanzania on the quality and access initiative of the MKUKUTA policy paper utilized structured interviews.

3.3.2.4 Designing the interview questions

As outlined above, the technique of data collection for this research is structured interviews that were designed beforehand and pilot tested to elicit critical information. The researcher also made provision for variation in the questions for the five identified categories in this study namely: the Public Universities, the Ministry Of Education and Vocational Training, the Tanzania Commission for Universities, the MKUKUTA Secretariat and the International Aid Donor Agency. The criteria for selecting these categories are highlighted later and copies of these interview guides and schedules are attached as Appendix A.

In this study, the interview questions were structured drawing on a sensitizing framework that informed this study. The interview questions were structured around the key initiatives of access and quality engagement of public universities and how the different categories view public universities’ engagement with and responsiveness to these initiatives. The research questions are outlined in chapter one under the section titled questions that informed this study.

3.3.2.5 Criteria for selecting respondents

Considering the study aims, the three public universities were chosen as the institutional sites and the case study for the research on public universities responsiveness to the access and quality initiatives in the reform. The sites were selected to seek to understand the way that these universities respond to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper. The executive leadership and the deanery of the three public universities were approached to understand the extent of their responsiveness to the two chosen initiatives of the higher education reform in the MKUKUTA. With the epistemological strategy of this research being the social constructivism perspective, there is the construction of meaning with regards to the access and quality initiatives of the reform. This research therefore investigates the meaning and extent of responsiveness of public universities with the reform initiative. Being an institutional study there are many actors and there has to be a selection of some actors as interpreters of the study.

One of the criteria for selection of the respondents was the investigator's knowledge of the roles of these interpreters with regards to the MKUKUTA and the reform initiatives. Furthermore, some of the respondents were also identified by significant institutional members who were research coordinators from the Tanzanian nation and also from personal interaction with institutions while carrying out this research. Having lived in the Tanzanian nation, I had developed a scholarship relationship with some of the actors at the public universities and beyond through formal and informal interaction within the international community in Tanzania. With such knowledge and information, the researcher therefore selected those actors who are perceived to be better placed to respond to the probes and this is viewed as judgement sampling or purposive sampling. The judgement sampling or purposive sampling is "the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses" (Tongco 2007:147) and for the position or the information that the informant is known to possess. The selected respondents were not representative but instead are the informants which the researcher viewed that could contribute to the extent of responsiveness on the access and quality mandate of public universities. This study is based on a total of 40 respondents distributed among the five categories. The following sets out the number of respondents in each category.

The first category interviewed were the respondents from the public universities comprising of six senior management staff from University of Dar es Salaam, seven senior management staff from the Sokoine University of Agriculture and six senior management staff from Mzumbe University. These were nineteen in number. Among those interviewed at the public universities includes the following, the vice chancellor, the deputy vice chancellors and deans of faculties. These respondents were interviewed as they were identified for being aware of the institutional engagement with the identified initiatives of access and quality. These respondents are also involved in the day to day management of the institutions as they hold leadership positions and work with the national government and the supervising ministry with regard to higher education planning and funding. The table in Appendix B1 shows the respondents from this category.

A second set is the state agency and the supervising ministry for higher education in Tanzania which is the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The criterion for selecting the Ministry of Education and Vocational training is that they are the supervising ministry and state agency responsible for higher education policy, monitoring, evaluation and supervision. Eight respondents from the core supervising Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) including Directors of higher education, policy and planning unit and the directorate of higher education unit were identified and interviewed. These respondents were interviewed as they were involved with the formulation of higher education policies, reforms among others and the directorate of higher education is the national government's oversight department for universities in the supervising ministry. The table in Appendix B2 shows the respondents from this category.

A third category is another state agency which is the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) including the Deputy Executive Secretary of the agency, Director of quality unit and two members of staff. The criteria for the selection of the Tanzania Commission of Universities is that it is a buffer body for higher education in Tanzania that is in charge of quality assurance, registration of new universities and the approval of new programmes and courses at established universities. There were four respondents from this agency. The table in Appendix B3 shows the respondents from this category.

A fourth category is also a state agency, the MKUKUTA secretariat. The criterion for selection of the policy secretariat is that it is the custodian of the MKUKUTA policy with oversight function. The MKUKUTA Secretariat identified four management staff and personnel including the executive secretary and the deputy executive secretary. The table in Appendix B4 shows the respondents from this category.

Lastly, I was able to interview five staff from the International Aid Donor Agency, the World Bank that is heavily involved with the reform initiative and are funding part of the Higher Education Development Programme (HEDP), an operationalising document for public universities with regards to the MKUKUTA implementation. These interviews formed the main source of data collection for this study in addition to policy documents, artefacts and research diary and observation. Most of the respondents interviewed for the data collection had experience in more than one of the categories mentioned above and therefore held multiple perspectives on the issues with relation to the reform initiative. This became an added advantage in the data collection as it was quite easy to cross check information with the other categories. The list of interviewees for this category is indicated as Appendix B5 and an exemplar transcript is also attached as Appendix C.

Table 3.2: *Research Sites, Number of Respondents and institutional position*

Research sites	Respondents	Institutional position
University of Dar es Salaam	6	Executive leadership & deanery
Sokoine University of Agriculture	7	Executive leadership & deanery
Mzumbe university	6	Executive leadership & deanery
Ministry of Education and Vocational Training	8	State Ministry & directorate of higher education
Tanzanian Universities Commission	4	State accreditation body
The MKUKUTA Secretariat	4	State policy secretariat
World Bank	5	International aid partners
Total number of respondents	40	

3.3.2.6 Piloting and planning the interviews

The interview questions were initially piloted after their design. The piloting of the questions involved travelling to Tanzania and included engaging with the University of Dar es Salaam

staff. The pilot engaged the Dean of Faculty of Education and Director of the University Dar es Salaam Entrepreneurship Center (UDEC) and a former head of the centre. Those included in the pilot were the head of supervision at the Tanzania Universities Commission, and a few staff members from the ministry of Education and Vocational training were piloted as well. The respondents that participated in the pilot study are not included in the identified respondents for this study.

3.3.2.7 The interview process

This researcher engaged the respondents with an already prepared, approved and structured set of interview questions. There is the consideration of the voice, feelings and consent of the interviewees and also the researcher – respondent interaction (Fontana and Frey 1994). In the course of the interview, the researcher and the respondents were made aware that the data being generated was an interpretation of the extent to which the institutions have engaged with the reform mentioned in the policy document. The interaction between the respondent and the researcher signaled that the respondents were able to interpret the universities' responsiveness during the period of the MKUKUTA. By the time the interviews were holding, the reform initiative of the MKUKUTA 1 had been concluded and a succeeding policy known as the MKUKUTA 11 was being established. This however posed some constraint as the respondents seemed to point out that the MKUKUTA was just starting and had to be corrected by this researcher that the MKUKUTA 1 that had just been completed was the subject of the study.

Another constraint that was observed during the interview process was the issue of the insider – outsider position of this researcher. Being a non-national resident in Tanzania, there was the bias of how much of the official happenings around a national priority policy was too much for a stranger to know. This however, relates to issues of minding “the space between the researcher and the respondent” (Dwyer & Buckle 2009:54). This relates to issues around the researcher “knowing the ways to understand people, cultures and practices so different [*from the researcher*] and at the same time so similar to who we are” (Kanuha 2000:445-446). This is important considering that my nation of origin, Nigeria also had initiated the NEEDS Assessment strategy that is an offshoot of the poverty reduction strategy paper for impoverished African nations. The bias of how much information to give to this researcher

who was an outsider was however implied and the Tanzanian research coordinators also pointed it out.

3.3.3 Documents

Since documents were also drawn upon in this study, I now outline the importance thereof. Documents are viewed as one of the data collection procedures in qualitative research. In carrying out qualitative research, the researcher may have access to “qualitative documents like public or private documents” (Creswell 2014:190). The private documents may include emails, personal letters, personal journals and personal diaries. The public documents may include newspapers, official reports, and policy documents among others (Creswell 2014).

With regard to using documents as a data collection strategy, the documents are interpreted taking into considerations, their condition and context of reading and production (Hodder 1994). There is the issue of ascertaining the use of the documents and acknowledging them as being a source of secondary or primary data, edited or not edited, authorship and publication information.

This research gleaned information from secondary documents. The secondary documents include policy documents, books, journal articles, strategic planning documents and websites of institutions that are the case studies. The policy papers include the MKUKUTA policy document (URT 2005) in both soft and hard copies; the Higher Education Development Programme (MOEVT 2010); strategic plan documents of the three public universities and other the MKUKUTA policy related documents. Further documents utilized for this research include books and articles on higher education globally, in Africa and Tanzania, higher education policy texts and articles on policy and the sensitizing lens for this study, namely the concept of governmentality (Foucault, 1979).

The data generated from the interviews were transcribed and interpreted by the researcher. The transcribing of the data was part of the initial process of data analysis for this study. Care and attention were given to the transcription of the interview data to ensure all spoken words were captured for accuracy. After transcription, the scripts were coded both manually and using *atlas ti program*, “a qualitative software programme used to manage, sort and code themes” (Creswell 2014:195; see also Guest and MacQueen and Namey 2012) to ensure

triangulation. Coding was done on the basis of questions and at the level of categories. The process of coding produced diverse patterns that the researcher identified. After coding using the two processes as a form of triangulation, the next process was interpretation and analysis of the data.

3.3.4 A summary of the data collection process

Table 3.3: *Data Collection Process*

Research Focus	Period	Technique	Scientific Source
Internal (Public Universities)	2011 - 2012	Structured Interviews	Executive Leadership and Deanery
External – State Agencies in Higher Education	2011 - 2012	Structured Interviews Documents	Policy Unit and Directorate of Higher Education. Executive Leadership and staff of Tanzania Commission for universities; Executive Leadership and staff of Policy Secretariat (the MKUKUTA). the MKUKUTA Policy Document and its related publications; Strategic plan document of public universities; Higher Education Development Program Publications; Numerous books and articles on higher education, Foucault’s governmentality; responsiveness among others.
Global - World Bank	2011 - 2012	Structured interviews	Education sector officer, Economist, consultants on the MKUKUTA and higher education and staff working with the MKUKUTA.

Table 3.3 above outlines the different sources of data for this study as well as the period of the data collection exercise. There were five categories that data were collected from and the population for each category is indicated. All the categories were interviewed and structured interview questions were used for the interview sections. There was also the use of documents as a source to elicit further data. This was outlined earlier.

3.4 Accessing the research sites and ethical clearance

In qualitative research, the researcher is expected to inform the institution, the organisation, school or research site under study of his/her presence to conduct research (Creswell 1998).

This researcher also emphasized issues of anonymity, confidentiality and the right to withdraw from the research by the participants. All ethical protocols were observed during the data collection procedure.

Before I proceeded to Tanzania for data collection, I received ethical considerations and clearance from the University of the Western Cape and with that clearance I went to Tanzania. The ethical clearance certificate from UWC is attached as Appendix D. I travelled out of the University of the Western Cape for Tanzania for data collection and was there for one year collecting data from the three public universities in the three different regions. On arrival in Tanzania, I requested permission to conduct research from the United Republic of Tanzania's Commission for Science and Technology which is the government of Tanzania's approved body to give ethical clearance for international researchers. I went to the Commission for Science and Technology, and applied for permission to conduct research. This took about three months before I was given permission. I was given permission and in addition, the Commission for Science and Technology also wrote to the management of the universities that are the research sites to inform them that I had been permitted to conduct research by the Commission. The letter, allowed me access to all the universities from which I had interest in collecting data. The Commission for Science and Technology also wrote to my contact persons informing them of the permission they had given me. The research approval permit is attached as Appendix E.

As the data collection at the public university in Dar es Salaam commenced, I also went to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training which is the supervising ministry for higher education in Tanzania. At the ministry, I was advised to write a letter indicating my intentions, attach a hard and soft copy of my proposal as well as the research permit given to me by the Commission for Science and Technology. The contact person for research said this was required since COSTECH did not copy them with my permission letter. Had the Commission for Science and Technology have given them a copy of my permission, I would not have had to get a different permission letter from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The permission letter from the MOEVT is attached as Appendix F.

3.5 Interpretation and Analysis of the Data

There are various ways of interpreting and analyzing data including, thematic analysis, narrative analysis and content analysis. Content analysis engages with the qualitative data based on the written word or “characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text” (Hsieh & Sharon 2005:1278). Narrative analysis focuses on the “translation of an account from the text of the interview, the researcher retells the person’s account as if in their shoes” (Burck 2005:252). Discourse analysis involves the “identification of the discourses and interpretive repertoires that individuals draw on to make sense of their world and to examine their consequences and limitations” (Burck 2005:249). Thematic analysis focuses on the “identification, analysis and reportage of patterns or themes” that are consistent with the question the research is engaged in (Braun & Clarke 2006:6).

This research data was analyzed by identifying the themes and patterns that are consistent with the research aims. The themes are coded from the responses generated from the collected data. The themes that emerged from the data were also related to the variables that were recurrent in documents and policy papers and are consistent with the research aims. There was therefore the “pattern matching” (Yin 2009), which entails corresponding emerging themes with indicators from literature and other documents. In presenting the data, this researcher identified relevant quotations and themes from the data to illustrate certain aspects of the argument raised in the data. Secondly, it is important to note that in the overall reading and presentation of the data, coding and classification of the data yields much unevenness, these will be highlighted in the discussion. The discussion will however, be around the empirical data which emerged from the respondents on the access and quality initiative.

Credibility, which is a form of validation, was achieved through ensuring that the emerging themes that are identified during the analysis of the empirical data corresponds to the existing variables in scholastic literature, and policy documents among others.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Qualitative research engages human beings, institutions and organisations who provide the needed responses for the research. To engage with qualitative investigations at in any of the research sites, formal approval from the ethics committee is critical (Denscombe 2010). The University of Western Cape's ethical procedures and regulations were adhered to before embarking on this research on institutional responsiveness to the access and quality mandates of the higher education reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy. As indicated earlier, ethical clearance from the Tanzanian government through the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) was also adhered to. All requested fees were paid, and ethical clearance from University of the Western Cape and the proposal for the research were submitted. After about three months, the researcher was permitted to carry out the research, two Tanzanian research coordinators were identified for this researcher and the Commission wrote to all the institutions to grant the researcher permission to collect data. With the permission granted, data collection was initiated at the institutions. The Tanzanian research coordinators were instrumental in allowing easy access to the institutional sites, in identifying the respondents and ensuring that interview dates were secured.

On the issue of anonymity and confidentiality, all participants and respondents in this research gave their consent by signing the consent forms and are therefore anonymous. All the information gathered for this research is treated confidentially and handled with absolute confidentiality. Autonomy underpins confidentiality and anonymity in research (Wiles, Crow, Heath and Charles 2008) and the information on respondents is not disclosed during or after the research without their permission. These critical promises of anonymity and confidentiality were maintained in this study.

3.7 Limitations and scope

This study is on the institutional responsiveness to the access and quality mandates of the higher education reform initiative at selected universities in Tanzania. Working straight from the topic, there are already some identified set boundaries and confinements.

Firstly, the study is intended for selected public universities and not all public universities in Tanzania. It does not have any intention of extending to private or for-profit universities in

Tanzania and their responsiveness to the reform initiative either. The study of private or for-profit universities and their responsiveness to the reform may call for another study in the near future.

In another vein, this study recognizes that in the MKUKUTA policy document there are many aspects of reform for the different sectors of the economy. There is the health sector reform for health institutions, there is the Kilimo Kwanza for the Agricultural sector and there are other reforms for other sectors as well. However, this study is only interested in the higher education reform initiative for higher education institutions in Tanzania and particularly with public universities as part of the sample population to ascertain their level of implementation of the reform strategy.

Studying the reform initiative from the perspective of public universities' responsiveness as against all other variables; the health sector, tourism and agriculture that are all multi-disciplinary sectors that are captured in the MKUKUTA for poverty reduction, is critical. It is critical based on the fact that higher education can be an instrument of not only development but also poverty reduction and economic development within society (Bloom et al. 2005). This is important within the understanding that universities are organisations and as organisations, operate in an environment and not a vacuum. As an organisation, universities interact with the society and the environment where they exist so as to achieve not only their own objectives (Gornitzka 1999) but also the set objectives of those societies and in this case, the Tanzanian national priority policy as illustrated in the higher education reform initiative.

The next chapter will present the data that were collected from the various categories through respondents that were interviewed for this research. The data will be presented in two different chapters based on the identified initiatives that underline this study, the access and quality initiatives and a discussion will ensue based on much recourse to literature, policy documents and the debate therein.

CHAPTER FOUR

ACCESS

4 Introduction

This chapter responds to the question about the extent to which the public universities understand, interpret and have responded to access initiative in the higher education reform mandates of the MKUKUTA policy document. Working within the methods framework as outlined in Chapter Four, the present chapter draws on the interview data and describes the extent of engagement of the different categories with the access initiative as spelt out in the MKUKUTA policy mandate.

This data provides an overview of the responses from the three universities, the state agencies and the other stakeholders as mentioned in Chapter three of this study. It is imperative to state that the themes from the data indicate the ways that the institutions have engaged with the MKUKUTA mandate. These themes will be presented in the framework of the policy documents and the literature emanating respectively from the Tanzanian government and the policy literature.

In opening up this chapter, I wish to clarify the aspect of the core functions of universities, on which the research questions are premised, namely teaching and learning, research and community engagement (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002: 287; Harloe and Perry, 2004). In this study, the respondents were probed for the mandates that were outlined for universities in the reform initiative which captures these core functions of university. At this point, it is important to state that the content of the reform initiative of the MKUKUTA policy mandate is made up of discursive markers such as ‘Access’; ‘Quality’; ‘Funding’ as the major items and highlights of themes of “Training of manpower that is globally competitive”; and “Community engagement through research” (URT 2005: 9). However, this study is interested in only the access and the quality mandates.

Each of these initiatives listed above is directly related to the afore-mentioned core functions of a university. For example with respect to teaching, the elements of access are understood with regard to size and possibly, shape of the student population. In this respect, there are also important factors such as expansion and increased enrolment which may be in terms of number of students. It may also refer to the shape of the students’ population with regard to

access and may also be interpreted in terms of provision of infrastructure and the creation of an enabling environment for the provision of quality education. Furthermore, access within this perspective also includes revision of their curriculum.

Having outlined this aspect as regards the core functions of a university, I now proceed to describe the responses of the public universities in relation to the themes of the reform initiative with regard to the access mandate. The public universities category can also be seen as the university leadership category. It is therefore used interchangeably in this chapter. I will now present the data emanating from this category.

The following section presents the perceptions of senior level respondents from three of the foremost public universities established in Tanzania. These universities are identified as university A1; university A2 and university A3. These senior level respondents are clustered into categories, which are identified as Executive Leadership and Deanery. These particular respondents are senior members of the university executive.

4.1.1 Perceptions of the Executive Leadership and Deanery

The data points to the expectation that public universities in Tanzania are to provide access to the increasing population of young Tanzanians who desire higher education. An observation from the overall data is that, there are diverse ways that universities have understood and implemented the access mandate and the respondents from both the Executive Leadership group and the Deanery have highlighted the different interpretations of the element of access.

These interpretations include that of institutionalizing the government mandate for public universities to increase access to the universities. Other ways of universities engagement and responsiveness to the access mandate are expanding access to the number of students offered placement at universities; expansion of access through an increase in the number of female enrolments; expansion of access through the introduction of new programmes and courses. Access is also increased through the establishment of new campuses, centres as well as through infrastructural provision. There is also the responsiveness to the access mandate through funding and increase in numbers of the academic staff of the universities. In presenting this data (through the approach that was outlined in Chapter 3), I have identified relevant quotations to illustrate certain aspects of the argument raised in the data. At the same

time, the chapter attempts, where possible, to highlight any unevenness that might come through from the responses.

4.1.2 Government mandate for public universities

In responding to the question about the ways in which public universities understand and respond to the discursive marker access, there were pointed comments.

One respondent mentioned that:

In 2005, we had a huge number of applicants for higher education institutions and the Government mandated Public Universities to take in the applicants” (interview with Executive Leadership category A3; Respondent 1).

From the above quotation, evidence abounds of an increase in the number of applications for university education. As a result of this increase in the number of applicants seeking enrolment at universities, the Government gave a mandate to universities to open up and expand access to these applicants so they could enroll in the universities. In essence, there was a greater demand for expanded enrolment at institutions and this demand could be linked to the expansion of secondary schools in Tanzania. In my reading of the relevant policy documents in Tanzania, especially the “Higher Education Development Program” (2010), it appears that this increase could be as a result of the practices at school level (HEDP 2010: 5). These practices included the implementation of the Primary Education Development Programme and Secondary Education Development Programme from 2004 to 2009. The implementation of the primary education programme gave rise to the campaign and the subsequent (secondary) implementation that directed each regional ward to have a secondary school. Literature also indicates that “the expansion and improvement of standards of primary and secondary school” (Zeelen 2012:159) are catalytic to the widened access that is observable at universities.

Such increase at primary and secondary schools establishments that led to widened access in universities has also been observed in Uganda (Teferra and Altbach, 2004) and also earlier in Tanzania (Mkude et al. 2003). Policy literature in Tanzania reflects an increase of 9.4% in 2004 when the Secondary Education Development Program was launched and an increase of up to 51.6% in 2009 when the campaign came to a close (HEDP 2010:5). The government

revised the Education Sector Development Programme with its stakeholders and donor partners in 2008 to initiate structural reforms in education (HEDP 2010). The result of that structural reform was the implementation of the development programmes at all levels of education which yielded a high number of students demanding higher education. As a result, universities were mandated to increase enrolment, all of which were within the period of the MKUKUTA 1 hence the period of the higher education reform initiative (URT 2011:4 -5).

Another respondent of the Deanery substantiates the increase in expansion as:

Since 2008, the enrolment has increased for example, here we were enrolling about 26-30 students but the government has asked us to increase the number of students admitted and we now have about 78-90 students. Having increased the number of students, we have a number of problems in implementing the process (interview with a Deanery university A2 Respondent 2).

The respondent above highlighted the consequence of the expanded access. The response of this public university to the government directive led to certain problems with implementing that demand. One of the problems that the expanded access signaled was the issue of large classes of students that the facilities at universities could not support. Another was that it created a heavy work load for the academic staff. The large classes of students were also mentioned as an important factor that impacted on teaching by all respondents in the executive leadership. The large classes and heavy work load increased the ratio of teachers to students with regard to not only class interaction, but also had an effect at different levels of the university. In this respect, some of the respondents from the Executive Leadership and the Deanery mentioned that they addressed the heavy work load by dividing the classes and teaching during weekends. These signals in the data are collaborated in literature (Zeelen 2012). It is argued that with large classes and sometimes increased access due to the enrolment of new groups of students, academic staff resorted to engaging the students during evening classes, night classes and over weekends (Zeelen 2012:159).

Another instance of access in terms of expansion is seen in the way access was also extended to the self employed and the working class citizens who needed to improve their service and grow their career through higher education.

This was pointed out by a Dean of university A2:

In general, Universities have increased access to higher education in various ways; they have allowed for example private candidates who may not be in the main stream of government sponsorship to come in if they can afford to pay. The university have no objection. They have opened up a new window in terms of entry requirements and now it is far easier for say people who are already in the workforce who want to come into the university. They can come in with what we call equivalent qualifications to come in where we now recognize certificates and diplomas or whatever. This was a window which was not there before. This is a kind of access. (Interview with Deanery University A2; Respondent 3)

From the above, the idea of access to private fee paying students who are employed by the government is raised. The element of access, signaled earlier, is now viewed in a multi-dimensional way in so far as private (*fee-paying*, my emphasis) candidates were encouraged to enroll and study. The inference is that admission (i.e. access), is being linked to tuition fees, which may result in increased revenue for institutions. Within this data set, there is an indication that funding is an important aspect of access provision. The linkage of funding as a vital aspect of access provision in public universities is critical as fees by private and fee-paying students are an institutional source of extra funding in the current environment of decreased funding from government. The issue of funding from tuition or fees of students is also emphasized by the Deanery, especially within university A2 and A3 where increasing access is seen as an extra form of generating funding. This will be discussed later (see Chapter 4.1.7).

A second point observed from the remark made by the Deanery, university A2, above is that 'entry requirements are made a bit easier'. This could mean that the entry requirements of candidates seeking university admission are more flexible. The flexibility of the admission system may probably be to accommodate people in the work force. The issue of accommodating people in the workforce is important, considering the desire of unskilled and semi-skilled personnel to acquire further education to sharpen their skills. Such need to sharpen the skills of the work force could be an avenue to increase output in the work place and hence contribute to Tanzanians' economic life. The notion of skills acquisition was also indicated in Chapter 4.2.3 as widening the skills of Tanzanians and captured as an

expectation from public universities. The literature emphasizes the notion that “higher education in Africa has always been used and seen as a private benefit to individuals” (Brock-Utne 2000; Tilak 2003 see also Mamdani 2008). This view as regards the importance of higher education to an individual also resonates in the Tanzanian policy documents as the Tanzanian nation has the vision “to have a Tanzanian who is educated, knowledgeable, skilled and culturally mature to handle national and international challenges in various political and socio-economic fields by 2025” (United Republic of Tanzania 2011:11).

My overall reading of the data from this category resonates with the view of expanded access as a government directive or demand for increase in enrolment at the universities. The pressure exercised by the government recurs in the responses across the two categories. There are indications to suggest that universities have adhered to that directive from the Senior Executive Leadership at public universities but more pointedly from the Deanery. The response to the governmental mandate can be viewed around the notion that “academic norms play a significant role in shaping institutional and faculty responses to pressures from the external environment” (van Vught 2008:168). The external environment being referred to in this case is the government pressuring public institutions to increase access. Universities are expected by their societies to enroll students and train them as part of their obligation to society. This is part of their core function of teaching. The government is hereby not demanding something new, but the mandate falls within the core function of universities and the reason for the establishment of universities in Africa (Assie Lumumba 2006:19). Public universities through engaging with the governmental mandate are however living up to their moral obligation of increasing enrolment through access.

There is a suggestion that the process of dual learning which provides an encouragement to government workers to enroll for higher education, seems to be indicative of the paradigm of higher education for “private good or benefit” (Bloom et al. 2005). Such dual learning may enhance their skills but the issue of enhancing knowledge may be subjective. Hence the question is do they make this choice to enhance knowledge or to improve their quality of life? In this regard, it is argued that “higher education may after all be for social mobility and obtaining status than with the intrinsic motivation and capabilities for academic knowledge” (Zeelen 2012:163; see also Minnis 2006). This assertion supports the fact that some of the fee- paying government workers who demand higher education may be interested in

professional advancement. It is noted that this type of development might strengthen their existing competencies. The private benefits that higher education brings to the people that have the opportunity to access it are numerous. These include “better employment prospects, higher salaries, and a greater ability to save and invest” (Bloom et al. 2005: iii). Such benefits are expected to affect the totality of the person’s life by improving the quality of life.

4.1.3 Expanded access in the number of students given placement

The element of access mandate interpretation through the increase in the number of students is consistent with the views of all the categories probed for their construction of the access mandate at universities. All the respondents from university A2 and A3 pointed out the aspect of increase in the number of students while only two respondents out of the six respondents from university A1 gave indication of the access increase through expanding enrolment.

The silence of most of the respondents from university A1 could be attributed to the fact that a few of the respondents from this university clearly pointed out that “I am not very sure unless I see the specifics of the MKUKUTA” which indicates their ignorance of the higher education reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy document. In the policy literature, the idea of “ignorance” (Matthews 2005) could be an aspect of resistance. In this respect, there is an argument that universities and their academic staff are not easily adaptable to change and are therefore more inclined to resist any change that is being mandated to them (see Chapter 2.6.2 & 2.6.3), hence the concept of change at university is likened to moving a ‘graveyard’ (Lohmann 2002:3).

A respondent from the Executive Leadership at the public universities in response to the probe on the access mandate reveals that:

Access has increased. By the year 2010 enrolment was almost up to 4000, or 3780 around that figure. Before 2010 it was about 2007 students. Our cooperate strategic plan is that by the year 2015 our enrolment would have increased to 8000 students, but up till year 2007 the enrolment was very minimum but we had to put in more strategies. So from the 2007/2008 academic year the enrolment improved very much, we enrolled up to twice we were almost up to 8000 (Interview with Executive Leadership university A2; Respondent 4)

From the above quotation, there is a perception that the implementation of access could be affected through an increase in the number of students offered spaces at university or through expanded enrolment. The respondent highlights the number of enrolments in year 2010 to be around 4000 or 3780 students. Another statement highlights that in the preceding year of 2010 the student enrolment was about 2007 students.

From the above quotation, it is mentioned that the goal of the university's corporate strategic plan was that the university would have a total of 8000 students by year 2015. The respondent also mentioned that the number of students enrolled at the university which stood at 2007 was very low and had been addressed through strategies that the university had put in place. One of those strategies could be the campaign to sensitize female students in secondary schools to offer Science and Agricultural based degrees that were undertaken by the female academic staff. The girls were encouraged to complete degrees and follow a subsequent career in the science and agricultural programmes of the university. This sensitization programme was indicated as an aspect of access by gender increase in chapter 4.1.4.

The Deanery of the public universities also echoes the responses of the Executive Leadership on the element of increase in the number of students. This is revealed in the response that:

Public universities have implemented the MKUKUTA1. The public universities have not just expanded enrolment but expanded enrolment in response to demands. The emphasis of Government has been in education and public universities have also expanded enrolment in those pursuing courses in the education department. These institutions have responded to the MKUKUTA1 initiatives. Also, there are introduction of new programs to post graduate levels and introduction of new courses to meet the labour market demands. There are also part time courses for part time students to cater for people who could not access higher education or those who are working and these comes with completely new programs to meet the needs of these people. In University of Dar es Salaam, the Business School is a typical example in entrepreneurship and short courses on proposal and grant writing for small and medium business operators. They have also Masters Programs in Full time and Part time courses. The public universities also offer tailor made or short courses to meet

the skills need of the labour market” (Interview with Deanery University A3; Respondent 5).

From the above quotation, expanded access is viewed by the Deanery as a reaction to government’s interest in public universities to establish new education faculties and departments in response to the reform. The newly established programmes in the education faculties and departments are however seen to be tailored to meet the demands of the labour market (Respondent 5, Deanery A3).

Another observation from the quotation above is about the provision of part- time courses for those that are employed citizens of the Tanzanian nation. This view of access for the employed and fee-paying workers is consistent with elements from my overall reading of the data from the Executive Leadership of university A2 and highlighted in Chapter 4.1.2 above. However, the provision of part-time courses is evidenced in the establishment of short term courses that are demand driven for the labour market and for the medium and small scale business owners or proprietors through the Business School of University of Dar es Salaam. The Business School that runs entrepreneurship courses on proposal writing and grants for small and medium entrepreneurs is emphasized and can be viewed as an instance of universities responding to the needs of the Tanzanian workforce.

This form of responsiveness to the needs of the Tanzanian work force could be located within the debate of the university as an agent of development. This attribute of the university as an agent of development has been emphasized (Bloom et al. 2005; Teferra and Altbach, 2004:21). The introduction of demand driven new programmes and courses, and entrepreneurship programmes for small and medium enterprises at public universities may also be a catalyst for solving the problems of developmental challenges (Yanda 2010). Public universities may, through their teaching, research and community engagement functions, not only implement but also impact on national policies especially poverty reduction policies in developing countries (Yanda 2010).

The data from both the Executive Leadership and the Deanery above outline the higher education reform initiatives of the MKUKUTA as the expectations of the government of Tanzania from public universities. The data presented above highlights the introduction of the

Education Department, new courses and programmes in the Education department and faculties even in universities that in their normal model or university category have nothing to do with establishing an Education Faculty (see Contextual Chapter 1.9.1; 1.9.2 & 1.9.3). The reason for this mandate is pointed out in the Executive Leadership category in Chapter 4.1.2 as to train more teachers to teach in the new secondary schools. This is succinctly captured in the fact that part of the many reasons for the development of the HEDP was to “enhance human capacity for outputs required to meet the increasing demand for primary and secondary school teachers” (HEDP 2010:6).

4.1.4 Expanded access gender

Another instance of the understanding of the access marker is the view of increase in access along the lines of gender to accommodate and encourage girls to access higher education.

A response from the Executive Leadership of university A2 highlights that:

There was a program to sensitise girls in secondary schools with Science based subjects. This was done in girls’ schools and sometimes for girls in mixed schools to improve the enrolment of girls. These girls were ignorant of the kind of job opportunities that exist after studying Agriculture; we thus enlightened them by moving from school to school. The female academic staff, through our association which we call Research Women in Education and Agriculture, we made a proposal, requested and got funding support from Norad. With that support we started with the schools within Morogoro municipality. We went from school to school as a group and impress on all the girls that we are many. We explained to them what it entails to be an Agriculture graduate. It was at a time when the degree programmes in food science and home economics started. 80% of the students admitted in home economics were girls and 50/50 for food science but later on it fell down to 70/30, 70% being boys and 30% being girls because it was realised that there was mathematics involved, girls ran away for fear of mathematics. (Interview with Executive Leadership, university A2; Respondent 6)

In accordance with the mandate for the expansion of female enrolment, the above reveals the introduction of a programme to sensitize the female students to science based courses at the secondary schools in the region where university A2 is located. The sensitization program

was carried out mainly in both girls' and mixed schools but targeting only the girls in those schools. The essence of limiting the sensitization to girls was as a result of the low population of girls in the Sciences, Engineering and Agricultural subjects at universities as shown in the data from the Executive Leadership of university A2, respondent 6.

The sensitization of girls in the secondary schools yielded the expected result of an increase in the enrolment of girls into Science and Agricultural based courses in the public universities. Another reason for the sudden surge in the enrolment of girls into Science and Agricultural based courses could be attributed to the fact that those courses enjoy full sponsorship by the government through the higher education student loan's board. The respondent also emphasized that the female academics, through their association, the Research Women in Education and Agriculture (RESWEA), were supported through funding from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD).

A comment from the Deanery of university A1 indicates the increase of access along the lines of gender and how the university was able to engage and respond to access:

The MKUKUTA wanted to improve the education for both sexes. But in the sciences it was very poor for women. For women, for girls, so now we said what do we do? So we said the girls who have the minimum qualifications but were not selected can come here for eight weeks. Eight weeks for the basic science subjects and then do an exam if they pass, they go straight into the degree programme and all those were getting loans, all those who pass through this programme get a loan to study.

(Interview with Deanery, university A1, Respondent 7)

From the above, there is a perception that this university had to come up with a strategy to encourage the expansion of access for the female candidates. The programmes or strategy targeted the female candidates who had all the prerequisite qualifications but could not get placement at universities. Such a remedial strategy and the added efforts to encourage girls or disadvantaged students' in order to ensure they find placement in the university system to study could also be referred to as "bridging programmes" (Zeelen 2012:162).

The strategy as highlighted in the data above was on basic science subjects and entailed an intensive eight weeks in a remedial program. After eight weeks of intensive remedial studies

the female candidate would get a placement at the university based on her performance in the examination administered at the end of the program as well as full sponsorship.

Based on the evidence from my overall reading of the data, there is the issue of shape and size of access. This implies that access increased by gender and by the number of girls enrolled in programmes. The Tanzanian government with other education stakeholders in the country carried out a performance assessment of all their existing education policies including the MKUKUTA and the Education Sector Development Program. The report “revealed that the number of higher education students has increased as well as an increase in males and females” (HEDP 2010:5–6).

Another observation from the data collected from the three universities is that, it was evident that they differed on an aspect of the access mandate namely in terms of the increase in female enrolment. While university A3 views it as a university policy, university A2 is of the view that it is an innovative strategy that utilizes the sensitization approach; university A1 however, perceives their system of encouraging female enrolment and increase in access to the female gender as a “bridging strategy”. A common feature in the data from the senior Executive Leadership is that universities have increased female access to their universities as part of their responsiveness to the higher education initiative of the MKUKUTA policy paper. The relevance of their ways of responding to the mandate through gender increase in this study is that it resonates with some of the debate that focuses on the shape of policy formulation and implementation (Gornitzka, Kyvik, and Stensaker 2005:53).

4.1.5 Introduction of new programmes and courses

Another element of access interpretation in the data from public universities is the introduction of new programs and courses.

One of the respondents from the Executive Leadership of universities indicated that:

We also increased access in terms of new programs like MSC Economics, ICT technology in Management, like MSc in Development Policy. We have also introduced Diploma programs and evening programs. We have now Department for Education with three degree programs BEd in Languages; Accounting and Finance

and Commerce as well as BEd in Mathematics. (Interview with Executive Leadership, university A3 Respondent 9)

From the above quotation, there is the perception that access could be increased through the introduction of new programs and courses at the universities. Evidence from university A3 indicates the new programs to be post graduate level programs namely, M.Sc. Economics, M.Sc. Information Communication Technology Management and M.Sc. in Development Policy.

The Executive Leadership above also indicates that there is the introduction of diploma and evening programmes as an interpretation of access. The diploma programmes may have been introduced to provide the opportunity of higher education for those candidates who may not have the prerequisite qualification for degree programmes. Furthermore, the evening programmes may also provide an opportunity for civil servants and the working class citizens to access higher education after working hours.

Education programmes that offer courses in Languages, Accounting and Finance and Commerce and also BEd in Mathematics were introduced. The introduction of an education programme is an important element emerging from the overall data from this university. This is vital because, university A3 by its type is an Administrative university and as such could not be expected to offer Education courses nor programmes. The reason for the introduction of the Education Faculties and departments has been discussed in Chapter 4.1.2.

Another respondent from university A1 indicates that:

Development Studies, they started I think three programmes before they had only one Masters Programme I'm talking about the postgraduate training, they had only one masters programme which is M.A in Development Studies. They have established two more: the development studies one, development Management and then gender Studies (Interview with university A1; Respondent 10).

The quotation above highlights that the Development Studies Unit established two new post graduate programmes during the period of the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper. The two new programmes are Masters Programs in Development

Management and Gender studies. From my reading of the data from the university A1, another example of new programmes was the Entrepreneurship Programme. This programme offers short courses on small and medium enterprises management and was highlighted earlier.

From the above, we also note that public universities established and introduced new programmes as a way of implementing the reform initiative. While university A2 and A3 were very specific about the type of programme and the class of degrees (Bachelors and Honours programmes), Masters Degrees programmes or Doctoral programmes, the respondents in university A1 only indicated Post Graduate programs (Masters Programs).

Despite the recurrent themes in the responses from the public universities on the increase in access through the introduction of new programs and courses, there were however some noted differences. There is the difference with the type of courses that were introduced. This diversity of the courses arose as a result of the variation in the university type which affects the programmes that each university offers as a response to the mandate. While university A3 introduced new programmes in “Information Technology, Public Administration and Human Resources”, university A2 had new programmes in courses related to their university type as an Agricultural university, and university A1 also had new programmes in Development Studies and the Entrepreneurship Programme. So each university established new programmes in line with their university type.

The similarity is observed with regard to the establishment of the Education Faculty at all the universities. Despite the university type, Education Faculties were established to train teachers in Languages. However, except the Languages Program which is a common denominator in the Education faculty, all other departments in the Education faculty had to align with the university type in the programmes and courses that they offered. This alignment of newly established Education faculties and departments with the university type is in accord with Bastedo and Gumport (2003) who state that the mission differentiation of universities is an international occurrence on the higher education landscape. Within this mission differentiations is also the observable interest and focus on the “diversity of institutional type” (Bastedo and Gumport 2003:343), within the different national systems

that exist in the diverse nations of the globe and their higher education landscape (see also Meek, Huisman and Goedegebuure 2000).

4.1.6 Establishment of new centres and new campuses

Public universities, in their effort to construct access, also established new centres and new campuses.

One of the respondents from the Executive Leadership indicated that:

We acquired a building in Mbeya and we made it a campus with about 1000 students. At the main campus here we have increased the number of students as well. We have expanded and now have campuses in Dar for postgraduate students, Morogoro campus was established for the evening Masters Postgraduate Program and Nwanza all of which is to admit the increasing population of students seeking a chance for higher education (Interview with Executive Leadership, university A3; Respondent 13).

The new campuses and centres were established so that the public universities could comfortably accommodate the expanding access to universities. University A3 acquired a building in Mbeya which was designated as a campus that accommodates about 1000 students as highlighted in the quotation above. The main campus has also been expanded to accommodate increasing access and according to the data set above, a new campus had been established in Dar es Salaam, the capital city of Tanzania. The new campus in Dar es Salaam was however, established for Post Graduate studies only. All the respondents from university A2 reported the establishment of new campuses. There is a perception that all the new campuses were established to provide placement for the increasing number of Tanzanians who desire higher education as indicated in Chapter 1.91 – 1.9.3.

The Deanery of the Senior Executive Leadership in their responses also identified the establishment of new campuses as an aspect of the access mandate implementation:

Our campuses are also on the increase as we started originally in Morogoro but have spread to so many centres all over Tanzania which offers different courses. One of the biggest is the Moshi University College of Co-operative and Business Studies, a college under SUA with branches all over Tanzania which offers degree programs

/courses in accountancy, cooperative study etc certificates and diplomas. The campus in Arusha, Olomatohin Campus offers courses in Forestry because of the forest there. They are used to train students. The campus in Lusothen and the mountain forest in Mazumbai as well as several other experimental farms and production farms in Morogoro and Sungiyya districts. There is Solomon Mahlangu College in Morogoro which was formerly used for the South African struggle for independence by the African National Congress and is now used for students. There are also new universities and Dodoma is one of them and many others including private option (Interview with Deanery of university A2 Respondent 14)

From the above quotation, there is the idea of new centres and campuses that were established to accommodate the expanded access. The respondent highlights that the university started in the Morogoro region but had grown with centres and campuses all over the Tanzanian state. These new centres and campuses were introduced to offer new programmes and courses and to absorb the exploding enrolment at the university.

There is the highlight that the biggest campus established by the university A2 is the Moshi College of Cooperative and Business studies with branches all over Tanzania. The Moshi College of Cooperative and Business Studies offers undergraduate degree programmes and courses as well as diplomas and certificate courses and programmes.

The Deanery of university A2 also reveals the establishment of a campus at Arusha, the Olomatohin Campus that offers courses in Forestry. The Olomatohin vicinity and its environment have forests and which are used to provide practical training for students who are enrolled in programmes and courses in Forestry.

Another instance of access is the indication of a campus in Lusothen and the Mountain forest in Mazumbai. These campuses are said to be experimental and production farms in the Morogoro and Sungiyya districts. All the new centres and campuses of university A2 were a direct response to the higher education reform initiative of the access mandate in the MKUKUTA policy paper.

An instance of access through the establishment of new centres and campuses is also highlighted with the conversion of a centre or space that was used for the South African Apartheid struggle into a campus. The Solomon Mahlangu College in Morogoro was once a centre for the South African Apartheid struggle and later became a campus of university A2 to address the exploding access. Public universities, in their responses, stated that the establishment of new universities like the University of Dodoma developed as a response to the higher education reform initiative.

Evidence from the data from both the Executive Leadership and Deanery sub-category all points to an introduction or establishment of new programmes and courses at the three Universities. The third university did not indicate the establishment of a new campus in this empirical data but during the pilot testing of the questions, the respondents from that same university indicated the existence of new campuses. The new programmes, degrees and campuses are in alliance with the university types. The public universities in this study were mentioned in Chapter 1.9.1; 1.9.2; and 1.9.3 with their new campuses during the period of reform.

The quotation above also mentions the establishment of education courses and programs at the universities. The policy documents in Tanzania point to the demand for teachers to teach at the newly established secondary schools which signaled the implementation of the SEDP. Part of the many reasons for the development of the HEDP was to “enhance human capacity for outputs required to meet the increasing demand for primary and secondary school teachers” (HEDP, 2010:6). With such need, all universities were called upon to address the pressure of training teachers hence they all set up faculties of education that were training teachers for secondary schools. The training of teachers is also seen as an indication of the access mandate in Chapter 4.1.2; 4.1.8; 5.2.2. Apart from the idea of the establishment of new universities by the government, the overall data also indicates private provision as an instance of the access mandate.

An observable difference in the data is the issue of the pre-entry programme for girls that were observed in only two of the universities. The University of Dar es Salaam had the pre-entry programme for science programmes only, despite offering diverse courses as a comprehensive university but the Sokoine University of Agriculture recruited girls across its

programmes and courses, being an Agricultural university. Another difference is the type of courses, programs and even campuses that were established by the public universities. These new ventures were in alignment with the university types (see Chapter 4.1.3; 1.9.1; 1.9.2; 1.9.3)

The need for expanded access of higher education in Tanzania may be linked to the fact that “Tanzania’s participation rates in higher education have been on the lower side at about 3% when compared to other developing countries” (HEDP/URT 2011:5). The increase in the number of higher education institutions in Tanzania to contain the increase in enrolment was also revealed in a review of Tanzania’s higher education system (HEDP/URT 2011:6).

4.1.7 Increasing access as a form of generation of extra funds

Another form of responsiveness to the access mandate is through the process of generating funding. Of the three public universities selected for this research, access as an aspect of funding was a common element among two of the universities. The third university was silent about the view or did not see the link between funding and access in the reform initiative.

One respondent from the Deanery mentioned that:

Expansion has also meant increase in the income of the university because if you look at the overall budgetary allocation from government to universities in real terms, it is going down over the years. So universities has to struggle to look for innovative ways to raise income sometimes from donors for donor projects and through increasing enrolment sometimes coming up with some short term training program, evening program, executive MBAs and the like are all ways of raising income for the university. (Interview with Deanery of university A2; Respondent 17)

The quotation above views the expansion of access as a source of increase in the income of public universities. This increase in income was seen as a welcome development with the existing decline in the funding of higher education by the national government. Another indicated theme is that the allocation to public universities by the national government from the overall budget was declining in real terms. This is further highlighted as funding seemed to be increasing while the reality with regard to the release of the funds was that there was an observable decline or decrease in funding to universities.

Such decline in funding is perceived to have compelled universities to look into alternative funding options. The alternative funding involves universities employing innovative strategies to ensure that they accrue extra funding from their immediate environment. This is called third stream funding (Bamiro and Adedeji 2010: xvii). Sources of third stream funding in the above quotation includes income from donors, income from short term courses and evening programmes. The introduction of an executive Masters in Business Administration was another option of alternative funding and is consistent with the evidence in literature on what constitutes third stream funding. Third stream funding accrues to universities in the form of grants from funding agencies, investment income, and consultancy services, among others (Bamiro and Adedeji 2010: xvii).

My overall reading of the data set from university A2 indicates that the university also raises further income through the sale of their produce from the university farm. University A2 has farms that produce seasonal fruits and vegetables. They also have animals and have produced medications like vaccines that are sold to farmers, among others. Another indicated source of third stream funding from university A2 is that the university rents out some of its facilities to corporate businesses like bank. This same university has restaurants on the campus that are operated by university staff as a university investment. They also revealed their ownership of a computer centre that provides quick internet services for the Morogoro community and is a source of income.

In the same vein, the Deanery of university A1 also identifies the element of funding as an aspect of access implementation from the fees paid by the female students who enrolled in the bridging programs (see chapter 4.1.4) for sciences or education courses. The respondent from the Deanery of university A1 viewed these additional students with their supporting loans as an aspect of extra income for the university.

4.1.8 Expansion of academic staff

Another construct of the access mandate is through the expansion of the academic staff at universities.

The Deanery highlighted this as:

There have been efforts to expand infrastructure but the increase in enrolment is faster. Even with staffs, there have been increase but some programs are struggling. The university has been recruiting new staff but some departments still have heavy work load. (Interview with Deanery, university A2; Respondent 18)

The quotation above highlights the perception of an increase in infrastructure, enrolment and the number of academic staff. However, the increase in the number of academic staff notwithstanding is not evenly distributed across all departments. The quotation highlights that some programmes are struggling with a paucity of staff. Despite the recruitment of new staff to help with the increased access, some departments intimated that they were under pressure due to the limited number of staff pertaining to the staff to student ratio. The pressure coming through in this response had to do with work load which is a consequence of increased access as pointed out in chapter 4.1.2.

Another instance of access as the expansion of academic staff is that:

My observation is that the number of students has increased and number of lecturers has also increased but there are challenges though. (Interview with Deanery of university A3; Respondent 20)

The above quotation reveals the perception of an increase in academic staff as the enrolments of the students increased. As a result of expanded access, this respondent highlighted the fact that the number of academic staff also increased so as to respond appropriately to increased enrolments.

This section has presented the data from the Executive Leadership and the Deanery at the public universities and their diverse constructions and responsiveness to the access mandate of the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. The section has indicated how the access mandate has been engaged by the Senior Executive Leadership and the Deanery in particular. The different constructions of access are succinctly captured by the respondents and the scholarly literature engaged in to elaborate on the data. The next set of data to be presented is the data from the Ministry of Education and Vocational training which is a state Ministry that supervises higher education in Tanzania.

4.2 Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

This section signals the data from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The responses from the two sub-sections of the Ministry (the Ministry and the Directorate of Higher Education), provide an overview of the perceptions of this category on the access mandate.

4.2.1 Perceptions of the Ministry and the Directorate of Higher Education

The various respondents have different interpretations of the access mandate. The perceptions of this category ranges from the alignment of the elements of the MKUKUTA activities in the public universities; widening the skills development platform and then, access in terms of increase in student enrolment in public universities. Further constructions of how the access initiative could be made concrete are through expanding the infrastructural components, the establishment of new universities and limitations in terms of academic staff. Each of these elements is discussed below.

4.2.2 Alignment of the elements of the MKUKUTA activities at public universities

There is the perception from the Ministry that the activities of the public universities are linked to the mandates of the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper. Such linking of activities of the public universities to the initiatives of the MKUKUTA is also reinforced by the Directorate of Higher Education.

The construction of the access mandate within the reform and expectations of the government of its public universities reveals the notion that the access mandate falls under the core functions of the universities. However, there is a dissenting view that universities may be implementing them but not as a reflection of the MKUKUTA. This element of the understanding of the reform initiatives as a core function of the institutions without reference to the MKUKUTA was also highlighted by the Deanery of Universities from the overall reading of the data.

A respondent from the Ministry indicated that:

Whatever the public universities are implementing, we are implementing the MKUKUTA because the MKUKUTA is a guide, is a policy of this country. So from that we develop our programs, the strategies, the action plans but whatever we do, are

part and parcel of the MKUKUTA. The (reform) are attached to the activities of universities and its approval from the national government. (Emphasis mine) (Interview with State B; Respondent 1)

From the above quotation it is evident that universities are through their activities, responding to the MKUKUTA initiatives. This is highlighted by the fact that the Ministry views the implementation of the reform by the public universities as part of the national higher education strategy hence every action of universities is seen as implementing the MKUKUTA. This view is despite the signals from my reading of the data that points to a form of dissent with regard to implementing the reform within the core functions of the universities. Such dissent may be possible in the event that these universities do not want to be part of the reflection of the MKUKUTA nor engage with it in their activities. This response from the state B Respondent 1 above however, opens up a view that universities have no choice but to engage with the reform as a result of the unilateral impression that “the MKUKUTA is everything”. With such assertion of the mandatory nature of the implementation of higher education reform at public universities, it becomes imperative that every activity of the public universities targets the aligning with the governmental mandate as indicated (see Chapter 4.1.2).

There is the implication that all activities of universities are linked to the reform initiatives in the quotation above. Such linkages of university activities to the MKUKUTA policy may imply that funding is seen as a way of ensuring universities are responsive to the reform agenda. Aligning funding from the government to the MKUKUTA objectives through the budgetary allocation to public universities is also indicated in the overall data. Such alignment of funding in the budgetary allocation to universities activities indicates that the MKUKUTA mandate is the governmental system of control or what Foucault would term surveillance (Foucault 1979:185). Such control is to ensure that universities implement the higher education mandate.

Another perception emerging from the data is about the existence of conditions that are to be met for the approval of public universities activities. Such conditions ensure that public universities activities are also to be aligned to the implementation of the reform. This stated condition is however, linked to funding. The paucity of funding at public universities is a

result of the decline of national government funding to universities not only in Tanzania but also globally and there is no possibility of an increase in funding to higher education institutions (Paris, 2003). The linking of funding to university activities that are aligned to the MKUKUTA policy and the higher education reform initiative may be a way of ensuring effective planning of funding by the government of its universities. Literature indicates that universities in the United States of America link their planning process to the budgeting process. Though a complex phenomenon, it is indicative of the “historical pattern of financial decision making and availability of financial data” in the life of the organisation (Paris 2003:12; see also Wildavsky 1984).

There is also the perception in the quotation that public universities, through their actions and activities are implementing the MKUKUTA. Such perception even without effective monitoring as revealed by my overall reading of the data could be an expression of the pride of place that the MKUKUTA occupies in the life and mind of most Tanzanians. Such emphasis of public universities implementing the higher education reform initiatives through their strategies and their action plans aligns with the construct of Rhoades (1997). Rhoades (1997) wrote about the act of government within the framework of the strategies and technologies of governance. Rhoades’ argument could be related to public universities but within another sense towards understanding “the strategies that mobilize the interests of resistant parties (here implying the public universities) to the goals of the state (the reform), crafting a common discourse between the state (Tanzania) and the different parties and institutions (public universities) and creating common funding streams” (Rhoades 1997:57).

Understanding Rhoades in the above statement may entail a deeper perusal of the reason for aligning university activities to the MKUKUTA and linking it to their funding through the budget. When viewed critically, within the understanding of the forms, relations, discourses or the reasons for the linkage of universities activities to the reform and budgetary allocations, the issues of resistance and freedom may not be lacking. Viewing the national government’s insistence on tying the implementation of the MKUKUTA to funding could also be a technique of governing as captured by Foucauldian perspectives. In this study, the supervising agency is more or less using their “control oriented strategies” which may be understood as their power in controlling universities and steering them towards implementing reforms by using funding as a control strategy. Such use of funding as a control strategy is

meant to mobilize institutions towards the goals of the state thus implementing the reform initiative.

However, the responses from the above quotation suggest that issues of resistance may not arise. The lack of resistance from public universities is attributed to the fact that every activity of the institutions has been earmarked as implementing the reform hence “the MKUKUTA is everything and everything is the MKUKUTA”. As a “catch all phrase” (as this is how one respondent from the Deanery category referred to the MKUKUTA reform) it stimulates and becomes the basis for all “common discourse between the state” here in Tanzania and at public universities (Rhoades 1997). Within such a framework, the government of Tanzania uses the reform as a critical construct to move the “state towards being an ensemble of institutions, calculations, knowledge and technologies” (Johnson 1995:8). Here the ensemble is the higher education reform and universities are expected to come together with strong adhesion or alignment to these identified forms or initiatives. The government may therefore, adopt the initiatives or forms in accomplishing the outcome or objectives or techniques of governing which is to increase higher education access in the Tanzanian state.

A response from the Directorate indicates that:

The MKUKUTA as it is understood that, this is a national strategy for growth and reduction of poverty, a progressive strategy which is of course among others, in terms of making Tanzania to become medium income country by 2025. So is a strategy which is aligned to the National Development Vision, this is where now only institutions both public and private in the country irrespective of the sector have a role to play. These are the major objectives which of course have to be achieved generally at macro level. (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 2)

From the above, there is the idea of the MKUKUTA as a progressive strategy that is interested in affecting the future of Tanzania. A signal of the progressiveness of the MKUKUTA is its engagement with Vision 2025, namely a national development vision. As indicated in the contextual chapter, the MKUKUTA initiatives are aligned to the mandates of the Vision 2025 with the target of making Tanzania a medium income state by the said year.

As a strategy for economic growth and poverty reduction, institutions in Tanzania are expected to key in to ensure the actualization of its objectives.

4.2.3 Widening the skills development platform

There are perceptions in the data that public universities are engaged in the skills training of Tanzania. This is important considering that the graduates from these public universities are perceived as skilled and experts in their respective endeavours. A respondent from the Directorate of Higher Education indicates that:

First of all I think the MKUKUTA is like an engine, so a lot of things need to be filled within the engine so that it can move. Manpower, that is qualified are always generated from these universities, the University of Dar es Salaam, Mzumbe University as well as Sokoine University of Agriculture. So through these universities we expect these people (graduates) to be in a driver seat to generate whatever or to be the think tank in generating the MKUKUTA and keep the machinery to keep it moving. The experts and the graduate from these universities will ensure the implementation within the MKUKUTA. Universities are there to produce the graduate within the market in Tanzania, outside the market and elsewhere. So the MKUKUTA is not only depending on that but also beyond that. (Interview with State Evaluator, Respondent 3)

The respondent above compares the MKUKUTA policy document to an engine. The MKUKUTA as an engine entails that several of the activities are involved and targeted at making the 'engine take off'. The production of skilled manpower or qualified manpower as one of the roles of the public universities is highlighted above. The graduates from these public universities are expected to be the drivers of reform by ensuring its implementation. The qualified graduates are not only to provide a work force for Tanzania but also to meet global needs of a work force and also within the region (URT 2011:11). The intense pressure on universities to achieve the production of employable graduates is a consequence of the global recent shifts in education and labour market policy (Bridgstock 2009:31; See also Chapter 4.1.2).

Another participant however views the elements of the provision of a skilled work force with some scepticism:

What I can say is that there is the issue of skills development. It's crucial at all levels and it is one thing getting a degree and it's another acquiring the skills. That is a challenge. We have staffs here who are graduates, but when you ask them to do one thing or the other, write a report then you realize they are not competent. In practical things they are so inadequate. The Public Universities needs to do something. (Interview with State B; Respondent 4)

While the challenge of skills development is signaled to be critical at the various levels of Tanzanian life, there is the notion in the quotation above of a difference between obtaining a degree after years of study and having the prerequisite skills that are needed in the world of work. Such scepticism may be based on the argument that the graduates from these universities may not have the prerequisite skills for employment. Graduates from universities are expected to be skilled and have the “capabilities for academic knowledge” (Zeelen 2012:163). Apart from that, the expectation from the global labour market is that universities train their graduates to develop knowledge and skills that are relative to their fields of study, potential occupation and can be transferable to other employment needs outside their chosen career (Bridgstock 2009:31). The transferable skills of graduates from universities are essential for their employability to positions that are even beyond their area of intellectual competence (Kearns 2009:2). Within this discourse, it may be inferred that the respondent from the Ministry in the quotation above is questioning the transferable skills of their employers who are graduates from public universities in Tanzania. This is highlighted in the quotation above that questions the competency of university graduates employed by the Ministry. Such skills or competencies that are being referred to in this quotation may include writing skills, especially with the respondent's reference of their inability to write reports. It could also include communication skills, problem solving skills, critical thinking skills and even the ability to be proactive.

4.2.4 Access in terms of an increase in student enrolment

Another approach to understanding access is within the discourse of increased enrolment at public universities. A respondent from the Ministry views access as an “increase in

enrolment, increase in research and rehabilitation of infrastructure” (Interview with State B; Respondent 5).

Another respondent mentions that:

As far as higher education or rather public universities is (sic) concerned there are improvement in various aspects for example there has been introduction of various degree programs in our universities but also there had been increase in enrolment in public universities. (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 6)

In the above quotation there is the perception of an introduction of new degree programs and an increase in enrolment. While the State Evaluator indicates the introduction of new degree programmes, the State B respondent highlights an increase in research and the rehabilitation of infrastructure. The view of access as an increase in enrolment was also highlighted and discussed in Chapters 4.1.3 and 4.3.4.

On further probing of public universities responsiveness to the access mandate, the respondent points out that “the unfortunate thing is that I did not read the questions yet. It will take some time”. The inability of the respondent to step up to the response with regard to the meaning making of the reform initiative by the university highlights the unevenness in the data. Within this quotation from this respondent, there is an observed unevenness in the data which may be related to the busy schedule of the respondent which deters them from having sufficient time to read through the questions.

However, the inability of the respondent to read through the interview questions which were left in advance by approximately two weeks might be linked to many other reasons. One of the reasons as indicated earlier was the heavy work load. Another reason may be the respondents’ resistance to the interviewer and the fact that the respondent would be giving state information to an outsider. It could also be a way of covering up the limited knowledge of the MKUKUTA mandate.

The quotation above supposes that this respondent is not fully aware of the diverse ways that access is operationalised at the universities. As a key official in the planning unit, his duty includes also supervision and monitoring of the public universities to ensure implementation

of the reform initiatives. Therefore the impression of not being abreast of the operationalisation of the access mandate shows a certain level of “ignorance” or misconstruction of the key items in the policy document. There is the display of “ignorance” or misconstruction of the policy mandate. The response that, “I am not sure. It’s a shame I cannot answer or explain” further depicts his “ignorance” or lack of knowledge of the elements in the reform document. This response can be comparable to a respondent’s view from the Executive Leadership of university A1 that “But not much details, I have to be frank I’m not very conversant with the MKUKUTA. You know what is in the MKUKUTA more than me”. Both responses depict “ignorance” or lack of interest and knowledge of the policy mandates. The issue of “misrecognition” or “ignorance” of state officials has been pointed out in policy literature and in diverse policies in academic literature (Gilens 2001; Moore 2001 and Matthews 2005).

Matthews (2005:798), writing about policy “ignorance” of state officials, points out that the “diverse types of official ignorance” could be interpreted in other ways as misrecognition/misrepresentation of the policy mandate and manifests through the “collusion and complicity that is carried out by state officials” (Mathews 2005:798). He views such level of “ignorance” as a “much more complex relationship than that between power and knowledge” which Foucault elaborates in his study of power and knowledge (Foucault 1991:133; Mathews 2005: 798). Within this discourse of the response from this top state official, there is the issue of partial “ignorance” or misrecognition of the key items in the policy as well as complicity in identifying them. The state is viewed and understood as the “most important” institution in the exercise of power and all other forms of power refers to it” (Foucault 1982:793). The state is expected to be the organ of implementation which is achieved in this reform through public universities. Implementation is simply seen from the perspective of Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) as “the carrying out of a policy decision” (see also Sabatier 2005:19). Part of the variables that dictate effective implementation of policy objectives is that there must be “clear and consistent objectives” (Sabatier 2005:19). From the responses above then, we may doubt the competence of the state as a driver of the reform initiative in the MKUKUTA. The question is: if the state, that is the significant base of power relations especially with implementing the reform, shows “ignorance” of the policy mandate which is a practice of government, where will implementers look to for clarification in a situation of ambiguity?

Mathews (2005:798) makes an observation on official “ignorance” of state officials and its relationship to the implementation of policy. Between such official ignorance there is the need to realise that “state power” may to an extent be “premised” or based directly upon official “ignorance”. And in situations where state power is hypothesised on official “ignorance”, there may be a need to maintain or keep such “ignorance” as part of an “official secret” so that “state officials can still make claims to knowledge” (Mathews 2005:798). The need to keep their “ignorance” as official secret is to “affirm their status as state representatives” that oversee other institutions within the state and to ensure compliance with policy mandates (Mathews 2005:798). The implication of this assertion by Mathews (2005) gives an impression that partial or even total “ignorance” of policy mandates by state officials is carpeted and hidden from the public eye despite being known within an official capacity.

However, another respondent maintains that:

A lot has increased for example in 2005 the gross enrolment ratio which is the indicator reported in the MKUKUTA was 0.27%. Yes 2005/6, 0.27% but now, the gross enrolment ratio is 8% in 2011 you can see the increase. The indicator reported for the MKUKUTA and I think by then the enrolment for higher education is about less than 50,000 in 2005 (sic). I think we can get the exactly figures in our books but now we are talking about 139,000 in 2011, yes you can see how access has increased (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 7).

The quotation above gives a highlight of the gross enrolment ratio and how it has risen from the period of inception of the MKUKUTA to the last published ratio in the Basic Educational Statistics for Tanzania (BEST). There is an indication that preceding the reform initiative in 2005, the enrolment for universities in Tanzania was less than 50,000 students. With the reform and the implementation of the “access mandate”, the gross enrolment for universities has increased to about 139. 000.

Another perception from the quotation is that the gross enrolment ratio also increased within the period of the reform initiative. The gross enrolment ratio is the indicator for the access mandate for universities. Such a gross enrolment ratio is low compared to other African nations hence the participation rate of Tanzania in higher education has been “abysmally

low” (HEDP 2010: ix). There is also the indication in the HEDP document that with a participation rate of about three percent, Tanzania has possibly the lowest enrolment rates with regard to higher education in the world (HEDP 2010:1x). But when looking at 2011, the last year of publication of the Basic Education Statistics for Tanzania, (BEST), and the gross enrolment ratio is 8%. The implication is that there is a huge observable increase in the gross enrolment ratio at universities in Tanzania.

4.2.5 Expansion of infrastructural components

All the respondents pointed out the need for the development of infrastructural facilities that would accommodate the exploding enrolment at public universities. Infrastructural development and provision extends to an enabling learning environment such as the provision of physical infrastructure within the university space.

A respondent mentioned that:

The other thing is infrastructure. I am sure it is affecting the output of those who are there (students in universities). It is not a conducive environment for learning. It is also hindering targeted enrolment. Even in the hostels, people take time to sleep because it's not enough. Water supply is poor, as well as other facilities. Some students rent houses outside with all its problems. For those who went to these colleges 20 years ago, the infrastructure is still the same. The laboratories are also a sorry sight. (Response from State B; Respondent 8)

The quotation above from the Ministry highlights the perception of limited infrastructural development at public universities. There is the mention of physical infrastructure like the learning space, technology facilities, laboratory facilities for science practical work and even hostel or residential accommodation for students which is indicated to be poorly lacking.

Furthermore, there is the perception that the paucity of infrastructural provision has a negative impact on the student's life in and around the university, and hence, does not make for a conducive or enabling environment for learning. There is also the perception that the paucity of infrastructural provision tends to be hindering the expected enrolment target at universities. There is the notion that despite increased access, the facilities at universities have remained the same as they were at the inception of the university.

Expanded access triggers some changes in the university system. These changes are in terms of the massification of higher education (Delanty 2002; see also Charles 2006:117). Literature argues that such changes should also “encourage the redesign of public systems and structures” (Bastedo and Gumport 2003:343) so that they can accommodate the implemented mandate and withstand its effects. This however, has not been observed from the evidence in the response above.

Despite the notion of paucity of infrastructure as shown above, another respondent that points out that universities are engaged in infrastructural development in the quote:

Some universities are building some infrastructures to help increase infrastructure, access, human resources and other donors are also giving scholarship like exchange programs, trainings of human resources in their countries (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 10)

There is the perception from the quotation above by the directorate of Higher Education that infrastructural provision by some of these public universities is intended not just for an increase in infrastructure but also to accommodate increasing access and human resources. Another indication is that donors are engaging with public universities through the provision of scholarships. These scholarships include exchange programmes, and training of human resources in the donors’ home countries for the Tanzanian people.

The issue of infrastructural provision was also observed in the data obtained from the quality mandate (See Chapters 5.2.3 and 5.5.4). However, in the quality mandate, the element of infrastructural development is highlighted as a challenge that needs further improvement.

A respondent from the Directorate category reveals that the development budget of the two preceding years were not met by the government of Tanzania.

In development budget for example the last year, many universities didn’t get the development budgets, it means in terms of implementing their development for universities last year, it totally failed. (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 13)

This is a summary of what the other respondents pointed out in one way or the other that the development budget exists on paper but not in real terms. The effect of the non-approval and release of the development budget is that public universities are not able to develop their infrastructure and are yet expected to keep increasing access without provision for these increased enrolments. This questions the capacity and capabilities of public universities in the present reality of increased access to “produce high quality graduates and talented graduates” (Zeelen 2012:163) within an environment of poor or failed infrastructure, non-existent research equipment and complete absence of an enabling environment for learning and intellectual development.

4.2.6 The establishment of new universities

Implementing the access mandate is also linked to the establishment of new universities, both public and private. The response from the Ministry indicates the establishment of both public and private new universities as a way of understanding the “access mandate”.

This is revealed in the response that:

The number of students has also increased. Enrolment increased from 45,501 in 2006/2007 to 139,000 in 2010/2011. Emerging of new university like Dodoma and Mbeya University of Technology, Arusha Technical College now offers Degree programs are all outcomes of the MKUKUTA1. (Interview with State B; Respondent 14)

The view of access as increased enrolment has been outlined earlier (See Chapter 4.1.3 and 4.3.4). Furthermore, the emergence of new universities as a result of the implementation of the reform initiatives of the MKUKUTA policy is viewed as an example of access. The respondent highlights the establishment of new universities such as the University of Dodoma and the Mbeya University of Technology as a sign of state responsiveness to the reform initiative. The Arusha Technical College has also been upgraded to a degree awarding higher institution.

Another response mentioned that:

Many public universities have the shortage of human resources and academic staff because of establishment of many courses in universities, many private universities

and the introduction of other public universities. Definitely the UDSM and SUA which used to have a lot of academic staff, they have gone to these private and other high education institutions. So you find there is a shortage of academic staff and other human resource and some in higher institutions (Interview with state evaluator; Respondent 15)

There is the idea that the introduction of new courses and private universities has resulted in a shortfall of academic staff. This can further be explained within the understanding that the introduction of new courses at public universities and the establishment of private universities have resulted in staff mobility that created the shortage of human resources. The two foremost public universities, the University of Dar es Salaam and the Sokoine University of Agriculture are presented as cases in point. The two universities are said to have had large numbers of academic staff in the past. However, with the emergence of new universities and private universities, the practice of moonlighting by the academic staff has made it possible to accommodate new entrants into higher education in Tanzania.

The mobility of lecturers or academic staff from one university to the other has an adverse effect on students and universities. Such effect has been observed in literature and even among international evaluation committees (Zeelen 2012). The example of Ghana and Tanzania in a study showed that the same name of academic staff members and their coordinates appear at different universities and campuses and even at newly established private universities (Zeelen 2012:139). Moonlighting may sometimes be linked to the challenge of remuneration or the poor salary of the academic staff. As a result, we can observe the mobility of academic staff from place to place, from one university to the other in order to make extra income to meet their needs. From the data, I also observe the predominance of ‘moonlighting’ (Thaver 2004). I had the opportunity of interviewing three academic staff members at one of the public universities during other engagements at other institutions as they were only available for me at the time of such engagements.

4.2.7 Limitations in terms of academic staff

The perception of the paucity of academic staff as a hindrance to the actualization of the access mandate has been mentioned by most of the categories that were involved in this study.

A respondent highlights that:

I don't know. All is dependent on the availability of funds. Dodoma was to slow down because the numbers of lecturers were poor. The Assistant Lecturers were three times the size of Lecturers and that should not be the case. (Interview with State B; Respondent 16)

The respondent indicates that the university had challenges in establishing itself as a university. One of the challenges for the University of Dodoma aside from funding is the paucity of academic staff. The respondent reiterates that the ratios of assistant lecturers to students are more in number when compared with that of the senior lecturers. Such a notion of lower level academics being higher in numbers than the senior academics highlights the same elements that were indicated in Chapter 5.2.3. Furthermore, the element of greater number of lower academics as against lower numbers of top level academics are perceived as consequential to the need for expansion of academic staff in Chapters 4.1.8 in the access mandate and as needed for qualified staff in Chapters 5.5.3 of the quality mandate.

One respondent offered the view that:

The government privatises universities means many universities have been established in our country without the preparations of enough lecturers in the universities, therefore we have the short fall of lecturers in many universities, and most of them are in the retired age, yes that for me is another challenges. (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 17)

The quotation above highlights the notion of privatisation of universities to increase access provision. However, new universities are being established without adequate provision of academic staff to teach at newly introduced universities. There is the perception that such establishment of new universities without considering academic staff has created the problem of a paucity of academic staff at these newly established universities.

This section has indicated the many ways that the access mandate has been construed and responded to by the supervising Ministry and the Directorate of Higher Education. The different constructions of access are succinctly captured by the respondents and the scholarly

literature engaged in to elaborate on the data. The next session will present the data from the state accreditation body – the Tanzania Commission for Universities and its perception of the access mandate.

4.3 The Perception of the Accreditation Body

The respondents from the accreditation body category, namely the Tanzania Universities Commission, were probed on the extent of engagement with the reform initiatives by public universities. Their construction of the access mandate includes liberalization of access through the establishment of new universities, new university colleges and degree awarding institutions. There is evidence of the introduction of private universities which is also a way of expanding access through the establishment of new universities as well as access implementation through the increase in the number of enrolments. Access is also construed through the introduction of new courses and new programmes at universities that are sometimes outside their university type. There is the mention of expanded access and enrolment through the central admission system. The central admission system is a system that ensures that only one university offers placement to a candidate who applied for a space at universities in Tanzania. Another indication from the data from the accreditation body is the challenge of infrastructure and its effect on the access mandate.

4.3.1 Liberalization of higher education through increasing the number of universities and degree awarding institutions

In responding to the construction of the access mandate in the reform, a respondent mentions that:

Let me start with access to Universities. Actually, Tanzania has liberalized Higher Education. If you look at the number of Universities which have emerged, we have about maybe 43 Universities at the moment. As Tanzania Commission for Universities we are supporting, coordinating and regulating and also responsible for accreditation of these Universities. So at the moment most of universities which we as Tanzania Commission for Universities are accrediting are to provide education which is required by the country. (Interview with State C; Respondent 1)

The quotation above highlights the perception of expanded access that occurs through the increase in the number of universities. This is happening in the context of the liberalisation of

higher education (Charles 2006). Within the discourse on the liberalization of higher education, there are views that a number of new universities have been established. The signal in the literature from the Tanzanian Commission for Universities reveals that about 53 institutions in Tanzania are using the central admission system (URT/ TCU 2011:5-8) for admitting students into their programmes. Apart from that, there is also the mention of about 37 universities and university centres and campuses (URT/ TCU 2011:5-8). This however, brings about some disparity on the true number of universities in Tanzania (URT/ TCU 2011:5-8).

The response above also highlights that the TCU accredits universities. The Tanzania Commission for Universities by the Act No. 7 of 2005 that established the universities has various duties. These duties include, registering, accreditation, support and coordination of all higher education institution activity in Tanzania to provide quality education among other specified duties.

Another respondent giving credence to the element of the liberalisation of the higher education landscape with the introduction of both new and private universities maintains that:

As far as the MKUKUTA is concerned, there are several strategies that the government is implementing in higher education in Tanzania where the MKUKUTA (sic) is among the regulatory bodies. We have both public and private Universities. What is the impact that the normal person is expecting from higher education? It is increased access where more people now have access to higher education after which their life style will change. Parents will also expect their children to go for higher education. We had to expand the higher education because we are now getting many students that graduate from the lower levels that will roam the streets with qualification for higher education but with nowhere to go. Currently, we have a global view with regard to our Universities. Most of universities are expanding and they have to adhere to quality. If a university expands enrolment, they have to provide evidence of increase in facilities. (Interview with State C, Respondent 2)

The above quotation suggests multiple strategies that the Tanzanian government has employed to ensure the implementation of the higher education reform initiative. The strategies include the engagement of both public and private universities to ensure expansion

of access in higher education institutions. The observed increased access to higher education institutions is a consequence of the practices at the lower levels - primary and secondary schools (see Chapters 4.1.2).

Another perception from the quotation above is that Tanzania is aligning its higher education activity to what is obtainable on the global landscape. The expansion or massification of higher education is a global higher education phenomenon and this is observed in international literature (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009:1-2; see also Altbach 2007). The notion of expanded enrolment while adhering to providing quality education is also elicited. The need for quality education is also a global incidence on the global higher education landscape (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009:51). The issue of quality education will be discussed in Chapter five.

4.3.2 The establishment of private universities

Another perception of access as the establishment of private universities was also mentioned in Chapter 4.2.6. The respondents from this category also pointed out that higher education has been liberalized in Tanzania through the encouragement of private provision of higher education.

A respondent indicates that:

Also we are liberalizing education and as a result, private Universities are coming up now to fill the gap because the government alone will not be able. Quite a number of Private Universities have contributed much to increase access to Universities. Universities are up to 42. I will not call them all Universities but they are colleges and combined and are degree award giving colleges. They are up to 42. Actually we have not reached where we want but we are entering into it. (Interview with State C; Respondent 3)

From the above, we note that there is the notion of private entrance onto the higher education landscape in Tanzania as an example of promoting access. The establishment of private universities is a reaction to “the demand for university education that is high in Tanzania” (Ishengoma 2007:86; see also Levy 2006). The increase and “growth in the demand

absolving the private higher education sector in Tanzania” is an indication of the “low admission rates” at public universities (Ishengoma 2007:86 -87).

The reason for the liberalization of the university system in Tanzania is to provide higher education for graduates with lower levels of education hence, the government decision to allow private providers to come on board to provide education. With expanded access to higher education and an increase in the demand for university education, the private surge was observed to account for about 62.5% of enrolment in the year 2006/2007. This is the period that falls within the higher education reform of the MKUKUTA mandate.

Despite the efforts made and the achievement of the private surge onto the higher education landscape by private individuals, religious organisations have also engaged critically in the provision of private universities (Banya 2001). The response from the quotation seems to reveal that there is still space for more universities and more entrants to the university provision arena.

4.3.3 New programmes and courses as instances of the access mandate

The establishment of new programmes as an example of advancing the access mandate recurs throughout the data.

From another angle, the respondent mentioned that:

So in most of our universities, we have introduced entrepreneurship programs. So that students after graduation should not be job seekers but be self employed and in that way address the MKUKUTA issues. When they have their own business in Agriculture or whatever then they can address the issue of the MKUKUTA. (Interview with State C; Respondent 4)

Among the new programs established in universities is the entrepreneurship programme (see Chapter 4.1.3 and 4.1.5). This entrepreneurship programme is introduced as a way of ensuring that university graduates are trained to be self employed and develop skills that will be useful to their nation and their private businesses.

Another respondent also emphasizes the role of the entrepreneurship program:

They are playing very critical role to achieve that mandate. The roles of university are to teach; research and outreach programs. A lot of Professors in university are researching in Education, Agriculture and several fields. They are playing major role in achieving the MKUKUTA. In university of Dar es Salaam, we have entrepreneurship program which reaches to local people to train them in Small and Medium Enterprises management to make profit. (Interview with State C; Respondent 5)

The core functions of universities as highlighted in the data are consistent with the elements identified in literature (Marginson and Rhoades, 2002:287). Within these core functions, public universities in Tanzania have found the linkage and alignment with the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA.

The establishment of the entrepreneurship program and the particular university where the program is located is revealed. The entrepreneurship programme is not just critical to the university community but also to the surrounding communities and the local people. There is the perception that through the programme on entrepreneurship, the local people are given the opportunity to access training in small and medium enterprises management. Such training on the management of their small and medium enterprises is highlighted to increase the profit of their business. These considerations can be related to the notion of universities that Nyerere, the foremost president of Tanzania had for his country which was set up to meet the aspirations of the people. Another indication from the data is that of promoting the essence of higher education and universities in Tanzania and Africa in order to bring about the “sense of commitment to the local people” (Nyerere 1968:52). This sense of commitment can only be actualized when public universities extend their activities to positively affect the lives of the indigenes.

The respondent also highlights that research activities are being engaged in by the professors at universities. Such research activities are indicated within the university programmes and courses in Agriculture, Education, among other fields of knowledge production.

4.3.4 Expanding in terms of enrolment

The expansion of enrolment as an instance of access is succinctly captured in the response that:

The Public Universities are expanding in terms of enrolment. Expansion has happened in terms of increase of new colleges. SUA has Moshi Coperative College which is awarding degrees now and will soon be independent. Mzumbe has a campus in Dar on Business Education also Mbeya campus is also expanding from just a campus of law to accommodate other programs. Open University has a lot of campuses all over Tanzania. New Courses: The SUA has expanded from agriculture to be offering other courses like Teacher education and other subjects and programs. They are going beyond their boundaries. (Interview with State C; Respondent 6)

The quotation above highlights that public universities have been responding to the reform initiative through expanded enrolment. The element of expanded enrolment has been dominant in all the categories that were interviewed for this research. Within the access debate, there is the indication that student enrolment has increased, and the increase in expansion can be seen in the new colleges which have been transformed into becoming degree awarding institutions.

The respondent also mentions Sokoine University of Agriculture and the new courses that are beyond their boundaries as Agricultural universities. Cross referencing this data set with the response from the public universities around the element of introducing new programmes (Chapter, 4.1.5) there is the perception that most of the programmes have been established in consonance with the university types. All public universities during the period of the MKUKUTA set up Education faculties to offer courses in Language and other new courses based on their university type. The essence of these programmes is targeted at training teachers for the newly established secondary schools. The data identifies the Open University establishment as an instance of the access mandate. This is the first time in this whole narrative that reference has been made to Open University as an instance of university responsiveness to the access mandate through the establishment of a new university.

Unlike other responses from this category, the response above has a clear knowledge of how the public universities and even beyond had addressed expansion of access. The Tanzanian Commission of Universities also pointed out clearly as having contributed through their

ascribed function in aiding expanded access especially not only through accreditation, but also through support, co-ordination and management of the central admission system.

4.3.5 Introduction of the central admission system

The perception of the introduction of the central admission system as a way of addressing the access mandate has been emphasized by the respondents of the buffer bodies.

A respondent from the accreditation body highlights that:

Also as a process of increasing access, we have introduced what we call the central admission System. We used to historically have each university admitting (students) on its own. You have one person been admitted into 5 places. And that means denying access to others. At the end of the day, you see universities are full but it's actually a few students applying everywhere. The central Admission System which started about 3 years ago has really improved and almost everyone who has finished high school and has got specified requirements will get access at the moment and the number has increased. Only a few universities are not into the central admission system. All the public universities and almost all the private Universities are using it and it has increased access to universities. (Interview with State C. Respondent 8)

From the quotation above, there is the perception of the introduction of the central admission system as an instance of the “access mandate”. The introduction of the central admission system is said to have helped in ensuring candidates find placement at universities, one at a time at a reasonable single fee payment. The central admission system is highlighted to have brought an end to the old system of multiple admissions to different universities for a single candidate.

The respondent above highlights the work of the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) showcasing what they are doing to encourage access through the central admission process. The element of the central admission system is consistent with the data in Chapter 4.5.2. From my reading of the data from this category, all the respondents highlighted the importance of the central admission system and how it has helped with the placement of candidates at public and private universities and degree awarding higher education institutions in Tanzania. As mentioned:

So in one way or another initially admissions in universities were done by students themselves going directly to universities to apply. Now the TCU have the final say in forwarding those names of the students who have been selected. The aim is to ensure that we increase the expansion in enrolments. We will not have reached that much without these tools, the central admission system. (Interview with State C. Respondent 9)

From the quotation above, there is the perception that the admission process into public universities in Tanzania was flawed. Formerly, aspiring candidates desiring higher education had to directly interact with universities to secure placement. However, the Tanzania Commission for Universities seems to have provided a better and innovative way to ensure more candidates find placements at universities and higher education institutions in Tanzania. The essence of the introduction of the innovative systems is basically to ensure the expansion of access in the universities. The Tanzania Commission for Universities engaged better with candidates' placement at universities and degree awarding higher education institutions with the establishment of the central admission system. The central admission system is therefore highlighted as a tool for access expansion and increased enrolment at public universities.

4.3.6 Inadequate provision of infrastructure for the expanded access

There is the perception of developing infrastructure as an example of access. In the discourse from the accreditation bodies, there seems to be the indication that infrastructural facilities are not being provided by the government and yet they are interested in ensuring that universities engage with the access mandate.

A respondent reveals that:

The Government will ask you as a university to increase enrolment. There is the challenge of insufficient accommodation for students because of Government demands for increased enrolment. Also insufficient lecture theatre is a challenge in our universities. The issue of inadequate fund/budget for development projects too. Government do not release funds on time and the funds keep reducing. The Library sometimes does not support all the programs. Like the Government asked public universities to start Faculty of Education but there were no funds to stock books and facilities for the new Faculty. ICT materials are a huge issue as they are not enough for the students. (Interview with State C. Respondent 10)

The response above highlights the perception of the government mandate to public universities to expand enrolment (see Chapter 4.1.2 and 4.2.2). However, there are some challenges as a result of the expanded access that the students face at universities as they seek higher education. Some of these challenges are the paucity of accommodation for students, inadequacy of the lecture theatres and the challenge of infrastructure to support expanded access.

The need for improved facilities and infrastructural development to accentuate expanded access is important as enrolment at universities explodes. Among the problems of increasing access to universities are the issues of “inadequate infrastructure and equipment as well as poor library facilities” (Aluede, Idoho and Imonikhe 2012:8) as indicated in a study in Nigeria. The observation of these challenges may not be limited to the Nigerian case alone but can be seen to be a reflection of the problems and challenges of increased access at most African universities and in Tanzania.

Another challenge to the implementation of the access mandate by the public universities is highlighted in the quotation above as the declined access to development funds for public universities. The element of development funds at public universities and the inability of the government to release them have been highlighted in Chapter 4.2.5 and 4.3.6.

With the challenge of infrastructural facilities, the notion of the capacity of the libraries to support the newly established programs is raised. Reference is drawn from the quotation on the fact of the non-supportiveness of the library more specifically, for the education faculties at universities. There is the perception that despite the governmental mandate for the public universities to establish education faculties to train teachers for primary and secondary schools, this is not matched by resources. There was inadequate provision of support to the libraries for the task ahead. The libraries usually stock books and reading materials that are accessed by students at universities, however, this respondent reveals that the libraries were found wanting in their primary duty to the new faculties. Aside from the revelation about the paucity of reading materials in the library, the paucity of ICT materials for the students is also revealed.

This section has engaged with the data on access and the ways it was construed by the accreditation bodies. The different constructions of access are succinctly captured by the respondents and the scholarly literature engaged in to elaborate on the data. In the next section, a critical look at data from the donor partners will be presented accordingly.

4.4 Perceptions of the Policy Secretariat - the MKUKUTA Secretariat

The question of extent of engagement and understanding of the public universities with the reform initiative was put to the MKUKUTA Secretariat category. The majority of the respondents construed the question of engagement from the perspective of expansion of access, engagement of universities through their normalised and core function of training, and teaching and research activities as an implementation of the reform. In the data, there is the revelation of non-logical and coherent engagement of public universities in the formulation and implementation of the reform initiative which has been corrected in the successor strategy – the MKUKUTA 11.

4.4.1 Generation and funding of research for the nation's use

The perception of the Secretariat is about the expectation of universities to engage in research. Their engagement in research is viewed from the perspective of encouraging universities to generate research findings that will be useful for the Tanzanian nation which is part of their core functions as universities. It was revealed that:

The implementation process, now they are now playing key role in research areas and good enough that research agenda has been given priority and the government is contributing a lot of money under the coordination of COSTEC. We are encouraging them to get findings from researches which will help to improve different programs, projects and development and poverty reduction initiatives and of course it will include growth. So like my department, under monitoring system most of the researches, most of analysis from the surveys which have been conducted are used by the national bureau of statistics. They use those data in doing their researches, they also go for further researches in different parts of the country and we expect a lot from them to continue providing inputs in different sectors. (Interview with State D. Respondent 2)

The quotation above showcases that universities are also involved in the implementation of the strategy. There is the perception that universities are engaging in research within the implementation framework and the government is also encouraging them through funding. One of the identified ways that the Tanzanian government is encouraging its public universities with regard to funding is through the promise of the one percent GDP. The government of Tanzania has promised to encourage scientific research in its higher education institutions through the contribution of one percent GDP for the national research agenda under the co-ordination of COSTECH. However, UNESCO/ESRF (2011:20) clearly points out that despite the government mandate to invest one percent GDP in the National Research Fund for research and development only 0.04 percent had been disbursed to the lead agency. Teferra (2003:130) traces the history of the drive to engage African nations to invest in their research and development since the UNESCO conference of 1964. At that conference, African nations were mandated to invest in their S&T at the rate of 0.5 percent of their GNP for scientific research and it has been rising since then. At present it can hardly be said, that any the African nations have fulfilled that intervention (Teferra 2003).

The respondent above also revealed the engagement of universities through their research and the expectation of public universities to generate research for national use. Furthermore there is the highlight that the MKUKUTA Secretariat, the MKUKUTA monitoring systems, and the National Bureau of Statistics were using research data generated by universities in their analysis and compilation of statistics for the Tanzanian nation. The need to ensure that teaching and research from universities are directed towards specific usage in the nation either for economic or social development is indicated in literature (Goddard and Chatterton 2001:9). The engagement of the research generated from public universities is a signal to their responsiveness and their engagement as critical actors and agents of development.

4.4.2 Strengthening capacity or supporting human development initiatives

The building of human capacity as an instance of the access mandate is important. This is indicated in the response that:

There is the strengthening of capacity or supporting the human development initiatives because we have that strategy in the MKUKUTA, that we should also enhance the capacity of Tanzanians in different areas. Being higher learning

institutions, they are almost everywhere. We are expecting them to be more and more helpful in assisting to improve the quality of the Tanzanian education. I was presenting a paper in Mpwapwa village mpwapwa district and realised that higher learning institutions are also providing a lecture on rural development initiative to the district planners to improve the planning at the district level. That paper was presented by one of the lecturers from the university. When the government want to recruit quality and educated employees, they also take those ones in those institutions for example we have a very good example of the deputy permanent secretary. (Interview with State D. Respondent 3)

From the above quotation it can be deduced that universities are providing access through their capacity training and their contribution to human development initiatives to positively affect the capacity of Tanzanians. Public universities are perceived to be engaged in the training and education of their students which is also part of their core function. This theme resonates with the social function of universities and the multiplicity of roles that universities are being engaged in by their national governments. Shore (2010:18) points out that, public universities are being engaged by their governments in an “extraordinary wide range of strategic roles and functions” that is sometimes complimentary to their core functions and sometimes is not.

The quotation above further signals that public universities are to provide quality education and training opportunities for the local people, and also provide quality skilled staff to run the national government. The issue of skills and capacity development raised within this quotation is consistent with the data from Chapter 4.2.3. In this aspect of the data, the notion of research, training, engaging in implementation and formulation of the strategy is raised among many others in the quotation above. Literature also indicates that universities have multiple roles to play for their national governments and as such may have to undergo some changes in their known and expected role of “knowledge production” (Gibbons et al. 1994) in order to accomplish those functions. There are also indications that universities are viewed in forms that are beyond knowledge production and dissemination and even beyond their core functions of teaching and training; and research and community engagement. As the view of universities and their contribution to their nations are developing, there is the perception of universities as “an employer and a source of human capital development in promoting a

flexible and adaptable work force” (Charles 2006:117; see also Goddard and Chatterton 1999).

Furthermore, the above response echoes the social function of universities as discussed in Chapter 2.1 to 2.1.3. In the literature on the social function of universities, Shore (2010:19) reveals that there is an observed “new multi-layered conception” that now identifies that they “serve a plethora of functions” that extends to the “symbolic economic and political functions” that this quotation above tends to capture. The symbolic economic and political function expected of universities in this data includes meeting the governmental vision, giving lectures and presenting papers at local forums and allowing the government to employ trained faculty members from public universities as part of its cabinet.

4.4.3 Limited coordination of public universities

There is the perception of poor co-ordination and involvement of public universities in the process of formulation and implementation of the MKUKUTA initiatives. My overall reading of the data from public universities also points out that the engagement of universities by the Tanzanian government during the MKUKUTA was poor. Most were only engaged as individuals or as consultants but not as a unit, not as institutions or universities or as higher education institutions.

The elements of poor coordination of universities are indicated in the response that:

In terms of implementation, the expectations from the Government and the MKUKUTA process were to continue with the researchers to bring the findings of the researches to increase productivity in Agriculture, Manufacturing and other productive sectors. In practice we did not bring in enough mechanism to bring public universities in to play that part. Some public universities have engaged communities to do research but such coordination was not strong. There was no mechanism in place to ensure that the public universities were brought in a more cogent manner. We took for granted that once the MKUKUTA is out and there is advocacy and awareness, everything will be ok. We never really thought that the MKUKUTA is being implemented by everybody without thinking of coordination of the different activities by the stakeholders. More could have been achieved if there was proper coordination. This has been corrected in the MKUKUTA2. University of Dar es

Salaam, university of Dodoma and Sokoine University of Agriculture are now brought in to ensure coordination. (Interview with State D. Respondent 4)

The themes emerging from this quotation above are indicative of the fact that universities were not wholly coordinated or engaged with regard to the implementation of the MKUKUTA 1. However, it has to be pointed out that this is despite the evidence also from most of the data from this category that tends to indicate that the government engaged universities. There are perceptions that the government, during the process of the MKUKUTA formulation and implementation, had a critical role for the universities. Such suppositions are being questioned by this perception as captured in the quotation above. There is the perception that some universities were engaged anyway but also there is the highlight that such engagement and their coordination was poor and at most was with individual researchers at universities.

Another perception in the quotation above is that university researchers were expected to contribute through their research to an increase in productivity in not only Agricultural but also other drivers of the Tanzanian economy. The engagement of university researchers to produce research is one of the core functions of universities as noted in literature (Marginson and Rhoades 2002:287). However, there is a revelation from this data that the government and the MKUKUTA Secretariat did not make provision for any mechanism to ensure that public universities participated in a coherent or logical manner in the implementation of the MKUKUTA initiatives. Such lack of coherence in ensuring that universities were involved in the MKUKUTA activities from the beginning could be part of the reason for some of the observed resistance to the policy.

Such resistance has been indicated in the responses that reveal the lack of interest, ignorance and lack of knowledge (Gilens 2001) of the MKUKUTA mandates of the reform initiative. Notwithstanding the non-engagement of the universities, they continued to carry out their core function of research and engagement with communities in research without any strong co-ordination from the government.

Despite the suggestions from the data about the lack of coordination regarding public universities, the MKUKUTA secretariat still argues that with advocacy and awareness, the

MKUKUTA was being implemented. As evidenced in this quotation, there is the flaw of over generalisation where it was assumed that the MKUKUTA had wide implementation even without co-ordination of the public universities at institutional level. The data also revealed the absence of co-ordination of the different stakeholders and their activities while also acceding that with proper co-ordination, the MKUKUTA 1 would have achieved much. The coordination challenge has however been improved in the successor strategy, the MKUKUTA 11. The public universities in this study are all part of the co-ordination, formulation and implementation of the MKUKUTA 2 as against their being sidelined in the MKUKUTA 1.

4.4.4 Opportunity for liberalization of higher education provisions

There is an indication in the data from the policy secretariat that the understanding and implementation of the access initiative by the public universities gave rise to the increasing trend of liberalization of higher education provisions.

A respondent captured this response as:

As people learnt there is an opportunity for higher education, we had religious groups come up with their universities from both Muslims and Christians. St John's; Anglican, St Augustine; Catholic, Tumaini; Lutheran Church, Herbert Kairuki university; Private Medical university, Ardi university which used to be a college but now a university. University of Dodoma established by the Government to offer placement to about 40,000 to 50, 000 students. I have a problem with Colleges all becoming Universities as they used to produce the middle cadre, but recently, they have realized and are correcting that by producing diplomas as well. We need technicians as well as Engineers. (Interview with State D. Respondent 5)

The quotation above highlights the expansion of access through the liberalization of higher education provision in Tanzania. There is the engagement of the public and private sector as well as religious groups establishing universities within the period of the reform initiative. The different religious organisations and their established universities are also mentioned.

The respondent continues that the University of Dodoma as a public university is established by the government to enroll between 40,000 to 50,000 students. The University of Dodoma

as a signal to access expansion in the Tanzanian higher education system was also indicated in Chapter 4.2.6. The respondent also points out his reservation about established colleges being converted to degree awarding institutions since Tanzanian society still needs middle skilled men like technicians.

This section has presented the diverse construction of access by the MKUKUTA secretariat. The following section will present the perceptions of the international aid partners and the different ways that they have construed the access mandate.

4.5 Perception of International Aid Partners

International Aid Partners were probed on the extent of engagement and meaning making of the reform of public universities as spelled out in the MKUKUTA policy document. Within the responses from the donor partner category, meaning making and extent of engagement of access, there are interpretations such as expansion of access; integration of the higher education system through the central admission process; public universities engagement with the pedagogical function of new programs; existence of gaps in the MKUKUTA objectives and state practices. There is the construction of access through the provision of technology, infrastructure, funding and the creation of an enabling environment for both teaching and learning. In addition, the reorganisation of the loans scheme to meet the need of poor Tanzanian students is also highlighted. I have isolated specific aspects of the data that point to these responses.

4.5.1 The constant increase, “numbers are growing”

The increase in the number of students that have access to public universities is identified as an example of access being advanced. In this regard, it was mentioned that:

At the higher education level, the numbers are growing but the quality, prioritization and ensuring that the priority disciplines are supported is not just beginning to be addressed now. World Bank has a program with Government addressing some of these issues and there have been some areas of reforms in higher education Sector. One of them is that the higher education system is now integrated, the admission process are all integrated. (Interview with DP, Respondent 1)

The quotation above yields the perception of the expanded access that is manifest with the exploding enrolment at public universities. However, there is the notion that the increase in the number of students is not correlating or being matched with “quality and prioritization of disciplines”. The element of increasing access that is identified in this quotation has been discussed in Chapter 4.1.3 and 4.2.4. However, despite increasing access, the issue of quality and emphasis on priority disciplines is still a challenge. The indication of the challenge of quality after the submission of increased access is in accord with most of the respondents in this research according to the data.

The respondent seems to be abreast with the reforms in the higher education sector and mentions especially that the higher education system is becoming integrated into the Tanzanian environment. Such supposition above may imply the lack of integration of the higher education systems before the onset of the reform. The integration of the higher education system in Tanzania has given rise to a unified system of admission and placement for candidates who are interested in higher education at all the degree awarding institutions in the country as discussed in Chapter 4.3.5. In another response, a respondent from the International Aid partnership highlights that:

Let’s start with the big one the expansion of course has increased, expansion of the higher education level has increased significantly, that one nobody will question it regardless the quality issue but actually the expansion has increased. (Interview with DP, Respondent 2)

In this quotation, there is the indication of expansion that is evident in the increase in number of public universities. The element of expansion within the higher education sector has been a consistent finding within the access debate. This element has been raised by almost all the respondents in this research. Also there is the issue of expansion of access in the higher education sector despite the challenges of quality.

4.5.2 Establishment of the central admission system

From my overall reading of the data, there is the mention of the central admission system as the way that the World Bank, the identified International Aid partner, has ensured that access

is implemented at public universities and all the degree awarding higher education institutions in Tanzania.

A respondent has the view that:

We have established the system, in previous years we were having the manual system whereby the students were making application. We have now the Central Admission System in place which we can address that has improved access and eliminated problems. Even to those who are poor, have poor earnings they can be able to use the system with small resources compared to the previous one. So in one way or another through World Bank we can say that we have realized the change by having their support in higher education. (Interview with DP; Respondent 2)

In the quotation above there is the perception that the establishment of the Central Admission System (CAS) has helped in integrating the activities of universities as against the manual system that had a lot of flaws. There is an indication from the quotation above by respondent (DP Respondent 2) that the old manual system of placement of candidates at universities was flawed, and cumbersome. There is the highlight also that the central admission system also helps in saving funds for students from poor backgrounds. This is evident in the quotation that even poor students can afford the use of the central admission system to apply for placement at university. The element of the establishment of the central admission system in this quotation is consistent with the element raised in Chapter 5.3.5.

Another respondent also indicated that:

We are supporting TCU in carrying out their work with the universities. Previously students used to apply to TCU manually and individually, but through our support we established a system whereby students just make single application with single payment of 30,000 instead of the former system which required 20,000 per application per university. Also it helped to solve the problem of double admission. (Interview with DP; Respondent 3)

In the quotation above, there is the perception of the International Aid partners engaging with the accreditation body through consensus building to ensure the implementation of the “access mandate”. Such consensus building is within the discourse indicated in the central

admission system. There is the view on how the establishment of the central admission system has helped in saving funds for candidates applying to universities for placement. Another indication as pointed out above is that the establishment of the central admission system has helped in reducing the problem of one candidate having multiple admissions/placements at other universities to the detriment of others.

4.5.3 Funding through the higher education student loans scheme

Another instance of the access mandate construction is that the loan scheme has been revitalised and loans offered to higher education students who qualify for funding. The element of funding through the higher education loans scheme as an indication of the access mandate is consistent with the elements in the discussion from Chapter 4.1.7.

A respondent reveals that:

We have done research to show that most of the poor people don't even get the loan nor get to higher education as the loans (higher education students' loans) goes to the rich kids. So you end up giving money to the wealthy and you subsidize them that, 50% is for living cost and the housing and food etc. You basically are given money to the wealthy. World Bank have done some work with the Government and the Government set up a presidential commission and we got a world expert come in to help re-organize the loans scheme and it's much more targeted to the poor. The Government is putting a cap on how the Treasury can actually give to the Loans Scheme and things are much more improved as at this year. (Interview with DP; Respondent 4)

The quotation above reveals that the issue of poor distribution of the loans scheme to the students gave rise to the loans being wrongfully allocated to the children of the rich who do not need loans. This is against the loans being properly and rightly disbursed to the children from the poor homes that actually are in need of these loans to be able to access higher education.

The loans scheme makes provision for the subsidization of living cost, meals and housing of the students to about 50%. These are indices that the students from the wealthy quintile can easily provide as against those from the poor quintile. The perception is that the World Bank

is ensuring that the anomalies with the disbursement of the loans scheme are challenged and corrected by insisting that the loans are disbursed justifiably. There is the notion that the World Bank partnered with the government to ensure not only the reorganisation of the loans scheme but also equitable distribution of the loans to the students who truly are in need of the loans. This intervention was in partnership with the government presidential committee that was set up to revitalise and reorganise the higher education students' loans board (HESLB) while the World Bank provided the technical expertise.

The interaction between the government and the World Bank can be said to have triggered the national government of Tanzania to place a cap on the amount of funds to be made available through the treasury to the loans scheme from the budget allocation to higher education. Ensuring a particular amount of funds and the way it is to be disbursed to the loans scheme through the budget is targeted at ensuring the equitable distribution of loans to the poor quintile. Such equitable distribution of loans is to ensure that the funds are used by the system to provide only loans to the students who need them. The theme from this data signals that the intervention of the loans board has in a way helped to increase access of higher education to other Tanzanian students, especially poor students who would not be able to afford the cost of higher education without a loan from the Higher Education Students' Loans Board.

4.5.4 Disparity between the budget, funding allocation and what is obtainable in practice

In the construction of the access mandate, there is the issue of the tension that exists between what is available in the MKUKUTA and what the government is implementing. There is also the observable gap between practice at institutional level and practices at state level. This respondent insisted on commenting on the observed gap within the MKUKUTA, government and the implementation relationship. The response was that:

There are three huge gaps in Tanzania between what is in the MKUKUTA document, what is in the budget and what is implemented. There is a big gap in what they say they will do and what is actually implemented. In the document, some things are mentioned that are not aligned in the budget many times and there is a big gap in what they say they will do and what they put their monies into. There is a big gap between

what they put their money into and what is actually implemented. Some stuff are actually not implemented and at the end of the fiscal year, money is sitting around and people in Government start travelling. These are real problems and the World Bank is quite honest about it to the Government. Some people are also trying to make things happen in the Government. There is need to put the right people in the right position. We need to have incentives for these people so we can encourage them. (Interview with DP; Respondent 5)

In the quotation above the emerging themes give the perceptions of the tension that is existent in the implementation of the MKUKUTA initiatives and the practice at state level. This respondent highlights that there is a gap in the MKUKUTA document itself, and that there is gap in the budget as well as gaps in what is being implemented at institutional level. There is the existent tension between what government expects from its higher education institutions and what universities are prepared to implement. This is different from what is implemented at universities and what is actually in the national budget. The gap within the budget could be as a result of the non- alignment of practices at institutional level to the themes in the MKUKUTA which is different from what is implemented through the budget.

Such non-alignment of the budget to the practices at institutional and state level could be the reason for the huge unused funds that the government officials have to spend and, use for travel and meetings that this respondent sees as wasteful. Despite the observed anomalies in the practices at different governmental levels and the gross mismanagement of funds, there are still certain government officials that are quite effective at their jobs and who need to be better incentivised.

4.5.5 “Business as usual” with teaching and research as core functions of Universities

The engagement of universities with the core functions of teaching, learning and research are viewed as part of the reform in the MKUKUTA and as part of its normal everyday activity is also a way of interpreting the access initiative. There is however the question around the possibility of public universities to still be engaged in these core functions even outside the reform.

Another respondent indicates in a most humorous way that:

I mean as I say it is business as usual, but in a way there are some elements closely linked to the MKUKUTA. You go to a university like Sokoine University, they are doing a lot of research etc, there are exactly elements developed that are making impacts. Some of the others like you go to the University of Dar es Salaam they are teaching, but these are the things they will continue to do even if they didn't have the MKUKUTA, but there are some elements. There are some also in business as usual. (Interview with DP, Respondent 7)

The quotation above highlights that the Sokoine University is implementing the reform initiative through their research engagement and the University of Dar es Salaam through their teaching and both are aspects of the core functions of universities. There is the highlight in the quotation above (DP; Respondent 7) of an aspect of the response that indicates the normative influence in the data and that is consistent with data from the public university category (See chapter 4.2.2). The extent of implementation pointed out in this data is consistent with the themes in the other categories. The data also points to a sarcastic response of “business as usual”.

4.5.6 Increase in enrolment with the introduction of new courses

There is the perception of an increase in enrolment and the introduction of new courses as an understanding and instance of the access mandate. The element of increase in enrolment as well as the new courses that were developed and offered by public universities has been discussed in Chapters 4.1.5 and 4.3.3.

The respondent elaborates that:

Enrolment has actually increased and new courses coming up and of course with our support actually we are only remaining with one year. But actually there is a delay in implementing this project, for example I can't say in term of quality we have improved. (Interview with DP; Respondent 8)

The quotation above indicates the perception of expanded access through increasing student enrolment. Also the expansions of access through pedagogical offering are highlighted in this data. The challenge of quality is once again raised in this category. The element of increase in enrolment and the introduction of new courses as an aspect of access mandate engagement

are consistent with the elements emanating from the other categories so far discussed (See chapters 4.1.5. and 4.3.3).

4.5.7 Review of curriculum

There is the perception of an ongoing review of curriculum at public universities as an instance of engaging with the “access mandate”.

This is captured in the response that:

Currently most of universities they are just finalizing reviewing their curriculum programs. One university have already completed reviewing the curriculum which is Ardhi University, and actually new programs has being started and inserted. On ICT the laboratories are there, for example Dar es Salaam University College of Education they have new laboratories and books. At least they have books, computer laboratory, of course on ICT almost all institutions they have already bought computers and installed it and text books. (Interview with DP; Respondent 9)

From the quotation above the review of curriculum at institutions is also highlighted. The data is clear that some of universities are still in the process of reviewing their curriculum while others are finalizing them. There is the perception of new programmes, and ICT laboratories at the Dar es Salaam University College of Education. The Dar es Salaam University College of Education is one of the new colleges that were established as a response to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA to ensure expanded access (See Chapter 4.1.6 and 4.2.7). Another perception is that infrastructure in terms of books, and computers are being provided for the universities. The provision of this infrastructure is targeted at ensuring that public universities engage with the “access mandate”.

Another respondent indicates that:

The third component is supporting on the curriculum reforms. We assist them in terms of experts to ensure that they have a curriculum which responds well to the labour market demands and requirement. And then those are specific areas we support them on. (Interview with DP; Respondent 10)

The above quotation gives the perception that the World Bank is supporting public universities in ensuring that they carry out curriculum reform. The reform of the curriculum is an important element within the discourse of ensuring the implementation of the access mandate and also to meet labour market demands. This support entails bringing in experts in curriculum reform who assist universities to remodel their curriculum along the lines that are labour market driven.

The element of curriculum review to meet labour market demands as well as ensuring the implementation of the access mandate is consistent with the elements from the quality data presentation (See Chapter 5.1.6 and 5.5.5). The World Bank category also gives the impression of having helped to engage universities and the entire higher education arena with the access initiative, especially through ICT provision to universities.

4.5.8 Infrastructural provisions

The access mandate is construed through the provision of infrastructural development to enhance the expansion of access.

This is indicated in the following response:

The second area we are supporting is the infrastructure because the government hasn't invested for a long time in terms of expansion of infrastructure or key facilities to ensure that the students are learning. We are doing expansion, remodelling and rehabilitation. It is called 'quick win' targeting priority areas. Currently, we are concentrating on the engineering and sciences disciplines and also educational teacher trainings, concentrating on sciences, mathematics and others, apart from training the teachers in areas of concentration. These help to increase the infrastructure and ensure the environment is suitable for teaching. That is where we focus, on engineering programs which are really critical to support the country's economy. (Interview with DP; Respondent 11)

There is the perception of the provision of infrastructure as an instance of engagement with the access mandate from the quotation above. The need for infrastructural development and support for public universities in order to help them achieve the access mandate is emphasized (See Chapter 4.2.5 and 4.3.6). There is the notion that the national government

has not been able to make provision for expansion of infrastructure despite increasing access. Apart from infrastructure provisions, there is also the perception that the national government also did not provide the key facilities that the students need for their learning. These key facilities may include ICT materials, teaching and learning materials like books and consumables for the laboratories and lecture halls.

Another perception in the quotation above is that the World Bank is engaged in the expansion, remodelling and rehabilitation of structures. During the data collection for this research, I went to Dar es Salaam University College of Education. I was shown the laboratories and lecture theatres that were being built, some rehabilitated through the funds from the World Bank. Evidence also abounds at the University of Dar es Salaam of the computer laboratories funded by the World Bank through the “quick win” and the Science, Technology and Higher Education Programme (STHEP). The same is applicable to the Sokoine University where the donor projects are visible.

The quotation above also highlights the perception of the “quick win” programme. The quick win programme is part of the Science, Technology and Higher Education Programme (STHEP) of the World Bank and the Tanzanian government. In this programme, there is the consensus building between the World Bank and its stakeholder, which is the Tanzanian national government and its public universities. The priority areas of the quick win are the same as the STHEP program. Emphasis is on Science, Engineering and Education subjects. Through the quick win project, public universities and their campuses and centres are provided with the necessary infrastructure, equipment and an enabling environment for learning. There is the indication of the support of the International Aid partners as being motivated to support the public universities so that they can support Tanzania’s economy.

Literature on universities as institutions in the changing times highlights that there is an “infrastructural force” that is signalling the way universities respond to evident global changes and their responsiveness to these “increasingly rapid demands” (Javis 2000:45). Part of the increasing rapid demands of universities is to respond to the market demands and forces and expand access for people desiring higher education. The tendency to be all these to their nations seems to be weighing down on universities in an environment of paucity of materials, infrastructure and enabling environment to train candidates yearning for higher

education. For universities to respond to the changing demands they may have to also engage with their nations' democratic role. The failure to engage with the national democratic role and priority policies may have the resultant effect that a university becomes dysfunctional or less functional (Javis 2000). With the donor partners and the International Aid Partners supporting most of the activities of nationally owned public universities, there may however, arise the issue of alliance of universities within the discourse of the clique that "he who pays the piper dictates the tune".

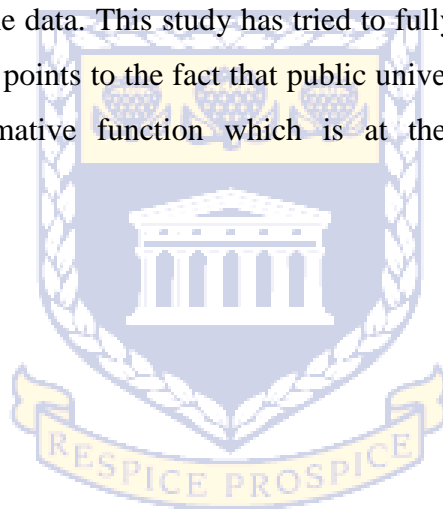
The overall narrative of the data from the above category points out the different ways that the World Bank, as the major international aid partner with the Tanzanian government in terms of strengthening the higher education sector, has provided interventions at public universities. The interventions were such as to ensure that public universities are responsive to the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. For example, the policy literature in Tanzania highlights participation rates to be low (HEDP 2005: ix). Such low rates of participation could also be the motivating factor in donor efforts to ensure that interventions could increase the participation rate for Tanzania in comparison to other nations in the region.

The International Aid Partners not only provide interventions but are also critical of the government in the areas that the state has not ensured the steering of the institutions to ensure implementation of the reform initiatives. Most of the data from the other categories pointed out the issue of funding that is dwindling and hampering the implementation of the reform initiative. Within the overall narrative of this category, funding is not raised as an important factor, as this category seems to be aware of how funds are managed through the budget. In addition, there is the issue of having people who are unqualified at the head of government establishments and this may affect implementation. The aspect of unqualified personnel at the helm of affairs is consistent with the data in Chapter 4.2.3.

In concluding this chapter, universities all through this narrative can be said to have engaged with the access mandate. In this part of the chapter, the International Aid Capital has detailed the ways that they have construed the access initiative as well as criticised the government for observed instances of non-steering of universities to ensure the implementation of the access mandate. The MKUKUTA 1 has mandated the higher education institutions to implement

the reform and public universities have made sense of the reform by implementing it in their identified, but different ways.

This section marks end of the chapter four on the construction of the access mandate by the different categories that were engaged for this study. Evidence has been presented in terms of the data collected from the different categories as pointed out in the methodology chapter. In the narrative presented in this chapter, evidence points to some public universities engaging with the diverse forms of access and also their knowledge of this initiative. I have tried to highlight the themes that were observed in the data, existing differences and the similarities across the categories, Furthermore, the literature is linked in to conform or contradict the themes from the data. This study has tried to fully engage with the institutions and evidence also sometimes points to the fact that public universities have engaged with the mandate through their normative function which is at the core of their function as universities.



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CHAPTER FIVE

QUALITY

5 Introduction

This chapter responds to the question about the extent to which public universities understand, interpret and have responded to quality initiatives in the higher education reform mandate of the MKUKUTA policy document. Working within the methods framework as outlined in Chapter three, the present chapter draws on the interview data and describes the extent of engagement of the different categories with the quality initiative as spelt out in the MKUKUTA policy mandate.

This data provides an overview of the responses from the three public universities, the state agencies and the other stakeholders as mentioned in Chapter three of this study. It is imperative to state that the themes that arise from the data are the ways in which the institutions have engaged with the MKUKUTA mandate. The elements from the data will be presented in the framework of the policy documents and the literature emanating respectively, from the Tanzanian government and the policy literature.

In opening up the chapter, I wish to state that the same way the probes and the respondents from the Chapter four on access were captured will be applied herein with the quality mandate. This chapter will now present the data from the different categories that were probed for their construction of the quality mandate.

5.1 Senior Executive university Leadership at Public Universities

The following section presents the perceptions, constructions and understanding of the senior level respondents from three of the foremost public universities established in Tanzania on the basis of the quality mandate. The Senior Executive Leadership of the public universities is clustered into two categories identified as the Executive Leadership and the Deanery.

5.1.1 Perceptions of the Executive Leadership and the Deanery

The data identifies the expectation that public universities in Tanzania are to provide “quality” education to the increasing number of young Tanzanians who desire higher

education. The overall data, points to the diverse ways that public universities have interpreted and understood the quality mandate from the perspective of the respondents from both the Executive Leadership and the Deanery.

These constructions of quality include the institutionalizing of the quality assurance directorate as a construction of quality to align with international and regional dimensions and the notion of quality construction through course delivery, labour force and the curriculum. There is the perception of quality as the training and retraining of staff, infrastructural provision and development. Quality is also construed in terms of collaboration with other bodies to ensure quality assurance. Each of these themes is discussed below taking into consideration the relevant quotations that illustrate certain arguments raised in the data. The unevenness that may arise from the responses will also be noted.

5.1.2 Institutionalizing quality through the establishment of quality assurance systems

In responding to the probe about the ways in which public universities understand and respond to the discursive marker “quality”, there were noted comments on the institutionalising of the quality assurance processes at universities.

One respondent from the Executive Leadership mentioned that: “we have created a specific directorate for quality assurance. This is to pay attention to quality”. The Deanery’s approach to the probe is: “We have started the directorate of quality assurance”. The two responses indicate a general consensus by the respondents about the challenge of quality and the establishment of the quality assurance structure. The above quotations from the executive leadership and the deanery indicate the importance of the establishment of a structure to oversee the extent to which quality assurance is implemented.

In the overall reading of the data, the respondents from the public universities pointed out the existence of a structure, the directorate of quality assurance or as one respondent termed it the quality assurance policy. At university A1, a respondent points out that “the university has many other policies, there is Quality Assurance Policy”. There tends to be a general consensus among the respondents from Senior Executive Leadership about the challenge of quality and the establishment of the quality assurance structure as indicated by the opening

quotations above. The pattern emerging from the data reinforces the existence of the Quality Assurance Policy or structure as indicated above.

A respondent from Executive Leadership captures this structure as:

The directorate of quality assurance exists to put quality assurance systems and schemes in place. They have different quality assurance policies to do with admissions, teaching, curriculum development and recruitment. Mzumbe is part of the interuniversity council in quality.” (Response from the Executive Leadership of university A3; Respondent 1)

The above indicates a consensus on the need for the establishment of quality assurance systems and their mapped out responsibilities in institutional life. These responsibilities include admissions, teaching, curriculum development and review, and recruitment of staff among others. The university is indicated to be a member of the inter university Council in the quotation above.

Another instance of the idea of the quality assurance policy or process is observed:

We have also formulated a quality assurance policy since 2010 where members go around during practical (work), lectures, examinations to check on how the students are seated, the lecture space and how they do their practical (work), their performance and how these activities are conducted around them. (Quotation from the Deanery of university A2; Respondent 2)

The need to establish a structure for the quality assurance directorate at public universities in Tanzania resonates with the debate in literature across the globe as highlighted in Chapter 2.8. Indications of quality being an international concern and the need to ensure its implementation at public universities have been highlighted in literature (Mok 2000:154). The increasing global interest in quality also signals the rising awareness and reference to quality assurance which is implicated in the assessment of university outputs with regard to the employability of its graduates. One of the themes in the reform document is that public universities are expected to produce graduates that are globally competitive and employable to administer Tanzanian national systems. The establishment of a quality assurance structure,

developed into a mechanism for oversight of quality, in other words, a governance directive as indicated in the reform, is the expectation from public universities.

Aside from the internal governance structure at universities ensuring the implementation or establishment of a quality assurance structure, there are also motivations from the East African region. At the regional level, there is the perception of the existence of an interregional structure that encourages the establishment of a quality assurance structure at institutional level.

In the data from the Executive Leadership the view is emphasized:

We have addressed the quality in a number of ways; we have collaborated with a number of external organs like the Interuniversity Council of East Africa to have a quality framework. (Response from the Executive Leadership of A3; Respondent 3)

This quotation indicates the presence of a regional body or governance structure that demands or mandates universities within the East African region to set up a quality framework or structure. Such collaboration of universities within the East African region is also emphasized as a form of collaboration to ensure quality assurance in Chapter 5. 1. 9. The observed difference in the responses from the Executive Leadership and the Deanery from the overall data is that the Executive Leadership from the three universities seems to generalise the implementation of quality. Such generalisation of the implementation of the quality mandate could be seen from the perspective that quality assurance as revealed in the data is a structure that engages with the university activity of teaching, curriculum and employment without pointing out the dynamics that are involved in ensuring the implementation of the quality initiative.

In addition, the Deanery also made reference to the need to ensure quality in terms of the academic performance of students. In this regard, it was revealed that holistically, the quality assurance directorate and its members are interested in how practices at the university level with regard to classroom arrangement and class practices affect student performance. The reason for this in-depth understanding of the quality assurance directorate and what its members do as university A2 indicates could be as a result of the fact that this respondent holds a prominent position in the Quality Assurance Directorate or unit of that university.

From the quotations the perceptions on the part of some of the respondents from the Deanery show a concern for the implementation of quality at the level of the academic project at the three universities involved in the study. With universities establishing the directorate of quality assurance as pointed out in the responses from both the Executive Leadership and the Deanery above, there seems to be an engagement of the institutions with the quality mandate.

5.1.3 Developing regional and global quality education structures and practices

The element of quality mandate interpretation through regional and global quality education structures and practices is consistent with the respondents on the probe into the quality mandate.

One of the respondents from the Executive Leadership mentioned that:

Quality is an issue! Last week we had a leadership dialogue in SA and that was an issue in universities in Southern Africa. We have increased access, yes and improved quality yes, but there are still challenges. (Interview with Executive Leadership, university A3; Respondent 4)

From the above, there is the concern about quality at public universities. There is the perception of the international alignment in the discourse on improving quality at higher education institutions. The international alignment with regional and global structures as indicated by universities in the Southern Africa region reveals that quality is a challenge in the region and as such is not limited to universities in Tanzania (See also Chapter 5.1.9).

However, from the quotation above, there exists the perception of improvement in quality but with also an indication of a challenge of quality despite the expanded access that is highlighted. The challenge of quality is existential, thus it could be pointed out or emphasized in a leadership dialogue of universities held in Southern Africa. It might be prudent to point out that Tanzania is one of the countries which is part of the Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC).

On the other hand, the perception of the Deanery indicates that quality is still a challenge, and no improvement has been indicated. This is despite the fact that the Deanery tends to

highlight the many actions that indicate how they are addressing the challenge of quality (See Chapter 5.1.2).

A response from the Deanery indicates:

So right now this is what we are doing at tertiary level, we are expanding access without consideration of quality that is big, and I think it is a mistake, it is better to balance it, to make sure when people have access they are also prepared for either employment or self employment or whatever it is. (Response from the Deanery of university A1; Respondent 5)

The quotation above highlights the challenge of quality. There is also the emphasis on the need to balance expanding access with improved quality to ensure that graduates from universities are employable or can be self employed. Quality is a critical mandate as a country's ability to offer quality education determines the status of the country's higher education system status at international and even at regional or local level (OCED 2004:17). While the general consensus on the deterioration of quality at public universities across the responses exists, there are also notable efforts that are being made to ensure entrenching quality education in the public universities.

As noted by one of the respondents:

We have increased our academic staff substantially employing lecturers from other countries like India to increase exposure to our students. (Data from Executive Leadership, university A1; Respondent 7)

From the above quotation, we observe the positive ways that quality is being addressed through increasing the number of academic staff, and recruitment of staff from within and without. Quality is also being improved by the provision and promotion of the opportunity that universities offer to their students through international exposure and not just limiting them to only local tendencies and systems. The international exposure that universities offer to their students is through the collaboration with and recruitment of academia and staff from foreign countries who inadvertently share their experience as well as their knowledge with their students.

The reading of the data reveals that quality was understood from the perspective of employing teachers from other countries as a way of exposing students to the quality of education internationally. Such employment of foreign teachers is not only a form of internationalization of the curriculum and increasing the number of teaching staff but also is about collaborative teaching. In this regard, collaboration is perceived as a form of interaction (Panitz 1996). Taking it a step further, collaborative teaching is viewed as the “sharing of authority and acceptance of responsibility among group members for the group actions” (Kirschner 2001:4). Hence collaborative teaching, as indicated in the data, could be understood as the engagement of university teaching staff (sharing of authority) from other countries with the local public university system (acceptance of responsibility) to bring in their expertise to improve and strengthen the Tanzanian system. Inference could be drawn from the data to support the “premise of collaborative” teaching and learning as being based upon “consensus building” and the “cooperation of the group members” that are involved (Kirschner 2001:4) in the collaboration.

5.1.4 Course delivery as an instance of quality

The Deanery conceptualised quality through course delivery in the response that:

We are doing whatever we can to cope with the large classes challenge. If you have a large class, you are free to split them and give the course one, three or even five times, delivering the same talk. It's not the same as teaching one group in terms of delivery, in terms of preparation and teaching. I value one to one interaction with my students. I want to know my students. I like to know who needs what assistance or the other. Have a personal assistance relation with students and vice versa. That is the satisfaction in teaching. When you have 800 students in one class, you cannot have that? I taught 830 students in one course. EE202: Extension Methods under Extension. At the end of the course, you can never tell who was in your class or not. It is a common class that every student admitted into the university must access that course. (Respondent from university A2; Respondent 9)

The quotation above provides an insight into the way the Deanery has perceived the institutionalisation of quality. In this respect, we observe that quality is construed in terms of the student – lecturer ratio. The consequence of expanded access is the large classes that are

prevalent at universities and is also indicated in the data from the access mandate (see Chapter 4.1.2). In order to ensure an acceptable student – lecturer ratio, the respondent has had to break down their classes into smaller, manageable sizes. The division of large classes into smaller groups at universities is the prerogative of the academic staff of universities involved (university A2; Respondent 9).

Large classes, as indicated above, are broken down into small classes for multiple teaching sessions. The respondent, by way of further enhancing quality, revealed that lecturers are conducting extra classes over the weekend in order to contain the large classes. This was pointed out by two of the universities under study. With regard to the Deanery in the third university, there was no response that indicated this element. The silence of the Deanery from the third university could probably be because they do not have interaction with the students at classroom level or they purposely refrained from responding.

Another indication of the challenge of large classes is observed:

We still have the challenge of too much work load on the lecturers who now have more than enough students to handle; this will reduce the interaction between students and lecturers. (Response from Executive Leadership of university A2; Respondent 10)

The evidence from the quotation above points to the challenge of large classes which is the reason for the increased workload for the lecturers as highlighted in the quotation above. The overall reading of the data from this category indicates the pressure of large classes. Part of the pressure on public universities and their staff is to offer quality higher education to their students and hence there is the focus on “impacting human capacity and resource development” (Welch 1998:157). Such focus on how to have an impact on human resource development may be connected to universities realigning their own human resources to achieve the expectation of improved quality at institutional level.

The MKUKUTA document itself emphasizes the “provision of quality education from early childhood to higher levels” (URT/VPO 2005:9) and also points out the need to achieve “increased enrolment in higher and technical education in universities” (URT/VPO 2005:43). All these expectations from the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy

document can be achieved with the realignment of universities so that they can effectively implement the reform.

5.1.5 Demands of the labour force as an instance of quality

The interpretation of quality is referenced within the argument of ensuring labour market needs or employability of the graduates.

A response from the Deanery reveals that:

There has to be a re-evaluation of the quality of education we are giving and comparing that with the demands in the workplace. The more universities we have, the more the competition among them to provide quality education. We want to provide quality education so that the knowledge provided and delivered in our schools is adequate for the students so they can work in other countries. (Response from the Deanery of university A3; Respondent 11)

The pattern indicated above highlights the need for a re-evaluation of quality to contribute in meeting the demands of the work place. This is important considering that public universities produce graduates who are employed not only locally in Tanzania but elsewhere. Such linkage highlights the correlation between education and the provision of skilled labour. Commenting on the linkage between quality of education and its effect on the labour market needs, Hanushek and Wößmann (2007) emphasise the significant “statistical and economical” impact that the quality of education being offered in universities has on the economic growth of nations. The awareness of the impact of quality on education has triggered the need to ensure that universities offer quality education to their graduates as indicated in the reform mandate. This is important as part of the expectation from universities entails “paying due attention to quality in order to develop a labour force that is creative and globally competitive” (URT/VPO 2005:43). The tendency is then that public universities are expected to engage in the institutionalisation of quality assurance systems to ensure that society has confidence in graduates from universities (Mok 2000:154).

Another notion of quality for meeting the demands of the labour force is that:

We are trying to make sure that our programs are demand driven otherwise if you have a program that is not demand driven that cannot generate self employment

definitely that program will be a dead program. We used to have programs that will train students for just any employment but now the focus has changed. There is a bit of competition in terms of quality otherwise you will not have anybody enrolling. (Response from Executive Leadership of university A2; Respondent 12)

There is the revelation of a keen interest for universities to offer demand driven programmes that will be an aspect of quality education engagement to meet labour force demands. Demand driven is one of the recent global ideologies or paradigms that tend to imply that the market knows best (Mok 2000). The implication is that the market becomes a strong determinant of what courses and programmes that universities have to offer. This need for universities to offer quality education that is demand driven is triggered by the identified shift in the expectation of both the parents and the students. The shift in the expectations of the parents and the students tends to be as a result of the realization that higher education is not indicated only for the private good but also for the public good (see: Brock-Utne 2000; Singh, 2001; Tilak 2003 and Mamdani 2008).

5.1.6 Assuring quality in the curriculum

There is the indication of strengthening the quality mandate by ensuring a systematic review of the curriculum as an aspect of quality.

This is buttressed in the data:

But other units have done curriculum review and I would say major curriculum review because there are minor one and the major ones. So all these if you read the rationale of reviewing the curriculum, normally they have curriculum review to ensure quality and link it to the MKUKUTA (Response from the Executive Leadership of university A1; Respondent 13)

There are diverse ways in which the quality of education offered could be assured and the curriculum is identified as one avenue. (See also Chapter 4.5.7). From the quotation above, there is the indication of curriculum review conducted at two of the three public universities. There are certain criteria identified in the literature that are used in ensuring quality at curriculum level. However, it is pertinent to note that the discussion of the identified ways of carrying out curriculum review is not within the discourse of this research.

Curriculum review as an instance of quality could be intended to provide an “enabling student learning environment and program” (Schmidt, Dale and Patel 1987) that will yield student employability as indicated in the reform initiative (URT 2005). However, there are indications in literature that despite the need and the drive to review the curriculum, the sad reality is that the review or change in curriculum may be frequent, and may be minor or major but the structure and practice at our universities remain stagnant (Akinlua 2006). This implies that even with a changed or reviewed curriculum, our universities may not improve their facilities to ensure the implementation of the reviewed or changed curriculum. There are indications in the data from the Senior Executive Leadership of the public universities of the paucity of infrastructure. Such challenge of infrastructure may mean that facilities are rarely changed, and new equipment may not be bought and installed. Buildings like laboratories may not be refurbished to ensure that the new curriculum has infrastructure that will induce its institutionalisation.

Another instance of quality as curriculum review is succinctly put as:

And we did quite a lot of things, change the curriculum of the university, to develop training materials because that is part of it, train the trainers, to develop programmes, short courses, long courses, to train other institutions, to train business people, we did a lot of things by contributing to objectives of the MKUKUTA (Data from university A1; Respondent 13).

The above quotation highlights the diverse ways that universities have engaged with the quality mandate through curriculum review and also through various activities. Apart from the perception of constructing quality through the review of the curriculum, there are also other indicators of how quality has been operationalised at institutions. These include, through the development of training materials to ensure the implementation of the reviewed curriculum. There are indications of training of the trainers which is highlighted from my overall reading of the data and training of lecturers who will eventually teach others in their departments and faculties as well as the students. Another reflection is the incidence of developing new programmes which is also pointed out in access (see Chapters 4.1.5; 4.3.3; 4.5.6) as instances of increased access but within the quality mandate as an instance of quality through the reviewed curriculum.

5.1.7 Training and retraining of staff

One way to assure quality in higher education is through the recruitment, appointment and training of academic staff (Shanahan and Gerber 2004:169). In my overall reading of the data from the senior executive leadership of the public universities, there is a signal of the importance of academic staff support through continuous educational development and training. The instance of quality as training of staff is also consistent with the data from the accreditation category of Chapter 5.3.2. In the overall data from this category, other instances that are captured under the training and retraining of staff element include recruitment of new and dynamic staff, offering flexible teaching times, introduction of innovative ways of teaching, provision of teaching materials and external moderation of examination papers.

Considering the training and retraining of staff, there is an indication of academic staff being sent for further studies at different universities as revealed:

We have trained a lot of staff, capacity building of staff members is one thing we have going for us, here we have about 77 of them presently across the globe. That is part of quality. We are training a lot in PhD, adding credence to our quality. We are training a lot. We have something like 40+ staff doing Masters worldwide. (Response from the Executive Leadership of university A3; Respondent 14)

In this quotation above, there is the revelation of capacity building of academic staff through training and retraining of staff to obtain higher degrees. The post - graduate training and degrees that the academic staff receive range from masters to doctoral training and is also another way of advancing policy to ensure that universities offer quality education to their students. The staff members are trained for higher degrees probably to ensure their competence for the job and also to ensure that they develop capabilities to pass on quality knowledge and education to the students. Another way of constructing quality through the training and retraining of staff is through ensuring that the teaching methods that are predominant in the universities give credence to quality. This could be achieved through the introduction of innovative ways of teaching. Such ways of teaching imply the use of modern teaching methods and modern teaching materials.

The introduction of innovative ways of teaching through the use of modern teaching equipment as against traditional old teaching equipment to ensure quality was indicated in the response from the Deanery:

We also get modern teaching equipment like computers, LCD projectors that assist in our lectures. We have about 6 projectors in my department and the staff also moves around to other programs to teach. So there is a lot of competition for the few we have but they are not enough. (Response from Deanery of university A2; Respondent 15)

In the quotation above, there is the revelation of the use of modern teaching equipment like computers, and LCD projectors among others. The use of modern equipment is important as it helps the teachers in their teaching and provides the students with a favourable atmosphere for learning. The projectors and micro phones may be useful for the teachers with regard to managing large classes. However, there is the indication that the teachers are engaged in teaching other programmes beside the ones in their department which may lead to a competition for using the modern teaching equipment.

Engaging with the quality mandate in these diverse and listed ways may lead to viewing quality not in abstract terms but as excellence, as ensuring linkage of university education outcome or output to satisfy Tanzanian needs. Quality could also be interpreted to mean not only meeting global expectation of international higher education systems but also meeting the higher education needs of Tanzanians through offering market driven programmes at universities. As outlined earlier in the literature chapter 2.8, quality in education and particularly in higher education, though not enjoying any consensus in definition, has been referenced to at times to denote “excellence” (Thaver 2006; see also, Harvey and Green 1993).

Furthermore, quality is construed as captured:

We offer very high quality education. This is ensured by the number of well trained staff. We have staff strength of about 1200, about 500 being academic staff with about 80% having their PhDs. In expansion, quality has been ensured by adding enough rooms and teaching facilities such as computers for power point projection, members

of staff have also been provided with computers to aid in the preparation of their materials”. (Response from the Deanery of university A1; Respondent 16)

The above quotation shows the diverse ways this university has construed quality through their staff training and provision of infrastructure. Quality is interpreted through the expansion or increase in the number of well trained teaching staff at the university. The expansion of academic staff as an instance of access is captured in Chapters 5.1.8. Training of academic staff is seen as a prerequisite that highlights the intention of universities to implement the quality mandate hence the view of the number of staff that have doctoral degrees or qualifications. The perception of training of staff as espoused by the Deanery corresponds with a view of quality as “competence” (See Harvey and Green, 1993). This may be an important paradigm as it highlights the calibre of staff that are teaching and engaging with universities to ensure they offer quality education to their students.

In continuing with the quality discourse, the quotation above also points out that quality was also ensured through the expansion of institutional infrastructural facilities. Such infrastructure that was provided included but was not limited to expanded halls which tended to denote lecture halls. There is also the view of the provision of computers or modern equipment like computers to ensure the staff has modern equipment that will help them in their teaching and lesson preparation. The notions of access through the expansion of infrastructure are also highlighted in Chapters 4.2.5 and 4.3.6.

5.1.8 Infrastructural provision and development

Infrastructural development and provision at public universities is viewed as an interpretation of quality construction.

This is captured as follows:

The good thing is that when we increased access we also increased infrastructure. We are talking of Mbeya and Dar es Salaam, they were not there before. So we have more space. Looking at the numbers and the infrastructure available, we still need infrastructure and looking at the number and the quality improvement systems in place, I think we are doing well. (Response from Executive Leadership, university A2; Respondent 19)

From the above quotation, quality is earmarked as an action hence quality is construed as increasing the infrastructural base and new developments in the higher educational system. There is the mentioning of Mbeya and Dar es Salaam which are new campuses that have been established by the universities. However, despite the highlight of expanded infrastructure and increased access, there is still the hint of the challenge of infrastructure. This challenge of infrastructure may have been as a result of the introduction or establishment of the new campuses. In between, the data points to the improvement of quality systems in Tanzania.

In the perception of the Deanery, quality has been construed along the lines of provision and improvement of infrastructure.

The data indicates the following:

To have quality, we need more facility (sic) and more staff to meet with increase in students. A situation where we have more increase in enrolment that is not corresponding to increase in facilities and staff, then quality is a challenge. This is especially with Government funding not keeping pace with increase in enrolment of students. With programs being laboratory dependent, we need infrastructure, chemicals, trained technicians and competent staff, to be able to provide a high level of training, in a way this has affected quality. (Response from Deanery A2; Respondent 20)

The quotation above echoes the observation that, there are markers that tend to indicate the challenge of quality and the need for infrastructure in order to implement the quality mandate. There is the perception that the increase in enrolment is not concomitant with an increase in facilities hence the indication of the need for infrastructure; for consumables, like for example chemicals, and even the lack of staff. Infrastructure as indicated in this quotation is a prerequisite if universities are to provide quality education to their students.

Funding is also highlighted in the quotation above with reference to decreased funding from government in the midst of increasing enrolment. The Tanzanian government established an agency to provide loans to students, namely the Higher Education Students Loans' Board (HESLB). Part of universities funding comes from the government since they are public

universities and tuition for students also accrue to them. The literature highlights that Tanzania is the only country in Africa that extends students loans and scholarship to students who are enrolled at private universities (Ishengoma 2007:95). This may provide a critical discussion around how universities are underfunded in Tanzania but yet students in private universities are funded.

There is the notion in the overall data in this particular category that increased access has not generated increased infrastructure and also there is a clear indication of paucity of trained academic staff. In other responses so far presented, there has always been the indication of increased academic staff as well as the training and retraining of academic staff which is to an extent is consistent with data and the perceptions of the other categories to be discussed later.

5.1.9 Quality and quality assurance processes through collaboration

Another signal of the quality mandate is the quality assurance system and the importance of collaboration at inter-institutional level. The reading of the data from the Executive Leadership yields the perception that quality can be viewed within the university's action of collaborating with other public sector institutions in the region to ensure quality and through establishing a quality assurance unit.

The respondent mentioned that:

We have collaborated with a number of external organs like the Inter University Council of East Africa to have a quality frame work. We have started the directorate of quality assurance. (Data from Executive leadership, university A1; Respondent 22)

From the above, there is idea of establishment of a quality framework which engages the Interuniversity Council of East Africa to ensure the provision of quality higher education at public universities in the region. A quality framework for the region is important considering the establishment of the East African Community which is a regional force that is bringing together all the East African nations under one umbrella both for economic development and political stability (East African Community 2011).

However, the Deanery, in their perception of collaboration with other agencies in the East African region to ensure quality point out that:

We also have the external examination where we invite examiners from various Universities within and outside the country like Kenya, Uganda and even from Dar es Salaam here to come and supervise the students in written, oral, practical (sic) and to check how the students perform.(Response from the Deanery of university A2; Respondent 23)

The quotation above highlights the engagement or collaboration with other universities in the East African region as an instance of quality. There is the view of engaging external examiners from other countries to come and collaborate with universities in Tanzania to ensure the implementation of the “quality mandate”. The external examiners also ensure the actualisation of the quality mandate at public universities by supervising students’ written and oral examinations, practical work and also evaluate the performance of these students. There is also the perception that some of the external examiners come from other universities in Tanzania and not necessarily from other countries.

Adding to the debate on the quality of education as it relates to constructing quality through collaboration within the region, there tends to be an engagement of the regional powers through the East African Development Community to maximize the labour market and ensure economic development. Hanushek and Wößmann (2007) and Tikly and Barrett (2011:2) argue that the need to have in place a “strong macroeconomic environment” as well as a “labour market environment” may be essential for quality education to affect economic growth and “increased wages”. The enabling environment for the linkage of quality education and the labour market is vital for African countries (Robertson et al. 2007). The overall reading of the data points out that public universities in Tanzania are to a great extent establishing linkages through the establishment of the directorate of quality assurance in their universities as well as linking with the quality framework that is existent through the Interuniversity Council of East Africa.

This section has indicated how the quality mandate has been engaged in by the Senior Executive Leadership of public universities. The different constructions of quality are succinctly captured and highlighted by the respondents and the scholarly literature engaged in to elaborate on the data.

5.2 The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

This section signals the data from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. The responses from the two sub-sections of the Ministry (the Ministry and the Directorate of Higher Education) provide an overview of the perceptions of this category on the quality mandate. The Directorate of higher education is a unit in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training that is in charge of coordinating the activities of public universities for the main Ministry (Ishengoma 2010:174).

5.2.1 Perceptions of the Ministry and the Higher Education Directorate

The various respondents have different interpretations of the quality mandate. Their perceptions range from the recruitment of qualified academic staff, provision of infrastructure, provision of teaching materials and lastly, the engagement of International Aid Partners in the Science, Technology and Higher Education programme so as to ensure implementation of the reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy document. Each of these elements is discussed below.

5.2.2 Recruitment and provision of qualified academic staff

A holistic reading of the data from the Ministry gives their perception of the quality mandate as a form of provision of qualified academic staff at public universities. This was also reinforced by the respondents from the Higher Education Directorate that universities were operationalising the quality mandate through the recruitment and provision of qualified academic staff.

A respondent from the Ministry captured it succinctly as:

But when you come to us there are so many factors that falls under the quality issue, we look at the qualified lecturers, the existence of the qualified lecturers that is part of the quality aspect (Data from State B, Respondent 1).

The element in the response above is consistent with other respondents from the Ministry and within the context of the reform initiative. The lack of academic staff is perceived as a challenge. This challenge is signaled through the ten year ban on the recruitment of academic

staff at public universities prior to the introduction of the MKUKUTA. It is also adduced to be the reason for so many aged, retired and re-engaged professors at public universities. The instance of limitation of academic staff is also highlighted as a construction of access in Chapters 4.2.7 and 5.5.3.

Another respondent mentions that:

The example has been given that we have more old Professors, we have retired Professors who are on contract. The middle cadre we have few of them who are PhD holders and those who are tutorial assistant we have a lot of them. I think the promoting for academic staff going for masters and PhD is also a way of implementing the MKUKUTA and improving quality. Apart from increasing access the next is the quality. So having them with appropriate qualification will also improve the quality of access. (Interview with State Evaluator; Respondent 2)

The indication in the above quotation points to the challenge of academic staff and how ensuring the lecturers are qualified is an important dynamic for quality in higher education being offered at universities. There is the predominance of ageing professors who are retired and re-engaged on contract. The question then is why are old retired professors re-engaged to continue teaching? The answer may lie within the debate of the challenge of academic staff as observed in the data from the access and quality mandates.

In addition to the above quotation which signals the issue of competence and the capability of the lecturers, there is the perception also in the above quotation that universities are interested in ensuring that their academic staff members are qualified. The strategy to meet the need for better qualification of academic staff at public universities is through advancing the demand and sponsorship for post-graduate degrees for the academia to gain extra qualifications like Master's degrees and Doctoral degrees. One of the ways of implementing the reform initiative in the MKUKUTA from this response is through ensuring a better competence for lecturers which may be understood as providing access to post-graduate training.

One of the pressures that universities are facing globally (Singh and Zheng 2014:255) is the challenge of building a “critical number of university academic staff and researchers with Doctoral qualifications” (Jinabhai 2003:57). The need for post-graduate training and research

is important at universities as this will help in creating new knowledge, disseminating knowledge (Sawyer 2004) and generating research output that will contribute to a nation's economic development.

The data generated from this category presents a general consensus on the importance of quality as well as the challenge of quality after expanding access at universities. Acceptance of the fact that “quality is important” helps in the understanding of what comprises quality at universities (Shanahan and Gerber 2004:166).

The diverse ways that quality has been engaged in by the higher education reform initiative of the MKUKUTA policy document in Tanzania may be driven by the need to improve quality as access is expanded. Such a perception is consistent with the data from the Senior Executive Leadership of universities and the Ministry, above that quality is driven by the expanded access or “massification” of the higher education landscape (Cartwright 2007:289). With this notion of expanded access, the challenge of quality is construed under the assumption of “more means worse” with regard to the interpretation quality (Cartwright 2007:289). However, the expectation by government in terms of the reform initiative is that universities implement the quality mandate.

Another indication from the overall data is that quality construction as recruitment of academic staff is being driven by massification or expansion of access. It can be linked to the Harvey and Green (1993) definition of “fitness for purpose”. This perspective can probably be contrasted with the view of quality as “excellence”. To relate the quality mandate that is driven by access expansion as “fitness for purpose” may entail that universities recruit competent academic staff who will teach the increasing student numbers. The competency of academic staff is critical to ensure that they are effectively engaged in offering quality education to the students.

Within the understanding of the competency of the academic staff, Shanahan and Gerber (2004:169) emphasise the construction of quality within the view that “quality means they are passionate about their work and prepared to give extra effort”. Lemaitre (2002) highlights the notion of quality as competence within her broad reasoning that university interest in quality should concentrate on “operational competence” (Lemaitre 2002: 5). She however observes

that quality as competence is being propelled by globalisation that views higher education and knowledge as commodities that are for sale across the globe.

The data above from the Ministry and the Higher Education Directorate on their construction of quality as qualified academic staff highlights some conspicuous and observable similarities. There is the overriding agreement on the need for quality and the challenge of quality in the data. While the Ministry just pointed out that quality is understood as the need for the provision of qualified academic staff, the Higher Education Directorate goes beyond highlighting the need for qualified academic staff. They extend their argument on the existence of qualified staff with the perception of old, retired staff that are still engaged to teach and as such could probably mentor the new crop of academics.

5.2.3 Provision of infrastructure

There is the signal in the data on the construction of the quality mandate as provision of infrastructure by the respondents from both categories. This is also an identified construction of the access mandate in Chapter 4.2.5; 4.3.6 and of the quality mandate in 5.5.5.

This element is captured by a respondent:

Expansion of public universities without compromising quality, by providing infrastructure that were needed like provision of different facilities and libraries. We try to expand infrastructure to go with the quality. (Response from state B, Respondent 6)

In the quotation above, there is the clear perception and highlight of infrastructural provision as an aspect of the quality mandate. There is equally an indication of the need for expanded access without compromising the quality of education being offered. Infrastructure within the quotation is indicated to include different facilities but not limited to the libraries. The construction of quality as infrastructural provision has been raised and discussed in Chapter 5.1.8 and 5.5.4 and in the access mandate in Chapter 4.2.5; 4.3.6 and 4.5.4.

Another idea of quality is captured as:

The first one, we have higher education development program, normally this addresses the infrastructure of the public universities and skill trainings of our public universities. (Response from State Evaluator, Respondent 7)

In this perception, there is the indication of the provision of infrastructure through the Higher Education Development Project (HEDP). The HEDP is viewed as an operationalisation document of the higher education reform initiative for public universities. Through this programme, public universities are provided with their needed infrastructure as a way of interpreting and ensuring the implementation of the quality mandate.

The similarity in the data above is that there seems to be an agreement on the improvement of infrastructure between the two categories. While the Directorate pinpoints the actual programme (HEDP) that is in charge of provision of infrastructure to public universities, the Ministry however is silent on that. The Directorate may have been able to highlight the particular program as they are the unit in the supervising ministry that is in charge of the monitoring and evaluation of public universities (Ishengoma 2010).

The Ministry also highlights the notion of quality as a challenge of infrastructure as follows:

We try to expand infrastructure to go with the enrolment, the challenge is that we do not have enough accommodation for new students. We are hoping that through PPP we will be able to cope with that. (State B, Respondent 6)

There is a clear indication of the challenge of infrastructure in this response from the Ministry and is highlighted further as the challenge of buildings and accommodation for the new students who have been given placement as a result of expanded access.

With the Higher Education Directorate, the challenge of infrastructural development is highlighted in the response that:

Another one is infrastructure as you can see the University of Dar es Salaam, apart from having another a campus in Mabibo and elsewhere, it is still congested (State Evaluator,

respondent 7).

The perception of a congested university may be as a result of inadequate infrastructure with expanded access to students in terms of exploding enrolments. Relating to this, Ishengoma (2007:104) reiterates that “enrolment expansion” is expected to match also the “expansion of educational facilities” so that the quality of education being offered at institutions will be impacted in a positive manner. And if there is no concomitant expansion of enrolment and infrastructure, then quality will be negatively affected (Ishengoma 2007:104). The implication of such notion from this author is a portrayal of the consequence of expanded access without also a concurrent provision of infrastructure as a challenge to quality education realization at universities.

5.2.4 Provision of teaching and learning materials

Another identified way of interpreting quality is through the provision of teaching and learning materials.

A respondent from the Ministry captures this as:

We look also at the availability of teaching and learning materials, including the texts books and equipment for sciences and engineering and others (sic)”. (Response from state B, respondent 8)

The indication above highlights the provision of training and learning materials as an instance of quality education provision at universities. Teaching and learning materials is understood to include textbooks, equipment for the sciences and the engineering faculties and their training.

A respondent captures it as:

When you come to a specific sub sector, there are implementable programs where we focus on some particular programs. Under Higher Education Development Program we have particular programs on ICT and definitely public universities will go into how the ICT could assist in the transaction. But also related to the other areas is

provision of teaching and learning materials, the rehabilitation of infrastructure.
(Response from State Evaluator, Respondent 9)

The quotation above highlights that through the Higher Education Development Programme (HEDP), there is an emphasis on the provision of teaching and learning materials. There is the perception that information, and communication and technology equipment is being provided for public universities, depending on the program being implemented. The provision of ICT materials like teaching and learning materials can help the academia in their teaching, to keep abreast of global indicators and events in the knowledge sector. There is also the perception of rehabilitation of infrastructure. Another program is the STHEP program in the Higher Education Development Program mentioned in the access Chapter 4.5.8 and also providing ICT materials and infrastructure for universities.

5.2.5 Engagement of donor partners through the Science, Technology and Higher Education Programme

Quality has also been interpreted as engagement of the donor partners in the STHEP project.

A response from the Ministry highlights that:

We have development projects in our public universities from donor partners and ourselves. In Sokoine University of Agriculture, we have several projects in research and development both in Agriculture and Agricultural Economics. (Response from State B, Respondent 10)

The quotation above points out the development oriented initiatives from donor partners to public universities in Tanzania as a way of quality mandate construction. The donor funded development project at Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) is not limited to research and development in Agriculture and Agricultural Economics. From my overall reading of the data from this category and also evidence from my visit to Sokoine University of Agriculture during data collection, I was shown some of the buildings that are donor funded. There is an indication of huge donor funded projects in areas of research and development in Agriculture and other courses/programs that have helped in ensuring the implementation of the reform initiative at public universities in Tanzania.

A donor funded program as an instance quality mandate is further mentioned in the response that:

Also we have another program now which has two phases, one is called World Bank project. We have two phases. This year we are finishing the first phase and hopefully by the next year we start the second phase. Also these projects normally address the same initiative as the Higher Education Developments Program which includes supporting infrastructure of our universities, rehabilitation of our buildings and also to training our lectures at the universities. (Response from State evaluator, Respondent 11)

The quotation above points out the existence of donor funded programmes at public universities with particular mention of the World Bank as a donor partner. The response also highlights the different phases of the project. The first phase had been completed at the time of this interview and the following year will see the start of the second phase. There is the perception that donor funded projects are aligned to the HEDP programmes. The key objective of the project is the provision and support of infrastructure at universities. Such support of infrastructure includes but is not limited to the rehabilitation of university buildings and extends to the training of academic staff.

The similarities in the response from the two categories is that there is a consistency in the engagement of donor partners with regard to the particular development oriented programs that they support. The difference lies in the fact that the Ministry could indicate the particular university (SUA) and also give instances of the programs that have gained from the donor partners' funded project while the Higher Education Directorate could not be that specific. This is an important observation going by the fact that the Higher Education Directorate is a directorate of the Ministry and is specifically involved with universities in Tanzania as pointed out earlier in Chapter 5.2.3.

5.3 The Perceptions of the accreditation body

The respondents from the accreditation body category, namely the Tanzania Universities Commission were probed on the extent of engagement with the reform initiatives by public universities. Their construction of the quality mandate includes the identification of the challenge of quality at public universities with regard to the need to align with international

quality standards. There is the view of quality as the training of academic staff at public universities; accreditation of public university programmes; establishment of quality assurance structures at public universities and finally, the collaboration with donor partners to ensure quality mandate implementation at public universities.

5.3.1 Challenge of quality with regard to international standard demands

The data from this category points to the existence of the challenge of quality with regard to international standard demands which the public universities in Tanzania may not have met.

A respondent reveals that:

Quality is a problem we are struggling with as the international standard, we need to meet. We need to teach for experts and not only our local consumption. (Response from State C, Respondent 1)

The perception from the quotation indicates the challenge of quality at public university level. The element of challenge of quality is consistent across all the categories in this study as public universities seem to be struggling with this mandate. Quality is also perceived as an international benchmark that public universities in Tanzania need to meet. The importance of meeting the international quality benchmark is highlighted to be critical to produce experts that are employable and can, through knowledge contribute to the Tanzanian nation and to the international/global environment.

Another response indicates that:

So basically universities in Tanzania are supposed to be having some sort of levels upon which the specific quality measures can be addressed, in terms of their programs, their students, teaching methods are supposed to be improved. As per the MKUKUTA I the main areas are those two, the quality of education, generally improving it and enrolment. The aim is as universities are expanding, the quality of the institutions should not be compromised also. (Response from State C, Respondent 2)

The quotation above highlights what constitutes quality at public universities. There is the mention of the indicators that can be used to measure quality at public universities. These

indicators include the quality of the programmes that universities offer, quality of their students and the quality of the teaching methods that are adapted in the teaching of students at the universities. The MKUKUTA 1 policy is highlighted to have two main emphases which are identified as the need to improve the quality of education at universities and to expand enrolment which is an aspect of access. There is the perception that universities have expanded access through increased enrolment and as they increase enrolment, the quality of education that these public universities offer should not be compromised.

The need to improve and offer quality education to meet international standards is one of the key impositions on national higher education systems by international communities through globalisation. Globalisation has increased the “pressure on national higher education systems to provide competent human resources” (Mabizela 2007:23). These competent human resources are not restricted to be engaged by the national Tanzania Government but also by the international community. Globalisation can therefore be said to have widened the scope of higher education internationally, nationally and even regionally. This broadening of higher education systems can be seen in the aspect of the quality of education which these universities offer. It has also contributed in ensuring that the graduates from universities in Tanzania may be able to contribute to the international demands of both knowledge and global competitiveness with regard to employment.

The challenge of quality as an instance of the quality mandate is consistent across all the categories. Indications in literature also highlight the challenge of quality in the higher education systems (Morley 2003). The many ways that quality has been construed by the categories in this study are captured as ‘quality is a challenge’, or ‘quality is not good/high’ like the case of the policy secretariat (Chapters 5.4.1) and that ‘quality suffered a lot’ as a perception of the international aid partners (Chapter 5.5.2).

5.3.2 Training of academic staff at public universities

The respondents from the accreditation body also indicated that quality is being ensured in public universities through the training of academic staff.

This is captured by the indication in the response that:

Training as they are continuing with expansion. They will need more staff, and they

will continue with more training. I am sure even if the MKUKUTA was not there, they will train more staff at PhD level, master level and the like, but with the MKUKUTA challenges I think the processes are speeding up things. (Response from State C, Respondent 3)

The above quotation gives the perception that training of academic staff is critical as universities are expanding access. The challenge of academic staff as an instance of quality at universities is pointed out in chapter 5.1.7; 5.2.2; 5.4.2 and 5.5.3. Training of academic staff may be viewed as a continuum as universities would have to continue to engage more academic staff so as to respond to the challenge of academic staff.

Aside from the challenge of training academic staff as a consistent element in the data on quality and access, there is an important paradigm that was also raised by this respondent. The respondent just like in the access initiative questioned the motive for expanded enrolment and increased access (Chapter 4.5.5) and their linkage to the MKUKUTA. However, the respondent mentioned that without the reform initiative, universities would still be engaged with the training of their academic staff for further studies as an aspect of quality provision. But there is also the perception that with the inception of the MKUKUTA, the training of academic staff has been improving.

Indications in literature show that there is no single acceptable definition of quality and no single acceptable way to measure quality in literature (Shanahan and Gerber 2004:166; see also Harvey and Green 1993; Tam 1999). Taking the training of staff as an indication of quality can be viewed from Harvey and Green's (1993) definition of quality as competence. Quality as competence maybe understood as improving the competence and capability of the academic staff. Shanahan and Gerber (2004:169) elaborate that quality as competence may be understood as offering "standard service to the stakeholders" based on the resources available to universities. The available resource is the training of academic staff to be qualified and be competent to offer quality education to the students. This can be explained within the cliché that "if you give me clay, I will give you rubbish, give me marble and I will bring forth the best of my constructs", namely offering standard quality education (Shanahan and Gerber 2004:169).

Another view of quality as the training of academic staff is within the response that:

Universities are expanding rapidly and also need qualified staff. A time came when the qualified academic staff became competitive many were going out for academic studies to accommodate the expansion of these universities. Take the example of the old universities, we have very few Professors and senior lecturers/academics and many assistant lecturers. This is a challenge that will soon normalize with those on studies finishing and also with them graduating PhD also. On staff enrolment there are plenty staff especially at the lower levels but on the ground there are quite few because a lot of them are already on training. (Response from State C, Respondent 4)

The quotation above highlights rapidly expanding access to universities amidst the need for qualified academic staff. Rapidly expanding public universities are as a result of universities opening up and increasing enrolment of students so as to meet the demand for expanded access from the national government. The challenge of qualified academic staff from the quotation above could be linked to the need to have enough qualified staff to teach the students.

Another perception in the quotation above is the view that the old universities, which also happen to be the selected universities in this study, have only a few established professors, and senior academics but many assistant lecturers. The reason for so few professors as indicated in this quotation above could be linked to the ten years' ban on employment by universities as indicated earlier. However, this respondent is optimistic that the era of few professors and senior academics will soon be over as many of the lower cadre lecturers on further studies/training return with higher degrees to come and teach at universities. There is also the perception that universities have plenty of staff at the lower levels (See Chapters 4.2.7 and 5.2.3). Despite the number of staff on the staff enrolment list, universities seems to have only a few staff members available to teach as many of the academic staff may still be on training to acquire higher degrees.

The senior executive leadership at the universities (Chapter 5.1.7) point out the numerical facts about their training of staff and also link training to provision of ICT materials as espoused by the Deanery. The Ministry, through their directorate of Higher Education, views training of academic staff as an indication of improving the quality of access that has

increased (Chapter 5.2.2). Comparing the two perceptions of the Senior Executive Leadership on Universities, and the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training with the response from the accreditation body, there is the view of training as a way to offset the challenge of qualified academic staff so as to offer quality education to the increased number of students at universities. The indication of training of staff as an instance of the understanding of the quality mandate has been substantiated above and is consistent in all the categories that responded to the probe into the quality mandate.

5.3.3 Accreditation of university programmes

The concept of quality construction within the dimension of accreditation of university programmes was highlighted in this response:

A lot of universities are coming up every day and are still under registration, not accredited because they have not met one or more conditions to be accredited and approved. We will not allow a university to continue if its programs are not accredited and approved. (Response from State C, Respondent 5)

The quotation above highlights the notion of quality as being understood as the accreditation of academic programmes at universities. There is the indication that new universities are being established in Tanzania. Among the new universities being established, there is the perception that some of them are yet to be registered by the Tanzania Commission for Universities. The reason for the non-accreditation of some of these new universities lies in the fact that they are yet to meet some of the requirements for accreditation. The respondent also highlights that the Tanzania Commission for Universities will not allow any university to operate in Tanzania without accreditation of their programmes.

In another development, a respondent highlighted that:

Tanzania Commission for Universities is a regulating agency in Tanzania responsible for quality in higher education. If we see the curriculum is not relevant to what the country is expecting, we cannot approve that curriculum until they review, incorporate the corrections and recommendations. Approval is given after we are satisfied with corrections and consideration of the contents of the curriculum to ensure compliance with National interests. We are also interested in the qualifications of the

academic staff etc. If we are not satisfied with the curriculum, we do not approve (Response from State C, Respondent 6).

The quotation above highlights the responsibility of the Tanzania Commission for Universities as an accrediting or regulatory agency for higher education institutions in Tanzania. The Tanzania Commission for Universities is engaged in the monitoring and review of the curriculum of universities to ensure that they are compliant with national interests. The regulating agency only approves a curriculum when it meets their expectation which is in line with national interests. Any curriculum that is not seen to be relevant to the expectations of the nation for its universities is rejected and not accredited for use at university. There is also an indication that the accreditation body is interested in ensuring that universities have qualified academic staff as an instance of quality.

For the buffer bodies in Tanzania and elsewhere, there is the mandate for ensuring quality assurance in the higher education system. This mandate to accredit or regulate the higher education systems of their respective nations is carried out through the “monitoring of institutions and programs for compliance” (Welsh and Dey 2002:17). In Tanzania, public universities are monitored for quality by the Tanzania Commission for Universities and as indicated earlier on in this sub-section, all new universities have to go through the accreditation process with the accreditation body before they can operate.

5.3.4 Establishment of quality assurance structures

The understanding of quality as the establishment of quality assurance structures is consistent with the data from Chapter 5.1.2.

A respondent from the Tanzania Commission for Universities disclosed that:

The quality assurance bureau has been established. In quality assurance there are many things which we deal with in respect to higher education and universities. We check the quality of everything starting from their staffs at the universities, their qualifications and the programs which are being offered, we review them and things like that. So by establishing these bureaus it has been a means where by Tanzania Commission for Universities gets a person to work hand in hand to make sure that quality is maintained, and of course the Tanzania Commission for Universities is

under the government, so in one way or another, it is still the Government. (Response from State C, Respondent 7)

The above quotation yields the perception of the establishment of quality assurance structures at all public universities in Tanzania. The reason for establishing the quality assurance bureau at universities is to monitor quality in every activity of the university. Such activities that are monitored starts from the inception of universities hence the registration process is monitored and the university is accredited to start operation. Other activities monitored include, the staff of universities and the curriculum. The staff members are monitored to ensure that they have the prerequisite qualifications for teaching. This is important going by the indication in literature that the modern world emphasizes “proper certification from a properly accredited university” over and above skills of a non-graduate even when the skills seem to be that of a university graduate (Meyer, Ramirez, Frank and Schofer 2007:190). The implication of this supposition is that paper qualification is an important item of quality construction at universities, especially with regard to the academic staff.

Another indication is that the accreditation body also monitors the programmes at universities. The need to monitor the programmes may stem from the fact that the buffer bodies may want to ensure that these programmes are meeting the needs and are in line with national interest. Monitoring and accreditation of programs as an instance of quality was also highlighted in Chapters 5.3.3.

With regard to the establishment of a quality assurance bureau at public universities there is the global tendency in ensuring that universities offer quality assurance and this tendency has extended to the establishment of quality assurance structures at universities globally (Mok 2000:154; see also Harman 1996). The establishment of quality assurance structures at public universities is consistent with the elements from some of the categories that were probed for the quality mandate (see Chapters 5.1.2 and 5.1.9). However, other categories like the supervising Ministry and its directorate of higher education were silent about this theme.

5.3.5 Collaboration with donor partners

There is the notion of quality as collaboration or engagement with donor partners by the universities. The element of collaboration with donor partners through funded programmes is

consistent with the data in Chapter 5.2.5 only. Such collaboration with donor partners or the universities' ability to attract donors is seen as an aspect of quality at universities. The importance of donor partner collaboration is linked to the fact that it exposes the staff and students of these universities to happenings in the donor countries through sharing experience and sometimes could result in exchange programmes.

A respondent from the accreditation body responds that:

The Government has an agreement with DAAD to train university lecturers to PhD level. This was to alleviate the issues of quality and standard on academic staff in public universities. They get scholarships for post graduate for academic staff.
(Response from State C, Respondent 8)

In the quotation above, there is the perception of collaboration with DAAD, as donor partner with public universities. It may be worth highlighting that DAAD is a German Government programme for higher education scholarship and research for foreign countries. The training of academic staff at universities for post-graduate studies through collaboration with DAAD is also indicated in the quotation as a way to improve quality. Not only will the training of staff bring about improved quality, it is also perceived to improve the standard of the academic staff themselves. The collaboration with DAAD for the training of academic staff is consistent with the usual international collaboration or partnership that is marked by the traditional donor and recipient paradigm (Canto and Hanna 2001:27). This traditional donor and recipient type of collaboration is very common in the relationship between donor partners and the state in sub Saharan Africa and is sometimes referred to as North – South partnership or donor relations by a respondent. Within this collaboration of DAAD with Tanzania Government and its public universities, DAAD is the donor while public universities are the recipients.

This section has indicated how the quality mandate has been construed by the accreditation body particularly. The different constructions of quality are succinctly captured and highlighted by the respondents and the scholarly literatures engaged in to elaborate on the data.

5.4 Perceptions of the State Policy Secretariat

The respondents from the MKUKUTA secretariat were probed for their understanding of the quality mandate in the higher education reform initiative in the MKUKUTA policy paper.

The majority of the respondents construed the quality mandate as still a challenge that is not well addressed in the reform document despite increasing access. Further views of quality include the highlight of training of academic staff and the instance of quality in the customised programs offered at universities.

5.4.1 Challenge of quality within increased access

Within the responses from the policy secretariat there is the highlight of the challenge of the quality mandate.

A respondent from the policy secretariat indicated that:

The issue of quality is still a big problem. We were just massifying, we increased the quantity but it was not marched with quality and facilities. In SUA classes have expanded and we have restructured the lecture theatres and have moved from traditional teaching methods to modern methods as a way of engaging with quality. I however see the impact as not big. We can lecture using electronics and microphones, but sometimes we need one to one to be able to link with the students. (Response from State D, Respondent 2)

The quotation above indicates the challenge of quality in the higher education system in Tanzania. The problem of quality in this quotation seems to be the consequence of increased access to public universities. There is the perception that with the massification, enrolment exploded but that was not consistent with the provision of quality and facilities. Indications in literature highlight massification of access without infrastructural development (Ishengoma 2007) and the consequence of massification without infrastructure is predominant in Africa. One of the causes of increased access without infrastructure and quality is as a result of paucity of funds given by the government to either provide new infrastructure to go with expanded access or rehabilitate old infrastructure to be consistent with expanding enrolment.

Another response with regard to the provision of infrastructure within the context of quality was captured with an example of a quote from university of Dar es Salaam that:

You have the quality, their initiative in terms of improving the infrastructure, the lecture rooms. For instance the University of Dar es Salaam have seen expansion and improvement of the library which is key in ensuring that resources for learning are available and adequate at a very accessible way. (Interview with State D, Respondent)

In the quotation above, there is the perception that quality has been achieved with regard to the theme of infrastructural development. An example is drawn from the University of Dar es Salaam which is one of the selected universities in this study as well as the foremost university in Tanzania as pointed out in the methods chapter. The improvement and expansion of the library at the University of Dar es Salaam is an indication of improving and ensuring the provision of learning materials as an instance of quality engagement.

On the researchers visit to the University of Dar es Salaam during data collection, this researcher had the privilege to visit the university library and the university bookshop. There is an indication of the expansion of the library. However, the expanded library is still not adequate for the exploding enrolment at the foremost university.

Another respondent indicated that:

The MKUKUTA one is being implemented for five years from 2005 up to 2010. During the period, we were assessing each year through the production of annual implementation report. We have found that the quality of education is not good after reviewing the MKUKUTA one. We discussed that the issue of quality education was not well addressed in the MKUKUTA one, because as we have seen that the number of students enrolled into public institution are increasing, now the quality of education became a critical challenge. So it was not adequately addressed under the MKUKUTA one but in the MKUKUTA two now we are emphasizing on quality of education. (Response from State D, respondent 1)

The perception from the above quotation indicates the assessment of the reform through publishing the annual implementation report which is the document that highlights the extent of implementation of the MKUKUTA. The MKUKUTA had been operationalized from 2005 to 2010 and the policy secretariat has been publishing the assessment each year in the

MKUKUTA annual implementation report. The assessment showed that the expanded access was however not consistent with improved quality of education which was still a challenge.

The idea that quality was not emphasized in the reform could be an indication of the lack of information about what really consists of quality at public universities and the higher education system in Tanzania. The lack of emphasis of quality in the reform under study has led to its emphasis in the successor policy document, the MKUKUTA 11.

The issue of emphasis of quality could be problematic within the realization that quality does not have an acceptable definition in literature (see Chapter 2.8). Quality and all the debate and arguments around its definition and measurement may draw a discourse around its identification and its indicators. Such argument and debate around what constitutes quality and how it is measured may align with the acceptance of the notion that quality may be “one of those things which apparently, you know” (Watson 2006:13) only when you encounter it.

5.4.2 Training of academic staff

Another notion of quality around the element of training of academic staff is that:

Most of their lecturers are also away for training and they see that as a way of engaging in quality. I see the impact as not big” (Response from State D, Respondent 5)

The quotation above highlights that most of the lecturers are on a training course. It may be deduced that the training is to equip the academic staff to be able to improve themselves but also to be competent for the job of providing quality education. The notion of training as an aspect of the quality mandate has been consistent in Chapters 4.1.7; 4.2.2; 4.3.2; 4.4.2 and 4.5.3. There is however the perception that some academic staff at higher education institutions in Tanzania are qualified and well trained internationally. This indication is captured in the quote:

I know that some of our lecturers are internationally trained and very international in everything. (Response from State D, Respondent 5)

The quotation above gives a different and conflicting impression with the earlier quotation of

academic staff members being in training that is a prevalent element in the data. In this quotation, some of the academic staff are said to be internationally trained. Previous data collected shows that many staff members have been sent for further training abroad, some have concluded their training and returned to Tanzania to teach at universities (see Chapter 4.5.3). The International Aid category that is yet to be presented pointed out that the attrition rate of Tanzanians who go for further training abroad is quite low (see Chapter 4.5.3).

5.4.3 Quality as Customised Programmes

While there are common denominators of how the quality mandate has been problematised at public universities, there are also indications that are less common. One of those less common elements in the data is the notion of quality as customised programs. This is highlighted in the response that:

Universities are also expanding in terms of quality of outputs coming out of the higher education. Hence their role, their responses are that they have to develop specific programs that respond to implement the MKUKUTA. That kind of a program in terms of, designing proper curriculum in terms of designing programs that will suit the requirements of the targets, in terms of say creating graduates who are able to cope within the global economic dynamics (Response from State D, respondent 6).

The above quotation highlights the interpretation of quality within the specific programmes that universities offer to ensure quality of graduate output. An aspect of the quality indicator could be the quality of the graduates from the public universities who can cope with global tendencies. There is the perception that universities are to develop particular and specific programmes that are demand driven to meet the MKUKUTA targets. To develop such demand driven programmes, such universities are to consider designing or redesigning their curriculum. The designing of the curriculum to align with the MKUKUTA targets or objectives for higher education institutions is important for universities to be able to produce quality graduates.

An indication in literature tends to show that universities across the world are restructuring their system to “enhance their global competitiveness” and to transform their images to that of a “world class university” (Deem, Mok and Lucas 2008:83). This consideration is

important since the respondent highlights the design of the curriculum to generate and produce quality output for ‘global economic dynamics’ which is consistent with the “restructuring” and “comprehensive reviews” of higher education globally to fit the image of world class universities (Deem, Mok and Lucas 2008:83).

The element of the development of specific programme that aligns with the reform initiatives of the MKUKUTA policy is limited only to this category of the Policy Secretariat. This may be as a result of the fact that the members of the policy secretariat expect universities to develop certain specific programs that they are not currently offering, or the policy secretariat may not be aware that universities have started new programmes in response to the reform as indicated in the access data of Chapter four.

This section has indicated how the quality mandate has been engaged in by the Policy Secretariat particularly. The different constructions of quality are succinctly captured and highlighted by the respondents and the scholarly literature engaged in to elaborate on the data.

5.5 Perceptions of International Aid Partners

The International Aid Partners were probed on the extent of engagement and meaning making of the reform of public universities as spelled out in the MKUKUTA policy document. Within the responses from the donor partner category meaning making and extent of engagement with the quality mandate, there are interpretations such as the non-prioritization of higher education in the reform and the indication of the challenge of quality. There is the further construction of quality as need for qualified academic staff, the provision of infrastructure as a way of strengthening the quality of education at public universities and the interpretation of quality through the review of the curriculum.

5.5.1 Non prioritization of higher education in the MKUKUTA document

There is the notion that higher education was not viewed and emphasized as a priority in the MKUKUTA document.

From a respondent, there is the indication that:

What the MKUKUTA is saying right away is that higher education is not a priority.

(Response from International Aid Partner 1)

The lack of prioritization of higher education in the MKUKUTA policy document as indicated in the brief quotation above is consistent with the data from the Policy Secretariat with regard to access mandate (see chapter 4.4.3). There is the notion that the MKUKUTA policy document did not emphasise higher education as it was taken for granted that the higher education institutions would embrace the reform initiative when it took off. This is however contrary to the indication in the literature that universities as ivory towers are sometimes elitist and separate from the community (Ooro 2013:48) and also the notion that it is difficult to move a university just “like moving a cemetery” (Lohmann (2002:3).

The indication of the lack of interest shown by public universities in ensuring the implementation of the policy mandate was raised in another response:

There are lots of challenges yet to be addressed and I do not think the Public Universities are geared up to address the issues raised in the MKUKUTA to lift the country to a better future. They are still struggling. (Interview with DP, Respondent 1)

The view of quality is further glimpsed from the indication of the notion of resistance by public universities as indicated in the quotation above. The reform document seems to have many challenges that are yet to be discussed and public universities do not seem to be interested. The issue of lack of interest displayed by public universities in attending to the challenges of the MKUKUTA could be interpreted as their way of resistance to the policy. Institutions, and in this case universities, could resist policies when they are perceived to be either forced on them, politically motivated or when there is a perception that they were undermined at the beginning of the policy. The debate around universities and resistance to change has been presented in the literature review Chapters 2.6.2 & 2.6.3. There was an allusion of likening the university and its reaction to change to be as difficult as moving a graveyard (Lohman 2002:3; see also Herfferlin 1972:1)

The view of quality from this category is indicated to be from the interaction of the International Aid Partners with their corresponding Sector Ministries in Tanzania who are directly in contact with the public universities. The response that:

We in the sector work with our Sector Ministries to ensure that these broad objectives (the MKUKUTA) and the targets noted there are being met or at least we are moving towards those (Interview with DP, Respondent 2).

The quotation above is an indication of how International Aid Partners gets a glimpse of the quality mandate from their work with the Sector Ministries in Tanzania. The implication is that the Sector Ministries work directly with the national institutions (public universities), the contribution of the donor partners is through their sector ministries and indirectly with the higher education institutions within the reform of the higher education system in the MKUKUTA policy document.

5.5.2 Quality is a challenge

The response to the probe into the interpretation of the quality mandate indicated that quality has suffered “a lot” hence it is still a challenge.

A respondent mentions that:

Yes, quality is suffering, so I don't know if they (state) are monitoring quality in terms of having indicators on that. And if they are doing that or were doing that they have failed. (Response from DP, Respondent 2)

In this quotation above, there is the perception of the challenge of quality. Another highlight is that this respondent could not confirm with certainty that the state is monitoring quality or had instituted quality indicators at public universities. The challenge of quality at public universities has enjoyed widespread debate and arguments. Part of the problem as indicated in all the categories so far discussed is the inability of all stakeholders to agree on a single definition of quality and the inability to agree on an acceptable system of measuring quality (Harvey and Green 1993).

Another hint of the failure and challenge of quality was also pointed out:

At the same time the quality of education is also failing which I cannot see any special mechanism of encouraging these universities. (Response from DP, Respondent 3)

This respondent reinforces the assertion that the quality mandate is far from being achieved at public universities in Tanzania. There seems to be a lack of identified steering mechanisms through which the state has steered public universities to engage with the policy mandate. However from the literature on quality and state steering, there seems to be a consistency of state steering; of existent quality structures at universities since quality is a governance issue and relates to the debate around accountability of higher education institutions to their governments (Brennan and Shah 2000:132).

5.5.3 Qualified staff

A consistent element in all the categories in the understanding and construction of the quality mandate has been the need for the provision of qualified academic staff at public universities. The international aid partners also highlight not only the challenge of academic staff at universities but the challenge of qualified academic staff.

A respondent from the International Aid hints that:

First of all the issue of quality, we are looking at the inputs in terms of lecturers, the government have not invested in their personnel for the last/past fifteen years which means universities are facing a lot of challenges in terms of number (qualified staff who has PHD and professors). They are facing serious challenges of ageing because most of the professors who are teaching in universities have retired or they are about to retire. Therefore there is a crisis in terms of number of staff and age, now we are supporting that component under this phase one program around 400 members of staffs in terms of masters and PHD have gone for further studies (Response from DP, Respondent 4).

In the quotation above, there is the perception that with regard to quality actualization at public universities, the government has not done much and this is indicated in the lack of steering of public universities through investment in their academic staff. Over the past fifteen years, the government has not invested in the academic staff at public universities especially within the notion of aged and retired academia that is prevalent (see also Chapter 4.2.7). However, the International Aid Partners (the World Bank), is highlighted as supporting universities through their projects to alleviate the challenge of qualified academic staff.

Issues of qualified academic staff fall within the debate of Harvey and Green (1993) and their definition of “quality” as the competence and capacity of the staff. Apart from the quality of academic staff now, there is also the competence of universities with regard to the qualification of their academic staff and their capability to fit into their purpose or their core function of teaching and learning.

A further view is that:

The project addressed on the expansion of the universities, production of teachers, increasing the number of teachers on Science, Mathematics and Language. This is the focus of the project and addressing the MKUKUTA itself because by improving education, people will be more productive. World Bank is financing the production of teachers based on expansion of teachers to teach Science, Mathematics and Language, to teach teachers’ college and secondary students. (Interview with DP, Respondent 5)

The quotation above indicates instances of the International Aid Partner engagement with public universities to ensure the provision of academic staff. There is the perception that through their projects, the World Bank is intervening in the expansion of universities. The training of teachers to teach Science, Mathematics and Language is part of the intervention strategies of the World Bank through the STHEP program in public universities (See also Chapters 4.5.8). Such intervention in the above named subjects will also ensure the increase of academic staff also in the primary, secondary and post-secondary education system.

5.5.4 The provision of Infrastructure to strengthen quality

The provision and expansion of infrastructural development is another instance of quality construction by the international aid partners.

A response indicates that:

The help is to increase the infrastructure and ensure the environment is suitable for teaching that is where we focus. On engineering programs which are really critical to support the country’s economy. We are supporting them to build infrastructure, providing those offices, computer and internet services and equipping their lecturer’s offices, laboratories with necessary facilities to ensure that training is taking place.

We need a good environment for teaching and learning. So we get the necessary equipments needed for this (response from DP, Respondent 6).

There is the perception in the above quotation from international aid partners of their intervention through the provision of infrastructure. The need for the World Bank to intervene through support of infrastructural development arose since the government has not invested in infrastructural development for a long time. The decline of funding from government to universities may be the reason for the lack of provision of infrastructure that is prevalent in higher education systems globally and also in Tanzania (Wangenge-Ouma 2011:170; see also Ishengoma, 2010:188). The respondent highlights the fact that the need for infrastructural development, is to ensure that the students at universities have an enabling environment for learning.

There is the highlight of the need for an enabling environment for teaching and learning which is indicated as the motivating factor for the provision of equipment to universities. The MKUKUTA policy paper actually emphasizes that “in order to make a dent on poverty reduction, it requires the provision of quality education from early childhood to higher levels” (URT/MK 2005:9). The provision of the needed infrastructure will go a long way in ensuring an enabling environment for quality education to take place and also ensure that the MKUKUTA initiatives for higher education are implemented.

The institutions identified as part of the intervention by the World Bank include:

Dar es Salaam university College of education (DUCE), Mkwawa university College of Education (WUSE), State university of Zanzibar, university of Dar es Salaam, Open university of Tanzania. On the Science and Technology field, there are university of Dar es Salaam; Sokoine university of Agriculture, Ardhi university; Dar es Salaam Institute of Technology, other institutions which are not universities but are part of our programme including Tanzania Commission for Universities, Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTEC), Tanzania Education Authority, National Council for Technical Education (NACTE). (Interview with DP, Respondent 7)

These are universities that are part of the Science and Technology Higher Education Program

for which World Bank provides intervention.

5.5.5 Review of Curriculum

Another instance of quality construction is through supporting the curriculum review.

Among the respondents, there is the indication that:

The third component is supporting the curriculum reforms. We assist them in terms of experts to ensure that they have a curriculum which responds well to the labour market demands and requirement (Response from DP, Respondent 10).

The quotation above identifies the intervention of the bank through their support of curriculum reform. The element of curriculum reform has been consistent with the data from most of the categories as an instance of quality implementation. The respondent highlights the particular ways that the international aid partners provide intervention with regards to curriculum reform. Intervention is provided through engaging experts who provide technical assistance to ensure that the curriculum at public universities is labour market driven (See Chapter 4.5.7). The MKUKUTA policy document highlights the need to “pay due attention to quality in order to develop a labour force that is creative and globally competitive” (URT/MK 2005:9) which could be achieved through curriculum review. The support to ensure that curricular at public universities are updated or reviewed may therefore be seen as an aspect of the quality mandate construction.

Another intervention through the curriculum is captured in the response that:

Also updating the higher education curriculum and bringing it to cutting edge level in terms of getting the students to learn what is happening globally. That is a challenge, some are trying to do this and others are not bothered. There is need to scrap or adapt or improve old curriculum or write new ones. This happens every five years and may have to do another one. Can the curriculum be brought down to the classrooms? How many people review their notes annually? It is more of whatever has been taught forever, issues of teaching practice, pedagogical improvements and competitive environments and platforms for research (response from DP, Respondent 11)

The quotation above highlights the intervention as involving the updating or reviewing of the

curriculum. In this response, updating the curriculum according to this respondent implies bringing the curriculum to cutting edge level at par with global standards. Bringing the curriculum to cutting edge level may entail reviewing them to the same level as the curriculum of global Ivy League Universities and world class universities where excellence is the watchword. The implication of such curriculum reform is that the students, who are exposed to this curriculum even while in Tanzania, are at par with the students studying at other world renowned universities.

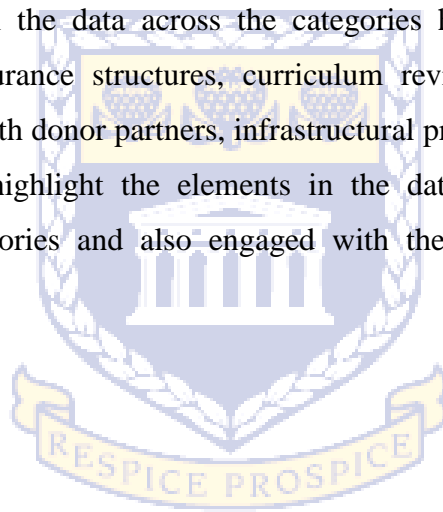
Despite the indication of reforming and updating the curriculum to cutting edge level on par with international standards, there is still the observed challenge of the quality of education offered at public universities. While other universities are not doing anything with regard to curriculum review, some are making progress (See Chapter 5.5.7). There is the suggestion of the need to scrap the old curriculum, to adapt it to meet international standards or to write a new curriculum so that it is aligned with higher education initiatives. The quotation also highlights that the curriculum review is carried out in universities every five years. The implication of the period of the curriculum in this discourse is that within the five years of the reform, the public universities would have carried out a major curriculum review to engage the reform mandate.

Indications in literature highlight that universities are hard to change (de la Harpe and Thomas 2009:77; see also Lohman 2002:3), especially with carrying out reviews of any curriculum. Also curriculum change has not yet been achieved broadly by any university globally (Chanock 2004; see also Stevens 2005). In addition, individual universities that review their curriculum have most probably produced results that were seen to be disappointing and far removed from what was expected (McKenzie, Alexander, Harper and Anderson 2005; see also Southwell, Gannaway, Orrell, Chalmers and Abraham 2005). In the Tanzanian case there is the need to align the curriculum to achieve the reform initiatives of the MKUKUTA policy paper. There is an indication in literature that the change or review of any curriculum may entail the engagement of the academic staff and their commitment to “change the way they design, teach and assess within their discipline” (de la Harpe and Radloff 2008: 1; see also Radloff and de la Harpe 2007). Engaging the academic staff of public universities therefore may be to ensure that the curriculum review and change are effective and rewarding to align with the reform initiatives and to ensure their

implementation.

This section has indicated the ways that the international aid partners have engaged with the quality mandate. The different constructions of quality are succinctly captured and highlighted by the respondents and the scholarly literature engaged in to elaborate on the data.

In the narrative presented above, there is the indication of the effort by institutions to fully engage with the quality mandate. Evidence points to public universities' engagement through their normative function which is at the core of their function as universities. Some of the elements that emerged from the data across the categories highlight the engagement of quality through quality assurance structures, curriculum review and teaching materials, international collaboration with donor partners, infrastructural provision and human resources provision. I have tried to highlight the elements in the data, their differences and the similarities across the categories and also engaged with the literature in confirming or contradicting them.



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CHAPTER SIX

ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY USING FOUCAULT'S CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENTALITY

6 Introduction

This chapter draws on the empirical data presented in Chapter four (access) and chapter five (quality) and identifies the key thematic findings that have emerged from this study. The chapter seeks to understand and interpret these findings in relation to the Foucauldian concepts that were outlined in Chapter three. More specifically, it does this in relation to Foucault's overall concept of governmentality, its significant (sub) concept of power and the associated sub concepts of panopticon, global governmentality, normalisation, freedom, resistance, regulation and control. These different but complimentary concepts were employed by Foucault in building up his theory of governmentality. The idea is to examine the ways in which this Foucauldian analysis intersects with the data presented in the earlier chapters.

The first thematic finding is about the origin and ownership of the MKUKUTA reform. The understanding of the concept of governmentality relates to the discussion around the origin and the ownership of the MKUKUTA reform. This was also hinted at in Chapter one of this study. A second one concerns that of the state regulation of institutional practices in order to orient the institutions in the direction of the MKUKUTA policy objectives. In this respect, it has emerged within the process of the regulation of institutional practices that power is not located in a single source but is dispersed broadly from and across diverse angles. This is within the understanding of power as being fluid as against the notion of power operating from a supreme head. There are also a range of interest groups or components involved in helping to regulate (or, establish the conditions), for power to transverse. This is applied in the discussion of power relations at the public universities to ensure that they engage with the MKUKUTA objectives.

A third area is about the steering of funding in ways that make it a form of a 'panoptical gaze' or surveillance by which institutions are steered in the direction of engaging with the reform objectives of the state. Related to this, is the way in which the state, through the steering of institutional practices in the direction of the reform has the effect of normalising

their activities in ways that reflect direct engagement with the MKUKUTA objectives. This, in effect, subsequently facilitates the provision of access to state resources.

6.1 The origin and ownership of the MKUKUTA reform as a form of governmentality

One of the findings of this study is around the tension in terms of the ownership of the MKUKUTA policy document, more specifically in terms of “who owns the initiative”? In this regard, the significant finding is that while the initiative was introduced by the World Bank and made obligatory for impoverished sub-Saharan African countries as outlined and discussed in Chapter one, the actual proprietorship seems to be contested. For some of the respondents in this study, there were indications to suggest “pride of place” in so far as they marked out the policy as “our MKUKUTA” and as a “local initiative of the Tanzanian government”. At the same time there were also dissenting voices that were expressed as lack of knowledge of the contents of the reform and its initiatives for higher education institutions with regard to the probe on access, which is understood as an increase in enrolment as shown in Chapter 4.2.4.

Within the framework of governmentality, the MKUKUTA policy document is an instrument of governance and the practice of a national state through which the state exercises power over its citizens. Being a locally owned initiative that occupies pride of place in the state and among the citizens, one can interpret the MKUKUTA in relation to Foucault as an instrument that the state uses to exercise control over the population (Foucault, 1982). In this respect, the notion of population could refer to the public universities and the higher education institutions in Tanzania. The state uses the MKUKUTA as a form of regulation. In this way it exercises control over the population and in this instance the universities. The MKUKUTA as a locally owned policy document is used by the state to steer institutions in the direction of the policy objectives and to direct human and institutional behaviour (Foucault, 1988). In using the MKUKUTA as an instrument for overseeing certain activities of institutions, this practice could be viewed as a form of governmentality which is about a “practice of government” (Foucault, 1991). The concept of governmentality is viewed as “the conduct of conduct or the power to act on the action of others” (Foucault, 1982: 220). The MKUKUTA

policy document could be viewed as a rationality of the state that is used to regulate the activities of higher education institutions.

One of the ways that the steering of institutions occurs is through the government mandate of expansion or massification. As outlined in an earlier chapter, this refers to governmental regulation of institutions to ensure an increase in provision of access. The empirical data indicates that the governmental mandate to public universities in Tanzania to expand access through increased enrolment (See chapter 4.1.2) has been engaged in by all public universities in Tanzania. The empirical finding also references the special place of pride that the Tanzanians have with regard to their ownership of the MKUKUTA policy which is a locally owned policy initiative.

6.2 Power localisation and state regulation of institutional practices to align with the MKUKUTA

As outlined earlier, the state steers public universities to engage with the practices of government which in this study are the initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy document. This theme of state regulation of institutional practices is related to the concept of governmentality as the “power to act on the actions of others” (Foucault, 1982) and the understanding that power does not reside in a single source but multiple sources. Power is therefore viewed as being fluid or originating from diverse sources and in this study, power is also exercised at institutional level through the engagement of institutions with the MKUKUTA objectives. From a Foucauldian perspective, power is equally exercised through diverse forms such as resistance, freedom, and regression among others. Power is also exercised by the state through the regulation of institutional activities which could impede institutional autonomy (Waghid et al, 2005). In this study, there is evidence of resistance to power which is indicated earlier as lack of knowledge of the initiatives of the MKUKUTA policy. Foucault’s concept of power is related and applied in this study within the regulation of institutional practices at public university level to align and ensure the implementation of the MKUKUTA policy objectives. The institutional practices or activities that have been normalised and regulated to ensure alignment with the MKUKUTA objectives includes the expansion of the access mandate through increased enrolment or massification and funding. These will be discussed as forms of state regulation of institutional practices.

6.3 State regulation of the access initiative as a form of ‘capillary power’

As outlined in Chapter 2, the access mandate of the MKUKUTA document has as its focus, the expansion of enrolment at public universities. This is located within the teaching function of the universities. Part of the access mandate includes the need to expand the enrolment base of universities, such as providing access to previously excluded social categories. For example, access for the female gender has been expanded. From this we observe that expanded enrolment is assuming the form of a normalised institutional practice for public universities. As a component of the concept of governmentality, the normalisation of access at institutions is understood in this study with regard to achieving set goals and objectives (Foucault, 1979).

In addition, the concept of power as being multiple and dispersed also has a ‘capillary’ quality. This means that power is exercised by individuals and institutions by engaging every aspect of their being and bodies, this affects their actions, attitudes, discourses, processes and everyday lives (Foucault, 1980). This capillary like quality within the concept of power can also be applied to the access demand at public universities in Tanzania. Within this study, there is the understanding that access is regulated for “continuous improvement within a state agenda that is credible and desirable” (Morley, 2003:13), namely the MKUKUTA objectives. The state regulation of the access initiative in public universities is a form of ‘capillary’ that ensures increasingly more Tanzania youths have access to higher education. In this way, higher education is provided for their private and public good (Altbach et al, 2009). The access initiative is applied as a form of capillary power to ensure ‘continuous improvement’ with the state programme that is interested in alleviating poverty and ensuring that economic development will be realised. The MKUKUTA policy that contains the reform is a poverty reduction policy as outlined in Chapter one.

As revealed by this study (Chapter 4.2.3), the mandate of access is engaged with through skills development, especially in terms of social mobility in the formal labour market. The social function of universities has been outlined in Chapter 2.1.3 as including skills for social mobility. Access to public universities is also regulated as a form of capillary power to align with the global tendencies of higher education massification by the state. The state regulates

access to public universities to increase enrolment and this is indicated earlier on as an increase in enrolment in terms of shape and size (see Chapter four).

6.4 State regulation of institutional funding as a form of surveillance

One of the findings in this study is that there appears to be a direct link between the allocation of funding and the indicated initiatives that are embedded in the MKUKUTA policy document. Public universities are state funded institutions and the state in its exercise of power, regulates the allocation of funding to these public universities, subject to the conditions (and or principles) specified in the MKUKUTA policy as outlined in the reform objectives. The empirical data revealed that the MKUKUTA reform is a guide and a policy of the Tanzanian nation and the state therefore regulates public universities to engage with this guide and policy.

When seeking to understand some of these institutional practices as they are regulated by the state, more especially as this pertains to the allocation of resources (that is funding allocations), the concept of ‘panopticon’ (which is sometimes referred to as a form of surveillance), comes to mind (Foucault, 1979). The concept of panopticon is a form of surveillance in prisons (Foucault, 1979). This concept is, however, applied in this research as a form of surveillance, a form of state regulation of institutional funding to ensure institutional accountability with regard to their engagement with the MKUKUTA policy reforms.

As stated earlier, the concept of panopticon which refers to a form of surveillance from above is viewed by Foucault, (1979) as a ‘perfect eye’. The concept of panopticon is a form of surveillance by the state that watches over the prisoners, and controls and monitors their activities in the prisons (Foucault, 1979). In essence, the concept of panopticon as used within the overall framework of this research is a model for seeking to understand how the state conducts monitoring and control of institutions to ensure the implementation of the state agenda. In applying the concept of panopticon to this study therefore, there is evidence from the empirical data on the state regulation of public universities funding to ensure their implementation of the MKUKUTA policy objectives as specified in Chapter four.

The data from the state Ministry of Education and Vocational Training on the access initiative shows that to steer universities adequately, the state has ensured that university activities are only financed when there is evidence of linkage to the MKUKUTA objectives. As outlined in Chapter four, there is the connection between funding of public university based activities in their budgets that show evidence of forging linkages with the elements and principles as specified in the MKUKUTA reform.

However, the linking of university based activities to the reforms in the MKUKUTA also extends beyond the budget to other sources of funding among which is the one percent gross domestic product that is directed to the National Research Agenda as a fund for research. As noted in an earlier paragraph, Chapter 4.4.3, the National Research Agenda is set up by the Tanzanian national government and administered by the Commission for Science and Technology. The funds mandated for the National Research Agenda has an annual investment of one percent gross domestic product that will be disbursed through competitive bidding by universities (see Chapter Four). The criteria for being granted the funding are that such research should be aligned with the MKUKUTA objectives. To restate, the national budget for public universities and the funds for the National Research Agenda are both funding from the Tanzanian national government for public universities activities that are linked to the MKUKUTA. The linkage of these funding streams to the MKUKUTA objectives is an aspect of surveillance, (Foucault 1979) through which the state ensures that universities are normalised or steered to implement the reform initiatives in the MKUKUTA policy document.

The Tanzanian state is drawing from the practices of panopticon to institute an apparatus of surveillance over (Foucault, 1979) public universities, to ensure that they are normalised or steered towards implementing the reform. In applying this concept of panopticon to the practices of the state, the state seems to control and monitor public university activities to ensure their engagement with the objectives of the MKUKUTA reform. By using the MKUKUTA document to steer universities in the direction of engaging with state priority policy, it could be that there is a form of surveillance by the government over that of the universities. In other words, the state is exercising a form of accountability by ensuring that the public universities are steered to engage and implement the state higher education reform mandate of the MKUKUTA public universities, the state in this way ensures some form of

accountability through institutional practices and activities. The question arises as to the extent to which universities are still able to maintain autonomy. This is important considering that autonomy is a key demand of public universities as indicated in Chapters one and two earlier and entails their ability to teach and research without interference from the state.

The state appropriates Foucault's concept of panopticon to ensure accountability of the public universities to the MKUKUTA reforms. The use of the MKUKUTA as an instrument to ensure the accountability of public universities to state priority policy objectives does not impede the notion of autonomy of universities but instead encourages universities to engage with the MKUKUTA policy initiatives in diverse ways where possible.

6.5 Establishment of quality assurance strategies as a form of surveillance

Among the themes that emanated from the investigation into the quality processes is the establishment of quality assurance systems. In this regard, one of the ways that the state seeks oversight of the university and to directly manage this aspect of academic life is through the establishment of quality assurance processes. The quality assurance systems are set up to ensure a coordinated oversight of the quality of education being offered at universities. The state, in their regulation of universities at institutional level, has also coordinated the establishment of quality assurance systems to ensure quality education offered is at the universities. There is evidence of state regulation by institutionalizing quality assurance as indicated in Chapter 5.1.2. Another indication is the high level of quality at universities to ensure the training of the labour force as seen in Chapter 5.1.7 among others. Another revelation is that the quality of the curriculum at public universities is regulated by the state and the institution to align with global higher education dynamics as indicated in Chapter 5.1.3. Public universities in Tanzania have also regulated quality as a form of surveillance at institutional level. The regulation of quality as a form of surveillance at institutional level was highlighted at the level of institutional activities such as teaching, arrangement of classes, and examination and laboratory sections as specified in Chapter 5.1.2. The empirical data reveals that in the process of seeking or exercising the oversight function around the quality initiative, quality assurance systems were established at public universities. In this respect, it has emerged that in all three universities which form the focus of this study, the structures for assuring quality with institutionalised directorates tended to be organised as a form of 'surveillance'.

As stated in the preceding sentence, the institutional regulation of quality assurance systems as a form of surveillance implies that the members of the quality assurance directorate monitors institutional activities to ensure compliance with the quality initiative. Some of the activities monitored by the members of the directorate include lecture activities, examinations, seating arrangements in the classrooms and examination rooms, as well as practical work. The empirical data indicated that these activities were monitored by members of the quality assurance directorate to ensure they comply with the institutional focus on quality provision. In this regard, it is important to note that the Quality Assurance Directorate inside the university formed part of a consortium of a regional quality assurance structure. In this way, it could be argued that governmentality practices were at work. This is with specific reference to the notion of surveillance of the quality initiative at public universities. Public universities in Tanzania are also members of a regional quality assurance directorate that is used as a form of surveillance in the region to ensure institutional compliance with both regional and global quality assurance.

In addition, quality is construed as a form of panopticon with regard to the curriculum of the public universities. The public universities have been regulated by the state to ensure the review of their curriculum at institutional level as part of ensuring quality. As pointed out earlier, universities have involved stake holders, even extending to the global experts in terms of collaboration in reviewing their curriculum (see chapter four and five). Within the understanding of the quality assurance mechanism as a form of surveillance, the quality assurance directorate engages with the different units of the university community to ensure sustained monitoring of the institutional environment and staff to ensure compliance with the curriculum review and the offering of quality education.

6.6 Regulation of the MKUKUTA objectives as a form of global governmentality

As outlined earlier, one element of the overall concept of governmentality focuses on that of 'global governmentality'. To restate, global governmentality refers to the functions of the supranational agencies in which formally or informally they are involved in the regulation of higher education activity for instance in other nations outside of western developed economies in Europe (See Chapter 2.12. on global governmentality). This refers to the way in which supranational agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund

among others integrate global practices into the local independent state context. As the empirical data from this study reveals, the World Bank is involved in steering public universities through their intervention of funding. In this way, the intervention through the funding of the central admission system as shown in Chapter 4.5.3 of the access initiative and the ‘Quick Win’ in Chapter 5.5.4 of the quality initiative, is evidence of World Bank intervention.

A further way in which the supra-national agencies support public universities is through their interventions in the financing of the science, technology and higher education initiative as shown in Chapter 5.2.5 and 5.3.6. In this regard, the supra-national agencies are engaged in ensuring the achievement of the priorities that the Tanzanian government has placed on science and technology and the higher education initiative. In addition to the above, the donor partners like the World Bank are also identified as stakeholders by assisting through the engagement of experts for public universities during curriculum reviews as shown in Chapter 4.5.7 and Chapter 5.5.5 respectively. This is among other institutional activities like the expansion of enrolment, access and quality that are regulated around the policy mandates as expressed in the MKUKUTA document. In this study, (Chapter one), it was extensively outlined that the World Bank initialised the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) by positing it as a condition for debt relief. These conditions were spelt out in Chapter one.

The imposition or stipulation of the condition that education be a key item in the MKUKUTA reform of an independent state by a supranational agency illustrates the way in which the concept of global governmentality is practised on the ground. This is encapsulated within the understanding that a supra-national agency determines a stipulated condition for a local policy for an independent state. However, the emphasis on education as a key item in the MKUKUTA reform which is a borrowed policy item from the initial poverty reduction strategy paper is linked to the World Bank’s realization that higher education is critical for economic development (Bloom et al, 2006). In addition to the oversight function of the supra national agencies in independent nation states, the poverty reduction strategy papers were to be approved by the donor community. The process for this was outlined in chapter one as specified earlier.

In terms of regulation, the strategy document would be used as a framework to orient or steer funding by the donor community, subject to satisfactory adherence to certain conditions. As outlined earlier, these conditions are also stipulated in the MKUKUTA policy paper. As part of the overall conditions, education is one such condition that is also in the MKUKUTA policy paper and particularly higher education access and provision of quality. In the light of this understanding, the argument of the World Bank around the relationship between higher education and economic development is a way of exercising in Foucauldian terms a form of global governmentality. This means that the global agency is somehow determining for the independent nations the need to link their higher education activities to economic development. It is therefore worthwhile to note that there has been a shift in the emphasis that the World Bank and other international funding agencies have placed on higher education. For example, in the past, much stress was laid on primary education but this has now shifted to include a focus on higher education.

The above discussion in terms of how international funding agencies have exercised their control and authority 'on the ground' can be seen as an instance of the practice of power and a form of governance. As an instrument of power and governance, the state utilizes the MKUKUTA policy to steer public universities to implement higher education reform. As such, public universities are to normalize their activities to indicate their response to higher education reform objectives in the MKUKUTA policy paper. In ensuring and actualizing the normalization of their activities, public universities had to show evidence that their activities are linked and are responsive to the reforms in the MKUKUTA policy paper. One of the ways that the public universities have normalised their activities is indicated around access expansion. While the state mandates public universities to expand access, universities, however, have normalised access for their own benefit of income generation. This will be discussed in the next section.

6.7 Normalisation of access for institutional income generation

The study highlighted that public universities in Tanzania are regulated by state government through the MKUKUTA to expand access in terms of increased enrolment. The mandate to expand access as specified in the MKUKUTA document had the effect of increasing the enrolment of students at public universities. The state is interested in regulating the public universities to normalise their core functions of teaching, research and community

engagement to offer access to young Tanzanians who desire higher education. The expansion of access mandate through increased enrolment is however being normalised by the public universities for their own benefit of income generation especially the third stream income generation. The normalisation of institutional activity such as access in terms of increased enrolment can be viewed as the interplay between individuals, population or institutions within a state for the purpose of achieving set goals and objectives (Foucault, 1979). When this is translated or applied to the Foucault concept of normalisation, then we observe that the state regulates institutional activities so as to control, use, transform ... and even accelerate a wide ranging mechanism of power in the state (Foucault 2004). However, despite the state effort at regulating and steering public universities to engage with the access mandate as specified in the MKUKUTA document, there is a trend. The trend is that universities as autonomous institutions have normalised the access mandate independent of state regulation for their own benefit of funding or income generation.

As outlined in Chapter two, the relationship between the state and universities is marked by tension, more specifically in terms of the extent to which institutions and universities can exercise their autonomy and independence from the state (see Bleiklie, 1998; Shore and Wright, 2004; see also Chapter 2). Given this backdrop, it has emerged from this study that the state exercises its oversight function in both indirect and direct ways through the regulation of institutional activities. More especially, in the investigation of the extent to which institutions have engaged with the access policy mandate, the observation from this study is that institutions have engaged in expanding access through increased enrolment among many other ways. In seeking to understand these practices within the concept of Foucault's normalisation, the study suggests that there is a 'normalising' of the access initiative by institutions to generate additional funds.

A critical look at institutions and the debate around autonomy can be related or located within the discussion on Foucault's concept of power. Power is denoted as being practices from "innumerable points" (Foucault, 1990:94) and such multiplicity of power sources are exercised in an environment of freedom. To substantiate the notion of multiple sources of power, Foucault argues that "power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everything" (Foucault, 1990:93). Public universities are insisting on being autonomous. Such autonomy will enable them to exercise power, especially with

regard to some of their activities like teaching and research which are independent of the state. Public universities in Tanzania in this study therefore, have chosen to normalise the MKUKUTA mandate of expanded access for their benefit as an instrument for income generation. Such indication of the normalisation of access for income generation has emerged in this study. Some of the ways that public universities in this study have normalised the access initiative for income generation includes, establishing evening programmes for private fee-paying students, establishing demand driven short courses that will attract a fee-paying clientele and also engaging with donor projects that attract extra funding (Chapter 4.1.8). There is also the example of the establishment of new campuses and colleges that offer evening programmes at post-graduate level (Chapter 4.1.6). New campuses and colleges are established to attract private fee-paying students and fees from government sponsored students on the higher education students' loan scheme. The tuition fees for these students become a source of funding in addition to that from the national fiscus and the budgetary allocations. However, the funding from the national fiscus and the budgetary allocation from the state to public universities has been decreasing, not only in Tanzania but also globally (See Chapter two). The state therefore regulates and steers public universities to engage with the access mandate as specified by the MKUKUTA policy. It has emerged from the study that public universities engage with the access mandate in so far as expanding access to universities through increased enrolment and establishment of new universities, among others. At the same time, public universities have also normalised increased access in a way that has helped to accrue additional funding at institutional level.

6.8 Institutional regulation of provision of resources as a dispositif

The concept of dispositif as a Foucauldian term is about the heterogeneous ensemble of elements like institutions, architectural forms, laws, and administrative measures among others and the relationships between these elements in the technology of governance (Foucault (1980). This implies that the practice of dispositif is related to the manner in which governing takes place and engages institutions, laws, and discourse among others in its engagement of the agencies within the state. The state mandates public universities to engage with the access and quality initiatives of higher education reform in the MKUKUTA policy paper. The empirical data indicates the challenge of resources. The challenge of resources is indicated in this study within the understanding of human resources and is specified as skills development in section Chapter 4.2.3; material resources are understood in this study in terms

of infrastructural facilities as shown in section Chapter 4.2.5 and the global decline in funding amongst other challenges. However, despite these challenges, the state regulates universities to engage with the mandate of the reform and institutions also engage with reform as shown in the diverse ways of their understanding of the resources provision as indicated above.

The understanding of *dispositif* can be applied around the thematic finding of human and material resources provision and challenges. The theme indicated as human and material resources provisions and challenges is critical in grasping the power relations around institutional engagement with the access and quality initiative in the MKUKUTA. The provision of these resources as a process of *dispositif* is viewed as critical elements in public universities' engagement with the MKUKUTA mandates. This is appreciated or related to the Foucauldian concept of '*dispositif*' at institutional level in the many ways that the challenges and provisions of resources have been understood in this study (skilled development, infrastructural provisions, and declining financial provisions as specified in the preceding paragraph). The process of *dispositif* can also be related to within the understanding of the state regulation of institutional practices even as universities normalise their activities or apparatuses (Foucault, 1979) to engage with the access and quality mandate of reform.

Within the understanding of the Foucault concept of governmentality, human and material resource provisions can be perceived as instruments of governmental *dispositif* in normalizing public universities. The provision of human and material resources provisions can be related or located in what Foucault describes as the "existing modality of government" (Foucault, 1991:102). The 'existing modality of government' as understood within this study is the existing governmental provisions that motivate the actualisation of the rationalities or the mandates of the reform. This can be viewed within the findings from the access and quality initiatives that the MKUKUTA policy mandates are better engaged with in an environment where institutional needs around the *dispositif* which in this case are the resources, are met.

In seeking to understand the Foucauldian concept of normalisation and the process of *dispositif* within the thematic finding around resources provision, there is the need to link them to the overall concept of governmentality. Within such understanding of the concept of normalisation and *dispositif*, there is the underlining notion of the "individualizing

operation of power” (Foucault, 1991:102) which is indicated as a critical element in the administration of a population. The word population has been defined earlier. Relating the provision of the dispositif – resources – as identified in this study, highlights to an extent the multiplicity of power and the interrelatedness of the many ways that it is understood and actualised in the population. This is indicated in the individualising of operations of power and can be related especially around the dispositif of resources provision as identified in this study. Among the many ways that the dispositif of resources is indicated in the operation of power relations around the reform is through the human resources challenge. Public universities indicated the challenge of human resources in the access initiative as the need for the employment of academic staff to cope with the rising enrolment as shown in Chapter 4.1.9. It is also understood as the need for skills development in Chapter 4.3.3, as well as the challenge of academic staff in Chapter 4.2.7, among others.

Also the individualised operation of power relations around the dispositif of human resources was identified in the empirical findings from the quality initiative as the training and retraining of staff as indicated in Chapter 5.1.7 and 5.4.3. It is further understood as the recruitment and provision of qualified academic staff in Chapter 5.2.2 and the training of staff, despite the paucity of staff on the ground at universities as in Chapter 5.3.3. Another way of individualising the operations of power around the dispositif of human resources in this study is with regard to the challenge of material resources which is revealed in the access initiative as infrastructural provision. This was indicated earlier as infrastructural facilities as a form of access in Chapter 4.2.5 and as inadequate provision of infrastructure in Chapter 4.3.7 and furthermore as infrastructural development provisions in Chapter 4.5.8.

This study has further revealed that the empirical findings from the quality initiative indicate the individualised operation of power relations around the dispositif of material resources as infrastructural provisions and development challenge in Chapter 5.1.8. It is also understood as quality as infrastructural provisions in Chapter 5.2.3, among others. Lastly, the findings from the access initiative reveal the individualised operation of power around the financial resources dispositif as the inadequate funding of university activities. The declining funding of university activities has been indicated in the literature in Chapter two. The indication is that institutional funding by the state is declining globally and has been expressed earlier on in this section. The finding from the quality initiative chapter indicates that the individualised

operation of power around the financial resources dispositif as a challenge of funding in ensuring that public universities offer quality education to the population.

Among the ways that public universities have engaged with the challenge of the ‘dispositif’ resources provision, is through donor intervention which is a form of global governmentality. Global governmentality involves the engagement of international donor partners through donor financing of institutions in an independent state within activities that are viewed as the primary domain of the national state. The intervention through donor financing is an aspect of global governmentality. The intervention of international donor partners in responding to the individualised power relation of the dispositif - human resources - is as a result of the declining commitment of the state to the funding of university activities that is observed globally. This is indicated in Chapter two and earlier on in this chapter.

As outlined earlier, there is a global tendency around the extent to which the state is able to allocate resources to public universities. This has culminated in a decline in the funding of public universities. In Tanzania, the state is expected to provide the needed resources for its public universities as they are regulated to engage with the MKUKUTA rationality. Within such understanding of state provision of resources while regulating public universities for access and quality provisions, there is the argument that the nation-state has a central role in the development of the dispositif – “the total way or manner that governing takes place which may not be constitutive of power” (Brigg 2002:428). To understand the ways in which power is constituted within the dispositive entails understanding the engagement of the state as a primary provider of funding for its institutions. This is against the over reliance on donor agencies in providing resources which should be the primary domain of the state government. Public universities are regulated by the state to engage with the reform mandate of access and quality. However, the intervention of donor agencies within this thematic understanding could also be linked to the earlier discussed engagement of development partners like the World Bank and their initiatives in impoverished Sub-Saharan African countries through the initial poverty reduction strategies.

6.9 Understanding institutional exercise of freedom in the regulation of access around size and space

One of the ways in which the Foucault concept of power unfolds in practice is by situating this within the framework of the government's mandate that emphasizes the need for public universities to expand access. Within the understanding of the multiplicity of power, the concept of power can be regulated around the subcomponent of freedom. Public universities in Tanzania engaged with the MKUKUTA reform within their understanding and exercise of power as freedom, as against the exercise of power as resistance. Within such understanding therefore, public universities engaged with access in terms of size and shape.

Public universities are government (i.e. state) institutions with some measure of autonomy. As autonomous institutions, public universities exercise power in an environment of freedom that is independent of the state. Foucault has the view that power operates within an atmosphere of freedom (1980). In understanding power as freedom, Foucault, (1980) argues that power should not be related "only to as a force that says no" (Foucault, 1980:89). Foucault indicates that "power traverses and produces things, induces pleasure, and forms knowledge and is achieved through a network of power relations" (Foucault 1980: 119). In this respect, it is argued that in the exercise of power, the aspect of freedom and resistance do operate. In relating the Foucault concept of freedom to that of universities in this study, it has emerged that while the state regulates institutional activities through the MKUKUTA, public universities engage with the mandate within the environment of freedom that is sometimes independent of the state and which is not resistance. In seeking to understand the concept of freedom, there is the need to include the principles of independence and autonomy that underpin the actions of individuals and institutions. This is important in considering how the notion of 'freedom' is related to that of 'power'. The latter is implicated in the activities of the persons, institutions and agencies that it operates. The implication is that the population where the concept of power relations operates have the freedom to take action or the option of resistance concerning state regulations of its activities within the practices and rationalities of governance. Public universities, in exercising power with regard to access expansion, explored their freedom in the exercise of power independent of the state and engaged with access in terms of size and shape. Public universities' exercise of freedom in engaging with

the expansion of access highlights their interest in using one of the strategies of technologies of power which is freedom as against resistance and all the other components of power.

The empirical findings as indicated in Chapter 5 highlight that the public universities engaged with the access initiative in terms of increased number of students, given placement and increased enrolment (Chapter 4.2.3; 4.3.4; 4.4.4; 4.6.5); and the expansion of enrolment along the lines of gender (Chapter 4.2.4). With regard to shape, there is the indication of access as the introduction of new programmes and courses (Chapter 4.2.5; 4.4.3). Access is also conceptualised as the establishment of new university centres and campuses (Chapter 4.2.6; 4.3.6) and access is construed as the liberalisation of private provisions (Chapter 4.4.2). Public universities in Tanzania have engaged with the access mandate of the reform in many ways as indicated in the findings. Public universities have in their exercise of power through their freedom to react either in the affirmative or negative given birth to the many “array of possibilities that paves the way for diverse response and results” (Foucault, 2000:340) of access engagement as indicated in this study.

Such an array of possibilities is evident at universities within an environment of autonomy or their freedom which is independent of state interferences as they engaged with expansion of access. The engagement with the access mandate through an array of possibilities as indicated in the findings includes: through increased enrolment, increased access for female students, introduction of new colleges and campuses, establishment of new universities, the engagement of private providers of higher education and lastly the introduction of new programmes and new courses at undergraduate and graduate level.

6.10 Limited national coordination of public universities at systems level during policy formulation

One of the findings in this research is that universities were not formally coordinated at systems level during the formulation process of the MKUKUTA as specified in Chapter 4.4.5. This revelation is despite the indication in the initial poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) that wide consultation and a participatory process were the key conditions imposed by the World Bank on the independent nations of sub-Saharan Africa in drafting the initial strategy paper (Smith, 2005). Policy making, as highlighted in Chapter one, is about the

borrowing of ideas, (Ball, 1998). It does not exist in a vacuum (Jann & Wegrich, 2006) as indicated with the link of the MKUKUTA policy as an offshoot of the initial Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and indicated in Chapter one.

The understanding of the concept of governmentality as a ‘conduct of a conduct’ (Foucault, 1988), is understood within the practices and rationalities of governance in a state. The MKUKUTA policy document is a state instrument of governance that is regulated as indicated above to ensure institutional implementation of the MKUKUTA policy objectives. Public universities as state institutions are regulated by the Tanzanian state to ensure implementation of this governmental practice or rationality to ensure the positive effects of power (Foucault, 1977) on the population, individuals and institutions, among others. Within the Foucauldian example, government is about “the technique and procedures for directing human behaviour” (Foucault, 1988). This can be applied in governance within a state through the MKUKUTA as a practice of state and how it shapes the behaviour of the public universities in Tanzania. Such application raises the question around the possibility of public universities in Tanzania becoming normalised to implement governmental practice and the rationality of the MKUKUTA. This is important considering that at institutional level, public universities were not part of the wide spread consultation or the participatory process during the formulation of the reform that they were to implement. In addition to the lack of national co-ordination is also the indicated lack of prioritization of higher education in the overall document as indicated in Chapter 5.5.1.

The need to engage with a widespread consultative or participatory process during the formulation of the MKUKUTA policy is probably linked to ensuring the positive effects of the policy on the population. In a similar way, to normalise every aspect of societal life and activity to contribute to the MKUKUTA objectives in terms of formulation and implementation can only be achieved through a wide consultative and participatory process in the higher education system. With the empirical finding indicating the non- participation of public universities in the consultative process and the non prioritization of the higher education system, there is the tendency of resistance to the implementation of the MKUKUTA objectives by public universities.

Public universities operate within the tension of being accountable to their national states and the need to exercise autonomy independent of the state. As such, any feeling of being alienated during the engagement of the population in the wide consultative process of policy formulation may likely signal the need for resistance by public universities with regard to implementing the policy. The empirical finding gives a perception of ignorance of the contents of the MKUKUTA policy paper by the executive leadership as specified in Chapter 4.3.4. Such “ignorance” of the contents of the MKUKUTA policy could be an aspect of resistance by public universities as a result of their alienation at system level.

The government in Tanzania, through their conduct of conduct and practices of governance have initiated diverse methods of dissemination of information across the media as a way of regulation at both societal and institutional level to ensure its implementation of the higher education reform. With such concentrated investment in information dissemination and advocacy by the state, the case of ignorance or non- understanding of the contents of the MKUKUTA policy document is viewed as a form of resistance to the policy from public universities. In seeking to understand how the concept of governmentality unfolds in practice, especially in terms of the extent to which public institutions have the power to act on the actions of others or actions of the state raises the question of resistance to the policy. Such tendencies of resistance, as indicated earlier through ignorance of the contents of the MKUKUTA policy paper by the senior executive leadership of universities, is linked to the attributes of power being “repressiveness and of negative command” (Foucault, 1977:23). Public universities, in their exercise of autonomy and functioning independently of the state, can resist state policy objectives despite the expectation that institutions are to be accountable to their nation states.

The next section of this chapter is the conclusion and the recommendation section. It gives a succinct summary of the key debate in this dissertation with a brief recommendation for a better co-ordination of public universities to be able to be responsive to their states’ national priority policies.

6.11 Conclusion and recommendation

While the dominant discourse about the state is that it has total control of public institutions such as universities in Africa and Tanzania particularly, this study has revealed that

universities themselves can also challenge the state, often in subtle ways. This study has revealed the ways in which public universities in Tanzania have responded to issues of access and quality in higher education as enunciated in the MKUKUTA reform policy. However, even though the MKUKUTA policy has outlined four major initiatives for higher education institutions in Tanzania namely access, quality, funding and community engagement through research, this study has particularly emphasized the access and quality initiatives and how public universities in Tanzania have responded to these initiatives.

As evidenced in the empirical data, the state mandated public universities to increase access to higher education for the Tanzanian population, and universities did both in terms of size and shape. Drawing from the Foucauldian understanding of power, in particular around the fluidity or multiplicity of power, public universities engaged with the access mandate in a variety of ways. These include, increasing enrolment, increase in enrolment with regard to the female gender, introduction of new courses and programmes, establishment of new campuses and centres as well as the liberalization of private provision of higher education.

While this seemed to be adequate in the eyes of the state, issues of quality of education being offered have remained questionable with the increase in access and hence a tension exists with regard to the mismatch between the increasing access and the observed challenge of quality. It is questionable in the sense that the idea of what constitutes quality was not established and there are no identifiable and agreeable measures of quality between the state and the universities. What this thesis reveals is that on one hand the state is interested in increasing access however, they neglected the issue of specific funding allocation to public universities to enable them to engage with the access and quality mandate. The thesis therefore establishes that there is an existing tension between the state policy on the access initiatives and the corresponding quality of education being offered in the higher education institutions. There is also tension between the state and public universities in Tanzania with regard to the MKUKUTA policy formulation process.

This is drawn from our understanding that most policies in Africa originate from the state with no wide policy consultations which is in conflict with the World Bank's poverty reduction policy papers, especially during the policy making or formulation and the implementation process. In situations where the state persists in having total control over

institutions, subtle resistance will always emerge from higher education institutions in different ways.

6.12 Recommendations

Following these, the likely recommendation for improving public universities responsiveness to the national priority policy through implementation of the access and quality initiatives in the reform is the following:

1. Negotiation and Interaction: There is a need for constant interaction and conversation between the state and its public universities. This is important since the state views its universities as agents of development, creators and disseminators of knowledge and an emblem and pride of independence.
2. Policy issues: The processes at state level which concern public universities must be operationalized to ensure the coordination of institutions at systemic level with all the processes of policy from the formulation to implementation and evaluation. There is a need for enlightenment information, the organization of programs, seminars, workshops and other enlightenment campaigns that give the public universities the opportunity to engage with policy makers and the stake-holders around a particular policy that involves them.
3. Funding: Public universities in Africa are also faced with the declining global trend of reduced funding. This notwithstanding, they expect their African states to fund their universities and higher education institutions. African states can engage with the funding of universities by assisting universities to generate and engage in other sources of funding like the awarding of professorial chairs; donor assistance, and the establishing of research funds for the national research agenda among others.

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APPENDIX A 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

Category: Senior Executive Leadership of Universities

1. Interpretation of the MKUKUTA initiative by public universities in Tanzania

- i. What are the different ways that your institution understand and construct the Access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA mandate as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?

2. Nature and Extent of Implementation

- i. Can you kindly relate to me actions being undertaken by your university that express their understanding of the access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA initiative as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?
- ii. Can you tell me of new courses, programs, research or initiatives that are a direct response to the MKUKUTA at the university, faculty or departmental level level?
- iii. Are there more identified initiatives that you remember and may want to share with me?

3. Incentives and sanctions established by the government to ensure implementation by public universities.

- i. What have you identified as actions that the government of Tanzania has taken that signals steering mechanisms or incentives by government to ensure the MKUKUTA implementation in universities?
- ii. Should your university/ faculty not implement the MKUKUTA can you tell me some of the ways that the government can sanction your institution for failure to implement this initiative?
- iii. What monitoring or evaluation mechanisms have been put in place by the government to ensure implementation of the MKUKUTA policy at Universities?
- iv. Given the key roles of agencies like the World Bank in formulating the MKUKUTA initiatives, what are their possible roles in encouraging implementation?

4. Challenges that confront public universities in Tanzania in implementing MUKUTA initiatives

- i. From your perspectives, can you kindly tell me some of the challenges that you encounter in trying to implement the MKUKUTA goals?
- ii. In what ways do these challenges affect your implementation of the MKUKUTA?

iii. In the overall, what has changed in the university as a result of the implementation of the MKUKUTA ?

APPENDIX A 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

Category: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

1. Interpretation of the MKUKUTA initiative by public universities in Tanzania

i. What are the different ways that your Ministry understand and construct the Access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA mandate as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?

2. Nature and Extent of Implementation

i. Can you kindly relate to me actions being undertaken by your Ministry that express their understanding of the access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA initiative as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?

ii. Can you tell me of new courses, programs, research or initiatives that are a direct response to the MKUKUTA at the university level?

iii. Are there more identified initiatives that you remember and may want to share with me?

3. Incentives and sanctions established by the government to ensure implementation by public universities.

v. What have you identified as actions that the government of Tanzania has taken that signals steering mechanisms or incentives by government to ensure the MKUKUTA implementation in universities?

- vi. Should any university not implement the MKUKUTA can you tell me some of the ways that the government can sanction such institutions for failure to implement this initiative?
- vii. What monitoring or evaluation mechanisms have been put in place by the government to ensure implementation of the MKUKUTA policy at Universities?
- viii. Given the key roles of agencies like the World Bank in formulating the MKUKUTA initiatives, what are their possible roles in encouraging implementation?

4. Challenges that confront public universities in Tanzania in implementing MUKUTA initiatives

- i. From your perspectives, can you kindly tell me some of the challenges that Universities encounter in trying to implement the MKUKUTA goals?
- ii. In what ways do these challenges affect their implementation of the MKUKUTA?
- iii. In the overall, what has changed in the universities as a result of the implementation of the MKUKUTA ?



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APPENDIX A 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

Categories Accreditation Agency, Policy Secretariat and World Bank

1. Interpretation of the MKUKUTA initiative by public universities in Tanzania

- i. What are the different ways that your Agency understand and construct the Access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA mandate as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?

2. Nature and Extent of Implementation

- i. Can you kindly relate to me actions being undertaken by your Agency that express their understanding of the access and quality initiatives in the MKUKUTA initiative as it relates to higher education in Tanzania?
- ii. Can you tell me of new courses, programs, research or initiatives that are a direct response to the MKUKUTA at the university level?
- iii. Are there more identified initiatives that you remember and may want to share with me?

3. Incentives and sanctions established by the government to ensure implementation by public universities.

- i. What have you identified as actions that the government of Tanzania has taken that signals steering mechanisms or incentives by government to ensure the MKUKUTA implementation in universities?
- iv. Should any university not implement the MKUKUTA can you tell me some of the ways that the government can sanction such institutions for failure to implement this initiative?
- v. What monitoring or evaluation mechanisms have been put in place by the government to ensure implementation of the MKUKUTA policy at Universities?
- vi. Given the key roles of agencies like the World Bank in formulating the MKUKUTA initiatives, what are their possible roles in encouraging implementation?

4. Challenges that confront public universities in Tanzania in implementing MUKUTA initiatives

- i. From your perspectives, can you kindly tell me some of the challenges that Universities encounter in trying to implement the MKUKUTA goals?
- ii. In what ways do these challenges affect their implementation of the MKUKUTA?
- iii. In the overall, what has changed in the universities as a result of the implementation of the MKUKUTA ?

APPENDIX B 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

SENIOR EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP OF UNIVERSITIES

university A1	6
university A2	7
university A3	6

Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

MOEVT	8
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Accreditation bodies

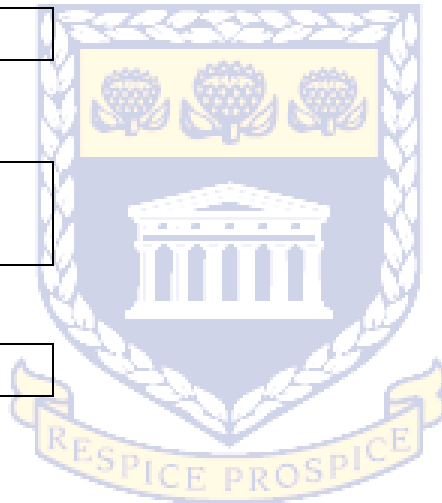
Accreditation	4
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Policy secretariat

Policy Secretariat	4
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Donor Partner

Donor Partner	4
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APPENDIX B 2

RESPONDENTS' CODES

Public Universities: Access Initiative

Universities	Executive leadership	Deanery
A1	7,10	17, 18
A2	3,4,6	2, 14
A3	1,9,13	5,20.

Public Universities: Quality Initiative

Universities	Executive leadership	Deanery
A1	7,13,14,22.	5,16.
A2	10,12,19.	2,8,9,15,18,20,21,23.
A3	1,.3,4,14,17,24.	6,11.

Ministry of Education and Vocational Training: Access Mandate

Ministry of Education	Policy Unit	Department of higher Education
State B	1,4,5,8,10,14,16.	
State Evaluator		2,3,6,7,9,13,15,17.

Ministry of Education and Vocational Training: Quality Mandate

Ministry of Education	Policy Unit	Department of higher Education
State B	1,6,8,10	
State Evaluator		2,7,9,11



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Accreditation bodies: Access Initiative

State C	1 – 10
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Accreditation bodies: Quality Initiative

State C	1 – 8
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Policy Secretariat: Access Initiative

State D	1- 5
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Policy Secretariat: Quality Initiative

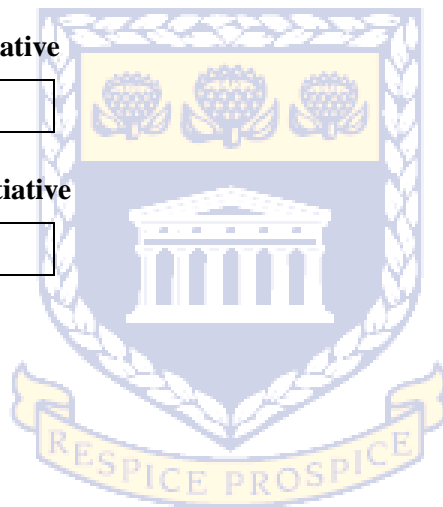
State D	1- 6
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International Aid: Access Initiative

DP	1- 11
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International Aid: Quality Initiative

DP	1- 11
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Appendix C

EXAMPLAR TRANSCRIPT

Interview with Executive Leadership

Am working on institutional responses to higher education reform initiative in The MKUKUTA in three selected public Universities in Tanzania; university of Dar es Salaam, Mzumbe university and Sokoine university. And the reform initiative is from the element of the MKUKUTA which started in 2005 and ended in 2010. My research is around how the public universities have construed and responded to the element 'access and quality in the MKUKUTA' into consideration. Have they implemented them and if they have how did they do it; what structures are on ground as evidence, what problems were encountered if any were while engaging with the initiatives?

the MKUKUTA 1 specified five elements for higher education: access, quality, increase in funding for higher education activities, training of workforce that is globally competitive and linkage of research from higher education institutions, science and technology institutions and research and development institutions to the local communities and elements of the Tanzanian economy.

What is your understanding of the access element and how has your university construed it?

We have adopted The MKUKUTA in our Mzumbe university Strategic Plan through the ministry of education and vocational training. We have the HEDP which in a way linked to the MKUKUTA. Here at Mzumbe, we have developed our program linking the higher education development program and our strategic plan which has developed strategies facilitating the implementation of The MKUKUTA. It produced a 5year strategic plan ending this year. And in that plan... let me get the plan.

Access has two categories: access by gender and access by number. By gender, we want it to move to 50:50 ratios of girls to boys but we have been able to achieve 50:35 ratios of 35 of girls to boys coming from 20:80 of girls to boys. This year we may reach 40:50 being 40 Girls and 50 boys. In terms of numbers we were 4000 but now we have 7000 students. (

(Access by number and gender)

We have achieved that through introduction of new campus in Morogoro, Mwanza and soon to move to a new development in Tanga. (Access by new campuses)

We also increased access in terms of new programs like MSc Economics, ICT technology in Management, like MSc in Development Policy. We have also introduced Diploma programs and evening programs. We have now Department for Education with three degree programs BEd in Languages; Accounting and Finance and commerce as well as BEd in Mathematics. (Interview with university executive leadership.) (Access by new programs)

We have increased access with regards to female. We have built a three storey building has been built as dormitory for females. In terms of number, we have also increased because we started with about 4000 students but have increased to about 7000 students (access by Gender and infrastructure) and we have achieved this through the establishment of campuses and have started new programs. We have also increased access in terms of new degree programs which we do not offer before like Msc. Economics, information communication technology in the management faculty, Msc. Development policy, three degree programs in the faculty

of education: BEd. Languages, BEd. Accounting and finance and BEd. Mathematics with diploma programmes. (Access by new programmes)

QUALITY

We are part of the quality assurance directorate in East Africa and part of the inter-university Council. The directorate of quality assurance exists to put quality assurance systems and schemes in place. They have different quality assurance policies to do with admissions; teaching, curriculum development and recruitment. Mzumbe is part of the interuniversity council in quality. Even this morning we had a meeting with class supervisors to ensure quality in teaching.

Quality is an issue! Last week we had a leadership dialogue in SA and that was an issue in universities in Southern Africa. We have increased access, yes and improved quality yes, but there are still challenges. For example, one lecturer used to teach 30 students today is teaching 150 students. Certainly the quality of interaction between lecturer and student will go lower. Even if we the have same number of hours, etc.

Secondly we have increased enrolment of members of staff. In those days we had 150 and today we are over 200. We increased numbers of staff but we cannot recruit senior members of staff. We recruit junior members of staff and it will take time for them to grow in the system.

We still have the challenge of too much work load on the lecturers who now have more than enough students to handle; this will reduce the interaction between students and lecturers. We have increased recruitment but we still have the challenge of lacking senior members of staff and it will take time for the junior members of staff we have recruited to grow in academic stature. We have trained a lot of staff, capacity building of staff members is one thing we have going for us, here we have about 77 of them presently across the globe. That is part of quality. We are training a lot in PhD adding credence to our quality. We are training a lot. We have something like 40+ staff doing Masters worldwide. The good thing is that when we increased access we also increased infrastructure. We are talking of Mbeya and Dar es Salaam, they were not there before. So we have more space. Looking at the numbers and the infrastructure available, we still need infrastructure and looking at the number and the quality improvement systems are in place. I think we are doing well.

**HOW IS THE UNIVERSITY REACTING TO INCREASED FUNDING?
IS THE UNIVERSITY COMPLETELY DEPENDANT ON THE GOVERNMENT FOR FUNDING?**

We have increased our sources of funds; most students for post graduate studies do not depend on the government for funds. We also have short courses going on as source of income for the university. We engage in collaborations with local and international partners and other Universities where we get capacity building and trainings. The Norwegian Government has been funding us for some time. We just opened a new Computer laboratory that is funded by JICA (2012) we borrowed 1.5 billion from the CCRB bank for infrastructural development in Dar es Salaam.

We have a students' fund started by this university to support students who cannot afford to pay fees. The funds have not started to be accessed because we have a target to get about 200

million in the fund before we start issuing. We have also started raising funds from the alumni where all members of staff contribute to; there is also a website for the alumni association and account for alumni funds which we intend to strengthen the funds by making even private companies to contribute to support the university.

HAS MZUMBE BEEN IMPLEMENTING the MKUKUTA?

When we write our annual reports we must show what we are doing and the link with the MKUKUTA document. Additional initiative for the implementation of The MKUKUTA includes a project on HIV education, awareness creation, testing and counseling at our health centre. We have also initiated gender equality at the management level where we have it at 35:50 of women to men. The other area is in providing services to the communities around such as health services through the university Health Centre, secondary education through the Mzumbe university secondary school.

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM GOVERNMENT

The government funds our exhibitions and workshops and asks senior members of academic institutions to send in proposals for funding; sponsors members of staff for their PhD studies and sets aside 1% of the GDP at COSTECH for research especially as regards science and technology; all of these are efforts by the government to encourage implementation of The MKUKUTA; also the Central Admission System which is at TCU for student admission and student mobility. Strengthening of the loans board supports universities initiatives to increase enrolment.

DOES THE GOVERNMENT SANCTION UNIVERSITIES THAT DO NOT IMPLEMENT the MKUKUTA?

No the government does not sanction Universities for failure to implement The MKUKUTA because there is no way you can run a university without implementing The MKUKUTA. This is because your strategic plan will not be approved by the university council if it is not linked to The MKUKUTA.

INCENTIVES FOR IMPLEMENTING the MKUKUTA

We only receive a congratulatory message for effective implementation of The MKUKUTA with subsequent approval of budget for the next year which has been on the increase over the years.

DOES THE GOVERNMENT CARRY OUT MONITORING AND EVALUATION FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF the MKUKUTA?

The performance of the university is monitored by specific regulations and policies not The MKUKUTA. What are measured here are the Universities' internal instruments whose success obviously translates to the success of The MKUKUTA. The university cannot be seen to exist outside The MKUKUTA because the core business of the university is teaching, research and community engagement which are elements of The MKUKUTA.

WHAT ROLE DID THE WORLD BANK PLAY IN THE FORMULATION OF the MKUKUTA?

They initiated the poverty reduction strategy paper before The MKUKUTA. They provided background papers as other Stakeholders during the formulation. So they provided technical support.

WHAT ROLE DID THE WORLD BANK PLAY IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF the MKUKUTA?

Through higher education development program, the World Bank issued loan to the Government of Tanzania for infrastructural development in science based Universities (STEP Funds).

WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES THAT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES FACE IN IMPLEMENTING the MKUKUTA?

Funding is a challenge particularly for infrastructural purpose as the current infrastructure is wearing away and cannot support the increasing number of students. We need new labs, office blocks, lecture theaters.

Money is just the ultimate solution because with it all other challenges will be solved. Recruitment is even an issue because we cannot pay salaries; the internal wage bill has risen to 122 billion which was supposed to be paid by the government. We have sections and departments with inadequate staff because we cannot employ more, because the wage bill is too high and Government is not willing to pay. Lack of these essential funds is a major constrain. Moonlighting is not an issue here in Mzumbe.

We have exchange programs with Universities from Germany, Italy etc. Frequent closure of Universities occasioned by student unrest discourages international students. Once you have international students, you must have international facilities like transport, accommodation etc. Lack of accommodation with facilities that are standard is also another issue for international students. There has to be staff of international caliber. We also need more staff as most Professors are getting old. All of these keep international students away from our Universities.

WHAT IS THE UNVERSITIES VISION IN TERMS OF FUNDING?

We have started pulling self support strategies like the bank loan which we used to erect the five-storey building on Dar es Salaam Campus all in a bid to reduce dependence on the government. However, the government is expected to invest heavily in education if it really wants to develop its education sector and makes it like other Universities in the world as universities cannot carry out heavy capital intensive projects like erecting cutting edge research laboratories but can only raise money for maintenance of its structure and welfare of its staff. Every serious Government should invest in Education. Good universities globally are financed heavily by their governments.

WHAT ARE THE SOLUTIONS TO ALL OF THESE CHALLENGES?

We need to invest in our people by providing the necessary infrastructure needed for the various trainings in which they are involved and enough equipment to carter for the needs of our students. Quality education will eliminate poverty pouring enough funds into the education pipe line according to the MKUKUTA document as piece meal interventions will not be enough. You become an expert by doing research and experiments and reading. We need to invest heavily in the education from early childhood to higher education to be able to eliminate poverty and increase quality to match with increased enrolment.

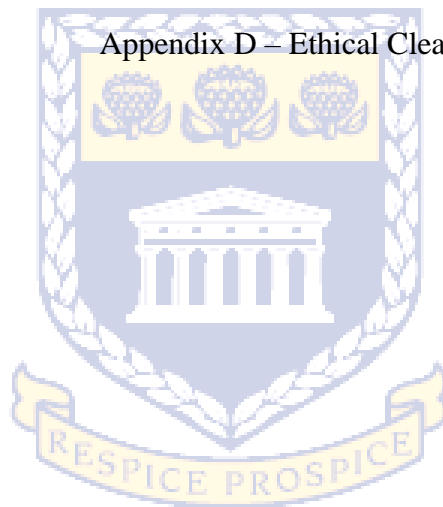
WHAT HAS CHANGED AFTER FIVE YEARS OF IMPLEMENTING the MKUKUTA?

A lot, we now have 43 Universities from 7 in the times past with Universities in almost every region. Access has increased in terms of number of students enrolled, new

programs introduced and campuses established. From a period of ten years we moved from 1100 to over 7000 students. Staff strength has also increased. We moved from 110 to 270 members of staff. The school of Social Studies is bigger than when this university started. We now have central admission, system, and centrally agreed set down criteria for admission as against individual university criteria. Loans for students and collaborations with local and international industries and Universities were not there before and have been strengthened. There is the quality assurance movement of East African Universities and network of East African Universities which strengthens collaborations. All of these have been achieved during this period of The MKUKUTA.

Thank you very much.

Appendix D – Ethical Clearance, UWC



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**OFFICE OF THE DEAN
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DEVELOPMENT**

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26 July 2011

To Whom It May Concern

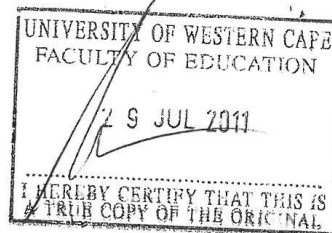
I hereby certify that the Senate Research Committee of the University of Cape has approved the methodology and ethics of the following research project:
Mrs CC Maduekwe (Education)

Research Project: Institutional responses to National Education reforms initiatives at selected universities in Tanzania

Registration no: 11/6/22



Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape



A place of quality, a place to grow, from hope to

**Appendix E
Reserch permit from COSTECH Tanzania**

**TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(COSTECH)**



Telegrams: COSTECH

Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313
Email: rclearance@costech.or.tz

Ali Hassan Mwingi

P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

RESEARCH PERMIT

No. 2011-322-NA- 2011-165

18th October 2011

1. **Name :** Catherine C. Maduekwe
2. **Nationality :** Nigerian
3. **Title :** Institutional Responses to National Education Reform Initiative at Selected Universities in Tanzania
4. **Research shall be confined to the following region(s):** Dar es Salaam, Morogoro
5. **Permit validity:** 18th October 2011 to 17th October 2012
6. **Local Contact/collaborator:** Prof. H. Mlawa, University of Dar es Salaam
7. **Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and all Publications made after research.**



M. Mushi

for: **DIRECTOR GENERAL**



Appendix F

Research Permit from Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Tanzania

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Cable: "ELIMU" DAR ES SALAAM
Telex: 41742 Elimu Tz.
Telephone: 2121287, 2110146
Fax: 2127763



Post Office Box 9121
DAR ES SALAAM

In reply please quote:

Ref. ED/EP/ERC/VOLI/ 102

Date: Monday, 21st November, 2011.

The Director, Higher Education & the Director of Policy and Planning Department -MoEVT

ATT: Head of subsection-Planning and Budgeting and External Aid Co-ordination

RE: RESEARCH CLEARANCE FOR MRS. MADUEKWE CATHERINE CHINENYE:

The captioned matter above refers. The mentioned is bonafide student of The University of the Western Cape in South Africa who is conducting research on the topic titled "**Institutional Responses to National Higher Education Reform Initiatives**" as part of her Doctoral dissertation in PhD programme. Specifically, her research study seeks to understand how public universities in Tanzania are responding to the national higher education initiatives, with the specific reference to the nature and extent of responsiveness to the Tanzania's national strategy for growth and poverty reduction.

For the purpose of accomplishing this study, she will therefore need to collect data and necessary information from your office(s).

In line with the above information you are being requested to provide the needed assistance that will enable her to complete this study successfully.

The period by which this permission has been granted is from **November, 2011 to June 2012**.

By copy of this letter, **Mrs. Maduekwe Catherine Chinenye** is required to submit a copy of the report (or part of it) to *the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training* for documentation and reference.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Paulina J. Mkoma'.

Paulina J. Mkoma

For Permanent Secretary

CC: Mrs. Maduekwe C. Chinenye - The University of the Western Cape- South Africa