

**THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in
Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition**

MUYA DOMINICK

**THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in
Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition**

By

Muya Dominick

**A thesis submitted in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
in Public Administration, University of Zululand,
South Africa**

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CERTIFICATION

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read and hereby recommend for acceptance by the University of Zululand a thesis entitled **The Nexus between National and Student Politics: Managing Student Conflicts in Four African Universities in an Era of democratic Transition** in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a doctoral degree in Public Administration of the University of Zululand.

.....

Supervisor

Professor Christopher Isike

.....

Name of the Doctoral Candidate

Muya Dominick

Accepted for the Board of

.....

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DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my lovely daughters “Hope-victory” and “Marilyn”, and my beloved sons “Divine-favour” and George.

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ABSTRACT

Students conflict characterized by violent student versus management confrontations and inter political group violence has been a recurring decimal in African universities since the post-colonial era of the continent's political history. This has had dire socio-economic consequences for development in the continent. This study therefore sought mainly to establish whether the connection between national and student politics, given the historical background of liberation politics, is a major source of conflict in South African and Tanzanian universities. This is with a view to recommend evidence-based policy and conflict management practices aimed at addressing the perennial crisis of student upheavals in these countries with lessons for the rest of Africa.

Using an integrated mix of research approaches and data collection methods and analysis, the study surveyed 318 respondents, conducted 97 key-person interviews and 10 focus group discussions across 4 selected universities in study areas. These include the University of Zululand and University of Pretoria in South Africa and the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma in Tanzania.

The study found that student political organizations which often are extensions/youth wings of local/regional/national political parties in both countries are vehicles of the continuation of societal politics by other means. This is not tenable in the light of transition to multiparty democracy where the development issues that define politics today are different from the liberation issues that defined politics in the past. The study also found that although South Africa and Tanzania are still transiting democratically, there is a disparity between democratic consolidation at the national level and the lower levels of the society such as Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) where the national democratic culture is yet to be entrenched. As a result, the practice of student politics on campus is defined by student emotions instead of democratic rationality.

Also, on the part of management, universities in the era of democratic transition have played very little role in mentoring students on university values and ethos as well as on the development of the leadership components of their training. Students have in turn placed their trust on politicians rather than the academic community, and have *ipso facto*, become vehicles of the political contestations of national/regional and local politics which often times are violent in character. The study therefore concludes that is a need to rethink the role of the SRC in a democratic era such that it goes beyond demonstrations over welfare issues to incubating future leaders for a continent in need of all-round educated leaders.

In this light, the study recommended amongst others, deepening democracy in our student body politics by restructuring student governance to uphold representative democracy on HEIs campuses, and integrating conflict management measures into institutional renewal initiatives such as Institutional Transformation Program (ITP) in a bid to transform conflict and enable peace and development in Africa.

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ABBREVIATION AND GLOSSARY

ANC	African National Congress (ANC),
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi,
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
DA	Democratic Alliance.
DARUSO	Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation,
DASO	Democratic Alliance Students Organisation
DUPSA	Dar es Salaam University Political Science Association
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HELSEB	Higher Education Loans Board
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ITP	Institutional Transformation Program
NASMO	National Students' Movement
NFP	National Freedom Party
NSGPR	National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction

SADESMO	South African Democratic Students' Movement
SASCO	South Africa Students' Congress
SRCs	Student Representative Councils
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SUASO	Sokoine University of Agriculture Student Organization
UDOM	University of Dodoma
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UniZulu	University of Zululand
UP	University of Pretoria

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

A good number of African states have practised multiparty democracy for more than twenty years following the second wave of democratization which hit the continent in the early 1990s following that of the 1960s and 1970s (Pretorius, 2008). In that time, these states have managed to establish and attain considerable political as well as socio-economic changes in their institutions and processes. According to Höglund (2006:4), a democratic society is non-violent and orderly, characterized by popular participation and open political competition at all levels of society including Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). However, this is not the case in HEIs of democratised African states. Campus politics is more often than not characterised by high level of violence in most democratic African states. For instance, South Africa and Tanzania which transited to multi party democracy in 1994 and 1992 respectively are glaring examples of African states which have high incidence of high level of violence in the practice of campus politics.

Amongst others, the study sought to investigate whether the failure to separate national from students' politics at various levels had anything to do with the high levels of conflict in HEIs of both countries in the period of democratic transition. Undeniably, students participation in campus politics particularly after the ushering in of multi-party politics has had a problem, and that not much research has been done in articulating the

nexus between national and student politics as a factor that trigger the conflicts that have been the order of the day on the African HEIs campuses. The study explores these issues using the cases of four universities in both countries. These include the University of Pretoria and the University of Zululand in South Africa; and the University of Dar es Salaam and University of Dodoma in Tanzania.

Specifically, the study analysed the nature of the national and student politics nexus that fuel student conflict on campus, issues behind this connectedness, as well as the dynamics behind these crises. The study therefore sought to address these research questions; What is best way of managing such conflicts bearing its effects on peace and security in HEIs? Should the national politics be disconnected from student politics on university campuses? Should the university restructure the Students' Representative Council's (SRC) role to accommodate political advocacy in HEIs, bearing in mind that debates on democracy are strongly influenced by student voices? These lacuna raised issues for investigations.

In terms of structure, this opening chapter includes the background to the research problem, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, research questions and propositions, significance of the study and methodology used to generate the required information. Chapter Two reviews both the theoretical and empirical literature on student activism while Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework of the study. The system theory was adopted in this study as the relevant background theory in dealing with the research problem. Three key concepts of this theory; wholeness,

organization and patterns were used to analyse the connectedness of national and student politics with a perspective on how it escalates conflict on university campuses. Whilst Chapter Four presents the study's findings and analysis on conflict emanating from the nexus between national and student politics in Tanzania's universities, Chapter five presents the study's findings and analysis on South Africa's universities. Chapter Six is a comparative analysis of the findings from all four cases studies from both countries. The last chapter offers a summary of the study, main conclusions and recommendations.

1.2 Background to the Problem

“Man is by nature a political animal,” (Aristotle cited in Heywood, 2002:1). Politics is exciting because people disagree. They disagree about how they should live, and who should get what, how should power and other resources be distributed and so forth. When this trend of disagreement shifts from the national political arena to the student arena, a more complex conflictual platform is evident. Cele (2009) shows that the process of youth participation in campus politics in the recent era of democratic transition in Africa has become more conflictual than co-operative.

The upsurge of students' crises in institutions of higher learning is not a new phenomenon in the world. In fact, it cuts across time and space. In terms of time, Chambers and Phelps (1993: 19) assert that students crises are as old as the educational institutions themselves. Students' crises date as far back as the medieval ages.

In terms of place, turmoils between students and authorities in institutions of higher learning are international phenomena which cut across continents, countries and institutions (Malekela *et al.*,(1994). Contemporary student upheavals in universities can be traced back to the late 1960s in Europe and North America (Mbwette and Ishumi, 1996). Degroot (1998) and Haberman (1971) provide a comprehensive and critical review of these protests. Degroot (1998) perceives campus protests as an important tradition in different cultures that is driven by idealistic, immature and naive youth. According to Degroot (*ibid.*), Western students are unwilling to die for the cause as Asian students sometimes do. On contrary, Haberman (1971) was concerned with rational connections of the concepts such as knowledge, communication and action and analysed the distortions of human interactions caused by existing social and political institutions.

The 1968 incident in Paris, France (Wikipedia, 2008a) was among upheavals that hit European's universities in 1960s. The 1968 series of protests in France was a general strike mainly by higher education students which focused on reforms in the education system and on employment. The protests almost led to the downfall of the government of Charles de Gaulle (Luhanga, 2009).

Another protest that took place is the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 in Beijing, China which involved students who mobilised for political change (Wikipedia, 2008b). The protest was conducted by students and labour activists to show dissatisfaction on reforms related to both domestic political trends and the economy.

In Serbia, the transformation to democracy did not evolve in vacuum but involved students who played a key role in toppling Milosevic (Luhanga, 2009). Elsewhere in Georgia, (2003), Ukraine (2004), Slovakia (1998) and Croatia (1999-2000) students were also instrumental in producing democratic revolutions immediately after the collapse of communism (Kuzio, 2006:3). This clearly shows that students have been key players in political transformation in Europe and Asia. There exists a plethora of the literature on student crises in HEIs over the last half century in North America and Europe. Whereas in Africa, student crises, became more evident in African Universities in post colonial Africa. This is the case because majority of African HEIs were established in the mid-1940, as a replica of metropolitan universities (Mngomezulu, 2012).

In the African milieu, students' crises have persisted throughout the continent since the colonial epoch, however these crises differ remarkably from country to country due to the different political, social and economic contexts of these African states. South Africa, for instance, provides an impressive history of student crises as well as politics in Africa. The study notes well that the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and other Student Organizations were active important forces for liberalism in South Africa in the latter part of the last century in South Africa (Badat, 1999). Also, political activists like like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, among others, got politicized while they were university students, well before the 1968 protests in Europe and North America. By 1967, however, NUSAS was forbidden from functioning on black universities, making it almost impossible for black Student Representative

Councils to join the union (Badat, 1999). This led to the formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) under the organisation's inaugural head of Steve Biko in 1969 in a bid to expand Black Consciousness among youth (Badat, *ibid.*).

Badat (*ibid.*) complimented SASO and SANSCO as revolutionary national student political organisations that functioned as catalysts of collective action and political formation which led to the erosion of the apartheid social order, as well as social transformation in South Africa. In this context, student politics on campus had played significant impact during the apartheid era. However, the study also raises pertinent issues for investigation? Do we still need this kind of colonial/apartheid driven politics to continue in an era of democratic transition? In addition, should we ban party affiliated politics on campus bearing its effect on peace and security? The study filled this gap of knowledge.

Omotola (2010: 53) while explaining electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies links the electoral violence in Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe with the weak institutionalisation of democratic architectures at national levels. While electoral violence has become the characteristics of national politics of most of the African countries, the similar pattern of upheavals feature in the practice of campus politics. This study supports Omotola's argument, and relates the rise of student activism on campus in an era of democratic transition to weak institutionalisation of democratic architectures at the university level.

Omotola (ibid.) further argues that in such crises, youth often turn away from the authority of older generations and mobilise their own generation in search of solutions. However, the youth are not the only key initiators of this violence as they can be instigated by political and religious leaders. These leaders take advantage of lack of jobs and other opportunities for outsourcing youth energies through promising or offering resources such as money, ammunition and job to front violence conflicts and wars (Omotola, 2010).

Which features explain the nexus between national and student politics in an era of democratic transition? A number of features could be drawn from this question. Among them include an electoral violence at both the national and university campus level, the politics of redistributive justice and welfarism, the politics of survival, student political organizations as youth wings and extensions of political parties, university autonomy and funding. While electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies has become a norm (Omotola, 2010), the similar situation exists in student politics on campus. Likewise, politics in a given geo-political area whether at the national or university campuses, has led into polarization of the community members along political lines (Luhanga, 2009).

In both, national politics and student politics, the core elements of democracy, such as popular participation, and open competition are featured by the political intolerance and mistrust between or amongst the contesting parties. In addition, the political agenda of both, national and student politics is to strengthen welfare of its people.

Several issues or indicators explain the nexus between national and student politics in an era of democratic transition. Among them include the existence of a framework at which national political parties exploit University students to advance the agendas of their parties within the campuses (Luhanga, 2009). Likewise, when it happens, for example, students political formation of the nationally ruling party has a function on campus, the national political leader who are also government leaders would be invited on campus. In a bid to show solidarity, the university administrators will be forced to attend that function. Can the same terrain happen when students from opposition organizations set their functions? Also, the nexus between national and student politics is explained by the political process at which the university leaders such as the Vice-Chancellor are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national ruling political leaders, and, the flow of national directives to the campuses to effect certain changes.

Mngomezulu (2012:202) notes that there also exists economic ties between national governments and national universities. According to him, these two national institutions reciprocate each other. While the former provide financial support, the latter provides the high level manpower desperately needed to develop the state and its people (Mngomezulu, 2012:202). This relationship raised issues for investigation. If the National government funds the university, how does this funding affect the autonomy of the university¹? Equally important, if the university funds the SRCs functions and activities, how does this funding affect the autonomy of SRCs? The terrain of funding

¹ University autonomy is defined as giving universities the freedom to govern themselves, appoint key officers, determine the conditions of service of their staff, control their students' admissions and academic curricula, control their finances and generally regulate themselves as independent legal entities without undue interference from the government and its agencies.

explained by the flow of funds from the National Government to the National University and down to the Student Organization raised issues for investigation.

The university crises in Tanzania have had different origin and evolution (Sambo, 1997). As such, the situation required different management and resolution mechanism (Mkumbo, 2002). Although Luhanga *et al.* (2003) view educational reforms as the main factor in the decline of quality of education as well as staff exodus to greener pastures, which also inform student crises, it also identifies political reforms implemented from 1992 to 2012 in both South Africa and Tanzania as stimulants for students' crises. Undeniably, the Government of Tanzania has strived a lot to expand capacity building at the University of Dodoma. Equally important, the current president has facilitated affordable student loans for all students despite the existence of some structural and administrative bottlenecks in Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB)².

In his study, Luhanga notes a potentially divisive move made by politicians on university campuses to exploit and organise students in ethnic-based and regional-based clubs or associations to advance the agendas of their respective parties in Tanzania (Luhanga, 2009: 37). He notes further that since 1992, after the advent of multi-party democracy, political reforms have created loop holes for polarisation of the university community, thus fueling conflict.

² HESLB was established under the act of parliament No. 9 of 2004, as amended by act No. 9 of 2007, CAP 178 and commenced its operation in July, 2005 (Higher Education Students'Loans Board [HESLB], 2008).

Since students, lecturers and non-teaching staff are now an integral part of national political processes, the study also intended to understand whether lecturers and non-teaching staff support the university management or students during conflict. This is primarily because some of them share similar political or the group interest agenda with the students. As such, the study analysed retrospectively the link between politics and education in academic systems.

According to Muya (2014), the line between politics and education in Tanzania could be explained in the three phases which are the era of socialism (1967-1985); the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (1985-1995); and the current era informed by the global competitive forces. Likewise, in his analysis of the conflictual relationship between politics and education in the early 1960s in East Africa, Mngomezulu (2012:113) viewed the spirit of nationalism and independence that swept through the continent by then as the source for political and academic institutions to reciprocate each other. In Tanzania for example, the political factor played an instrumental role in the appointment of officers in the then East African Colleges, including the University of Dar es Salaam (Mngomezulu, *ibid.*).

During the era of socialism, free debate, was banned (Mosha, 1994). Hence, a culture of silence developed and burning problems remained unresolved, thus prompting tensions and explosive situations. It is also noted by Shao (1996) and Luhanga (2003) that during the era of the Structural Adjustment Programme, reforms to address structures and processes bottlenecks, were the main cause of conflicts on HEIs.

The main focus of this study, however, was in the current era of democratic transition. The study intended to find out whether the connectedness of national and student politics was the main factor behind regularly occurring conflicts on HEIs. This raised issues for investigation. Does the national and student politics nexus fuel student conflict on campus?

In South Africa, political tensions on campus during post-apartheid have become a norm in different institutions of higher learning (Maseko, 1994; Cele, Koen and Mabizela, 2001; Cele and Koen, 2003; and Cele 2004). Although different factors account for student conflicts, electoral violence has become one of the shared feature at both, the national and student political levels. Luescher (2008:181) who employed a governance approach to the study of student politics in South Africa, acknowledges the replacement of student political organisations aligned to liberation movements with campus branches of youth wings from national political parties.

The campus branches of the youth wings of major political parties in South African Universities form the nucleus of students politics. Included among them are; the South Africa Students Congress (SASCO) a political formation for the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Democratic Students Movement (SADESMO) a political formation for the Inkatha freedom Party (IFP), the National students Movement (NASMO) a political formation for the National Freedom Party (NFP) and the Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO) a political formation for the Democratic Alliance.

Those student organizations have always had conflicts amongst themselves especially during SRC elections. The core elements of democracy, such as popular participation, and open competition between contesting political formation on campus have ironically increased the risk of violent conflict. The political intolerance and mistrust amongst youth can be drawn from the student crises which regularly occur at the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria during the Student Representative Council (SRC) election.

Other universities in South Africa which demonstrate student upheavals on campus include Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) and the Mangosuthu University of Technology (Ngopulse, 1999 [online]). Similarly, there is regular and tense clashes at the Durban University of Technology, Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria and the University of Venda. Although financial difficulties over registration especially at the beginning of the academic year lie at the heart of this perennial issue, the study also intended to establish whether the nexus between national and student politics on campuses was behind these upheavals.

Evidently, since the birth of multiparty democracy in most of the African countries, nation government politics have polarised not only the University community but also other public institutions, thus posing challenges in institutional governance due to division and mistrust. It is against this background that the study sought to understand whether the flow of national politics on campus had anything to do with regular students conflict. If that is the situation, should we disconnect national politics from

campus politics bearing its effect on peace and security on university campuses? And if not, should we add a new role of the university in Africa *as an ideological apparatus* besides being *a generator of knowledge*? This lacuna raised issues for investigation.. This is a research gap filled by this study. Four African universities: the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria in South Africa, as well as the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma in Tanzania have been used as case studies to generate knowledge for this study. Different issues such as the nature of the connectedness between national and student politics, leadership roles and responsibilities of the Student Representative Council (SRC), the relationship between leadership styles of university administrators and escalation of student crises as well as the effectiveness of the conflict management measures in HEIs have been investigated.

1.3 Problem Statement

Student participation in campus politics since the advent of multi-party democracy in African countries has increasingly become more conflictual than co-operative. Amongst other determinants, the study sought to investigate whether the failure to separate national from students' politics at various levels had anything to do with the high levels of conflict in HEIs especially in states that operate a parliamentary form of government. For example in Tanzania, exodo evidence shows that between 1992 and 2012 (after the advent of multiparty democracy), the University of Dar es Salaam experienced sixteen student conflicts which resulted in the temporary closure of the university eight times (Interview with UDSM-Dean of Students, 2012).

Similarly, between 1994 and 2013, the University of Zululand (South Africa) experienced eleven student crises, seven of which resulted in the temporary closure of the university (Interview with official, Dean of Students office, 2012). These conflicts were characterised by destruction of private and university properties, students' death succeeding the strike and unnecessary changes in the University timetable. The crises affect the quality of education provided, and has implications on the soundness of the national economy.

Available literature shows that in Tanzania, both the leading national political party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), and the main opposition political party, Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) have opened and are running their respective youth wings in the universities to advance agendas of their parties. Similarly, in South African universities, campus politics is aligned with different national political parties; the African National Congress (ANC), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the National Freedom Party (NFP) and the the Democratic Alliance. Exodo evidences show that in both countries, the political process through which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellors are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders, is one indicator of national and student politics nexus which fuel conflict.

Other indicators of the connectedness include the flow of national directives or policies to campuses which effect certain changes in the students' or lecturers welfares. At first glance, it may seem like appropriate interventions for managing student crises such as the closure of the universities, suspending ring leaders after students' strikes as well as

use of coercion, could effectively address these crises, yet, the student conflicts persist. At the research level, there have been no attempt that I know of that took into account how the nexus between national and student politics fuel conflict in HEIs. This study investigated whether the nexus between national and student politics fueled conflict in these institutions, and what ought to be done to manage it in both countries. This is a research gap contended to be filled by this study.

1.3.1 Motivation of the Study

I had a desire to understand the dynamics of politically driven conflict within the educational systems in a bid to find contiguous measures aimed at tackling politically driven conflict in HEIs. In my view, this will not only change conflictual situations, but will also contribute to providing theoretical knowledge on conflict management in education systems.

Theoretically, education and politics are driven by different philosophical orientations. While the former focuses on empiricism, the the later centers at idealism. I then asked myself that what happens when an educational system of a given nation is polarised along political lines? Will it achieve the goals and mission of an academic enterprise? This lacuna raised my curiosity for the study. As a result of the explained grounds, I was intrinsically motivated to produce a body of knowledge on political dynamics of the new World order in institutions of higher learning within a conflict lense. It is against this background that the study sought to understand the national and student politics nexus on campus which fuels conflicts on Africa's HEIs.

My drive to this study also stems from my academic background. As a former student and a graduate of B.Sc Environmental Sciences from Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) in Tanzania, I had a lot of good and bad experience from student strikes. In SUA then, a year could not end without violent protests on campus. As one of the student leaders of Sokoine University of Agriculture Student Organization (SUASO) at the time, I was charged by the University authority for organizing illegal meetings and engineering student boycotts. Because of this, I was suspended from the University, and it was a bitter experience in line with my academic and social experience. Few months later, the management of SUA called all of us back; who were noted as the three most wanted ring leaders, and through mediation, the matter was resolved.

In the same year, a group of students, organized themselves, and succeeded to overthrow the student government body run by the then President of SUASO. According to the SUASO Constitution, the entire student government body that I also served was dissolved. Arguably, this was also an experience to learn from. Apart from my engagement in student leadership on campus, I also became a mentor to young leaders in the Universities that I passed through for different Masters degree Programmes. Among the Masters degree that I pursued include Masters of Arts in Development Studies (University of Dar es Salaam) and Masters of Public Administration (MU). These postgraduate degree programmes motivated me intrinsically to undertake further studies on conflict related issues at the Doctoral level.

As an intellectual and policy analyst in organizational and systems conflict, it is my belief that the output of this study encapsulated through analysis of political dynamics within educational settings will respond to the existing debates that focuses on the line between politics and education in Africa within a conflict lens particularly in the era of democratic transition. The study therefore adds value to the literature of conflict management in higher education.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The study explores whether the connectedness of national and student politics since the advent of multiparty democracy fuels conflict in both South African and Tanzanian universities in a bid to inform evidence-based conflict management practices on campus, and policy restructuring to effectively address student crises.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

- (i) To find out whether the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic transition fuels conflict in institutions of higher learning
- (ii) To examine the leadership roles and responsibilities of Students Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition
- (iii) To determine whether there is a relationship between leadership styles of university administrators and the escalation of students crises
- (iv) To assess the effectiveness of the conflict management measures in HEIs in both countries

- (v) To recommend an alternative policy approach and strategies for managing student conflict comparably in both countries

1.4.2 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- (i) To what extent does the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic transition perpetuate conflict in institutions of higher learning?
- (ii) What are the leadership roles and responsibilities of Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition?
- (iii) What is relationship between leadership styles of the university administrators and the escalation of students crises?
- (iv) To what extent have the conflict management measures taken by the university authorities over the past twenty years been effective in addressing students' conflict?
- (v) Which alternative policy approaches and strategies can be recommended for managing student conflict more effectively in both countries?

1.4.3 Proposition

In an argument or debate, a proposition is a statement that affirms or denies something. A proposition may function as a premise or a conclusion in a syllogism or enthymeme (Carveth-Read, 2006).

Since this study was a conflict research that sought to understand people's insights, beliefs and attitudes on whether the connectedness of national and student politics was behind the conflict, the following proposition was used:

The nexus between national and student politics in an era of democratic transition from 1992 to 2012 is a main source of student conflicts in African universities

1.5 Significance of the study

The significance of a study entails the importance of the research with respect to its purpose and objectives. In another words, it asks what new knowledge or developments are the research question of this study going to generate. Understanding the context and extent to which the connectedness of national and student politics fuels conflict in HEIs, enhances to provide contiguous measures for managing student crises. This will not only change a situation, from what is considered problematic to one that is desired, but also contribute theoretically to conflict management in educational systems. This is because conflict in most cases is associated with negative impacts on socio-economic development which in turn affect the quality of education provided (Mosha, 1994). Thus, the first significance of the study revolves around this aspect.

Second, developing leadership competencies and ethos of SRCs in an era of democratic transition enhances them to analyse, understand and effect their leadership roles and responsibilities in HEIs. In a way, when students understand their leadership roles and responsibilities, they act as agents of managing unnecessarily conflict that costs HEIs. In this context, the second significance of the study revolves around foreseeing

systems for preparing future leaders of a nation. This is because university education and student politics are inherently political. The study seeks to understand the relevance of the leadership training programmes on university campuses and the implication it bears on youth participation in African leadership.

Third, understanding leadership styles of the university administrators and its implication on the escalation of students crises can empower the university management towards building a conflict free environment by recasting their leadership styles to cope with the youth of the recent generation. In addition, the study will empower HEIs management with managerial skills in a bid to enhance communication between the HEIs management and the student in campus. Fourth, the study findings will empower not only the university management, but also the student leaders, as well as the entire community to articulate and institute the comprehensive crisis management plan at universities. In addition, the study findings provide insights that policy-makers, researchers and training institutions can use to understand challenges of institutional governance within the system theory lens.

By the same token, most universities are granted charters by the state or the government, and as such, are not above government jurisdiction. Understanding therefore the survival of the University in the political system at which the university is not free from democratic dynamics and pressures that exist in a society, was another body of knowledge generated by the study.

Lastly, this proposed study also tests an Institutional theory to gauge the relationship between institutional set-ups and the escalation of students crises. In this regard, the study intends to explore whether students violent behaviours during election that is, their social structure, is informed by the institutional processes by which structures, including schemas; rules, norms, and routines, are established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section presents the research methodology that was used in the study. It is organised into six sub-sections as follows: research design, area of the study, target population, sampling and sampling techniques, data collection methods and tools as well as data analysis plan.

1.6.1 Research Design

Babbie and Mouton (2001:74) define research design as a plan or blueprint of how one intends to conduct a research. Similarly, Seltiz *et al.* (1962) in Kothari (2004) define a research design as the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. It explains what, where, when, how much and by what means an inquiry or a research study will be conducted. The nature of the problem under study necessitated the application of descriptive research design. The main purpose of using this research design builds on portraying people's insights, socially-constructed beliefs, norms and perceptions, whether the connectedness of the national and students politics on campus in the era of democratic transition fueled political violence or conflicts that arise from.

Descriptive research design is built from interpretive philosophical underpinnings or paradigm, in which researchers contend that human social life is qualitatively different from other things studied by science (Creswell, 2009). This paradigm asserts that truth depends upon socially- constructed beliefs, norms and perceptions, and thus, there is no universal objective truth in social life. Thus, a body of knowledge on conflict arising from the national and students politics nexus was well captured and utilised.

1.6.2 Research Method

The case study research method organised in a cross-sectional time horizon was used for this study. The unit of analysis was the public university. Four case studies from both countries were used in this study. Within Tanzania, these universities include the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma (UDOM) andn the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria which were universities in South Africa.. The criteria of choosing both countries (South Africa and Tanzania), and the four case studies have been discussed in sections 1.6.2 and 1.6.4 which focus on the area of study. Studying phenomenon in the natural environment through multiple lenses can enrich the data.

An advantage of multiple-case study is that, “evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust” (Yin, 1994: 45). According to Houser (1998), a case study is an intensive investigation of a particular incident, institution or unit in an effort to understand and explain a given phenomenon.

Similarly, Stake (1995) conceives a case study as a pursuit of a bounded system, emphasising the unity and wholeness of that system, but confining the attention to aspects that are relevant to the research problem. In this regard, a case has character and boundaries. As a course of inquiry, “case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context” (Yin, 1994, p. 1). This is one of its strengths. In addition, case study research provides a holistic picture and depth of understanding of respondents rather than numerical analysis of data (Stake, 1995). It also enables the researcher to gain the overview of experience attitudes, opinions, suggestions, expectations and behaviour towards some issues of the target group (Babbie, 2000).

Also, case study research is performed at the site where the activity occurs naturally, and multiple forms of inquiry (document review, observation, and interviews) are usually utilised. A study that contains more than a single case is called a multiple-case study (Yin, 1994). In this study, four case studies served for multiple-case inquiry.

The criteria for selecting of sample case studies for this study were four fold. The first criterion involved the magnitude of the crisis. The crises must be significant, and have attracted the attention of the University community, government, parents and the general public. The second criterion was the intensity of violence. In this regard, such crises must have involved the destruction of property and/ or physical assault. The third criterion was the availability of documentary evidence. This helped to explore the

nature, genesis as well as progression of crises to draw systematically logical conclusions. And lastly, there should be a possibility of recurrence of the crisis.

1.6.2.1 Limitations of Case Study Research Design

There are some limitations in using a case study in research. One disadvantage of using this methodology is the potential lack of scientific generalisability of the data because of subjectivity (Yin, 1994). A number of steps were conducted to ensure trustworthiness of the findings. Since this study was a qualitative one, it ensured validity by giving a fair, credible, honest, and balanced account of social life experienced from the university community being studied. In addition, case study takes a great deal of time and generates voluminous documentation (Yin, 1994).

1.6.3 Research Approach

There are two major approaches to data collection, namely the qualitative and the quantitative research approaches. In this thesis, the qualitative approach is adopted as the primary research method. The adoption of qualitative approach is grounded in the fact that conflict research seeks to understand people's insights, beliefs and attitudes on a particular issue or process. In this study, the qualitative approach was utilised as the main method to get the details on the formation of student conflict and its management strategies in institutions of higher learning. However, this approach was supplemented with quantitative approaches in an attempt to understand some causal-effect relationship of some variables under study. This makes it a "mixed-methods study."

Quantitative study is premised on describing a specific population and test hypotheses. As such, this study employed an approach known as “sequential-qualitative first” (Cresswell, 2003:211). In this mixed method, qualitative research features dominantly and quantitative data features only in the analysis and interpretation of data. Although each approach has its own methodology which stem from different philosophical assumptions that shape the ways researchers approach problems, collect and analyse data, the two approaches are complementary, and their combined application optimises both the reliability and validity of a research undertaking (Babbie, 2000). The use of both research approaches ensures not only the methodological rigorousness but also increases the robustness of the study in an attempt to test the plausible answers for the unknown.

1.6.3.1 Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative research approach was used as the major approach in this study due to its capability of interpretation and generation of data (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Mason (2002) views it as an exciting and a highly rewarding activity as it engages the interaction between the researcher and the participant to get reliable information from individuals on their inner feelings. Prioritising the qualitative approach aligns with conflict research which explores people’s insights and attitudes on certain issues. At the epistemological level, the qualitative approach necessitates interpretivism because a researcher interprets the data based on what he observes or hears from the participants after a deeper probing process (Parker, 2011). In addition, at the ontological orientation, it facilitates constructionism, especially when considering socially-constructed phenomena (May, 2002).

Moreover, qualitative analysis focuses on primary data obtained through non-probability sampling and enhances building up a theory of conflict formation and management in HEIs. During the handling and processing of the qualitative data, data quality is more important than data quantity. As such, the occurrence of conflicts in the institutions of higher learning cannot be quantified because it is a student-to-student or University management matter. Simply counting the number of conflicts cannot reflect the nature and importance of the conflicts.

Limitations of Qualitative Methodology

According to Wright (2013), the qualitative approach is associated with some limitations. First, when observing, interviewing, or reviewing through documents, researchers may be viewed as intrusive. Accordingly, during qualitative inquiry, the researcher's presence may alter the responses of participants, and, hence, create bias in the study (Creswell, 2009). Another limitation is the lack of consistency by both the researchers and the participants.

In addition, a researcher may lack observation or interviewing skills, and the respondents may vary in their ability to be expressive (Packer (2011). Lack of disclosure is another limitation of qualitative methodology. In cases where information was not made available to the researcher due to an interactional failure between the researcher and participant on some incidences creating rapport, relationship building prior to an interview was a way forward.

1.6.3.2 Quantitative Research Approach

Neumann (2000) contends that, one of the major advantages of quantitative technique is the use of probability sampling which offers representative snapshot of the population under study. According to Miles and Huberman (1994:41), in a study which is generally qualitative, quantitative data can be combined with the qualitative one either during research design to find a representative sample, or during data collection to supply background data, and also during data analysis to show the generality of specific observations. In this study, quantitative data were combined with qualitative data during the sampling process in the design stage of the study, during data collection and data analysis process.

1.6.4 Area of Study

This comparative study was conducted in two African countries, the Republic of South Africa and the United Republic of Tanzania. These countries were chosen based on their comparable history of politics in line with consolidation of democracy at the post independence era. Since 1992, after the advent of multi-party democracy in Tanzania, followed by the first post multi-party election in 1995, CCM continues to rule the country. A similar picture is evident in South Africa, where since the end of the apartheid epoch in 1994, and the beginning of a new democratic era, ANC has remained the ruling party of the country. Apart from political dominance of these parties, the nature and trends of student conflict characterised by violence in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) of both countries seems to share certain salient features, hence the need for investigation.

The study delimitated itself to student crises in HEIs that had existed between 1990s and 2010s in both countries. This period is one of democratic consolidation in both countries. Within Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma (UDOM) were taken for an indepth analysis. The reason of using them as case studies are three fold. First, both of them are state run universities characterised by regular students violence escalated by the connectedness between national and students politics. Second, both universities have comparable history of existence in offering higher education in the country. Whereas UDSM was established soon after Tanzania's independence in 1961, UDOM was established when the country was superceded by democratic transition values in the late 2000. The third criterion relies on geographical disparity. While UDSM is located in an urban area, UDOM is located in the rural area of Tanzania. Thus, it was easy to identify issues, actors and processes in line with the objectives of this study.

In South Africa, both the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria provided the basis of the study. These universities were chosen based on the historical path on serving black (University of Zululand) and white or Africaners interests (University of Pretoria) during the apartheid epoch. In addition, provincial disparities was one of the set criteria. Whereas the University of Zululand is located within the Umhlatuze Municipality, one of the fastest growing industrial hub and employer in KwaZulu-Natal province, the University of Pretoria is a multi campus public research university in Pretoria, the administrative and de facto capital of South Africa. Thus, it was easy to identify issues, actors and processes in line with the objectives of the study.

In an attempt to understand the area of the study, both Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2 were designed to show studied areas of Higher Education Institutions in a map of Tanzania and South Africa respectively.

Figure 1.1: A Map of Tanzania to show the Surveyed Area of Higher Education

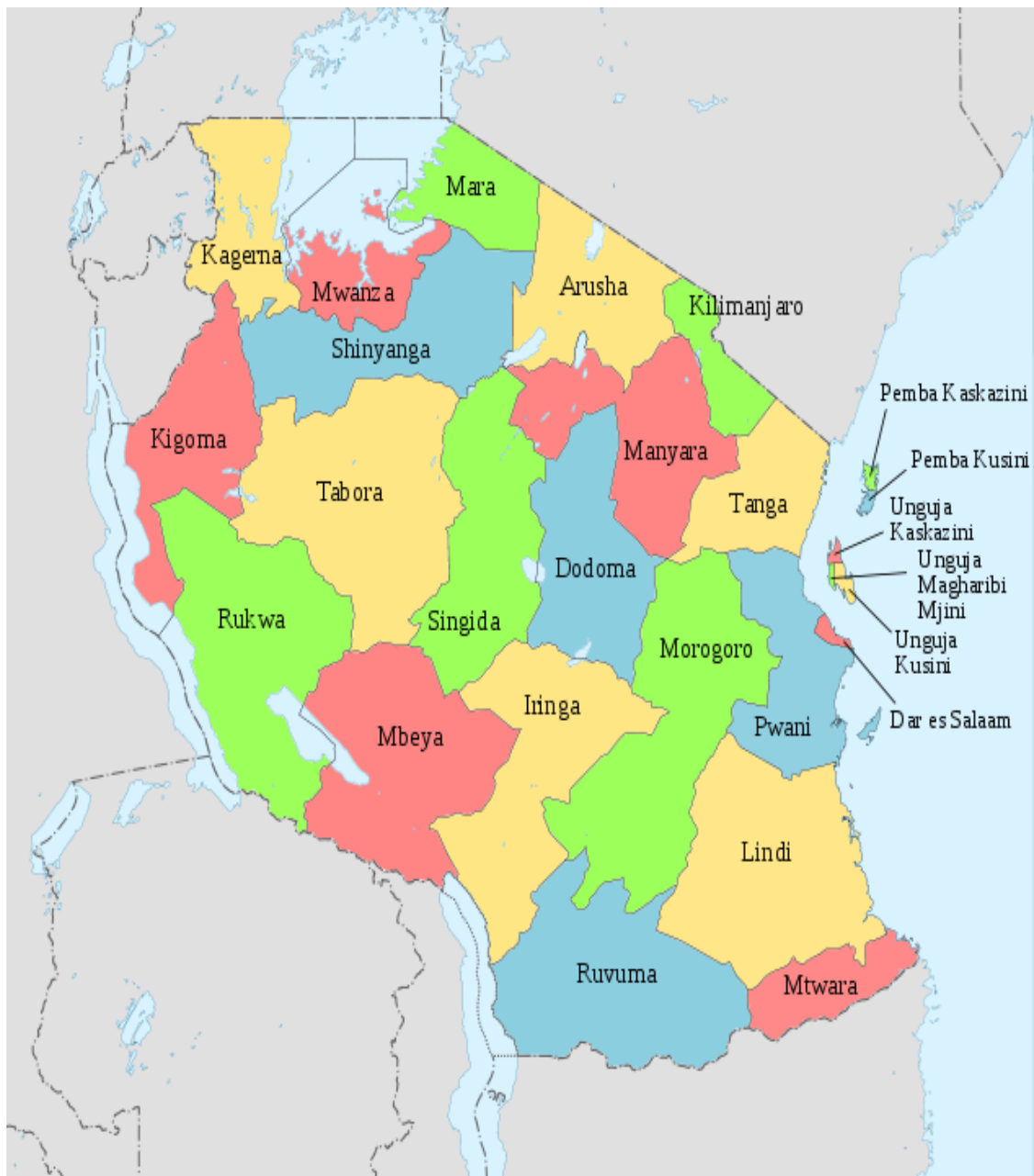
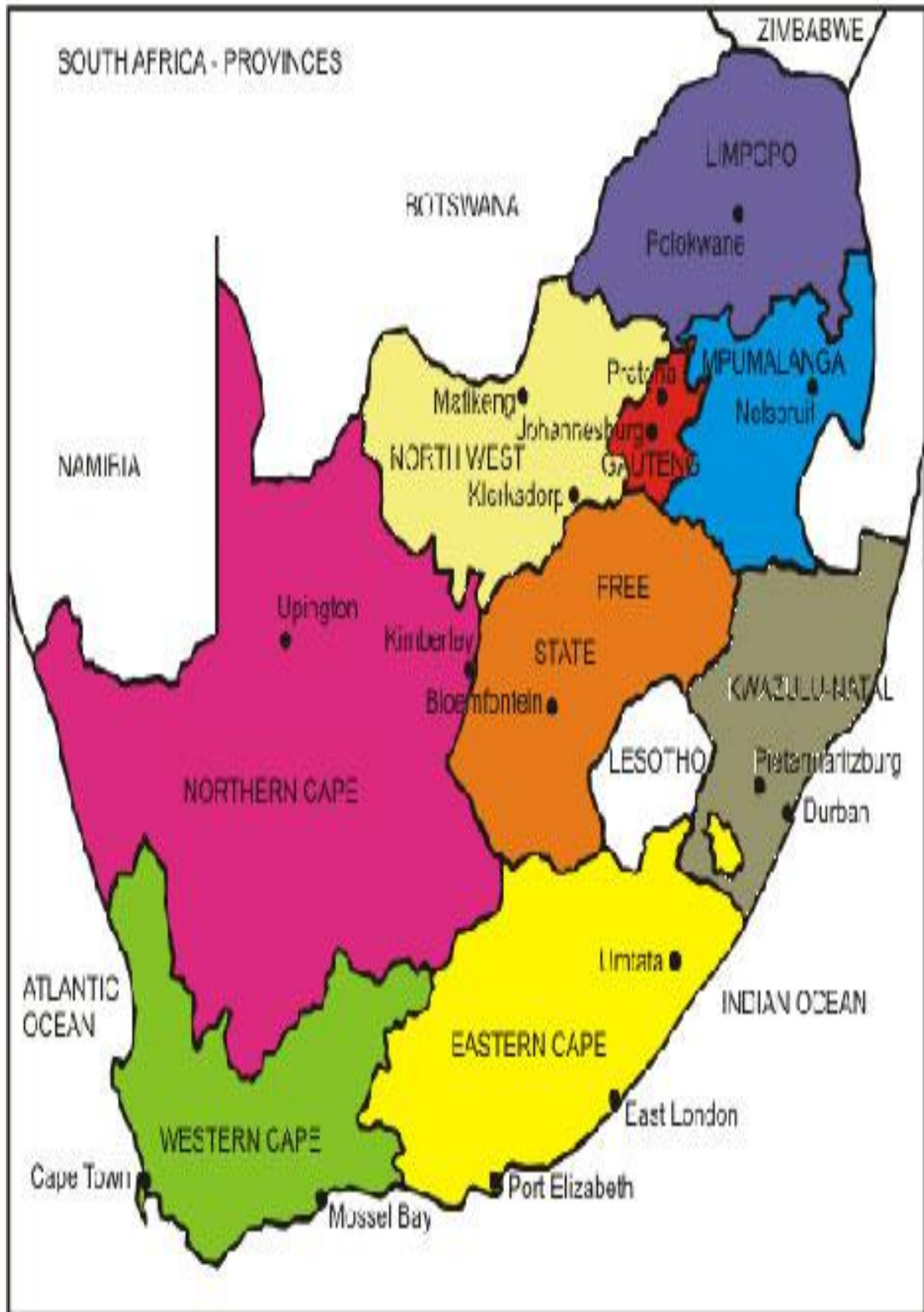


Figure 1.2: A Map of South Africa to show Surveyed Area of Higher Education



Why choose University students for an in depth study? First, the behaviour of university students reflect the community that they come from. According to Mmbwete and Ishumi (1996), most students come from lower or middle class families. In addition, this group represents people who come from societies that lack stable government, economic growth, or basic material and physical security. For most of them, college education is a way of escaping from rural drudgery to urban affluence and power. Thus, their engagement in political affairs on campus enhance their career, political expectations and welfare growth.

1.6.5 Study Population

1.6.5.1 Total Population

The total population for this study includes all students who had stayed at the university for at least a year, who have engaged in either contesting or voting for SRC election and who are available for the study in the selected institutitons of higher education. As such, the total population for this study was 24,443 students. These were gleaned from the SRCs voters registers of the institutions under study.

1.6.5.2 Target Population

Kothari (2004) conceives the term target population to refer to the intended population covered by a study in a specific geographical area such as country, region and town in terms of the age group and gender. Since a total population of 24,443 students had engaged in SRC politics in 2012, the target population for this study was, therefore, 2,444 students. This is equivalent to 10 percent of the total population.

1.6.6 Sample and Sampling Techniques

1.6.6.1 Sample Size

A sample size is defined by Bailey (1987) as the number of representative respondents selected for interview from a research population. The number depends on the accuracy needed, population size, population heterogeneity and resources available. In addition, sampling refers to an act of selecting a few people/observations for study and discovers things that apply to hundreds or millions of people/observations not studied (Krishnaswami, 2003).

The expected sample size for this study was 340 respondents. This sample included 240 students from the four African universities under study sampled through probability sampling and 100 respondents purposively selected as key informants for this study. Stratified sampling, as one of the probability sampling technique was done to generate a sample of 240 students who had stayed on the campuses for at least a year, engaged in either contesting or voting for SRC election and who were available for the study. Table 1.1 demonstrates the student sampling process for the study.

Table 1.1: Selection of a Study Sample from Students voted in 2012 SRC election

	Name of the Institution	Number of Voters	Target Population	Sample Size
	University of Pretoria	6706	670	66
	The University of Zululand	6560	656	64
	The University of Dar es Salaam	7010	701	69
	The University of Dodoma (College of Social Science)	4,220	422	41
	Total	24,496	2449	240

Source; Survey Data, 2012

A sampling fraction of 0.098 was obtained from taking a required sample size of the students: 240/2449. This, in turn, was multiplied by each strata of the target population to generate a sample size for each strata. Apart from a sample of 240 students stratified through probability sampling, a sample of 40 respondents from both countries was purposively selected and interviewed by using an interview guide as key informants to supplement data for this study. Apart from this group of key informants, 15 officials from each university who administer campus affairs were drafted into the sample.

The respondents interviewed purposively from each university included either Vice Chancellor or administrator in the respective university, either the DVC-Academics and Research or DVC-Planning and Financing, Dean of Student, Director in Human Resources Department, Director of student accommodation/housing, Head of maintenance or construction unit responsible for student residence, an official in the department of Counselling and Guidance, the Head of Security Department, and one representative official from the University Senate/or Council.

Also, four Head of Department (HODs) in each university and two wardens on gender basis who had been in the university for not less than three years were interviewed. Generally, at least 50 respondents from each institution of higher learning were selected. As discussed above, 40 key informants, 20 from each country were purposively selected to supplement data in accordance with the criteria set for this study. Informed consent forms were given to the respondents before conducting the study. The 20 key informants interviewed were:

- ✓ *3 Youth wing leaders from their respective political parties*
- ✓ *2 Key political or administrative analysts*
- ✓ *3 National leaders of political parties*
- ✓ *2 Potential religious leaders*
- ✓ *1 Respondent from Research institutions affiliated to peace and conflict studies*
- ✓ *1 Leader from the Electoral committee*
- ✓ *1 CSO addressing issues on youth leadership and civic education (1)*
- ✓ *2 Media correspondence officials/or owners,*
- ✓ *1 Minister, from the Ministry of Higher Education*
- ✓ *2 long experienced public officials in education sector, and*
- ✓ *2 Scholars/experties on conflict research*

1.6.6.2 Sampling Techniques

Both probability and non-probability techniques were employed in this study. The study used non-probability techniques to sample purposively 40 key informants out of the university community, and 60 key informants within the university community from all the four cases utilised in this study. The decision to employ purposive sampling is based on the premise that careful selecting of stakeholders in the policy-making process is a good criterion for matching interviewers with the respondents (Flick, 2006). On the other hand, the study employed probability sampling to select a list of 240 students with whom a questionnaire was administered. Once the sample size of the respective strata, was established, the respondents for this study, students, were selected randomly by using the lottery methods. The selected participants were informed by their respective leaders of the purpose of the study. On the day of the

interview, the principal investigator was introduced to the selected respondents by their respective leaders.

1.6.6.3 Research Procedures Scheduling

Table 1.2: Administration of Research Procedures and Scheduling

	Data Collection Tool	Preparation	Administration
	<i>Questionnaire</i>	Two Weeks	6 people/day, Thus, to cover 240 respondents=40 days were utilized
	<i>Focus Group Discussion guide</i>	Three days	3 FGDs/day, Thus, to cover 12 FGDs for all study cases, 4 days were required
	<i>Interview Guide or Schedule</i>	One Week	Three interviews with key informants/day, Thus, to cover 40 + 60 respondents from both countries, 34 days were required
	<i>Documentary Review/Analysis</i>		Three days for doc' review in each University, Thus. A total of 12 days were required

Source; Muya's Framework of Data Collection & Analysis (2012)

1.6.6.4 Data Collection Timeframe

The findings from Table 1.2 shows that the number of days that were required for the entire data collection process were 90 days in both countries, Tanzania and South Africa, respectively. Because of geographical disparities and inconveniences that arose during the data collection process the study ended up utilising 152 days to accomplish data collection process in both countries.

1.6.7 Sources of Data

1.6.7.1 Secondary Sources

Secondary data, according to Kothari (2004), refers to data that is already available, which has already been collected and analysed. Data were collected through library research involving various documents, reports, books and journal articles.

Documentary Review/Analysis

This technique of data collection involves subjecting documents related to the topic under study to deep and critical analysis. In this study, official documents such as students' organisation constitutions as well as university by-laws or acts were critically reviewed to understand whether there was any provisions that provided room for enhancing the national and student politics nexus on campuses. SRC brochures and annual reports were also reviewed.

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

1.6.7.2 Primary Sources

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

1.6.8 Data Collection Tools

This research employed four types of data collection tools. The data collection tools were: Structured questionnaire, face-to-face interview guides, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) guide and observation checklists. The structured questionnaires were directed to students in their respective Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in a bid to collect quantitative information in line with the objectives of the study. Whereas structured questionnaires were used to justify causal explanations for the findings and comparing responses in subgroups of a large population, semi-structured questionnaires were administered with HEIs staff to obtain qualitative information on the conflicts. The FGDs guide on the other hand aimed at obtaining indepth information on the conflicts emerging from the national and students politics nexus on campus.

The observation checklist was used to analyze student interactions, relationships, operations and activities to get first-hand information in line with the fuelled conflict. In addition, the study utilised interview guides to supplement data from key informants.

1.6.8.1 Questionnaires

Both structured and semi-structured questionnaires were utilised to generate required data in this study. The structured questionnaire was used to collect quantitative information from the sampled students in both countries to justify causal explanations for the findings and comparing responses in the subgroups of a larger population. The semi-structured questionnaires was distributed to both academic and non-academic staff heading different departments in HEIs to enrich the study with qualitative information. Qualitative research, most often, seeks to understand the phenomena in question by applying a “less-structured” methodology to gain richer and insightful information (Creswell, 2003).

A questionnaire is a group or sequence of questions designed to elicit information from an informant or respondent when asked by an interviewer or completed unaided by the respondent. When an interviewer is involved, the questionnaire is sometimes referred to as an interview. Questionnaires were used because they were more appropriate for collecting a lot of information within a relatively short time.

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

1.6.8.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide

The FGD guide was used to obtain in depth information from students at the university on the connectedness between national and students politics which fuels violence in educational settings. A set of open-ended questions in Kiswahili and IsiZulu served as a guide for the FGDs conducted in Tanzania and South Africa to probe for clarification. It was important to have questions in these languages in a bid to probe and build more insights from the study respondents as some of them were not much influential to express well some of the thematic issue under the study through the use of English.

Focus group participants were chosen from among those who had indicated in their questionnaire replies that they were willing to be involved in a focus group discussion. A total of three FGDs were conducted in each university with two FGDs sessions for students, and one for students leaders. Six (6) participants were included in each FGD. After each FGD session, participants were given feedback on the issues raised during the sessions, for example, what has been revealed as institutional gaps in resolving conflicts and the way forward. Whereas, the questionnaire data were able to demonstrate the level of participation in student activism, the FGDs revealed valuable additional information, especially on the reasons behind their engagement on strikes.

1.6.8.3 Interview guide for Key Informants

Newman (2000) argues that face-to-face interviews have the highest response rates. Interviewers can also observe the surroundings and can use non-verbal communication

and visual aids. A semi-structured interview was a method of research used to collect data for this study. Whereas a structured interview has a rigorous set of questions which does not allow diversion, a semi-structured interview is open, and allows new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored prepared in an interview guide. Interview guides help researchers to focus an interview on the topics at hand without constraining them to a particular format. This freedom in a semi-structured interview can help interviewers to tailor their questions to the interview context/situation, and to the needs of the people they are interviewing.

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

1.6.8.4 Observation Checklist

An observation checklist was used to cross-check information gathered using questionnaires. Observations went beyond listening to various oral expressions as they were used to analyze interactions and relationships amongst students, especially during the election process.

According to Borg and Gall (1989), interviews and questionnaires rely on self report and often people bias the information they offer about themselves. The observation technique, on the other hand, yields more accurate information than could not be obtained via self-report.

There are two types of observations, namely non-participant observation where the researcher remains an outside observer detached from the situation, and participant observation where the researcher is simultaneously a member of the group he is studying and as well as part of the processes being studied. This study employed both observation techniques, albeit, at different times. Observations provided me with an opportunity to collect data on a wide range of behaviours of students, and their interactions, as well as gather first-hand data on different issues relating to the university programmes.

By directly observing activities, I was able to develop and understand the context within which the student problem exists or emanates. Babbie and Mouton (2001) assert that observation moves from an ordinary daily activity to a scientific technique when it is planned systematically; it is recorded systematically and it is subjected to checks and controls in terms of validity and reliability. Four questions were addressed prior to an observation process: *What should be observed from students in their residential life?; How should the observations be recorded; What procedures should be used to ensure the accuracy of the observation?; and what relationship should exist between the observer and the observed, and how can such a relationship be established?*

1.6.9 Data Collection

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

1.6.9.1 Data Processing and Analysis

According to Neuman and Robson (2009), data analysis refers to a search for patterns in data recurrent behaviours, objects or body of knowledge. Once a pattern is identified, it is interpreted in terms of a social theory or the setting in which it occurred. The essence of the statistical analysis was to probe the findings deeper with a view to producing new knowledge related to the management of conflict caused by the connectedness of national and student politics on the campuses. In this study, the results arising from testing the study's hypothesis in individual cases, and compositely across both cases were presented.

Since both quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed in this study, a sequential data analysis was preferred whereby qualitative data were analysed before quantitative data. Generally, qualitative data analysis begins early in a research project when collecting data (Berg, 2007). The results of early data analysis guided the subsequent data collection. Memo writing and coding were the approaches employed in the analysis of qualitative data.

The collected web-based documents from social networks, and hard copy documents were examined and entered into the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS.ti. This process allowed for organisation and coding of the data that emerged from these documents. They were all further reviewed and major points summarized. The information obtained from these sources were used to check for consistency of information generated through the use of observation technique, questionnaires based approach and use of interview. Thus, the coding of qualitative data in this study involved organising data into themes, data refining, and finally drawing links between themes to arrive at the conclusion.

On the other hand, when the field exercises were completed, all quantitative information collected were coded, organised, analysed and converted into percentages, tables, and figures by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 13. In addition, in order to analyze the relations between and among input and environment variables and how they may shape changes in the outcomes of interest, hierarchical regression was employed as an appropriate statistical analysis technique to illuminate the block ordering (Terenzini and Upcraft, 1996: 232). Hierarchical regression involves entering the variables in a manner which can be controlled by the researcher. Therefore, each variable can be entered in a particular order thus allowing for a specified approach to understanding the percentage of variance (Terenzini and Upcraft, *ibid.*).

1.6.9.2 Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

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

Validity

Validity and reliability are understood in a slightly different way in both qualitative and quantitative research. In quantitative studies, validity refers to the bridge or match between an abstract concept to empirical data. Valid evaluations take into account all relevant factors, given the whole context of the evaluation, and weigh them appropriately in the process of formulating conclusions and recommendations (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). To establish ‘truthworthiness’ of a study, Creswell (2003) perceives validity in qualitative research to be an attempt to assess the “accuracy” of the findings, as best described the researcher and the participants.

Validity in qualitative research according to Creswell (ibid.), should emphasise a process made through extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick description rather than verification which has quantitative overtones. Since this study is largely qualitative in nature, it ensured validity by enhancing “authenticity”, giving a fair, credible, honest, and balanced account of social life experienced by the people being studied.

Reliability

This entails consistency and dependability. Reliability entails that the numerical results produced as a result of data collection procedure do not vary because of the characteristics of the measurement process or measurement instrument itself. Thus, under the same conditions when observations are repeated, data collected should produce similar numerical results. Although absolute reliability of data is hard to obtain, clearly conceptualising constructs, use of a precise level of measurement, use of multiple indicators and use of pilot tests can improve the reliability of research instruments (Neuman and Robson, 2009).

This research ensured reliability by facilitating proper training of researchers, formulating precise level of measurement such as questionnaires and interview guides which are explicit, unambiguous and less complicated. The study also used pilot tests before undertaking data collection in the field. The use of pilot study helped to adjust the questionnaire and interview guide from unambiguous words and time for the process.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Some limitations were encountered during field work. The limitations are categorised as either practical or methodological. The study encountered the problems which include, the distortion of the originality of ideas during the translation of questionnaires from either English to Kiswahili or IsiZulu, respectively, and later from either Kiswahili or IsiZulu back to English for dissertation writing. To address this problem, researcher

used language experts so that the resulting translation stayed as prudently possible to the original responses as would be correct.

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

On the methodological part, the major problem arose primarily because most students were not very free to talk about how much they earned in terms of money or gifts from politicians as a result of supporting their national parties or their political affiliation at the University level. This question was designed to establish whether the SRC leaders are confined to their roles or also serve political affiliation interests.

Some of the SRCs leaders felt suspicious and it took time to win their confidence. Building rapport helped to win their confidence and trust. This process was time consuming and in some cases, there were even some doubts regarding the truthfulness of the answers provided. However, when the same questions were repeated, at least one could see some logic in connection to the answers they provided. Triangulation of different methods of data collection also provided a solution to this problem.

1.8 Definition of the Key Terms

Conflict: This refers to interactive opposing behaviour between two or more people, organisations or systems over incompatible goals, interests, scarce resources, values, belief systems, power and prestige, nature of relationship as well as performance (Mosha, 1994). Conflict behaviours may range from intellectual jostlings or malicious gossip all the way to the use of physical force to cause destruction of property or physical injury. It may be overt and direct or may occur sub-rosa undisclosed to the party or parties targeted. Conflict behaviour may also be verbal or non-verbal; active or passive (Murphy and Saal, 1990). In this study, conflict refers to class boycott, demonstration as well as student violence against university management or among different groups of student on campus stemming from the connectedness of national and student politics in both South African and Tanzanian universities.

Crisis: According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1989), a crisis is “a time of great or danger, a decisive moment in illness or life history, etc”. This refers, therefore, to a turning point or to a state of affairs in which a decisive change, for the better or worse, is imminent (Fimbo 2000,214). Similarly, Mosha (2000:87) perceives crises as escalated conflict which have reached a stage of impasse. They are often products of an accumulation of a series of unresolved, escalated antagonistic conflicts.

Student Crises: According to the Mwapachu (2000:41), student crisis can be defined as non-conforming relations in the form of strikes, boycotts, hostility and discontent motivated by the need to secure greater rationality, equity and economic justice in the

relationships between the university and the government, on the one hand, and between the University as a governing entity and its community (academic staff, non-academic staff and students) on the other. Impacts such destruction of university properties, students' death and unnecessarily changes in the University timetable are the norm. Similarly, and Mihyo (1991:2) define "student crises" as a state of frequent student and faculty protests against state repression, university management, and shabby treatment of students, corruption, and inefficiency in the nation states. Thus , the perception of scholarship as civility devoid of passion, and the notion of academic neutrality is rejected (Omari and Mihyo, 1991:2).

Elsewhere, Omari, (1991) defines "student crisis" as [" An uneasy relationship between universities and the state with both students and staff being critics of its social, political and economic policies, compounded by economic and political crises. These have in turn resulted in unwanted closure of universities due to social instability" (Omari, 1991:4).], diminishing resources for higher education, paralysis in institutional management and disputatious and desperate relationships between politics and education, and between the state and universities.

Conflict Management: This is a process of becoming aware of actual or potential conflict, diagnosing its nature and scope and employing appropriate methodology to diffuse the emotional energy involved and enable disputing parties to understand and resolve their differences (Mosha, 2000).

Burton (1969) asserts that conflict management also includes deterrence strategies aimed at avoiding the escalation of conflicts while maintaining control without giving way.

Leadership: For decades, scholars, business leaders, and organizational researchers have continually refined the definition of leadership based on their findings and experience, and the latest real-world models and situations. Mosha (1994) defines leadership as the ability to influence a group or getting the co-operation of others in accomplishing a desired goal. Similarly, Maxwell (2005) defines leadership as the process of influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation, while operating to accomplish the mission and improve the organisation. This study conceives leadership at institutional level is when the university authority governs its employees and students, through influencing and providing purpose, direction, and motivation to them.

Leadership Style: This is the manner and approach of providing direction, implementing plans, and motivating people to meet desired goals. Leadership style vary depending on acquired knowledge, skills, abilities, as well as tactics adopted in the course of training. In this study, the link between leadership styles of various HEIs leaders and escalation of students crises in institutions of higher learning was explored.

The national and student politics nexus: This refers to the connectedness of national and student politics which is believed to fuel conflict at an institutional level. In other

words, it entails the flow of national politics onto campus which tends to compromise the established purpose of higher education that focuses on teaching, research and undertaking service. Among the indicators of the connectedness which fuels conflict at the university level include the existence of a framework at which national political parties exploit University students to advance the agendas of their parties within the campuses (Luhanga, 2009). It is also explained by, the political process at which the university leaders such as the Vice-Chancellor are selected, appointed and approved by national ruling political leaders, and, the flow of national directives or policy changes to the campuses to effect certain changes.

Democracy: It is essentially a contested concept. Arblaster (1991:5) in Ntsikelelo (2009) supports this position by asserting that democracy is an inherently debatable and changeable idea like “freedom”, “equality”, “justice”, “human rights”, and so forth. Democracy is a term which always signify for many a cherished political principle or ideal, and for that reason alone it is never likely to achieve a single agreed meaning” (Arblaster, 1991:5).

Heywood (2002:68) cited in Ntsikelelo (2009) makes an interesting argument by pointing out that the concept of democracy and the classical notion of democratic rule are firmly rooted in Ancient Greece. He argues that, like other terms that end in “*cracy*” such as autocracy, aristocracy and bureaucracy, democracy originated from the Greek word *kratos*, meaning power or rule by the masses: “Democracy therefore means ruled by the demos, demos standing for the many or people” (Heywood, 2004; 221).

Democracy has now become a universal practice often interpreted differently the critical entry point of understanding democracy in Africa should be premised on assessing strides towards not only consolidating multi-party governance, but also democratic needs, values and ethos of African societies. While analysing the former, democracy should be understood as a move away from authoritarian rule of the past marked by one-person rule, one-party rule and even military juntas of the 1960s-1980s towards embracing and institutionalising some form of democratic governance.

Democratic Transition: Since the emergence of the Post-Cold War era a large amount of contributions have been made, about Africa's democratisation. Writing from a conflict resolution perspective, Mark Anstey (2004:23) defines democratisation as “transition from authoritarian rule to democracy”. Democratisation is an indicator and first step to democracy, and reflects the political commitment of political contenders. Pridham and Lewis (1996:2) support this line of thinking when they point out that “democratisation denotes the overall process of regime change from start to completion, from the end of the previous authoritarian regime to the stabilisation and rooting of the new democracies”. As a process, and not an event, it entails social movements struggle for democracy against the authoritarian regime as a means of consolidating democracy (De Villiers, 1993:45). It involves strengthening democratic institutions and allowing them to operate independently away from an authoritarian government to a much more democratic society. Democratic consolidation is understood as a process aimed at uncovering lack of free and fair elections, the phenomenon of coups and counter-coups as well as lack of constitutional reforms or transformation roots in Africa.

It also entails lack of a gendered approach to development and democracy and an assessment of human rights and the concept of power sharing to local/regional authorities among the various levels of government. As Africa approached the turn of the 20th century, the issue of democratic consolidation continued to be a matter of contested terrain among academics, students of African politics and policy makers. Assessing the national-and-student politics nexus from a conflict lense in an era of democratic consolidation is a further contribution to this debate.

In South Africa, an era of consolidating democratic governance entails the period that marks the end of the apartheid regime and the beginning of a new era of socio-economic transition and democratic transformation phase in 1994. In a study of democratic consolidation in South Africa, Stuart James in 2007 appraised the growth of South Africa's democracy necessitated through consolidating institution building. He, however, cautioned that these institutions need to be protected and strengthened to ensure that trust and confidence in them is developed and maintained. Stuart (*ibid.*) went further to say that the major obstacle to achieving consolidation, is ANC's dominance of the Parliament.

Has democracy made the living and material conditions for students any better? Or ordinary citizens, for that matter? In his 2011 study of the challenges for the democratisation process in Tanzania, 50 years after independence, Jonas Ewald concluded that even if the institutions of liberal democracy have gradually developed in Tanzania, poverty remains deep and has not been substantially reduced and single-party or one-party dominated rule has continued to be the order of the day.

In this study, democratic consolidation in both Tanzania and South Africa is conceived as a period that entails a process through which both countries accepted a given set of constitutional principles to govern the nation states democratically. As such, the scope of this study centred on exploring student conflicts from the 1992 to 2012 period of democratic transition in Tanzania as well as from the 1994 to 2012 period of democratic transition in South Africa.

1.9 Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter One introduces the study. It provides a general background to the study which includes a statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, hypothesis, and significance of the study. It also explicates the methodology of the study as well as a clarification of concepts used. Chapter Two is a review of the relevant literature linked to conflicts emerging from the connectedness of national and student politics on campus in an era of democratic consolidation. It critically interrogates the framework of national-and-student politics nexus that fuels student crises in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs).

The overriding essence is to create a new understanding from the theoretical debates and empirical literature reviewed. Theoretical literature reviewed critically analyses the nature of student violence on campus, offers a historical overview of student crises, delineates determinants of student crises, as well as factors which affect management of these crises.

On the other hand, empirical literature demonstrates not only empirical studies conducted on student activism in the developed world and developing countries, but also empirical trends and debates on student activism. In this part, a critical and analytical literature review of empirical studies was done to reveal insights and an awareness of differing arguments, theories and approaches. In addition, the study ascertained strengths and weaknesses of the literature through identifying unbiased and valid studies of the relevant published work.

Chapter Two discusses the conceptual framework for the study to explain the relationship between variables under study diagrammatically. It also critically surveys aspects directly related to the objectives of the study linked with empirical evidences. This includes the assessment of the existing literature on student conflict in HEIs, leadership roles and styles, and responsibility of SRC in an era of democratic consolidation. It also gauges relevance of leadership training programme on the quality youth leadership participation in the African leadership context. The idea is to unravell why SRC governance is not making the expected difference, especially in managing student conflict as well as identifying the intervening social variables that impact on escalation of conflict in HEIs.

Chapter Three provides a theoretical framework for resolving conflict emanating from the connectedness of national and student politics on campus. Breaking the objectives of this study into themes, two primary areas of theoretical research were explored. The two primary areas are: theory related to interactions of the systemic components and

theories addressing cause of the students conflicting behaviours/aggression. Each of these theories was examined through the lens of managing institutional conflict.

Chapter Four presents the study's findings and analysis on conflict emanating from the connectedness of national and student politics in Tanzania's universities from a case study of 160 out of 170 respondents sampled for this study to represent two cases in Tanzania. Likewise, Chapter Five presents the study's findings and analysis on student conflict emanating from the connectedness of national and student politics in South Africa's universities from a sample size of 158 out of 170 targeted respondents. In both chapter four and five, the presentation of the study findings and analysis is in line with the objective of the study.

Chapter Six is a comparative analysis of findings from the four cases studies (two in Tanzania and two in South Africa). It compares the differences and similarities of the study's findings in both country case studies. The chapter presents the results of testing the study's hypothesis in individual cases, and compositely across both cases.

Chapter Seven is the concluding chapter. It summarises the study and makes poignant concluding remarks and a number of recommendations and suggestions for further research on issues related to the national and student politics nexus in African University which fuels student violence in an era of democratic consolidation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Reliable information on how the connectedness of national and student politics fuels conflicts in the education set-up in the current era of democratic consolidation is in short supply. This chapter reviews literature on student crises in institutions of higher learning. The chapter reviews both the theoretical debate and empirical literature in relation to research objectives. The following themes were explored: Determinants of student conflict; the connectedness of national and student politics; the leadership roles and responsibilities of SRCs; the leadership styles of the university administrators; conflict escalation and conflict management styles; and strategies for managing conflict in HEIs.

2.2 Theoretical Literature

The theoretical literature analyses the problem of students' crises in institutions of higher learning in the current era of consolidating democratic governance in Africa.

Problem Analysis

Students' crises in institutions of higher learning are not only peculiar to Tanzania and South Africa, but have also been a controversial issue in other African countries as well as in other parts of the world (Ivester, 2013; Barnhardt, 2012; Bergen, 2012; Meeker, 2012; Rene-Parish, 2011; Fai Leung, 2010; Ntsikelelo, 2009;

Shahmohammadi, 2008; Luescher, 2008; Ayodele and Adewumi, 2007; Koen, 2006; Badat, 1999; Mbwette and Ishumi, 1996; Maseko, 1994; Chambers and Phelps, 1993; Omari and Mihyo, 1991; Altbach and Cohen, 1990; as well as Coser, 1956). This part critically analyses the accumulated knowledge on student crises or the existing debate on student activism. It specifically analyses the problem of student crises in two African countries, which are Tanzania and South Africa. The attributes of the problem in the literature include determinants of students' crises; factors enhancing co-existence of students' crises, the nature and trend of students' conflict in HEIs, effect of student conflict in HEIs and conflict resolution strategies and techniques.

According to Muya (2013), a research problem is not the same as a "problem" in the normal sense of the word as used, for example, at the work places. It is a research jargon that comes from philosophising and problematising a research issue. In this study, "student crisis in HEIs" is regarded as a problem in the normal sense that requires attention. However, through philosophising the nature of student crisis in HEIs, the study intended to establish whether "the connectedness of national and student politics on campus" was an actual research problem that fueled conflict on campus. This understanding helped in producing new knowledge to enhance existing knowledge and fill gaps in the literature on the subject of student conflict in HEIs.

2.2.1 Determinants of Student Crises in Tanzania's Universities

Relationships can be either cooperative or conflictual. When it is conflictual, it is important to understand the causative factors which determine the effect (Rugumamu,

2005). There are many factors which account for the escalation of conflict in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Considering the fact that student crises are influenced by various factors, at different levels, which often change with time and place, the determinants of crises in each country will thus be discussed separately.

The MSTHE report compiled in 2004 identifies various causes of student crises in Tanzania which include, weak student own governance, under-funding of HEIs, expansion of student enrolment and academic programmes, students' welfare-related problems, erosion of cultural values, inadequate management of student loans and inadequate communication between the HEIs management and the students. The other causes cited in the report are weak management of HEI's, rigid and outdated legal framework in universities, and unsustainable student leadership (MSTHE, 2004). This study critiqued the MSTHE report, and questioned whether these factors did not relate to the nexus between national and student politics on the university campus?

According to Galabawa (2005), the issues of funding for higher education in Tanzania has led contestations among the students, government and institutions and in fact disrupted the studying schedule also. For example, at different times, different stakeholders on higher education in Tanzania had rejected the idea of funding students through the centralized system of Higher Learning Students Board (HELSEB) due to a number of structural and administrative constraints. Ishengoma (2008) among others have identified new models of financing public higher education in Tanzania in order to address these complexities.

Despite suggested administrative alternatives, the national government in Tanzania has continued to fund students in HEIs via HELSB model. Does the funding terrain relate to conflict that arises from the flow of national politics on campus? This gap raised issue for investigation. Apart from the challenges that arose from funding, weak management of HEIs was also one of the problems identified that causes conflict in HEIs (MSTHE, 2004). This study also critiqued the MSTHE report, and questioned whether weak management of national universities does not relate to the flow of national politics into campus politics. This was due to the growth of perception that the process of selecting and approval of university leaders in national universities such as the Vice-Chancellor is politically driven in the line of nationally ruling politics, instead of merits. What are the validity of these claims?

2.2.1.1 The National and Student Politics Nexus in Tanzania's Universities

In an attempt to explain the conflict that arises from the connectedness between national and student's politics, the study analysed student conflict in a holistic way by describing issues behind the conflict, actors and processes that necessitates student conflict through investigating the structure of decision making in Tanzania's Higher Education. This is structured under four hierarchical levels which are; the national level which is responsible for policy formulation and the crafting of the vision that set the agenda for education development; the Ministerial level which is responsible for the implementation of policies and budgetings; the executive agency or regulatory body which coordinates and monitors the quality university education outside the direct civil service framework.; and at the university or college level which caters for higher

education delivery (Mkude, 2012). The flow of national politics in the university campuses since the advent of multi-party democracy in the early 1990s entails a conflictual trajectory created by the structure of decision making from national level to the university level. This is the case because, the nation state in instigating political reforms in the country created loop holes for politicians from all political parties to exploit University students to advance the agendas of their respective parties.

One of these exploitations is the affiliation of student government bodies to national political parties in order to use them as stooges in advancing their interest at local levels. This potentially divisive move of organising students along political party lines, is palpable in most of the public Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (Luhanga, 2009). In these public HEIs, both, CCM and CHADEMA do run their respective youth wings on campus in a bid to advance agendas of their parties. Although it is seen as widening democracy to lower levels like school campuses, paradoxically, this has escalated a lot of conflict on campuses.

The marriage of diverse groups of student bodies with political parties has exacerbated conflicts in HEIs. This study as such, intended to establish whether student upheavals particularly at the University of Dodoma and University of Dar es salaam since the advent of multi-party democracy is undergirded by loose political system that is pluralistic in nature. In addition, the search, selection and approval of the key leaders such as Vice Chancellors of public institutions of higher learning by political figures is also viewed as the source of connectedness that is suggested to fuel conflict in HEIs.

Notably, even before the release of the appointees, there is an indirect rejection of institutional leaders by either students or academic staff or both.

2.2.1.2 Weak Student Governance Structures

Although there are several other stakeholders in a university system, students are considered to be one of the key stakeholders (Kamuzora and Mgaya, 2012). Therefore, to attain good governance in the university, the SRCs must be effective and efficient in their administration of duties. Over the years, there appears to have been a decline in student leadership within higher education institutions (Lange, 2001). This is as a result of the weak SRCs structures and unsustainable student leadership on campuses. These twin inefficiencies are as a result of various factors. These include inadequate student leadership participation in forums of policy decision-making at the national level, and the absence of a culture of power transition to the next batch of student leaders (MSTHE, 2004). Other challenges include ineffective or poor communication among SRCs leaders, inadequate knowledge of the HEIs and the education sector and poor leadership skills (MSTHE, *ibid.*).

2.2.1.3 Under-funding of HEIs in Tanzania

The trend of the budgets requested as per Council or Board and Parliament approvals shows a persistent shortfall of development of capital projects, thus necessitating indefinite postponement or phasing out of some of the vital projects to match the allocated funds (MSTHE, 1998). The under-funded aspects include students' practicals or field attachment, thus affecting the quality of graduates churned out.

Mosha (2000) posits that for a number of years the funds actually released to HEIs in Tanzania fell short of the amount approved by the Parliament. Also, inadequate remunerations and retirement benefits for academic staff and pensionable senior administrators have led to poor staff retention by triggering the brain-drain as staff seek greener pastures elsewhere (MSTHE, 2004). Such poor terms demoralise the staff, especially regarding the poor terms of retirement extended to university staff as compared to other public service employees.

2.2.1.4 Expansion of Student Enrolment and Academic Programmes in Tanzania

Expansion of student enrolment and academic programmes is viewed by Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) as a right footstep towards strengthening socio-economic as well as political development. However, according to Ayandele (1982), expansion has been too rapid and especially without commensurate financial and other resource increase to meet this increase in population size. Student crises in HEIs is explained by the government of Tanzania's inability to fund the rapidly changing and expanding academic programmes resulting from the increased social demand for higher education (MSTHE, 2004). More significantly, the government has shown its inability to cope with the rapidly swelling numbers of students admitted to HEIs.

2.2.1.5 Students' Welfare -Related Problems

Closely related to underfunding of HEIs is the problem of deteriorating welfare of students which has also been linked to the unmanageable growing size of the students' population. There is also inadequate deployment and supervision of support staff particularly where services are not outsourced.

This leads to pleas for higher living allowances, increased food subsidies as well as higher allowance for the purchase of textbooks. Mahalu (2000) argues that reforms in higher education are necessary to create an atmosphere in which university conflict could be anticipated and prevented. Luhanga (2003a) argues that reforms of any nature are political in the sense that they have to be politically and socially acceptable if they are to succeed. Drucker (1999) conceives inadequate communication in organizations to be one of the management challenges for the 21st Century. Mosha (1994) notes also that educational organizations in Tanzania cannot be isolated from lack of vertical and lateral communication, and viewed this as one of the drivers of student conflict in HEIs.

2.2.1.6 Erosion of Society Values on University Campuses

The behaviour of university students reflects the community from which they come from. This is because most of the university students come from lower or middle class families. For most of them, college education is a way of escaping from rural drudgery to urban affluence and power. In this transformation process, some students engage in misguided behaviour, such as alcoholism, or join gang or mobs in institutions of higher learning.

2.2.1.7 Inadequate Management of Student Allowances/Loans

This problem is associated with delayed disbursements of student allowances due to the absence of a common student database (Luhanga, 2003b). This leads to delayed action due to frequent need of counter-checking of such data by MSTHE. In addition, with the daily fluctuation of national government currency, there are regular claims that

the loans or allowances are not satisfactory compared with the general standard/cost of living. There was also an erroneous presumption that government would never recover the loans extended to government sponsored students hence making students to ask for increased amounts of loan (MSTHE, 2004).

2.2.1.8 Weak Management of HEIs and Inadequate Communication

Realising the importance of higher education in development lately, higher education in Tanzania has been given priority in almost all National Development programmes and in the CCM party election manifestos. Higher education for example, has been given prominence in the National Development Vision 2025, which is aimed at transforming Tanzania into a middle income country by 2025 and National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (NSGPR).

Besides, HEIs are associated with a number of problems including inadequate communication between the government and the HEIs, as well as between HEIs management and the students. On the other hand, HEIs are constrained by inadequate financial management capacity, and the HEI's management style of giving in to student demands after or during crises which encourages students to strike to get services that even do not need strikes.

2.2.1.9 Poor Teaching and Learning Environment

This is as a result of a number of factors which include inadequate and unreliable funds to conduct field training or practicals, lack of funds needed to purchase or replacement physical facilities for teaching and learning (MSTHE, 2004).

2.2.1.10 Rigid and Outdated Legal Framework

The excessive bureaucracy associated with HEIs makes it difficult for Councils or Boards to bring about any desired changes. This situation also creates an operational environment that is not conducive to creativity. In addition, nepotism is perceived to be one of the challenges most public universities face. This phenomenon entails the practice of employing support staff who are relatives of HEIs officials and, hence, making it difficult to supervise them effectively.

2.2.2 Determinants of Student Crises in South Africa's Universities

Violence has become a scourge in South Africa. According to Burton (2007), violence occurs on many levels – emotion, social, physical, psychological etc. He argues that many people feel helpless in South Africa, and that, the country has become a breeding ground for quick fixes and populist policies, such as re-introducing the death penalty, shoot to kill, etc.

Burton (2007) notes further that South Africa's youth make up a significant proportion of the population. According to him, young people aged 10–29 account for 18,952,700, which makes up 40 percent, of the entire population estimated at 47,390,900 people (Burton, *ibid.*). This age cohort is significantly at risk of crime and victimisation. Although youth violence refers, among others, to gang activities, violence at school, in this discourse an explanation of students' crises in South Africa's universities is the main focus and it is not completely divorced from the larger South African culture of violence which has been brewing since 1994.

A multitude of causes and contributory factors inextricably linked to South Africa's past of oppression have been employed in order to explain the nature and frequency of the violence. This discourse seeks to provide explanations on the determinants of students' crises in South Africa's universities. The various factors that have been identified as major causes of students' violence in universities include the culture of violence firmly embedded in South Africa's democratic society; structural inequalities brought about by the apartheid regime's discriminatory policies and high unemployment rates (Cele, 2004). Others include strong patriarchal values and notions of masculinity and femininity, as well as financial difficulties on registration on campus during the beginning of the year. This study, however, intended to establish whether those multitudes of conflictual causes and contributory factors inextricably linked to South Africa's HEIs had anything to do with the nexus between national and student politics on campus especially in the current era of democratic transition.

2.2.2.1 The National and Student Politics Nexus in South Africa's Campuses

Historically, there are two phases which account for the nexus between national and student politics in South Africa: The apartheid epoch, and the post-apartheid phase. Maseko (1994) in his study on the struggles and tribulations of the SRC at the University of Western Cape provides the broad historical realities of the SRCs politics in South Africa. He argues that the role of previous-day SRC, especially in black universities during the anti-apartheid struggle was to enhance campus demonstration. As such, SRCs function as a platform for mobilising and rallying students for the national liberation movement.

Its strategies were intended to undermine the ideological basis which the university was originally established to maintain. Therefore, this implies that pre-democratic SRCs of black universities were usually motivated to counter the existing apartheid system of governance that flowed from the top to the universities and were therefore conflictual and contentious. With the demise of apartheid, these ideologies became irrelevant as a new democratic system was instituted. However, the contentious and conflictual character of the SRCs did not cease.

For instance, at the University of Zululand, the SRC presidential rally among the South Africa Students' Congress (SASCO), a political wing of the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Democratic Students' Movement (SADESMO), a political wing of Inkatha freedom Party (IFP) as well as the National Students' Movement (NASMO), a political wing of National Freedom Party (NFP), have subjected the campus into violence which resulted into the closure of the university several times.

Apart from the University of Zululand, the political tensions on campus have always been a source of student upheavals at different institutions of higher learning. For example, at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), the Democratic Alliance Students Organisation (DASO) is working hard to maintain its dominance against the South Africa Students' Congress (SASCO). According to the President of SASCO, the DA youth group is yet to make any "serious" inroads, "except in former liberal universities that have always attempted to preserve white and Afrikaans culture"

like the University of Stellenbosch and the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Interview with SASCO President, January 2013) .

In addition, the Mangosuthu University of Technology (MUT) has been known for political tensions that manifested during the SRC elections between SADESMO and SASCO (NGO Pulse, 2010 [Online]). These are just a few examples that demonstrate the nexus of political affiliations and the divisive spirit in South Africa's university campuses. Apart from the student crises emanating from the national-and-student politics nexus on the campuses, financial difficulties on registration lie at the heart of this perennial issue. In the first week of February, 2013, hundreds of students at the Durban University of Technology clashed with police against escalating tuition costs and exclusions of poor students who cannot pay fees (NGO Pulse, *ibid* [Online]).

Also, there have been demonstrations at the University of Limpopo in the northern reaches of South Africa, and Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria. Similarly, in late 2012, protests over fees occurred at Tshwane University of Technology and at the University of Venda (NGO Pulse, *ibid* [Online]). Although many of them receive government bursaries and loans, these do not cover the full costs and are only awarded after registration. As a result, universities exclude thousands of indebted students from higher education every year.

2.2.3 Factors Enhancing Co-Existence of student Conflict on Campus

Student conflicts on campus co-exist between political formations of different student organizations affiliated to national political parties. While in Tanzania's universities two camps (youth wings of CCM and CHADEMA) co-exist, in South Africa's universities, the campus branches of the youth wings of major political parties form the nucleus of students politics. These are; the South Africa Students Congress (SASCO) a political formation for the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Democratic Students Movement (SADESMO) a political formation for the Inkatha freedom Party (IFP), the National students Movement (NASMO) a political formation for the National Freedom Party (NFP) and the Democratic Alliance Student Organization (DASO) a political formation for the Democratic Alliance.

Although Hirschler (2004) stresses violent conflicts in Tanzania to be a result of political and economic reforms, some members of the public perceive the ongoing educational reforms to be the main source of conflict in institutions of higher learning. Mosha (1994:53) argues that some conflicts in higher learning institutions is as a result of improper diagnosis of the problems or needs, hence leading to crises because they are either not understood or not managed properly. Some members of the public associates student crises with unclear roles and responsibilities of the SRCs, ineffective institutional measures of managing students' conflict, and challenges emanating from the university governance. On the contrary, this study intended to establish whether the nexus between the national-and-student politics, particularly in the post-1990 period was the main cause of conflicts on HEIs.

2.2.3.1 Ineffective Measures of Managing Students' Conflict on Campus

Misappropriation of leadership style among university managers and inappropriate model/strategy to curb conflict in educational system is one of the setbacks that exacerbate student conflicts at the institutional level. Leadership style is the manner and approach of providing direction, implementing plans, and motivating people. Leaders in HEIs vary their styles. Sinare (1999) shows that inadequate communication between HEIs management and students is one of the highest causes of student crises in Institutions of Higher Learning in Tanzania. It was also pointed out by Sinare's report in 2004 that the HEIs management style of giving in to student demands after or during crises quite often encourages students to strike even for issues that could be compromised.

2.2.3.2 The Implications of Educational Reforms on Fueling Campus Conflict

An educational system such as an institution of higher learning is described by the relationships among its components and the relationship this system has with its environment (Frick, 1991). When changes are made in an educational system such as the implementation of reforms, without the consideration or support of other key actors one of these relationships can be affected. Although there are many causes of student crises in African HEIs, the introduction of some reform programmes aimed at aligning educational needs, standards and priorities with national imperatives is a major source of conflict. In Tanzania, for example, the cost sharing policy was the main source of student strikes in almost all public universities in the late 1990s, and early 2000s.

2.2.3.3 Unclear Roles of the Contemporary University in Africa

In an attempt to assess contemporary roles of the African university in an era of democratic consolidation, this study aligns with Castells (1993: page) who distinguishes four major functions of a given university system. These functions are: the university as an *ideological apparatus*, like in the ecclesiastical phase; as a *mechanism of selection of dominant elites*, again, like in the ecclesiastical phase; as a *trainer of the bureaucracy*, like in all phases; and, finally, as a *generator of knowledge*, like in the Humboldtian and the knowledge economy phases (Castells, 1993). Obviously, the latter function is partly a result of globalisation and the attendant new demands of the knowledge society.

The university as an *ideological apparatus* is an interesting function that universities usually do not easily admit to (Mthembu, 2009). Castells (1993) in Mthembu (2009) puts this ideological function forth quite aptly when he avers that ‘the formation and diffusion of ideology has been, and still is, a fundamental role of universities, in spite of the ideology of their ideology-free role.’ The then government of Tanzania from the 1960s to 1980s proselytised the socialist values through the university by reinforcing the teaching of development from a socialist or maternalistic perspective. Similarly, universities in South Africa was also employed as as an *ideological apparatus* during the apartheid regime in order to propagate apartheid ideologies and principles.

The university as a *mechanism of selection of dominant elites* has been sociologically (and otherwise) undermined, but also enhanced (Barnett, 1990). As calls for ‘massification of higher education’ gained momentum, and higher education became a

broader 'social need', more space was created for lower social classes of the society (Bundy, 2006; Castells, 1993). According to Mthembu (1999), this represents the historical and sociological undermining of the exclusivity then enjoyed by the dominant elites, on the one hand. On the other hand, this phenomenon has rapidly expanded the elite class, and has helped to maintain its collective dominance in leadership and elsewhere.

The university as *a trainer of the bureaucracy* is closely linked to the other three functions. With the first two it is because you need a bureaucracy to proselytise and that bureaucracy necessarily is or becomes part of the dominant elite; and with the third function it is because there is training involved in the generation of knowledge. However, the function of generating knowledge is more than just training. The function of a university as *a generator of knowledge* should be understood within the context of the needs of the knowledge economy (Mthembu, *ibid.*). It is not that the earlier eras had nothing to do with the generation of knowledge. Instead, it is because this function became more pronounced much later.

Corresponding to Castell's sentiments, in his quest to encourage universities to respond to the challenges of globalisation and the knowledge society, Clark (1998) identifies five characteristics of an entrepreneurial university that is strategic and agile enough to succeed. They are *an integrated entrepreneurial culture* that imbues academics to be entrepreneurial 'in the broad sense of this word' (Bentley *et al*, 2006); *a strengthened steering core* that guarantees dynamic and innovative leadership; *a stimulated academic heartland* that enhances capacities or skills amongst academics, students and

support staff; *an expanded developmental periphery* that fosters and facilitates links with business, industry, NGOs, communities and all levels of government; a diversified funding base, which is a necessary condition for institutional autonomy. Indeed, ‘a workable 20th century definition of institutional autonomy is the absence of a dependence upon a single or narrow base of support’ (Babbidge & Rosenzweig, 1962).

2.2.3.4 The University and State Conflicting Relationship in Africa

State and University relationship in a contemporary democratic regime can either be conflicting or co-operative. Mthembu (2009), indicates three models of relationships between the government and higher education which include; state control, state supervision, and state interference. In exploring the relationship between the national government and national university in Tanzania, Muya (2014) points out three phases of the state and the university relations in Tanzania. The phases are the era of socialism (1967-1985); the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (1985-1995); and the current era informed by the global competitive forces.

During the era of socialism, according to Mosha (1994), Tanzania’s universities were influenced by the country’s brand of leftist ideology of african socialism and self-reliance an ideology that treated higher education as largely elitist and benefiting the bourgeoisie more than the peasantry (Omari, 1991:3). The country largely pursuit of leftist ideology reduced the nation to a closed society where opinions other than those from the ruling class were rarely honoured.

During the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes, higher education in Tanzania faced critical conditions in terms of funding educational programmes. It was also a period where public universities recruited staff from countries with differing ideologies and training backgrounds. As such, the university served a role of “melting pot” where varying ideological and theoretical differences were thrashed, rejected or accommodated (Mosha, 1994).

On the other hand, there is a growing perception that public universities in Tanzania were more democratic in the era before the introduction of multi-party democracy in the 1990s as compared to the current era informed by multi-party democracy (Muya, 2014). During the current era of democratic consolidation, the public university in Tanzania is perceived to have lost its autonomy due to the maximum state control practices. This is against what the President J.K. Nyerere prioritised.

In his speech at the graduation of the first class and the opening of the campus of the University College of Dar es Salaam in 1961 (now the University of Dar es Salaam), the President stated that

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

(Nyerere, 1961)

2.2.3.5 Challenges of the University Governance in Africa

By its very nature, the university is supposed to be led by the University Act. The Act puts in place four major structures of governance, namely the University Council, a Senate, an Institutional Forum and a Students' Representative Council (SRC). The flow of directives from the national state level to campuses tends to compromise the university's autonomy.

Whereas the University Council, which is the highest decision-making body, consists of lay members of the public and experts from all walks of life who govern the university in the public interest; the Senate is a body whose major concern is the planning and delivery of academic and research programmes (NCHE, 1996). On face value, the Senate has a certain level of independence from the Council with respect to its academic mandate. In the case of conflict between the two however, the Council has the ultimate authority. One of the major issues of contention between the Senate and the Council is the contest for authority over resources. These two bodies have been part of the higher education governance landscape for many years.

In South Africa, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), that investigated institutional transformation after the end of the apartheid regime argues that, to create a transformed, unitary higher education system, there were to be three pillars, namely, *increased participation, greater responsiveness and increased cooperation and partnerships* (NCHE, 1996). Within the realm of increased cooperative governance, government was to be 'the arbiter who watches the rules of the game being

played by relatively autonomous players and who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results' (NCHE, *ibid.*). In this scheme of things, the government would not become the sole agent of systemic governance, but would commit to consultations and negotiated solutions to problems in a transparent, equitable and accountable manner, in pursuit of social justice and the public good. Thus, even the arbiter who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results has to abide by the same principle of co-operative governance when those rules are changed. In this respect, Fielden (2008) makes it axiomatic that 'the state is not the best arbiter of how individual universities should operate'. Three models of relationships between government and higher education were mooted by the NCHE, namely, state control, state supervision and state (Mthembu, 2009).

State control refers to centralised and systematic state administration of higher education. The state supervision model shifts the mode of control to that of steering, with government providing a broad regulatory framework and using instruments such as planning, funding and quality management to steer the system. The government of the day accepted most of the proposals of the NCHE and, subsequently, gazetted a White Paper on the transformation of higher education in 1997. What the paper sought to achieve was 'to redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs and to respond to new realities and opportunities' (Department of Education, 1997). Besides, NCHE and, subsequently, a White Paper on transformation of higher education in 1997 did not foresee the complexities that could arise from student politics as a result of its affiliation with national parties. This is a gap to be filled by this study.

2.2.3.6 Adopting Systems of European University Governance in African's HEIs

This subsection concentrates on the regulatory framework, the origins and philosophy of governance in other parts of the world. Evidence abounds that the state's supervisory model remains the most popular in both the developed and the developing world (Bundy, 2006; Cloete, *et al.*, 2002; Fielden, 2008). Indeed there would always be nuances arising from issues like , political histories, prevailing cultures, the age and the size of the system, and imperatives of change that countries seek to respond to.

Without doubt, in these developed and developing countries there is a move towards state supervision as a model for university governance. For example, Japan passed the National University Corporation Act in 2003 that made all its national universities legally autonomous with greater powers delegated to the president and a governing board (Mthembu, 2009). Similarly, Singapore also passed a legislation in 2005 that made three of its universities autonomous and 'corporatised' (Mthembu, *ibid.*). This autonomy can be problematic as lack of financial reporting or checks may lead to mismanagement and inefficiencies (Fielden, 2008). Major parts of continental Europe practice the state control model, with the United Kingdom being an exception (Cloete *et al.*, 2002). In the United Kingdom, according to Bundy (2006):

University governance system is 'steering at a distance' – a combination of central control and decentralised authority. Universities are simultaneously deregulated (that is, permitted to become more entrepreneurial and more competitive) and more effectively regulated, through compliance with centrally set norms. Some of the continental European countries are slowly abandoning the state control model.

In Germany, for example, the State of Nord Rhein-Westfalia in the 2000s granted 33 universities the power to carry out some academic decisions - like which professors to employ and what courses to offer- which were previously made at the centre (Fielden, 2008). Gumport (2000) asserts that the United States exhibits two dominant positions: the university as a social institution and the university as part of the national economy, that is, as an industry. Clearly, therefore, the trend across the world seems to be moving towards the state supervision model.

However, there are some notable exceptions in Africa. Botswana, for example, has created a classical buffer body, the Tertiary Education Council whose role is to oversee all its tertiary institutions in a state-controlled mode (Mthembu, 1999). This is dissimilar to South Africa's Council of Higher Education (CHE), a semi-buffer body, whose substantive role is advisory to the Minister in the areas of quality assurance, accreditation and audits.

2.2.3.7 The Inherited Conflicting Model of the University in Africa

For a long time, universities have traditionally played a vital role in producing skilled human resources for national development as well as meet the demand of the labour markets. The founding pillars of the modern university in Africa in terms of essence, content and form/model, are the then higher education systems of Europe, who were the past colonisers(Mthembu, 2009:5).

In both the Tanzania and South Africa cases, the British system, was employed to educate the indigenous elite to fill high level manpower positions. The higher education system in Africa and the economies that support them have continued to be highly dependent on the West for the development of its infrastructure and staffing as well as provision of textbooks, materials and equipment (Mosha, 1994:9).

Barnett (1990) identifies four phases of development of the idea of the university in the United Kingdom and other parts of Europe. The phases include the ecclesiastical phase that was the basis of the establishment of Oxford and Cambridge University around the 11th century where the church played the role of mentor and benefactor and the Newmanian phase of the 19th century, which espouses a broad-based liberal approach to university education (Newman, 1891). In addition, there was the Humboldtian phase of Germanic origins which is contemporaneous with the Newmanian phase, that is characterised by a narrower and deeper pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

In the current era of globalisation with all the scientific and technological advancements of the 19th and 20th centuries, the knowledge is more closely and proactively with the society. As such, the society knowledge has become an agent of social and economic development (Clark, 1998; Gibbons *et al.*, 1994). Where does the African university belong? What is the contemporary role of the university in Africa? Unclearly articulated roles of universities in the present era of globalization has made it possible for political leaders to feed national politics into the systems of HEIs.

As a result, campus politics has been polarised along national political lines. The conflict stemming from the national-and-student politics nexus is now becoming very complex, and difficult to handle. This lacuna raises issues for investigation. Should we disentangle national politics from student politics? Or should we define another role of political advocacy to the university in the this era of democratic consolidation? Then, there is a question of how we should create a conducive environment for conducting political affairs on campus in a non-violent manner.

2.2.4 Trends of Student Crises in South Africa's HEIs

South Africa is a profoundly an unequal society. It is marked by inequality of power, of wealth, of access to the means for acquiring power and/or wealth, of education, and of status (Habib, 2008a). This is essentially, the result of an old South African economy that was built on apartheid policies (Kadiaghala, 2007a). In recent years, under democratic governance, a growth of violent confrontations in institutions of higher learning in South Africa has been evident (SANTRUST, 2011). Although the determinants of these crises on the campuses are many, examining whether these determinants are linked and related to the connectedness of national and student politics in South Africa's campuses was of a paramount importance.

According to SANTRUST (2011), student conflicts come at a time when student leadership and university managements are operating under a changed terrain, part of which involves the development of new institutional mechanisms of consultation and governance. This new terrain seeks to address an historical legacy under apartheid that

saw universities, especially the historically black universities, having forms of governance that were authoritarian and despotic. Student political organisations became a platform of resistance towards the apartheid government that extended to the institutions and therefore responded militantly to these internal repressions. While strides have been made in de-racialising Higher Education and implementing new, more democratic forms of governance, it appears that this has not led to a concomitant deepening of the sense of alienation including a distrust of university administrations by student leaderships.

Mbwete and Ishumi (2000) notes that the majority of university students in Africa come from lower or middle income class families and societies that lack stable government, economic growth, or basic material and physical security. As such, participating in university politics is perceived by these class of students as a passport to escape from rural poverty to urban affluence. These factors does not only make the students vulnerable but also easily manipulated by members of the national Political parties who encourages them to r engage in political affairs at the university settings in exchange for certain favours.

It was thus important to explore whether these dynamic political driven crises,as well as who benefits from it are linked to the nexus between national and student politics on campus in a bid to draw contiguous measures to address it. Also, in order to understand the society and its conflicts, and, more importantly how these conflicts may be resolved, it is necessary to look back to see which different variables explain the

origins of conflicts (Habib, 2008b). Indeed, the socio-economic and political structure of South African society today is a function of its past apartheid policies, and this is also invariably responsible for the nature of student politics which is basically conflictual. Simply put, the study of student politics can not be devoid from South Africa's history of apartheid.

2.2.5 The Historical Trends of Student Crises in Tanzanias' HEIs

It is argued that conflict resolution and peace building are issues that have become very topical in Africa's debates and discussions. This is not only because Africa is characterised by many conflicts, but that in most cases these conflicts have negative impacts on the continent's socio-economic and political development (Mpangala, 1999:14). However, Tanzania is known as a haven of peace compared to other African countries (Shivji, 2009).

In the past, the country neither experienced civil wars, intense religious conflicts, ethnicity nor coups since its independence (Hirschler, 2004; Rubanza, 2001). In effect, Tanzania was instrumental in the liberation of fellow African countries from repressive governments. For example, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Similarly, the country has played an active role in resolving conflicts in fellow African neighbouring countries. For example, Nyerere was a chief mediator to the Burundi conflict (Lupa, 2002). therefore, the occurrence of religious tension, political conflicts and institutional crises in recent years challenges the peaceful atmosphere enjoyed by Tanzania since independence (Lisu, 2006).

The nature, causes as well as escalating factors to these conflicts are diverse and their negative impacts on the socio-economic development of Tanzania is evident (Mpangala and Lwehabura, 2006). One of these conflicts that occurred in Tanzania in 2010 was a joint strike of majority of the community members which include medical practitioners, teachers, students of higher learning, pupils from primary to secondary schools, due to the increase of transportation fare in urban centres such as Dar es Salaam as well as by the workers of the defunct old East African Community. Tanzania therefore, in recent times has experienced a fair share of political and economic crises. However, these conflicts have extended to universities among students political organizations.

Traditionally, student strikes had been understood to be part of a country's political, economic and social transformation process. Student strikes at Tanzania's HEIs have been mainly characterised by an ardent search for appropriate responses to the evolving changes in the socio-economic system (Mbwette and Ishumi, 2000). An eclectic review of the major University of Dar es Salaam crises in the past fifty years clearly brings out four key distinguishable forms of crises. These are the crises which took place during the era of national building (1961 to 1966), the era of African socialism, (1967-1985), the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the continuing market-led policy period (1986-1990s) and the era following the introduction of the fundamental political changes since the re-introduction of the multiparty political system in 1992 (Muya, 2014).

During the era of national building (1961 to 1966), the then Dar es Salaam University College experienced two major crises: the student demonstration against UDI in Rhodesia in 1965- where there was destruction of British Consulate including a British flag and a Rolls-Royce vehicle- and demonstration against the introduction of the compulsory national service programme in October, 1966 (Shayo, 2000). In 1966, student's demand were rejected and the university was closed for one year by Government order (Shayo, *ibid.*).

During the era of Ujamaa or Tanzania's brand of African Socialism (1967-1985), the crises which took place were largely influenced by the country's leftist ideology of socialism and self-reliance. The period experience two main crises. The Akivaga crisis of 1971, and the student strike of 1978 (Mpangala and Shayo, 2000). The Akivaga crisis was due to the overthrow of Akivaga (who was the student's president), by a group of students, who further imposed a new leadership (Shayo, 2000).

Akivaga, responded by writing an open letter to the Vice Chancellor, accusing him of bureaucratic red-tape and lack of consultation with students on important decisions (Mpangala and Shayo, 2000). The letter was considered by the University administration to be insubordination as it was insulting and abusive. Akivaga was then rusticated for insulting the University Vice Chancellor (Peter and Mvungi, 1986). This led to a student boycott of classes until the student leader was reinstated. The root causes of the "Akivaga crisis", according to Mwapachu (2000:42-43) were lack of adequate contact and communication between the administration and the students, on

the one hand, and between the administration and teachers and workers, on the other. The March 1978 students' demonstration, was politically motivated The Dar es Salaam University Student Organisation (DUSO) organised a demonstration against the introduction of new terms of service for ministers, members of Parliament and some government and party leaders.

The student crises that occurred during the continuing market-led policy period (1986-1990s) involved pleas for higher living allowances, increased food subsidies, higher allowance for purchase of textbooks student hostility and resistance towards the cost-sharing policy in education. These were consequences of the economic reforms and the market-led policies, which the Tanzania government had been implementing since 1986. We could infer that the underlying causes of majority of the university crises in the late 20th century in Tanzania were predominantly economically motivated (Mwapachu, 2000:44).

moreover, 1992-2012 was an era which saw the introduction of multi-party democracy since 1992 to 2012, which is the focal point of this study. Although the University of Dar es Salaam had experienced crises in the late 20th century³, the study intended to analyse whether these conflicts were influenced by the nature of the connectedness between the national and student politics on campus. Since the advent of multi-party democracy in Tanzania in 1992, the flow of national politics in university campuses since has created multiple and complex platforms within public universities..

³ In 1992, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2002, and 2003

In fact, the political reforms have created loop holes for polarising the university community. Campus politics is now becoming very complex, as both student and lectures becomes part of the political game, whether overthly or covertly. The study raises questions: Who monitors the other? And equally important, what is the role of the African University in the contemporary era of democratic episodes?

2.2.6 Effects of Conflict on HEIs from a Theoretical Lens

The existence of conflicts in an institution can be functional or dysfunctional which are informed by a number of contrasting theories/models. These are the traditional approach, the modern view approach, the discontent theories, the expected utility theories as well as the eclectic model.

The traditional approach suggests that in order for an organisation to attain its set goals, both crises and people who engineer crises must be eliminated. The presence of these twin factors, which are crises and crises engineers, - who are referred to as emotionally disturbed people- within an organization instigates conflicts and hampers the achievements of the various goals and objectives set by the organisation (Mosha, 1994 and 1996). However, the approach is subject to critique as it fails to show the criteria employed in identifying organizational members who are emotionally disturbed. At the same time, Mossberg (1994) in his study argues that chaos in an organisation reveals change and diversity not as problems but as the heart of organisational survival and success. As such, failure to acknowledge conflicts as a proper challenge in organisations leads to shortsightedness in analysing issues.

Also, this theoretical approach confines itself to permanent members of an organisation, hence over-looking the fact that some organisations consist of temporary members who form the majority such as students in institutions (Mosha,1994).

The modern view approach to crises contends that conflicts which occur in organisations are neither good nor bad and indispensable. Underlying this view is the assumption that conflict is good only when it enables organisational members to attain the set goals peacefully. However, conflict is bad when it hinders the effectiveness of the organisations (Mosha, 1994, 1996 citing Gray and Starke, 1990). This suggests that there are two more perspectives to conflict as perceived by members of various organizations.

These include those who resort to crises because they view conflict as beneficial and those who rather want to maintain the status quo and find crises always bad because they threaten their positions. However, this approach has been criticized by various scholars because it fails to show the context in which all organisational members admit that this conflict is good or bad (Mosha, 1994). Furthermore, this approach confine itself to factors within an organization that instigates conflicts, and neglects the external factors (Mosha, *ibid.*).

The discontent theories constitute another school of thought that offers an alternative way of looking at student crises. According to Muller *et al.* (1994), discontent theories assert that deprivation, frustration and grievances are primary causes underlying

individuals' participation in rebellious political action. Although not clearly stated, it appears that deprivation, frustration and grievances could be due to both internal and external forces.

The expected utility theories suggest that the expectation of a reward is the crucial motivation which makes an individual participate in any rebellious political movement. Muller *et al.* (1991) contend that cost benefit analysis, resource mobilisation and power politics are behind individuals' participation in rebellious political actions. Notwithstanding their relevance to the study, the two theses are subject to criticisms on the following grounds they are politically biased as they confine themselves to the reasons for individuals' participation in rebellious actions.

The eclectic model assumes a broader position about the cause and effect of students' crises (Mosha, 1994). It does not employ one theory but various theories in explaining the occurrences of the phenomenon.

2.2.7 Types of Conflict in Higher Education Organisations

The early 21st century coupled with the complexities of globalisation and the deconstruction of national cultures and identity in organisational environments requires fundamental transformation in organisational management, thinking and practices (Voelpel, et al 2006). Since educational organisations undergo radical changes, enhancing their roles requires the assessment of actors and issues, a transformation in management practices processes as well as culture (Avruch, 1998).

Conflict can be analysed from an individual level, group, and organisation such as institution of higher learning, society, national and international level. Although the primary focus of conflict in this study is HEIs, this part also reviews the literature of conflict in consonance with its source, actors and dynamics and implication of conflict in a system.

Although the study intended to establish whether the nexus between national and student politics could be the main cause of conflict on HEIs, it however does not ignore the dynamic nature of conflict. Haider (2011) concurs that conflict is context specific, multi-causal and multi-dimensional. It can be as a result various political, institutional, social and environmental factors. Political and institutional factors, which fuel conflict, include collapsed state structures and weak state institutions (Zartman, 1995; Mansfield and Snyder, 2007); elite power struggles (Van Wyk, 2007; Lindemann, 2008) and political exclusion. Also, it is explained by the breakdown in social contract (Chandhoke, 2005; Murshed and Tadjoeeddin, 2009), and corruption (Reno, 2000) as well as identity politics (Sen, 2008; Luckham, Moncrieffe and Harris, 2006 and Kadayifci-Orellana, 2009).

Keith Somerville, in his view tries to locate the source of conflict within the geopolitical mapping of Africa, by the colonial powers through the use of imposed colonial boundaries and state lines (Somerville, 1990). On the other hand, Paul Collier (year) holds the view that conflicts are fuelled by economic considerations and gains which drives most rebel organisations to cling to the idea of grievances in order to elicit more public support for their cause.

Also socio-economic factors such as inequality (Kanbur, 2007 and McCoy, 2008), exclusion and marginalisation (Human Rights in China, 2007), absence or weakening of social cohesion and poverty (Goodhand, 2001) are other sources which inform specific types of conflict in the world. Equally important, are resource and environmental factors as explained by variables such as greed (Cramer and Hanlon, 2006), scarcity of national resources often due to rapid population growth, hence leading to environmental insecurity (Homer-Dixon, 1994) and unjust resource exploitation (Ikelegbe, 2006 and Lujala, 2010) account for the existence of conflict.

In institutions of higher learning, conflict is viewed as a 'disagreement, or perceived incompatibility of interests' (Mayer, 2010) which are simultaneously connected to intra-personal processes (Rahim, 2002:207), created by different parts of the psyche, the value system and the behaviour (Folger, Scott Poole and Stutman 2001:45). Conflict begins when an individual or a group perceives differences between the self and the other about interests, beliefs, needs and/or values (De Dreu, Harinck and Van Vianen 1999). Conflicts are shaped by individuals (Augsburger 1992; Avruch 1998; Lederach 2000) and, are again constructed by 'perceptions, interpretations, expressions and intentions' (Lederach 1996:9).

Institutions of higher learning face rapidly changing challenges related to university governance, institutional set-up, processes, cross-cultural aspects, internal relations as well as professional management. Analysing whether the conflict emanated from these challenges were linked to the connectedness between the national and student politics was the main focus of the study.

University-based conflicts vary from campus to campus and reflect the university's size, location, student population, mission, specialisation, governance, and unionisation (Kahinde and Fatile, 2011). What can trigger conflicts, perhaps, even on a larger scale, on one campus may be inconceivable on another. However, university-based conflicts also share enough in common to be universally understood.

Rahim (ibid.) categorises organizational conflict into four main groups: interpersonal conflict, intrapersonal conflict, inter-group conflict and intra-group conflict. Therefore, the study organises university conflict into these broad categories which include interpersonal conflict, intrapersonal conflict, inter-group conflict and intra-group conflict. This study sought to identify and understand whether the determinants of a specific type of university conflict, the interactions between various actors, and dynamics of various issues and actors that cause conflict had anything to do with the nexus between national and student politics on campus. Understanding, the particular contexts in which conflict arises is essential in designing appropriate approaches and methods for managing conflict in HEIs.

2.2.8 Conflict Resolution/Management Styles in Organizations

What is the best way of managing conflict in organisations? Let us first understand the meaning of conflict management style. According to Thomas (1976) and Folger *et al.* (1997), conflict management style is a “general and consistent orientation toward the other party and the conflict issues, in observable behaviours that form a pattern and share common characteristics over time” (Kuhn and Poole, 2000: 560).

According to Rahim (2001), styles of handling conflict are determined by the source of conflict. He agrees with the contingency approach as applied in management which argues that there is no one best approach to making decisions, leading, and motivating others. The contingency approach also called the situational approach, contends that each of the conflict management style is appropriate depending on the situation. Its main premise is that proper diagnosis of a conflict, is the basis for its intervention.

Since this study intends to understand student conflict fuelled by the political process associated with the connectedness of national and student politics in campus, its discussion focuses on handling interpersonal relationships and structural changes. There are various models of handling interpersonal relations and these include; the two style model ; the three style model ; the four style model ; and the five style. Model (Rahim, 20010. Rahim (1983a) and Rahim and Bonoma (1976) differentiated the styles of handling interpersonal conflict on two basic dimensions: concern for self and concern for others.

The purpose of this section is to discuss models of handling interpersonal conflict. In this first conceptual schemes for managing conflict, which is the two style model, Deutsch (1949) argues that the dynamics and outcomes of conflict depend upon whether the conflict is handled co-operatively or competitively. However, doubts were raised over the ability of Deutsch's (1949) dichotomy to reflect the complexity of an individual's perceptions of conflict behaviour (Smith, 1987).

In addition, another model of three styles comprising non-confrontation (obliging), solution-orientation (integrating), and control (dominating) was developed by Putnam and Wilson in 1982 (Rahim, 2001). According to the model, non-confrontation strategies manage conflict indirectly, by either simply avoiding disagreements or by minimising controversial issues. This model was further supported by Hocker and Wilmot (1991:119) who concluded, after a literature review that “conflict styles cluster similarly to conflict tactics into three types: avoidance, competitive (distributive), and collaborative (integrative)”.

According to Rahim (2001), conclusions reached by Hocker and Wilmot are misleading because their reviews were restricted to communication studies. The other two models of the three styles of handling conflict were developed by Billingham and Sack (1987) (reasoning, verbal aggression, and violence) and Rands, Levinger, and Mellinger (1981) (attack, avoid, and compromise). These models received some attention in theory and research particularly in the area of marital conflict.

On the other hand, Pruitt (1983) argues that there are four styles of handling conflict: yielding, problem-solving, inaction, and contending. According to Pruitt (*ibid.*), these styles were based on the two dimensional model that consists of concern for self (high or low) and concern for others (high or low). This model is much more developed than the previous two. However, like the previous two models, it does not recognise compromising as a distinct style.

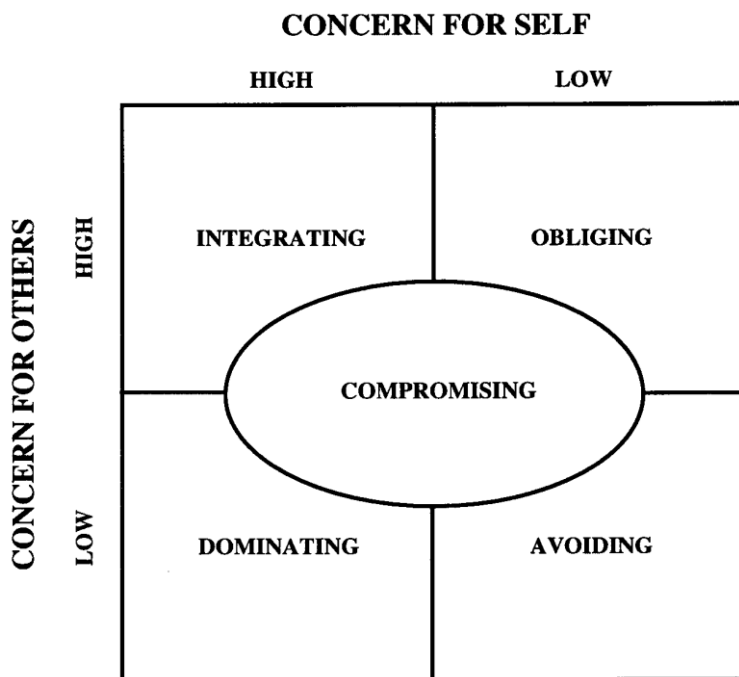
Pruitt (1983) and Pruitt and Carnevale (1993) assert that the problem-solving style is best suited for managing conflict effectively. Another four-factor model of conflict styles (problem-solving, conflict engagement, withdrawal, and compliance) was suggested by Kurdek (1994). This model received some attention in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of marital conflict. Follett (1940) first conceptualised the first five-style classification of behavioural conflict-handling strategies in the 1920s to include domination, compromise, integration, avoidance and suppression.

Blake and Mouton (1964) based on Follett's (1940) classifications grouped the various styles for handling interpersonal conflict into five types: forcing, withdrawing, smoothing, compromising and problem-solving. They described the five models of handling conflict on the basis of the attitudes of the manager: concern for production and for people.

In similar vein, Thomas and Kilmann (1974) developed a five-style model that emphasises: competing, collaborating, avoiding, accommodating and compromising. The competing style is selfish and self-centered, and is characterised by a drive to maximise gains at the expense of others. This style is in contrast to the collaborating style, which provides solutions to conflict to meet the needs of all parties involved. The accommodating style sacrifices self-interests to satisfy the needs of others. Compromising straddles the midpoint between co-operativeness and assertiveness, to arrive at a resolution of a conflict.

Apart from numerous preceding frameworks, Rahim and Bonoma's (1979) conceptualisation has been one of the most popular. As mentioned earlier, Rahim and Bonoma (1979) differentiated the styles of resolving interpersonal conflict on two basic dimensions: concern for self and concern for others. The combination of these two dimensions results in five styles of conflict management, known as integrating, obliging, dominating, avoiding and compromising as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: A Two-Dimensional Model of Handling Interpersonal Conflict



Source: Rahim and Bonoma (1979) Model of Managing organizational conflict

Integrating Style indicates high concern for self and for others. It is also known as a problem solving style. It involves openness, exchange of information, and examination of differences to reach an effective solution acceptable to both parties.

According to Prein (1976), confrontation involves open communication, clearing up of misunderstanding, and analysing the causes of conflict and bringing the whole thing into the open. This style is appropriate for dealing with strategic issues relating to objectives, policies and long-range planning (Afzalur, Garrett, and Buntzman, 1992).

An Obliging Style indicates low concern for self and high concern for others. This is also known as accommodating style. An obliging person neglects his or her own interest to satisfy that of the other party. Such an individual is called a “conflict absorber” (Boulding, 1962:171). This style is associated with attempting to diminish differences and emphasise commonalities for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the other party. This style is used by individuals who believe that they may be wrong and that the issue in question is more important to the other person involved (Rahim, 1981:29).

A Dominating Style indicates high concern for self and low concern for others. This style involves one forcing his or her ideas or position in order to resolve a conflict but not conceding his or her stance. An individual using a dominating style, typically uses whatever measures are necessary to achieve a given objective, and as a result, ignores or minimises the needs and expectations of the other party. A dominating style may also be used by upper management for implementing strategies and policies (Afzalur and Buntzman, 1992).

An Avoiding Style is associated with both low concern for self and others. This style is usually accompanied by withdrawal, as an individual using this style fails to satisfy both his or her concerns as well as the concerns of the other party. This style is often used when the potential disadvantage of confronting the other party seem to outweigh the benefits of resolving the conflict. An avoiding person may refuse to acknowledge in public that there is a conflict that should be dealt with. (Rahim, 1981:29).

Compromising Style is associated with an intermediate level of concern for both self and others. This style typically involves a “give and take situation” whereby both parties involved relinquish some aspects to arrive at a mutually-acceptable decision (Rahim, 2001). It is often used when the goals of the conflicting parties are mutually exclusive, i.e when both parties are equally powerful, for example, when a labour union and management, have reached an impasse.

2.2.9 Academic Leadership in Higher Education Institution

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

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

Other challenges provided by Knight and Trowler (2001) include changes in academic conditions, including: longer hours; pressure to publish; more administrative tasks; overmanagement of academics; loss of collegiality and marginality, resulting in low self-esteem and confidence. Henkel (2005) also notes the fragmenting and loosening of institutional boundaries, and the changing nature of academia. As such, this study sought to analyse the leadership styles of academic leaders and student conflict escalation in HEIs.

2.2.9.1 Student Activism and Leadership Development

For a long time, scholars have presented student activism on campus in a negative light, characterising participants and the related issues or movements as problems to be addressed which are contradictory to the educational process (Chambers and Phelps, 1994). Although student demonstrations in the nineteenth century displayed violent tendencies associated with property destruction and death, there were positive changes to higher education as a result of some of these protests.

These include the establishment of literary societies, fraternities, student government systems and debate clubs (Baxter and Magolda, 1988; Ellsworth and Burns, 1970). Besides, recognising activism as a form of leadership and student development has never been viewed as beneficial for both administrators and students. However, there are limited empirical evidence to show the connections between activism and leadership development among college students. Page in exploring the relationship between participation in student activism and leadership development among college student found a positive significant relationship between the variables studied (Page, 2013). His findings are also supported by Astin (1993b) study on Input-Environment-Output (I-E-O) college impact model which indicated a connection between activism and leadership development.

According to Astin's Theory of Involvement, students learn more when they are involved in both the academic and social aspects of the collegiate experience. An involved student is one who devotes considerable energy to academics, spends much time on campus and participates actively in student organisations. This body of knowledge is different from the role of the student in Astin's earlier "input-process-output" model (Pascarella, 1991:50), where the student is passively developed by the faculty and by university programmes.

The following models provide a link between activism and leadership development. These are the Social Change Model of Leadership Development (HERI, 1996), the Student Leadership Practices Model (Kouzes and Posner, 2002), and the Leadership

Identity Development Model (Komives *et al.*, 2005). According to Ivester (2013), the first two theories have been widely considered in student affairs and the third is a newly developed model being explored by current scholars. All these models indicate that college student leadership development is an interactive process that leaders and followers engage in (Astin and Astin, 1996; Komives, 2005; Kouzes and Posner, 2002; Rost, 1993). Positive student leadership experiences are linked to a stronger personally developed sense of identity (Dugan, 2006; Pennington *et al.*, 2003; Posner, 2009) and leadership competencies are developed through experiences that also help to develop and crystallise a leader's identity (Komives, 2005; Kouzes and Posner, 2002).

Together, these theories scaffold this study by providing a framework for understanding the knowledge, self-perceptions, and behaviours surrounding leadership competencies in managing students' crises in institutions of higher learning. Student activism was linked and related to aspects of leadership development, development of leadership identity, developing empathy, self-awareness and so forth. Allowing students to take on leadership roles is important in developing self-confidence and success as student leaders.

2.2.9.2 Students' Leadership Development programs in HEIs in Africa

Providing a space for the democratisation of student own governance has been a major pre-occupation of universities in Tanzania with the purpose of developing leadership knowledge and skills (Kamuzora and Mgaya, 2012). The initiatives undertaken by the Government of Tanzania in an attempt to strengthen students' governance was to issue

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

It is important at this juncture, to understand what factors contributes to weak student own governance, and whether the students' leadership development programmes contributes to the development of effective youth leadership on campuses. What is the relevance of these programmes to the growth of students' leadership skills, including their ability to manage conflict in the proposed cases?

The key leadership attributes which students usually look for or admire and would willingly follow, are honesty, forward-looking, competence, inspirational, intelligence, broad-minded, supportive, co-operative, determined, imaginative, ambitious, courageous, caring, loyal, self-controlled, and independent features (Kouzes and Posner, 2002 in Freeman and Goldin, (2008). Lloyd's (2006) study identifies various characteristics associated with student leadership, which encompasses, model influence, extroversion, self-confidence, and self-efficacy.

2.2.9.3 Unclear Leadership Roles and Responsibilities of SRCs on Campus

This section seeks to unravel why SRC governance is not making the expected difference, especially in managing student conflict. It is generally accepted that Leadership Development Programmes (LDPs) would not be successful in African Universities if there are unclear roles and responsibilities for SRCs. As such, there is an urgent need to establish a common understanding of the leadership role and responsibilities of its major stakeholders and role players in tertiary education.

Maseko (1994) underscores broad historical realities of the SRCs politics. He argues that the role of old SRC, especially in black universities during the anti-apartheid struggle was to enhance campus demonstrations. As such, the SRCs' function is primarily seen as a platform for mobilizing and rallying students for national liberation movement. Also the SRCs' utilised the tradition of militant student politics in order to attain strategic reforms within the university governing structures. Its strategies intended to undermine the ideological basis which the university was originally established to maintain.

Cele (2009) have showed that students at a number of universities and technicons, engaged in violent confrontation with the police and security officers to back their claims such as fee exclusion, better accommodation, increased access to institutions and participation in governance structures. Consequently, the SRCs struggles in South Africa were transformed in the 1990's into the broad forums which involved all key stakeholders.

In retrospect, the White Paper on Higher Education that governance of the system of higher education should be democratic, accountable, representative and participatory, characterised by mutual respect, tolerance and maintenance of a well-ordered and peaceful community life (White Paper, 1997:1.19). The White Paper is also adamant that students in a the new era of democratisation need to be treated as critical and thinking citizens, and participants in the transformation of both the university and the society as large (Cele, 2009).

De Beer and Swanepoel (1998) in the wake of students' violence in South Africa's campuses argues that the SRCs must change with time. They contend that gone are the days when the SRCs functioned as forums for protest and opposition, as part of comprehensive strategy of resistance against the government of the day owing to its multi-dimensional destructive impact on the lives of communities. Furthermore, de Beer (2013) contends that we now have a progressive constitution protecting the fundamental rights of citizens. Thus, the role of the contemporary SRCs should go beyond campus demonstration, and serve as an incubator for producing leaders, quality academic programmes and boosting the quality of student life.

However, Cele (2009) presentation produces a fragmented picture of student politics as student behaviour which is somehow separate from political behaviour. It is important now to have attitudinal data on democracy views amongst students, voting procedures and practices, and democratic practices and procedures that gave birth to different SRCs. In order to understand the actions of SRCs, it is necessary to also

examine the means by which they were constituted. A further lacuna concerns the analysis of the impact of SRCs' opposition to university governance structures during the apartheid era and the phase of transformation to construction of democratic institutions.

O'Toole (1995:1) embodies the essence of leadership as he describes the role, task, responsibility and power of leaders in the following words:

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

There should be consensus that the leadership demonstrated by SRCs must also bear these characteristics. According to Freeman and Goldin (2008) a number of universities have formal and unstructured leadership programmes aimed at equipping students with leadership skills. Maxwell's (2005) philosophy emphasizes that leadership can be learned through motivation and that training is the core mission statement of the programmes. It is argued that, only a few leadership skills are innate. Maxwell believes that good leaders are made, and are not necessarily born. Lack of effective leadership at the global and national level is often attributed to the lack of leaders who make decisions with integrity, ethical standards, an understanding of the interests of all people. Hitherto, there is a need for universities to properly design and run students' development leadership programmes. Thus, the key question before us is: how to teach African youth (SRCs) a discourse of leadership in an African academy.

Mamdani (1998) remarked on how Africa has been taught in the past. He argues that historically, African studies developed outside Africa, not within it, hence it was a study of Africa, but not of Africans (Mamdani 1998). Broadly, it is a right time to agitate for the curriculum transformation which addresses African needs, values and the pursuit of excellence. Today, according to Mamdani (1998), the whole teaching focus in Africa is on how to solve the plethora of problems that bedevil the continent. There should be a shift in focus, from looking for answers, to learning how to understand a problem. This is because about 90 percent of the solution lies in understanding the problem (Mamdani, 1998). University students as leaders of the future have a huge role to play in this transformation process for Africa.

The academic institutions should therefore emphasize various ways of thinking on how to nurture a new type of African youth leadership in response to the rapidly evolving challenges of this century. Today's youth are being looked upon to play a crucial and active role in building social, political and economic issues, promoting accountability, and developing new visions. Building their capacity for leadership in Africa would, in this regard, enhance their participation in African leadership.

2.2.9.4 Leadership Style Use in Higher Education

Poor and ineffective leadership style among university managers or officials vested with powers to run educational organisations is one of the major setbacks that exacerbates student conflicts at the institutional level. Leadership style is the manner and approach of providing direction, implementing plans, and motivating people.

What is the best style of leadership? There is no definitive answer to this question. However, a number of approaches have been suggested. Leadership styles vary depending on the theory that informs their practices, their experience in the field, the issue that needs to be addressed and so forth. This section discusses different types of leadership styles from a theoretical lens.

The Situational Leadership Theory (SLT) also known as contingency theory, is one approach aimed at helping the leader decide the best way to act, depending on the characteristics of the team members or followers (Hackman and Wageman, 2005). The Situational Leadership Theory was developed by Paul Hersey and Ken Blanchard. According to this theory, no leadership style is best in all situations as success depends upon a number of variables, including the leadership style, qualities of the followers and aspects of the situation.

The Functional Leadership Theory (FLT) posits that the leaders' main role is to contribute to group effectiveness and cohesion (Fleishman, 1973; Hackman and Wageman, 2005; Hackman and Walton, 1986). It propagates the idea that a leader is appointed to serve the interest of his or her subordinates. In order to do this, the model stipulates that the leader meets the needs in three distinct areas: Task, team and individual. The functional leadership model places more emphasis on how an organisation is being led rather than who has been formally assigned a leadership role.

This allows the analysis to spend less time focusing on the person formally assigned authority and instead focus on how the leadership function is actually taking place. Leaders encourage participation and contributions from group members and help group members feel more relevant and committed to the decision-making process.

The trait theory suggests that great leaders are born with or possess special traits that set them apart from others and that these traits are responsible for their assuming positions of power and authority. This theory assumes that the leadership quality and capacity inherent, and great leaders are born, not made. The evolution of the trait theory dates back to “great man” theory, which states that “the history of the world was the biography of great men” (Judge, *et al.*, 2009).

The leadership traits include ambition and energy, the desire to lead, honesty and integrity, self-confidence, intelligence and job-relevant knowledge (Maxwell, 2005). The theory describes the types of behaviour and personality tendencies associated with effective leaders. People tend to accept a leader who exhibits certain physical, intellectual and personal qualities that they are born with. The trait theory was virtually accepted in the early 1900s until the late 1940s, when personality traits were deemed to be insufficient in predicting leader effectiveness.

In response to the early criticisms of the trait approach, the concept of positive reinforcement was developed. Positive reinforcement occurs when a positive stimulus is presented in response to behaviour, increasing the likelihood of that behaviour in the

future. The use of positive reinforcement is a successful and growing technique used by leaders to motivate and attain desired behaviours from their subordinates. Behavioural theories of leadership are based upon the belief that great leaders are made, not born. Rooted in behaviourism, this leadership theory focuses on the actions of leaders not on mental qualities or internal states (McClelland, 1975). According to this theory, people can *learn* to become leaders through teaching and observation. The leader's behaviours are dynamic and are influenced by three factors, these are situational factors, follower attitudes and behaviours and processes (Yukl, 1989).

The Transformational Theory of Leadership (TTL) was developed by James Mac Gregor Burns (1978). This theory focuses upon the connections formed between leaders and followers. According to Burns, transforming leadership is a process in which "leaders and followers help each other to advance to a higher level of morale and motivation". He established two concepts: "transforming leadership" and "transactional leadership". According to Burns, the transforming approach creates significant change in the life of people and organisations.

It has to do with transforming perceptions, values, expectations and aspirations of employees. It is not based on a "give and take" relationship, but on the leader's personality and ability to make a change through example, articulation of an energising vision and challenging goals. Transforming leaders are idealised in the sense that they are a moral exemplar perceived by his subordinates as working towards the benefit of the team, organisation and/or community. Bass (1985) extended the work of Burns (1978) by explaining the psychological mechanisms that underlie transformational and

transactional leadership. Bass introduced the term "transformational" in place of "transforming."

Burns (1978) further explained how transformational leadership could be measured, as well as how it impacts on follower's motivation and performance. He argues that the extent which a leader is transformational is measured first in terms of a leader's influence on the followers. The transformational leader focuses on motivation and goal attainment. Transformational leaders focus on the performance of both individual and group members potentials. Leaders relying on this style often have high ethical and moral standards. On the other hand, Hersey and Blanchard (1993) provide a typology of leadership styles in organizations to include telling, selling, participating, and delegating styles.

Telling Style

The Telling Leadership Style, according to Hersey and Blanchard (1993), is characterised by high task and low relationship behaviour. This style is effective when leading unable and unwilling subordinates, who lack both job skills and motivation. The Head of organisations who uses this style has well-defined strategies to accomplish set goals. Under this leadership style one gives full directions as to what the task is, when, where and how to perform it. The head of the organisation directs, supports and closely controls the subordinates' performance. Decisions under this style are made without subordinates' participation; therefore, communication is one sided that is, top down. Hersey and Blanchard (1993) refer to this style as ruling, directing or structuring.

Selling style

This style involves both high task and high relationship. It is said to be appropriate when leading unable, but willing and psychologically mature subordinates. The leader who employs this style provides subordinates with specific directions and supervises their work. On top of that, he/she supports the followers by explaining what and why the task should be performed as directed. The leader patiently responds to the followers' queries. The leader makes decisions and occasionally consults the followers. As a result a two-way communication is encouraged. Yet, the leader is the final say. This style is unproductive if the followers do not believe that the leader of the organisation is honest in his/her interpersonal relationship. Hersey and Blanchard (1993) describes this style as encouraging, clarifying or illuminating.

Participating style

This style is characterised by low task and high relationship behaviour. It is operative when leading followers with high moderate maturity. Here, subordinates have high job maturity but low psychological maturity. It is argued that followers' unwillingness to do the job may be because of lack of self-confidence if it is their first time of handling such a task, or lack motivation as a result of accomplishing routine tasks for a long time. Lussier and Achua (2001) who supported this style regard it as best suited for high creative followers who have essential self-confidence and skills. The head of the organisation has unspoken trust in the followers and mostly focuses on enabling their goal achievement.

The leader uses a short time to give overall instructions and most of the time is used to encourage, and build followers' self-confidence. Subordinates are given a free hand to do the task and the leader acts as a facilitator in problem-solving and decision-making processes. This communication is two-way since followers are allowed to propose ideas and their propositions are also highly respected (Hersey and Blanchard, 1993).

Delegating Style

The style is characterised by low task and low relationship behaviour. It is used effectively when leading subordinates with both high job and psychological maturity, hence having the ability and willingness or confidence. Followers in this class are knowledgeable and highly motivated. The head of the organisation tells the followers what to do, answer their questions and offers slight or no direction. The followers are allowed to make their own decisions subject to the head of the organisation's boundaries. Improvements are heartened by the leader who equally demonstrates trust and confidence by supporting this set of followers (Hersey and Blanchard, 1993).

Conversely, this style is considered ineffective when followers sense that the leader of the organisation is providing little arrangement and support when necessary. This model proposes that the maturity level of the subordinates can be increased and as it increases, the effective leadership style is employed. Effective leadership style is characterised by a drive for task and concern for people. Since effective leaders are effective communicators, it is important to explore university managers or administrators approaches to effective communicators and use participation.

2.3 Empirical Literature of the Study

This section reviews empirical literature on student activism. The review is about mapping the frontiers of knowledge on student activism in a bid to discover knowledge gaps that was filled by the study.

Students' crises in institutions of higher learning are not only the problem in Tanzania and South Africa, but have also been a controversial issue universally (Chambers and Phelps, 1993; Omari and Mihyo, 1991; Altbach and Cohen as well as Coser, 1956). This part reviews articles containing empirical evidence on trends and debates related to students' activism highlighting causes, exacerbating factors, dynamics and strategies opted for managing student conflict in institutions of higher learning from both developed and developing countries. In addition, it critically reviews the empirical studies related to students' activism on campuses.

The review is not simply a description of what others have published on conflict management in institutions of higher learning, but rather takes the form of a critical discussion, showing insights and an awareness of differing arguments, theories and approaches. It also critically synthesises empirical information related to this study to identify unbiased and valid studies, the strengths and weaknesses, similarities and differences, as well as controversies in previous researches linked to the study purpose.

2.3.1 Trends and Debates on Students' Activism in Developed Countries

Before discussing the magnitude of the student movements, it is useful to present a very brief explanation of the term “student movement.” According to Kazuko (1968: 430), a student movement is defined by its participants as a sustained, concerned action, exerted by a group or groups of students, opposed to the existing system or systems of power.

Although the primary focus of this study was to look at student activism in Africa in an era of democratic consolidation, the similar pattern of conflict was also looked at comparatively in the USA and Europe during 1960s periods. This study utilises the literature of the 1960s debate on student activism to understand different issues related to student activism and the response mechanisms employed at that time in different countries of the developed world.

During the 1960s, protesting students created serious disruptions in societies and shook political systems globally in countries as diverse as Japan, France, Mexico, West Germany, Italy, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, and the US. Students' protest and riots became a popular trend in the global world (Siegfried, 2006: 61). One of the popular figures who took part in youth revolt is the late Che Guevara who became very famous after his death in the 1960s (Schildt and Siegfried, 2006). However, youth revolts and movements predates 1960 and geographically extends to Europe and Asia. Flacks (1970) argues that these movements were international in scope and believed that they were a phenomenon that did not originate in the 1960s, but existed previously during the 19th century in Russia, China, and in Latin-American countries.

Moreover, it was logical for such movements to appear to oppose the tsars, war-lords, and dictators (Flacks, 1970: 351). Student movements were crucial in the revolution that occurred in Central Europe in 1848. In his words, Flacks (1970: 341) states that “the feeling that there is something new about generational revolt is not accurate in global terms”

United States of America

Available literature by Chambers and Phelps (1993) established that while America was still a British colony in 1766, Harvard University experienced a students’ crisis. The protest was against poor quality of butter served to students. Altbach and Cohen (1990) argued that the regular events of student unrests in institutions of education at different times in America had a lot to do with protests against discriminatory practices such as exclusion of African-Americans from schools, voting and other opportunities.

Other things which fuelled such frequent crises had to do with the Vietnam War and assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy. According to Altbach and Cohen (*ibid.*), the crises played crucial role in development by contributing to the betterment of the society, for example, through pressuring the government to withdraw its armies from Vietnam. American student activism started growing significantly in the 1960s (Altbach and Cohen, 1990). In fact, this growth was striking because it was the first time something like this had happened in the US since the 1930s.

In many US states, numerous institutions started participating in demonstrations, and their impact was so strong that the sitting President Lyndon Johnson decided to withdraw from the procedure due to his policies regarding the war in Vietnam (Scout and Al-Assal, 1969). One of the most famous educational institutions that actively participated in the student movement of the 1960s was the University of California at Berkely.

In the USA, students were protesting to support their constitutional right for free speech and to use the campus for political discussions. The University of California at Berkely is a very good example of this turning point in the general behaviour of students in terms of the number of incidents and the degree of militancy. Flacks (1970), in his early research, found that the student movement originated at the highest quality state institutions, private universities, and colleges with distinct prestige, and then spread to schools that did not share those characteristics at the beginning of 1970s. The American student movement started early in the 1960s, the protests then escalated in 1965 with the Vietnam War, and it peaked around 1969 (Rothman and Lichter, 1978).

Europe

The European student movement had a slightly different course because even though it peaked at the same period, it emerged later than in America. In some countries, the movement was much more serious than in others (Rothman and Lichter, 1978). According to Glazer (1968), Berkeley's protests had a remarkable impact on the European wave of student demonstrations, especially in France, Italy, and West Germany.

France

The 1968 incident in Paris, France (Wikipedia, 2008a) had shown that university students could be mobilised into a potent force for change. The 1968 incident usually refers to a series of protests and a general strike mainly by higher education students focusing on reforms in the education system and on employment. The protests and strikes almost led to the downfall of the government of Charles de Gaulle. In France, the majority of the most notable universities stopped functioning in 1968 due to a general strike in which, not only students, but also labourers, members of many communities, and groups participated to challenge the general political system (Rothman, 1978).

Quattrocchi and Nairn (1998: 2) have phrased this argument in a more poetic way by saying that “The May revolution fought for the visible (bread) and the invisible (a new order).” Student movements in France were violent and massive, but they also had a distinct characteristic. According to Samuelson (1968), the extent of the protests was rather surprising, and it was difficult to forecast that those events would turn into a crucial national crisis. At first, the forms of protest that were taking place in Paris were of minor importance as compared to those in Berlin, and in New York at Columbia University. This shows that similar demonstrations were taking place in other countries and not only in Europe, even though the gravity of the events might not have been equal. The situation in Paris escalated very quickly as a result of governmental mistakes, one of which was the closing of Sorbonne University. So, the protests turned rapidly from riots with a few students and the police to a massive wave of opposition against the “status quo.”

West Germany, Denmark, and Italy

Similarly, in Germany, according to Malekela *et al.* (1994), students in support of Martin Luther King at Wittenberg University struggled against the Roman Catholic Church in different forms such as lecture boycotts, sit-ins, demonstrations and so on. Surprising as it may sound, observers viewed the youngsters of West Germany and Denmark as conformists in the mid-1960s (Siegfried 2006). However, student protests in Germany and Italy, at the end of the decade, had a significant impact on university students, and were even more violent than those that occurred in the US (Stanley and Lichter, 1978). The student movements in West Germany are considered part of a larger group called “new social movements,” and according to researchers, they were much more intense at the end of the decade. According to Siegfried (2006), the movement spread through the younger levels of society after 1969.

Britain

Thomas (2002) distinguishes two main forms of protest that took place in Britain in the 1960s, and at the same time reinforces the fact that the global context is important in discussing any issues related to this phenomenon. In 1968 sit-ins were prevalent among universities such as London School of Economics (LSE), Birmingham, and Leeds. However, there were also street demonstrations with a variety of themes, such as disapproval over the political decisions of John Enoch Powell, nuclear weapons, and perhaps the hottest issue of the era, the Vietnam War. Many of the reasons for protesting inspired many songs by the Beatles (Brabazon, 2005), such as the song “Commonwealth” which specifically targeted Powell. However, British students participating in protests were accused of representing only a minority, and that they

were strongly influenced by demonstrations that were taking place in other countries such as Germany, France, and the US. Even if that was the case, these protests were not isolated events, but rather a broader phenomenon.

China and Japan

Many countries, including those mentioned above, faced intense waves of student movements, and Japan was no exception. During the last years of the 1960s, students in Japan protested fiercely against the state, the military, and the industry (Kiyota, 1971). The distinct feature about Japanese movements was a high degree of militancy, which became a cause of public discontent. However, they had a significant impact because they underlined the need for educational and functional reforms at universities. As Kiyota (*ibid.*) affirms, the students questioned the prevailing hierarchies, the academic elite, the status-quo, the moral corruption of employees within Japanese universities, and the functioning of the Ministry of Education. To recap, Japanese students were deeply disappointed and frustrated with every aspect of their universities, and fought for urgent modification of educational policies and planning.

Similarly, in the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 in Beijing, China, the activists focused on reforms related to both domestic political trends as well as on the economy (Wikipedia, 2008b). Though the protests did not produce discernible impacts, they led to the rethinking of public policies. According to a Chinese proverb, “when the finger points at the moon, the idiot look at the finger.” This Chinese proverb was written on a wall in the Paris Conservatoire de Musique in May 1968.

There is, perhaps, no better way of understanding the upheaval of those days than by looking at what was written on the walls, and the phrases protesters used to express themselves.

2.3.2 Empirical Trends on Students' Activism in Developing Countries

Omari and Mihyo provide an extensive argument on the roots of student unrest in African universities in 1991. This study was carried out at the time when three major universities in Eastern and Southern Africa were closed due to student unrest. These were the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Zambia, and the University of Zimbabwe.

Omari and Mihyo's (ibid.) analysis suggests that all student protests are of a political nature. However, far from it, some have been against academic issues such as the definition of legitimate knowledge, the relevancy of academic programmes, examinations, welfare matters such as poor food and congestion in halls of residence, and managerial matters such as lack of students' participation in university governance. When it comes to the less politically-motivated student protests, it is the power structure and the way things are done in universities which seem to incite students to overt protests. In many of these countries and their universities, things generally move slowly, with a rather perverted and archaic work ethics or ideology which does not seem to stress diligence, punctuality, deferment of gratification, and the primacy of the work domain (Rose, 1985). The commission reports of the respected High Court Judge of Tanzania, Justice Mroso (1990) and the Vice-Chancellor of Egerton University,

Professor Musangi (1980) complain about the lack of the implementation of the agreed upon recommendations of previous university commissions of inquiry. They contend that the lack of a sense of urgency, caring, and diligence conditioned students to the feeling that the only way to get things done and attract attention to their plight is to protest, demonstrate, boycott classes, and attack significant figures. Political regimes have collapsed and vice-chancellors have lost their jobs because of student protests, and both feared this eventuality. Students sometimes deliberately exploit this fear, and protest knowing that some action will be taken, but in the process, they tend to overestimate their invincibility and the power of collective optimism.

Similarly, the contribution of Mwapachu (2000), Mpangala and Shao (2000), Mtabaji (2000) Mahalu (2000), Lenganasa (2000), Kihore (2000), Kaduma (2000) and, Mbwette and Ishumi (2000) on managing university crises in Tanzania provides the basis of this study. The authors critically analysed the causes, effects and mechanisms to pre-empt or prevent student crises that seems to have existed before 1995 when the situation was intense in Tanzania. A critical review of the reported student crises between the 1960s and the 1990s, according to Mbwette and Ishumi (2000), shows that student crises appear to have evolved from nationalistic struggles of fights for freedom of expression to under-funding, inadequate management and unsatisfactory student welfare provision largely related to overcrowding and inadequate maintenance of facilities and infrastructure. The latter seems to have been the major cause of the reported student crises during the pre-1990s decade. However, one must note that in some cases, government sponsored students attempt to hide their demands for welfare-related funds behind genuine concerns for the quality of education.

2.3.3 Student Activism Research

Despite the prominence of students' activism in the history of higher education, it is a difficult phenomenon to study (Dale-Page, 2010: 34). Altbach (1981:3) critiqued the literature on activism in general, stating that activism "research and analysis was stimulated by the crisis of the 1960s rather than by an intrinsic academic concern for the topic". He argued that, "there was no widely accepted theoretical perspective on student activism from the massive outpouring of writing on students of the 1960s".

Most authors found that the rational difference between academic traditions and movements were so different that methodological approaches and ideological predilections made the emergence of an accepted theoretical base even more difficult, and this lack of a theoretical perspective hampered further research (Altbach, 1981). Whereas Abramowitz (1974: 104) stated that attempting to integrate the literature regarding student activism is challenging due to its "widely scattered nature", Wilson (1982: 12) noted that although there are theoretical models, "there is no accepted theory" or comprehensive explanation of student political behaviour".

Since student activism had been defined early as a "social problem," it is striking to note that all the relevant commentaries were not based on solid research using proper methodology and empirical data (Scott and El-Assal, 1969). In consequence, the interpretation of the student movement depended on speculations and opinions (Chambers and Phelps, 1994). Against the discussed literature, this study was aimed at providing grounded evidence whether student activism in African universities were fuelled by the nexus of national and student politics in the era of democratic transition.

Based on solid research grounded by proper methodology and empirical data, this study fills the gap of knowledge.

2.4 Critical and Analytical Review of Empirical Literature

After analysing the determinants of student activism, its trend, as well as leadership programmes and styles used in managing conflicts in higher educational institutions, this part critically reviews empirical literature, focusing on academic institutions. This study intended to suggest an effective crises management model to minimise dysfunctions and enhance the constructive functions of conflict in African universities. It perceives that an effective crises management plan in Africa's HEIs would be attained either through disentangling national politics from student politics on campuses or designing effective strategies aimed at minimising dysfunctions and enhancing the constructive functions of student activism.

In an attempt to understand student activism within a lens of impacting personal, institutional, and community change, Chambers and Phelps (2006) contend that with observed and predicted growth in social and political activism among students, higher education and community leaders are challenged to rethink the impact of student activism on students' development. Although some scholars (Astin, 1984; Pascarella, 1991) denote a positive link between student activism and students' leadership development as one of the strengths of the study, such changes in an academic involvement is *not* capitalised on HEIs commitment and strategies. This has been identified as one among the setbacks.

Huang and Chang (2004) report the results of a research study posing two questions that grow out of Astin's student involvement theory (1977, 1984): The relationship between different forms of involvement, and the optimal amounts and combinations of different forms of involvement for students' cognitive and affective growth. Data were drawn from 627 third-year college students involved in both academic courses and out-of-class clubs. Moreover, college organisations were examined. A multistage cluster sampling technique was done for third year students from 20 institutions.

The combined data address two competing hypotheses. The first, that academic and co-curricular involvements are negatively correlated. The second hypothesis is that these two forms of involvement are positively correlated. This study was a secondary analysis of a previously conducted survey using the "College Experiences Survey" (CES) asking students how often they took part in 13 academic and 13 social activities by using a 5-point Likert scale.

Huang and Chang (2004) found that the correlation between curricular and co-curricular involvement though positive is weak. In other words, an increase in co-curricular involvement is *not* accompanied by a decrease in academic involvement. Because this study was conducted as a secondary analysis, it is limited in its scope of investigation. Moreover, its findings are only generalisable to third-year college students with similar characteristics.

According to Rahim (2001), styles of handling conflict are determined by the source of conflict. This study agrees and adopts the contingency approach as applied in

management which argues that there is no one best approach to making decisions, leading, and motivating others. The contingency approach contends that each of the conflict management style is appropriate depending on the prevailing situation. Its main premise is that proper diagnosis of, is the basis for intervention in, conflict (Rahim, *ibid.*). His ideas are supported by Mosha (1994), who argues that some conflicts in higher learning institutions occur due to lack of proper diagnosis, hence leading to crisis situation because they are either not understood or not managed properly.

Since the Rahim's styles of handling conflict have been successful in areas of business and industry organisations, this study adopts them and, assess the relevance of his approach/model in educational organizations, bearing in mind, that the academic environment is substantially different from a corporate environment.

An academic system such as the university is described by the relationships among its components (teachers, students, content, and contexts) and the relationship this system has with its environment (Frick, 1991). When changes are made in an educational system, such as an implementation of a reform, one or more of these relationships can be affected. As such, this study has a view that managing conflicts in an academic organisation needs a holistic or comprehensive approach of understanding an academic environment, its content and context. Alcover (2009) argues that the university and the world of academia in general, are due to its nature, structure and inside relationships, a perfect breeding ground for the conflicts, disputes, problems, and grievances. In these settings, universities should prioritise mediation as one of the dispute resolution.

However, the special characteristics of university contexts make it necessary to consider elements that may have impact on the effectiveness of the process and outcomes of the mediation. A model of contingent intervention in mediation processes was articulated in three dimensions, which include the level of balance of power between the parties involved; the foreseeable temporal relationship between them; and the level of formalisation of the mediation process.

Practical implications of this contingent model and its future research is, however, silent. This is one of the weaknesses of the study. Generally, the management of student conflicts requires establishing a common understanding of the leadership role and responsibilities of its major stakeholders in a tertiary education. One of the objectives of this study was to examine why the SRC governance is not making the expected difference especially in managing student conflict. Maseko (1994) in his seminal essay on the struggles and tribulations of the SRC at the University of Western Cape in South Africa provides the broad historical realities of the SRCs' politics. He argues that the role of previous-day Student Representative Council (SRC) especially in black universities during the anti-apartheid struggle was to enhance campus demonstration.

The SRCs utilised the tradition of militant student politics in a struggle for strategic reforms within the university governing structures. The strategies they employed intended to undermine the ideological basis under which the university was originally established to maintain. Despite an impressive body of knowledge generated by

Maseko's (1994) findings, his study was silent on the leadership roles of Student Representatives Councils (SRCs) in the current an era of democratic consolidation. This is one among the knowledge gap filled by this study.

Badat (1999) presented an impressive writing on Black Student Politics, Higher Education and Apartheid. His study examined two black national higher education student political organisations: the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) and the South African Students' Organization (SASO), popularly associated with Black Consciousness. The study analyses the ideologies, politics and organisation of SASO and SANSCO and their intellectual, political and social determinants. It also analyses their role in the educational, political and social spheres and the factors that shaped their activities as well as their contributions to the popular struggle against apartheid education, race, class and gender oppression.

Badat (ibid.) made impressive literature on Black students politics from 1968 to 1990. This was a period before the consolidation of true democracy in South Africa. He complimented SASO and SANSCO as revolutionary national student political organisations that functioned as catalysts of collective action, political formation, and the erosion of the apartheid social order, as well as social transformation in South Africa. He viewed Black students from 1968 to 1990 not just as victims of apartheid but also as thinkers, conscious actors and historical agents. To what extent do Black students in the ongoing era of consolidating democracy qualify in this regard? To what extent are Black students conscious actors in politics of South Africa?

Has the new democracy changed the line of thinking among Black students? These were gaps revealed after a critical review of Badat's study. To manage student conflict on campuses, the university in Africa has to support students' exercise of democratic leadership on campus.

Luescher-Mamashela's (2008:181), study on student politics in South Africa acknowledges the replacement of student political organisations aligned to the liberation movements with campus branches of the youth wings of national political parties. This study, however, did not account for the nexus of national and student politics as the main source of upheavals on campuses. In addition, in a study on the university in Africa and democratic citizenship to ascertain whether it is a hothouse or training ground, Luescher-mamashela *et al.* (2011) found that the potential of a university to act as a training ground for democratic citizenship is best realised by supporting students' exercise of democratic leadership on campus. According to Luescher-Mamashela (Ibid), this will develop and foster democratic leadership in civil society. Several related findings point towards a distinct student pathway to leadership in civil society.

The university's response to student political activity, student representation in university governance and other aspects of extra-curricular student life needs to be examined to establish ways in which African universities can instil and support democratic values and practices. In this way, their potential, as a democratic training ground can be realised. In conclusion, encouraging and facilitating student leadership in various forms of on campus political activity and in a range of student organisations

is one of the most promising ways in which African universities can act as training grounds for democratic citizenship. There is also a relationship between change in governance processes in university and change in patterns of student activism. As such to manage student conflict on campus, universities should focus on participation and engagement.

In his study of post-apartheid higher education, Mlungisi Cele in 2001 examined the roles and challenges student activists face. The study found that in ten years of democracy from 1994, South Africa's higher education institutions had witnessed a transformation of institutional governance structures and a change in patterns of student activism from active opposition to governance structures to participation, despite the fact that much of the harsh realities of the pre-1994 apartheid landscape remain.

The change in student activism has been widely explained as relating to the tough positions institutions took during the mid-1990s when student demonstrations were viewed as 'not constructive' and to generational factors such as different aspirations and apathy. In general terms, Cele's (2001) paper argues that the change in governance processes and change in patterns of student activism are related, and that organisational changes in the way student bodies operate and see their role are responsible for the focus on participation and engagement. Because this study was conducted as a secondary analysis, it is limited in its scope of investigation and context specification. This is one of the weaknesses of the study. To what extent do change in governance

processes relates to change in patterns of student activism in the ongoing era of consolidating democracy in Africa?

There is also a growing argument that some of administrators in institutions of higher learning are part of the conflict because they either lack academic leadership background or have political drives informed by their selection for their posts. As such, they create a conflict climate at an institutional level. According to Theiss and Ward's (2006) study, which examined relational conditions and conflict practices, which create conflict climate in departments within academic organisation, conflict practices such as the use of divide and rule, double standards and miscommunication, create conflict climates within academic institutions, and, have an impact on the organisation's climate.

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

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

The knowledge and skills of the college deans and HoDs pertaining to academic leadership influences the efficiency of their leadership styles and, as such, become a significant factor in influencing both the nature and quality of institution. Nevertheless, there is a scant on a literature on academic leadership and whether leaders or administrators in institutions of higher learning possess and utilise the desired knowledge and skills on academic leadership to inform their daily undertaking and resolve student conflicts. This was one of the literature gaps, that, this study capitalised on to fill.

Liu Zhimin and Ken Ramani in 2012 conducted a study to review and compare the existing conflict resolution mechanisms in Kenya's public universities. A descriptive survey design was used in this study. A sample was drawn to comprise 10 administrators, 30 members of the academic staff, 30 members of the non-academic staff, and 30 students from each of the sample university. Questionnaires and interview guides were used to collect data.

While studying the strengths and weaknesses of the existing conflict resolution mechanism between the student and the University administration in six of Kenya's public universities, researchers emphasised analysing the root causes of the problem, as opposed to merely addressing the immediately obvious symptoms to direct corrective measure.

Their findings support the use of effective dialogue as a measure or mechanism for resolving conflicts in HEIs. They opine that suppression or coercion, as a technique of conflict resolution in HEIs, is not an adequate procedure because it denies the causes of conflict and allows the causes of the conflict to simmer on, and remain a ticking time-bomb ready to explode once a trigger is pulled. Despite its interesting findings the study came up with, it did not provide a model for an effective dialogue mechanism to address conflict in HEIs. This is one of the weaknesses of the study. This was one of the literature gaps, that, this study capitalised on to fill.

The study conducted by Pinosky (2003) concludes that conflict is inevitable, especially in highly stressed environments. Therefore, administrators should have a responsibility to recognise people's diversity and approach conflict differently to provide opportunities for multidisciplinary audiences to learn and develop conflict management skills, and thereby, change their interpersonal environments. In essence, this study emphasised building conflict management skills and tactics among administrators in all departments of HEIs. This was a positive remark of the study.

Mahalu (2000), in a paper investigating measures to pre-empt and prevent student crises in Higher Learning Institutions (HEIs), made an interesting argument when he pointed out that reforms in higher education are necessary to create an atmosphere in which university crises could be pre-empted and prevented. His argument, however, was challenged by Hirschler (2004) who perceives violent conflicts in Tanzania's universities to result from the ongoing educational reforms in HEIs. Luhanga (2003a) sees the same problem and argues that reforms of any nature have to be politically and socially acceptable if they are to succeed. In essence, he called for a proper understanding of the academic issue at hand, the reform environment, strategies, tactics to be used and timing for implementing them.

Also, Volpe and Chandler (2001) conducted a study which was aimed at resolving and managing conflicts in academic communities. The researchers were confronted with an emerging role of 'Pracademics'. The findings of their study established that since their onset, universities have been confronted with countless pushes and pulls from internal and external sources which influence the quantity of conflicts that emerge. Volpe and Chandler (2001) argue that there is a growing number of legal challenges and rights based situations of students and employees brought against the university that did not previously exist. As such, the university managers should be proactive rather than reactive during dispute resolution.

In addition, lack of communication in HEIs create the vacuum that could be filled up by student crises. Thus, institutionalising mechanisms for communication and effective student participation help to resolve problems before the situation became tense.

Adepoju and Sofowora (2011), in their study on management of conflict and aggressive behavior by administrators of Institutions of Higher Learning, interviewed 13 institutions of higher learning in Southwestern Nigeria. Using a sample of 750 participants derived through stratified sampling method, they used two sets of instrument to collect data: “Students-Induced Conflict and Aggressive Behaviour Questionnaire (SICABQ)” and “Staff-Members-Induced Conflict and Aggressive Behaviour Questionnaire (SMICABW)”. The results of the study, among other things, show that the problem of poor funding (33.6%), poor leadership posture (24.8%), administrators’ use of divide-and-rule tactics (25.9%) and force (20%) were the main sources of the crisis. It was suggested that institutional administrators should be proactive and pragmatic in their approaches to resolving conflicts.

Kahinde and Fatile (2011) in their article paper on conflict and conflict management in tertiary institutions using the case of Nigerian universities emphasise the need of both national leaders as well as the management of tertiary institutions in the country to create avenues for discussing and designing a popularly accepted non-violent strategies for managing conflicts in institutions of higher learning. Some conflict are in fact unique to the university setting, such as those involving academic freedom and the micro managing of personnel matters by peers. As such, they emphasise transforming the university settings to accommodate some conflicts. They further call for the maintainance of a cordial relationship between students and the university authority, and involving the students in the decision-making process as the most effective strategies for resolving crisis in tertiary institutions. In another study undertaken by Ayodele and Adewumi (2007) on the incidence and management of conflicts in

secular and non-secular tertiary institutions in south-western Nigeria, it was established that there is no significant differences in conflict management strategies adopted by authorities of both secular and non-secular tertiary institutions. The sample of this study was made of sixty staff, and two hundred and forty students randomly selected, each from two secular and two non-secular tertiary institutions in south-western Nigeria.

Ayodele and Adewumi (2007) found that conflict is common in both secular and non-secular tertiary institutions. They further found that there is no significant difference in the conflict management strategies adopted by authorities of both secular and non-secular tertiary institutions. In addition, the study authenticated the fact that the conflict management strategies adopted by authorities of both secular and non-secular tertiary institutions are significantly related to their effectiveness. Since the determinants of these crises are complex as they reflect historical and society transformational processes, stakeholders in tertiary institutions were encouraged to employ religious exercises for divine intervention to reduce the emergence of conflict or for resolving the existing conflicts.

Although Ayodele and Adewumi (2007) succeeded in documenting a number of key shortcomings relating to organisational conflict management in institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, yet these researchers treated universities as a closed system. As such, the knowledge on how the national and students politics nexus fuels conflicts in the education set-up does not exist. This current study was aimed at filling that gap of knowledge by treating the university as an open system to explore the flow of inputs

from the environment, thus reflecting the government and Institutional relations. In addition, since Ayodele and Adewumi conducted their study in Nigeria, a West African country, this proposed study covers two countries, one being Tanzania which is on an Eastern part of Africa and the other being South Africa, which is in the Southern part of Africa, thereby providing a comprehensive detailed picture of a problem under investigation in Africa.

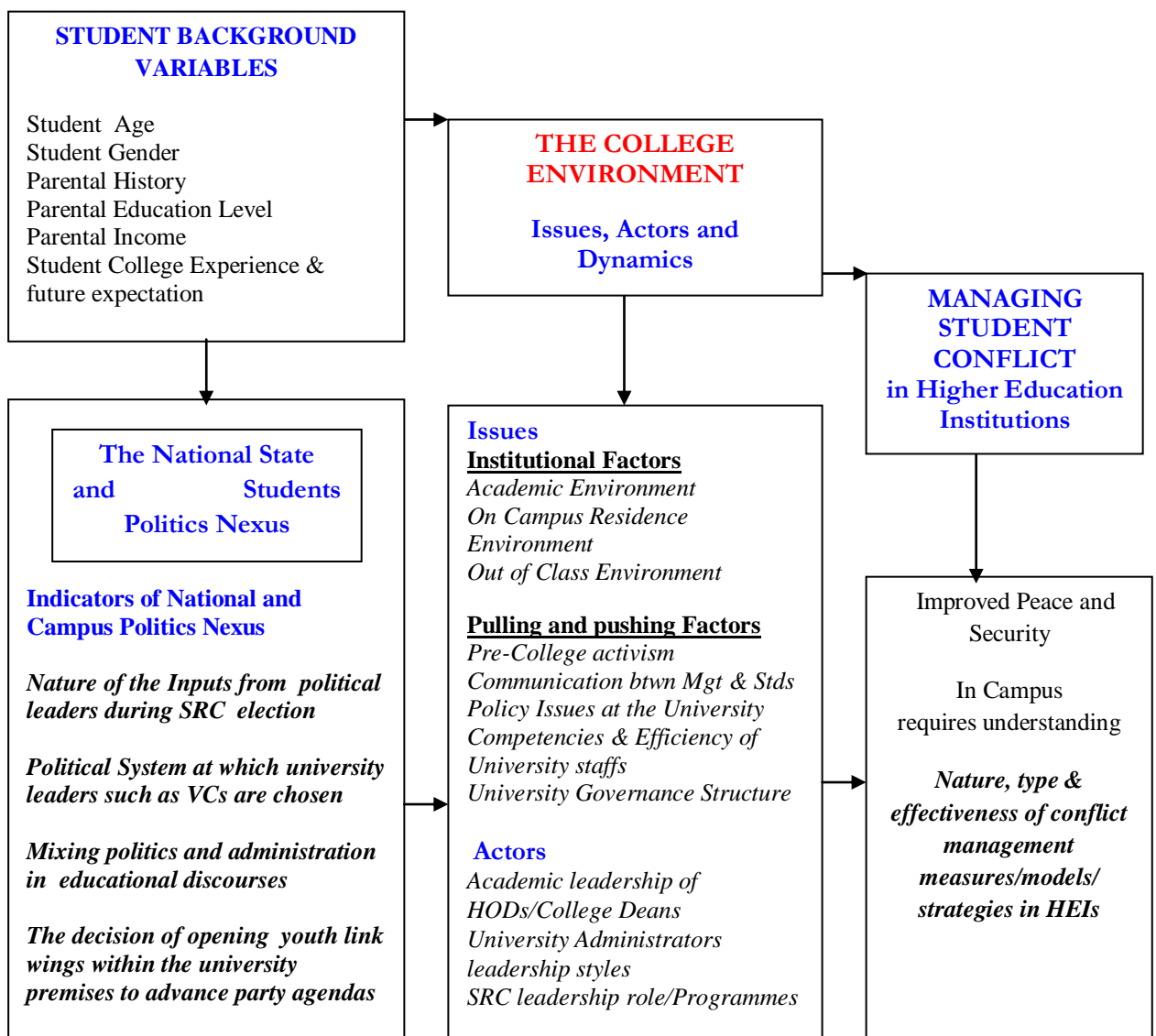
On the other hand, available literature by Mosha (1994), Sambo (1997), Mbwette and Ishumi (2000), and Mkumbo (2002) has documented the nature, causes and management of University of Dar es Salaam students' conflicts from 1961 to 1990s. They all conceive students' conflict to have evolved from different facets such as nationalistic struggles of fights for freedom of expression, hence the current tendency of strikes being associated with under-funding, inadequate management and unsatisfactory student welfare provision largely related to overcrowding and inadequate maintenance of facilities and infrastructure.

In all of these studies, the findings have failed to take into account how the connectedness of national and student politics in the current era of democratic consolidation escalates conflict in these institutions. This is a research gap this study strives to fill. This study treated public universities as open system defined by the flow of inputs from the political environment, which is complex as it reflect historical and society transformational processes.

2.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study

The conceptual framework of this study is built on the ideas outlined in "connectedness of the national and students' politics" and modeled in a conflict perspective.

Figure 2.1: A Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Developed by author, 2013.

This diagram conceptualises how student background variables are linked to the framework of the national-and-student politics nexus that fuel on campus conflicts, under the umbrella of the college environmental aspects. The diagram explains the systems theory of conflict management in an organisation. From the diagram, issues, actors and dynamics of college environment are linked with student background variables and found to interact within the framework of national and students politics nexus to fuel conflict on campus settings. The arrows indicate feedback to and from different parts.

Experience also shows that when national politics meets and overlaps with the student politics on campuses, a crisis emerges. What are the leadership competencies of the university administrators in managing student crises at an era where the survival of the university is not free from the prevalent political system?

The synergetic management of students' conflict in institutions of higher learning requires adequate information to draw up a reliable and realistic plan that can be further translated into action plan for implementation. Understanding issues, actors as well as dynamics of issues and actors is therefore, of a paramount importance towards managing it, since issues, actors and interests change over time. Given that peace and conflict are strategic issues, implementing an idea of strategic planning for peace is thus emphasised. By strategic planning, this study conceives how different stakeholders can complement each other in designing a sustainable framework for managing conflict in an education organisation.

What is the applicability of the designed conceptual framework in this study? The conceptual framework hypothesises that unless some issues related to the national and students' politics nexus are addressed, the university managers will not be able to properly manage students' conflict in the education organisations.

2.6 Synthesis and Knowledge Gap

The overall assessment of empirical debates and studies aimed at managing student crises in higher Education Institution (HEIs) in Africa and the world at large succeeded in documenting a number of key shortcomings in the literature of conflict management within higher learning institutions. As such, they have made important contributions to our understanding of measures and mechanisms for managing student crises. Despite these achievements, there was a scant literature on how the university, as an open system, is affected by the conflict emerging from the flow of inputs from the political environment, that is, when national politics meets student politics on campus. As such, the literature review helped to fill some of literature gaps that the objectives of this study strives to fill.

2.7 Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter reviewed the literature of student activism and tried to link it with the student conflict that arises from the connectedness of national and student politics on campuses. Popular participation, and open competition on campus politics in the 1992 to 2012 period of democratic transition have most often led to regular students' violence.

In essence, the lacuna synthesized from reviewing the objectives of the study, raises issues for investigation. Should we disconnect the national politics from student politics given its effects on peace and security in campuses? Or, should we restructure university role, formulate policy options and build institutions to accommodate political advocacy in institutions of higher learning, bearing the fact that debates on democracy, national states development, and human rights are strongly influenced by student voices. The organization of the chapter covered an introduction, theoretical literature, empirical literature that traced not only the trends and debates of student activism, but also empirical studies done in the area. Analytical review of empirical literature, conceptual framework of the study, as well as the synthesized knowledge gap are also discussed in the literature.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the theoretical framework used by this study in an attempt to generate a desired body of knowledge regarding the research problem. A theoretical framework is conceived by this study as the structure that theorises the research problem, and guides the knowledge making process. It therefore, has implications on every decision made in the research process (Mertens, 1998:3). According to Borgat (1996 [online]), a theoretical framework is not meant to be a “straight jacket” into which everything must fit, but rather, meant to assist or guide researchers in conceptualising their studies.

Without a theoretical framework, a study is suspended in an epistemological vacuum. This is because every study topic is generally confined to a broad theoretical area in the existing research literature such as in leadership, conflict management, entrepreneurship, gender and so forth. As such, these are not merely topics of discussion, but rather disciplines with known authors who have developed specific and usually named theories. This chapter is organised into three main sub-sections: the introduction; the theoretical approach to the study which approach the problem of student violent behaviour at different theoretical lense linked to the objectives of this study; and lastly, a summary of the theoretical perspective on violent behaviour that causes student conflict in HEIs.

In this study, the theoretical framework has been informed mainly by the concept of viewing student conflict in an era of democratic transition as the result of the interplay between national and student politics nexus on campus. In this regard, I differentiate and connect the two concepts of “national politics” and “student politics on campus” in the process of understanding dynamics of issues and actors that causes student conflict in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). I briefly discuss the importance of deconstructing values and assumptions embedded in “National and student politics nexus on campus” to understand the way in which conflict in HEIs emerge.

On the basis of the objectives of the study, which mainly focuses on understanding conflict that emerge from the connectedness of “national politics” and “student politics on campus”, this research can be broken down into two primary areas of theoretical research, though of course there are many overlaps in terms of sub- groupings and practice. The two primary areas “national politics” and “student politics on campus”, are approached by the system theory to help explaining conflict across systems, by linking the National and student politics in campus.

The system theory was adopted in this study, and three key concepts of this theory; wholeness, organization and patterns were used to analyse the connectedness of national and student politics with a perspective of conflict escalation in campus. While *wholeness entails* looking at the entire system; *organisation* refers to how the different parts of a system work together; and *patterning*, emphasizes looking at what *patterns* are connected (Wilmont and Hocker, 2001).

3.2 The System Theory

What is the best way of managing conflict in institutions of higher learning? According to Rahim (2001), styles of handling conflict are determined by the source of conflict. Since this study aims at testing whether the connectedness of national and student politics is the main source which fuels conflict in African universities, it was, therefore, important and necessary to understand how the Systems Theory or model explains the process of how a national state interacts with its institutions to fuel conflict in organisational settings.

What does the system theory say? To what extent does it link with this study? And what is the applicability of systems theory in this study? A critical analysis of the system theory is hereby discussed. According to Vancouver (1996), the history of the systems theories includes contributions from such seminal thinkers such as Alfred North Whitehead, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth Boulding, Paul A. Weiss, Ralph Gerard, Kurt Lewin, Roy Grinker, William Gray, Nicolas Rizzo, Karl Menninger and Silvano Arieti.

In summary of their views, the systems theory is a philosophical doctrine of describing systems as abstract organisations independent of substance, type, time and space (Laszlo and Krippner, 1997). There are three key concepts of the theory: *wholeness*, that is looking at the entire system; *organisation*, how the different parts of a system work together; and *patterning*, looking at what *patterns* are connected (Wilmont and Hocker, 2001).

What is the link and applicability of systems theory in this study? Within the system's framework, attention is focused on the relationships instead of individual characteristics. This theory helps to understand student conflict in HEIs at three levels:

First, it helps to generate knowledge on the wholeness. A system is a set of sub-units or items, processes and/or people working jointly with an aim of achieving common goals. The system breaks down whenever any of its components is removed because various systems components, work interrelatively with each other to attain the desired goal (Laszlo, 1996). Likewise, an institution of higher learning is composed of teachers, students, content, and contexts among its components. Removing either of the component leads to the systemic breakdown. Non-participation or involvement of students in systemic affairs either purposively or otherwise could also be taken as dysfunction in the system which will invariably lead to conflict in an organisation.

Second, it helps to look at how different parts of the entire system such as an institution of higher learning work together, and how this relationship is affected when an external component is introduced in a system. Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) are described by the relationships among their components (teachers, students, content, and contexts) as well as the relationship this system has with its environment (Frick, 1991). HEIs are brought into conflict when reforms of any nature are introduced into the system in piecemeal without considering the support and functionality of other systemic parts such as *teachers, students, content, and contexts*.

Experience shows that the introduction of reform in HEIs has not gained any significant achievement in terms of the desired impact because change is made in piecemeal. Systemic change is a comprehensive process where “a fundamental change can be brought when all aspects are involved for the change” (Reigeluth, 1992: 9). It is also an undeniable truth that the political reforms introduced in HEIs following an advent of multi-party democracy have succeeded to polarise teachers, students, content, and contexts of higher education. In essence, this study was an attempt to explore the conflicts fanned by the students’ participation in the political processes on campus.

Since the advent of majority rule multi- party democracy in both Tanzania and South Africa, the flow of national politics on campuses has created multiple and complex platforms which fuel crises. The vacuum in the student campus politics that had been filled by the national political sphere, in an era of multi-party democracy, is tested to find out if it is the main source of student conflict in higher education. This is imperative as post-democracy political reforms created loop holes for all political parties to exploit university students to advance agendas of their parties (Luhanga, 2009), while neglecting the functionality of other systemic parts (*teachers, content, and contexts*) of an educational system. This has made campuses in both countries prone to politically-charged conflicts.

At the third level, the system theory helps to look at the patterns inside the system, that is, looking at what patterns are connected. In essence, a System Theory helps to theorise conflictual pattern caused by one or two departmental failure to excel their functionality.

As such, it provides the basis of studying departments in a university setting in terms of roles, processes, and patterns. In this context, it seeks to discover the rules that govern the system's behaviour within the system. However, the System Theory fails to account for how student political behaviour is transformed into conflictual behaviour within university structures, processes, rules and regulations. As such, this study intended to fill that gap using the institutional theory.

Emerging from the open system perspective, Scott (2004:1), asserts that institutional theory seeks to understand the deeper resilient aspects of social structure including schemas (rules, norms, and routines) become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour, and how these elements are created, diffused and adapted over space and time (Hodgson 1994). According to Scott (2004:1), the roots of institutional theory run richly through the formative years of the social sciences, incorporating the creative insights of scholars ranging from Marx and Weber, Cooley and Mead, to Veblen and Commons in the fields of behavioralism in political science, and positivism in sociology (Bill and Hardgrave 1981; Hodgson 1994; Scott 2001).

Contemporary institutional theory has captured the attention of a wide range of scholars across the social sciences and is employed to examine systems ranging from micro interpersonal interactions to macro global frameworks (Scott, 2004). Given the complexity and variety of the context of this study, it is useful to examine the university processes, procedures and structures and their effects on organizational conflict

My attention to the institutional structures surrounding and supporting university activities, in particular focuses on the role of different departments and faculties in shaping student behaviours. The assumption behind this theoretical paradigm is that the institutional structures and processes surrounding and supporting university activities, such as delivery of accommodation services, matters related to student welfares as well as the core function of academic are the sources of conflict in HEIs. In other words, the conflict between management and student organizational formations is the results of the contextual effects of university as organizations on students affairs. This theoretical assumption is supported by the literature of Scott (1965 and 1966) who found the existence of tensions arising between professional employees and bureaucratic rules and hierarchical supervision (Scott 1965, 1966).

In examining the discrepancies between preferred and actual authority systems that students would wish to exist at the university level, the gap is explained by the fact that university structures, processes and arrangements in delivering student services are not preordained by administrative laws, but are shaped as well by cultural, social, and political processes, which in turn, exacerbates conflict in HEIs. Therefore in analyzing the nexus between national politics and student politics, one will begin to recognize the larger sense in which institutional forces shape organizational systems.

Drawing on the insights of the early social theorists, Durkheim (1912/1961) and Weber (1924/1968) as well as the ideas of Berger and Luckmann (1967), Meyer (1970) suggested that much social order is a product of social norms and rules that constitute particular types of actors and specify ways in which they can take action.

Such behaviors are not so much socially influenced as they are socially constructed. The failure to separate national from students' politics at various levels in HEIs of both countries in the period of democratic transition as such, triggers the social construction explained by conflictual behavior among students on campus.

Consistent with conventional accounts, universities as organizations were recognized to be "rationalized" systems-sets of roles and associated activities laid out to reflect means-ends relationships oriented to the pursuit of specified goals. The flow of national politics on university campuses compromises the systems sets of roles and associated activities. When it happens, for example, students' political formation of the national ruling party has a function on campus; the national political leaders who are also government leaders would be invited on campus, thus necessitating university administrators to attend that function. What would happen when the same university leader misses the same terrain when students from opposition organizations organise their functions?

Besides its success in explaining the conflictual cause of institutional structures and processes on campus, this study agrees with Scott (2004) assertion who argues that two corrections are required when theorizing the conflictual nature of institutional structures, processes and procedures. First, there is a need to recognize that institutional environments are not monolithic, but often varied and conflicted. Second, the elements of institutions - regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive may not be aligned. Because of this, one may undermine the effects of the other. The boundaries of organizational fields are often vague or weak, allowing alternative logic to penetrate

and support divergent models of behavior. Suppressed groups and interests may mobilize and successfully promote new models of structure and repertoires of acting (Friedland and Alford 1991; Sewell 1992). It is thus crucial to unpack the multiplicity of institutional arrangements, the intersection of structures, and the transposability of actors and ideas across field boundaries. Since HEIs are particular novel social institutions, exploring their conflictual processes, structures and systemic practices have definitely provided contiguous measures for managing students' crises. It has also added value to the transformation of management practices, structures and processes while inextricably linked to an assumption about the collective benefit, moral authority and ethical conduct dimensions of situations.

3.4 A Summary of Chapter Three

To sum up, it could be theorised that the political conflict of student on campus was explained by not only the social structure established by institutions such as colleges, but also the impact of national politics on campus politics. At an institutional level of analysis the conflict was seen as an interplay of structures, and schemas (rules, norms, and routines) which become established as authoritative guidelines for social behaviour, as well as a systemic shift. While the former inquires into how these institutional structures are created, diffused and adapted over space and time, the later was understood to cause conflict through differentiating and connecting the two concepts of "national politics" and "student politics on campus".

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON TANZANIA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and the discussion drawn from the study that explores the conflict which arose from the connectedness of national and student politics in Tanzanian universities. It aims to inform evidence-based conflict management practices in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Two cases, the University of Dar es salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma (UDOM) in Tanzania were used by the study as a unit of analysis to generate a body of knowledge in line with the objectives of the study as stated in chapter one.

The presentation and analysis of data is organised under seven main sections: Section 4.2 describes the profile of political conflict in the surveyed institutions; section 4.3 provides the social demographic characteristics of respondents; Section 4.4 critically analyses the national and student politics nexus in campus; Section 4.5 analyses the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs; whilst section 4.6 analyses leadership styles of university administrators and escalation of students crises; section 4.7 assesses the effectiveness of the conflict management measures; and section 4.8 offers the summary of the chapter.

4.2 Description of the Study Area

Historically, University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma have comparable history of an existence. Whereas UDSM was established as an affiliate college of the University of London soon after Tanzania's independence in 1961, UDOM was established when the country was suggested to be superseded by the elements of political pluralism in March 2007.

4.2.1 The University of Dar es Salaam

The roots of higher education in Tanzania go back to the 1940s when Makerere College served as an inter-territorial college for all of East Africa (Ajayi *et al.* 1996:59). By the dawn of independence in 1961, three university colleges negotiated an affiliation with the University of London. These colleges were Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Subsequently this led to the establishment of three colleges under the federal University of East Africa, in 1963.

Each College was allocated specific discipline. Makerere was allocated Medicine and Agriculture, Nairobi was allocated Architecture, Engineering and Veterinary Science and Dar es Salaam was allocated Law. However, this did not last due to rival political activities in the three independent states which led to the separation of these colleges in 1970. As such, the University of Dar es Salaam became an autonomous university which awarded its own degrees.

The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) is a public university in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The university has five campuses in and around the city of Dar es Salaam and operates academically through ten faculties some of which are exclusive to specific campuses. These campuses include the College of Engineering and Technology; Mkwawa University College of Education; the Dar es Salaam University College of Education; the main campus, called Mlimani⁴⁵; and the Institute of Journalism and Mass Communication . The enrolment of students at the University of Dar es Salaam increased from 12 in 1961 to 16,468 (10,200 male and 6,268 female) in the 2009/2010 academic (SARUA, 2010). Female students therefore constituted 38% of all undergraduate students.

The University of Dar es Salaam became in the 1970s and the early 1980s an outstanding center for scholarship, intellectual debates and leadership in analysing issues relating to liberation, economic and social justice and development in general. During this period, the university had made commendable academic achievements which saw an increased flow of international scholars to Dar es Salaam as well as an increase the quantity and quality of academic output in terms of research, publications and quality graduates (PMU, 1993:9)

⁴Which means on the hill in [Swahili](#)

⁵This main campus is home to the faculties of education, arts and social science, science, informatics and virtual education, law, commerce and management, and aquatic science and technology

Figure 4.1: A Profile Photo of Nkurumah Hall



Source: Survey data, 2013.

4.2.2 The University of Dodoma

The University of Dodoma (UDOM) is a public university in central Tanzania located in Dodoma, the country's capital. It was being built on a 6,000 hectare site in the Chimwaga area about 8 kilometres East of downtown Dodoma. The University was formally established in March 2007 following the signing of the Charter by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

UDOM has the following academic units: College of Humanities and Social Sciences; College of Education; College of Informatics and Virtual Education; School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics; School of Medicine and Nursing; and School of Mines and Petroleum Engineering. It also offers 74 academic Programmes for Undergraduate and 21 Graduate programmes.

The total number of enrolment in 2009/10 enrolment was 7, 946 and the %age of female students was 33 (SARUA, 2010). It was projected that by 2014, the number of enrolment into the University will have increased to a total of 40,000 in a variety of academic disciplines, which is more than double the then size of the University of Dar es Salaam.

Figure 4.2: A Profile Photo of University of Dodoma



Source: Survey data, 2013.

4.2.3 The Conflict Climate Fuelled by Political Dynamics in the Study Areas

Tanzania has practised multiparty democracy for more than twenty years and has attained considerable changes in her democratic institutions, processes, political as well as socio-economic system.

A democratic society, according to Höglund (2006:4), should be non-violent and orderly and enabling popular participation and open competition. However, the open competitive nature of democracy has ironically fuelled violent conflict on campus. Some scholars such as Peter and Mvungi (1986), Munene (2003) and Teferra and Altbach (2004) posit that student organisations have functioned as civil societies and also play an important role in the democratisation of Africa and the world at large. In the past, students risked reprisals when demanding social and political change in their societies and in some instances sacrificed their lives in order for their society to attain political development.

Flowing from this, it was expected that democratic transition would also create a conducive environment for democratic practices in student governance and politics, which ironically was not the case. Instead this era, was characterized by political tensions and conflicts among these students.

In an attempt to explain the conflict that arose from the connectedness between national and student's politics, the study explored how the command structure of higher education influenced and perpetuated political conflict among students in universities. Arguably, higher education as a public service was subject to the command structure of the Government. In the Tanzanian context, the decision making was hierarchically structured under four levels, which are the national level; the Ministerial level, the executive agency or regulatory body level and the university or college level (Mkude, 2012).

In this context, student conflict fuelled by the connectedness of national and students politics on campus in an era of democratic transition were critically analysed based on the command structure of decision making of Tanzania's Higher Education. As mentioned earlier, the highest level of decision making of Tanzania's Higher Education is the national level which is not only responsible for policy foresight, but for formulating the national vision and agenda for academic development and setting priorities within the overall government budget (Mkude, *ibid.*). In practice, its functions were regulated and coordinated by the planning unit of the government which could constitute a separate Ministry or a section within another Ministry (MSTHE, 2004). Currently this unit is within the Ministry of Finance and Planning.

The second level is the ministerial level responsible for higher education in the country. At this level, the ministry translates and implements the national vision formulated at the national level. It is also responsible for formulating policies, developing programs, as well as monitoring and evaluating the performance of the sector. It does this in collaboration with other sectoral ministries in Tanzania.

The executive agency or regulatory body level functions as coordinating and regulatory bodies. They are semi-autonomous as they act on behalf of the government in carry out certain regulatory functions that were deemed to be better performed outside the direct civil service framework. In the case of Higher Education, there were currently four such bodies (Mkude, 2012).

Higher Education Students Loans Board (HESLB): This implementation Act 9 of 2004 saw the birth of this HESLB. The Act stipulates that this HESLB issues education loans to poor students who have met the criteria for admission into the University and satisfied certain conditions which were subjected to regular review.

Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU): The TCU was established in 2005 under the Universities Act No 7 of 2005. This organ is primarily responsible for ensuring that the higher education offered in the country was of acceptable quality. Besides overseeing quality, the TCU also regulated and monitored the general management of higher education institutions in the country. It also co-ordinated students admission processes, monitored and collected and disseminated information/data on higher education. Other responsibilities include; promotion of knowledge sharing through networking by Higher Educational Institutions; registration and accreditation of universities and university colleges, and validation of academic programs and certificates (Mkude, 2012).

The National Council for Technical Education (NACTE):

NACTE was established in 1997 by an Act Number 9 of Parliament of 1997 of the United Republic of Tanzania. It was responsible for all tertiary institutions other than universities and their affiliated colleges. NACTE was responsible for the coordination of technical education and training; the establishment of a national system of awards; ensuring the relevance of technical education and training to labour market demands; instituting systems of quality control and quality assurance in technical education and

training; registering and accrediting both public and private technical education and training institutions capable of delivering courses; registering technical teachers by auditing their qualifications; and establishing a central database on technical education and training (Mkude, 2012).

Tanzania Education Authority (TEA): Established in 2001 under section 5(1) of the Education Fund Act No 8 of 2001, the TEA's main task was to manage the Education Fund. Specifically, its main functions were to mobilise resources for the education fund in the form of loans, grants and gifts, disbursing resources from the education fund to users as well as monitoring proper use of the resources or funds. The fourth and final level include the various stakeholders and actors involved in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). These are certain members of the HEIs firms, organisations, and communities that are engaged in higher education delivery in one way or the other.

In presenting and analysing data, the study centred on specific issues arising from the national and students politics nexus on campus in an era of democratic transition which were responsible for student conflict.. At the national level, the study, explored the selection and appointment process of university leaders such as Vice Chancellors. The study revealed that these executive leaders of the University were affiliated to the ruling party, and this was one indicator of the nexus between national and student politics which fuelled conflict on campus. Another indicator of the connectedness that fuelled conflict is the implementation of the political reform such as multi-party politics on campus which had negative implications on the peace and security of the institution.

At ministerial level, the study also examined how the flow of national directives and policies from the centre to the university campuses effect certain changes in students' or lecturers welfares and the implications of these policies and directives on the peace and security on the campus. At e third level, the study assessed how the decisions of the semi-autonomous bodies fuelled conflict in Higher Education Institutions. Lastly, the study critically analysed how conflict in Higher education institutions was fuelled by the nexus between the nation and student politics on campus.

4.3 Socio- demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The total number of respondents who were sampled was 170. It comprised of 120 students who were surveyed using questionnaires. A sample of 30 key informants within the communities of both universities, and 20 key informants outside the university communities were purposively selected to supplement data for this study. Overall, 15 key officials from each university were drafted into the sample. Although the initial proposed sample size of the study in Tanzania was 170 respondents in both UDSM and UDOM, at the end of our field survey, a total of 160 were respondents were valid for analysis. The remaining 10 were rejected as 'spoilt' for various reasons which include unwillingness of respondents to continue with the survey and the deliberate misinformation by the respondents who claimed they could fill in the questionnaires on their own.

Three variables which include age, gender and level of participation in campus politics were used to understand socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. The use of

age was two folds: firstly, it was employed to analyse the influence of age on political orientation in campus politics, and secondly, to appraise the link between youth use of social media and political unrests on university campuses. Also, gender analysis was used for understanding the gendered effects of political leadership on campus within a conflict lense.

Table 4.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

N (Total Number of respondents for the Tanzania's context) = 160

		Frequency	%age
Gender	Male	112	70
	Female	48	30
	Total	160	100
Age	20-30	93	58.12
	31-40	31	19.38
	41-50	24	15.00
	51-60	12	7.50
	Total	160	100
Level of political participation	Very High	42	26.25
	High	39	24.38
	Fair	34	21.25
	Low	32	20.00
	Very Low	13	8.12
	Total	160	100

Source: Survey data, 2013.

The statistics in Table 4.1 show that the number of females interviewed was less than the number of males. Of the 160 respondents surveyed, 48 (30 %) were females and 112 (70 %) were males. These results are supported by SARUA (2010) which shows that the %age of Tanzania's female students enrolled in 2009/10 was between 30 and 33 in both state run universities.

In an attempt to investigate the gendered level of participation in campus politics, the study revealed that while there were 23 (38.3 %) female students in the University of Dodoma (UDOM) who had participated in campus politics, the University of Dar es salaam had 19 (31.6 %) female students (see Table 4.5). The trend of male dominated politics in university campuses was found high (68.4 %) in UDSM compared to UDOM which had (61.7 %). Since the majority of respondents who practice campus politics in the surveyed universities were male, it was undeniable that campus politics was dominated by the male gender.

Based on this, it could be inferred that campus conflict has a masculine character since male students were mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that governed students' politics in these university campuses. It also suggests that violent conflicts on campus were male creations because men were socialized to be confrontational, aggressive and independent. These findings are supported by Isike's (2011) study which shows that masculine social constructions serve to obstruct peace and peace-building. According to Gagnon (2005), traditional masculine ideologies teach men to love through actions and protection of others, especially women.

This ideology as such make men prone to war as means of resolving conflict (Gagnon, 2003:6). Moreover, the mean age of respondents who participated in this study was 23 years and the median was 27 years. The age range of the study was between 20 to 58 years. The results in Table 4.1 show that 93 (58.12 %) of the respondents were at the age between 20 and 30. This age group is the most political active age group. Its high frequency in the study predicted active strata for bringing societal change if political empowerment would be implemented effectively. Politically empowered youth would be able to participate in political discourses and also aware of the political trend, thereby equipping them on how to intervene through platforms like civil society organisations, political parties and so on.

This active age group of respondents is also referred to by Prensky (2001) as the 'net generation' or 'digital natives'. This age group was perceived to demonstrate high technological adaptability and learning autonomy as may not be the case in other generations. The use of ICTs such as cellular phones, internets and social networks was an added advantage in advances their political ideologies and goals.

With an increased population of net generation youth gaining admission into universities, it was of import to understand the integration of these group of students into the university and national political system. Apart from gender and age, the study investigated the level of participation in campus politics. The findings of Table 4.1 shows that of 160 respondents, 81 (50.68 %) had a high or very high rate with regard to political participation. This is discussed later.

4.4 The National and Students Politics Nexus through a Conflict Lense

One of the objectives of the study is to examine if the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic consolidation fuelled conflict in Tanzania's institutions of higher learning. The following seven themes emerged from the respondents interviews and the documentary analysis: the flow of national politics on the university campuses; the influence of the National politics on the campus politics; students participation in democratic processes in a conflict lense; democratic transition and its implication on campus politics in Tanzania; state-party fusion on campus within a conflict lense; appointment and approval of the leaders in state run universities; and deconstruct or construct national and student politics nexus. These themes are discussed below.

Theme 1: The Flow of National Politics on the University Campuses

The flow of national politics on campus in an era of democratic transition can take different forms. Decisions made at the national level affect the mode of operation of various universities. For instance, the selection and appointment criteria of the university leaders such as Vice Chancellors are not devoid of national politics and influence. These university leaders are further approved by the national leaders who are affiliated to the one ruling party or another, thereby extending the influence of these parties to the universities.

At the ministerial level, it involves the flow of national directives or policy changes to the university campuses to effect certain changes in students' or lecturers welfares. The

third level entails the flow of decisions of semi-autonomous bodies such as Higher Education Loans Board (HELSB) on campus, and their implications on peace and security on Higher Education Institutions. The last refers to the implications of state-party fusion on decision making process in state run HEIs.

Understanding respondent's awareness on the flow of national politics on the University campuses is vital towards analysing dynamic issues that influences campus peace and security as well as the mechanisms and strategies for addressing them. From a scale of 1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither, 4=Disagree to 5=Strongly Disagree, students from both, the UDSM and UDOM were asked various questions which include if they were aware of; the flow of national politics on university campuses; the nature of the connection between national and student politics on campus; and the implication this connection on the peace and security on both campuses respectively.

Table 4.2: Awareness of Conflict from National and Student Politics Nexus

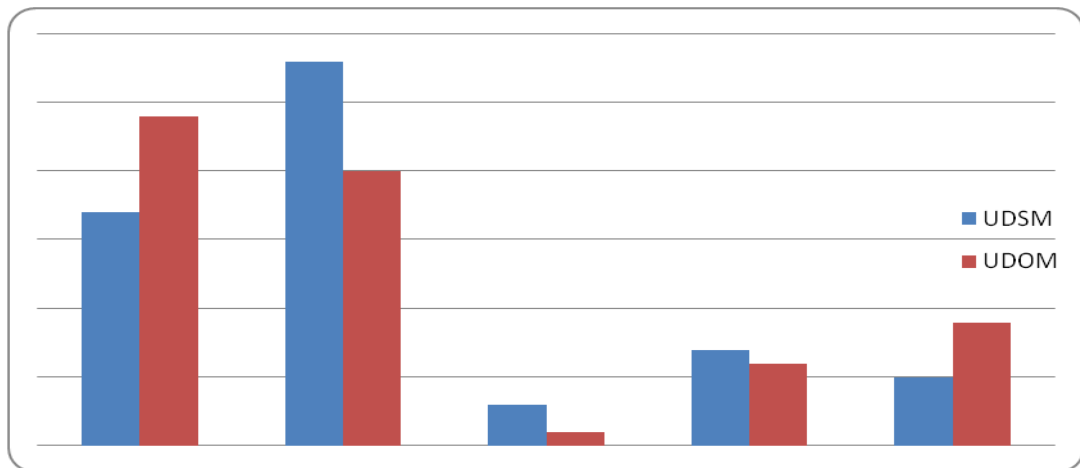
N (Number of Students in both Universities) = 120

Do you agree that the flow of national politics on campuses is the main source of student conflict?	UDSM	UDOM
Strongly Agree	17	30
Agree	28	20
Neither	3	1
Disagree	7	6
Strongly Disagree	5	3
Total	60	60

Source: Survey data, 2013.

Table 4.2 shows that a majority of 45 (75 %) out of 60 students from UDSM, and 50 (83.3 %) out of 60 students from UDOM were aware of conflicts emerging from the flow of national politics on university campuses. Since students from UDOM were more aware on the flow of national politics on campus than students from UDSM, it is evident that students from UDOM had been affected more by political conflict than the students from UDSM.

Figure 4.3: Awareness of Conflict from National and Student Politics Nexus



Source: Survey data, 2013.

In addition, the study provided four cases that it obtained through respondents interviews and documentary analysis. The first case showed that conflict resulted from the flow of a political reform (multi-party democracy) from the national level to the campus and this resulted in the polarisation of university community in UDOM. The second case explored conflict caused by the flow of ministerial decisions on campus through the implementation of cost-sharing policy in UDSM.

The third case explored how conflict arose from the flow of ministerial decisions to withdraw student bursaries. The last one discussed conflict emerging from the political process that entailed the appointment and approval of the leaders in state run universities.

Case A: Flow of National Political Reforms on Campus

A Review of Conflict from Practising Multi-Party Politics in UDOM

Popular participation and open competition of political parties, whether in the open space or hidden on campus, in an era of democratic transition have most often led to regular students' violence. It is undeniable that since 1992, after the advent of multi-party democracy in Tanzania, political reforms had created loop holes which allowed political parties to exploit university students to advance their agendas (Luhanga, 2009). This led to divisions and conflicts in these universities. It is of import to not at this juncture that party competition was more vibrant at the state run Universities than the private ones.

In 2011, it was reported by *the Guardian* that students of the University of Dodoma (UDOM), especially from the Faculty of Education staged what was described as unlawful demonstration to the Prime Minister's Office to register their grievances. The demonstration was associated with damage to properties, including taxis which were to ferry the students to the town centre. The anti-riot police tear-gassed the students, cut short the procession and dispersed the rioters who responded by hurling stones at the charging police. Speaking to reporters, one of the political analysts had this to say:

...the students accused the VC of being insensitive to their complaints, saying the institution had failed to provide essential services such as water and fees to pay for students to undertake practical stints. After the skirmishes, the students assembled at the Nyerere grounds at the campus where they sang songs in praise of the founding Father of the Nation, the late Mwalimu Nyerere.

A man aged about 39
years

When this happened, lecturers at the University of Dodoma continued with their “go-slow” pressing the varsity administration and the government to pay them new salaries, annual increments, allowances and other work incentives. Speaking to the public, the then Chairman of the varsity’s academic staff association (UDOMASA), argued that:

We are not on strike. Instead, we are attending ‘an endless meeting’ and we are not going to the lecture theatres until such time that the President will come and address us. He lamented over UDOM administration’s tendency to regularly deduct their salaries instead of paying what had been issued by the Treasury.

Chairman of the UDOMASA

Against those claims, Prof Idris Kikula said:

the university management has been actively handling lecturers and other staff matters such as salaries, allowances and other packages. It is not true that the management is insensitive to their complaints. We have tried our best to educate lecturers on some technical problems regarding the pay-list produced by the Treasury and the university management, but it seems our efforts have not borne fruits.

Although some of the accusations advanced by both students and lectures were genuine, the study authenticated that party politics on the university campuses was an exacerbating factor behind this conflict. Speaking to the researcher, one of the lecturers, who was Head of Department, School of Social Science in UDOM had this to say:

During the strike, opposition parties supported both students and lectures with strategies and resources to show that the university is dis-ordered, in a bid to show weaknesses of the ruling part that run the government towards her poorly management of educational institutions

(Interview with UDOM Lecturer, September 13, 2013).

Whether these claims were speculations or facts, they are still debatable as some respondents refuted them. However, with this level of awareness, they help at least to understand the politics of administration of HEIs in an era of democratic transition. As Figure 4.3 shows the high level of political conflict in UDOM was due to the failure to respond to the needs of the students and lecturers on time. This shortcoming was attributed to the fact that the University was recently established in March 2007 following the signing of the Charter by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Moreover, the University had succeeded in ensuring the political participation and academic excellence of its students, and also addressing student welfare problems and disconnecting student politics from national politics especially in the election of Student Representative Council (SRCs) on campus. This disconnection did not go without criticism. One of the SRC leaders in UDOM had this to say:

Politics and education are in certain way inseparable. Since we, students are coming from community which practice national politics, it is hard to tell us focusing on campus politics while our blood have elements of national politics

(Interview with UDOM-SRC, September 13, 2013).

One of the Professors from the UDSM during an interview session had this to say:

Mh!.....Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) cannot distance itself from politics, because national politics comes from the family. Even if you go to USA today, you will hear about College Republicans, College Democrats, and so forth....I think...what is needed is to build a culture of tolerance, formulate rules and regulations to allow students practice politics in harmony.

The lack of understanding of what university or college is all about, was also mentioned by one of the senior lecturers from the UDSM, as one of the factors behind political conflicts in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). In one of the interview sessions, he stated that,

Ah!...most of the students of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) nowadays do not understand what a college is....., and therefore, do not know how to behave as college students. As a result, many students who graduate from these institutions resembles pseudo-academicians.

Conversely, another respondent blamed the university for failing to instigate values that will guide the behaviours of students. He noted that during an interview session that,

We should not blame students. While in most African societies youth are being trained on specific society values and ethos, our modern colleges, especially in

an era of democratic transition, have never fulfilled this role. That vacuum is filled by unnecessarily student conflicts.

The study revealed that the practice of influencing the higher education political youth wing by the national parties, in a bid to advance their agendas had been the main cause of conflict on campus. In Tanzania, the leading national political party and other opposition political parties had extended their political influence to campuses by establishing campus political parties which were affiliates to the national parties.

It was also argued in one of the FGD sessions that the demise of the governing national ideology, namely Ujamaa, which was a social bond between people of different socio-economic status, led to increased corruption and greed among most of the lecturers.

One of the respondents in a FGD session had this to say:

Ah! You know majority of these lecturers received their degrees during the 1990s and 2000s period of democratic transition, and are so materialistic; people who lack patriotism, values and patience, and as such, are part of conflict. I think...it is important to study the behaviour of lecturers, before assessing whether the system is conflictual.

Other members of the same FDG opposed the narrator and accused him of basing his arguments on speculations. The researcher however, had to ask them for intellectual tolerance since all views were valued.

Case B: Flow of Ministerial Decisions on Campus

A Review of Conflict from Implementing Cost Sharing Policy in UDSM

In an era of democratic transition, the simmering crises on cost sharing policy at the University of Dar es Salaam provided another platform for conflict (See Mosha, 1994). In this case, the crises started from October 1991 up to the end of March 1992. It started at the University of Dar es Salaam and spread to other institutions of higher education. On February 1st 1992 students from eight institutions of higher education met in Nkrumah Hall to discuss issues relating to cost sharing policy.

An ultimatum of three days was given to the Government to suspend the implementation of cost sharing policy or face unspecified consequences from the students. In response, the Government reiterated its firm adherence to the cost sharing policy and promised to take stern measures against students who boycotted classes, demonstrated illegally, and caused chaos or injuries to fellow students. The students ignored the Government's threats and carried out acts of violent protest against it.

For example, in the University of Dar es Salaam, the Chief Academic Officer, Prof. Penina Mlamba, was kidnapped by the students. There were calls by various scholars to review the cost sharing policy in order to end these crises. For instance, Mosha (1994) suggested to the government that the cost sharing policy be shelved until all other alternatives for funding university education had been explored. Also, Omari (1991:42) called for a critical analysis of the reform in a bid to ensure all stakeholders benefit from the policy. The government refuted all suggestions and the crises continued.

In order to deal with the contraveners, the University of Dar es Salaam rusticated ten students who were accused of being the ring leaders in the opposition of the cost sharing policy (Luhanga 2009). This act did not deter the student and the crises persisted in the university. Luhanga (2009) expressed his views on the negative implications of these conflicts. He states that,

As an academician and parent, I am pained and saddened whenever I see a young, bright life snuffed in the bud before it has blossomed". Three have since passed away for failure to cope with the vicissitudes of life as rusticated university students. The sad thing is that politicians were close to these students when they were seen to be of value to them, and they later dumped the students.

Case C: The HELSB decision to Withdraw Student Bursaries during Class Boycott

Luhanga explains the role HELSB played in the rustication of students who were accused of being the ring leaders against the cost sharing policy (2009: 33). A meeting involving the Permanent Secretary in The Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE), the Attorney-General, Chief Administrative Officer and the Vice Chancellor was convened under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary. After a two day meeting it was concluded that the campus situation behind cost sharing policy saga on campus was tense and as such, required expeditious resolution (Luhanga, 2009). The decision was that the HELSB withdraw the accused ten students' bursaries Luhanga contends that,

It was not possible or prudent to invoke the provisions on student discipline contained in Act No.12 of 1970 which established the UDSM and, where disciplinary action is possible to be held, it would have taken long to be concluded.

Given the above, the only option left within the law, was the Government to withdraw bursaries of the ten rusticated students who were involved in writing abusive letter to the Chancellor, the President of Tanzania.(2009)

The Chancellor invoked Section 59 of Act No.12 of 1970 to direct the Council to dismiss the students from the University. The students had their bursaries withdrawn and were expelled from the university by the executives to deter other students from instigating violence and protests on campus. However, this deterrence did not end the crises in the university.

Theme 2: The Influence of the National Politics on the Campus Politics

The study identified three historical phases that explain the influence of national politics on the campus politics. These are the era of national building and African Socialism (1961-1984), the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the continuing market-led policy period (1986-1990s) and the era of democratic transition from 1992 to date. During the era of national building and African Socialism (1961-1984), Tanzanian universities were influenced by the country's leftist ideology of socialism and self-reliance; an ideology that castigated higher education as being elitist, expensive; extravagant and benefiting the bourgeoisie more than the peasantry (Omari 1991:3). The country's pursuit of a leftist ideology reduced the nation to a closed society where opinions other than those from the ruling class were rarely accepted. Because of the country's authoritarian character, conflicts on campus were manageable and minimal. In other words, the political environment of the country did not create a conducive environment for freedom of expression of grievances.

For instance, free debate was blocked which created a culture of silence among the citizens thereby leading to unresolved problems and ironically minimal tensions. During the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) (1986-1990s), Tanzanian government carried out economic reforms and implemented which affected campus politics on service delivery. The decrease of public expenditure to education led to students' crises which involved pleas for higher living allowances, increased food subsidies, higher allowance for purchase of textbooks and resistance towards the cost-sharing policy in education.

During the era of democratic transition which was the period of the re-introduction of the multi-party politics in Tanzania, national political organisations had successfully influenced campus politics by providing them with resources, mentors, and incentives. This era saw the establishment of various national political parties on university campus and the polarisation of campus politics based on party affiliation which triggered political tension, and conflicts. Although in the University of Dar es Salaam and University of Dodoma, students were restricted from associating with any national political parties, yet, those national parties covertly influenced their campus politics. Table 4.3 and figure 4.4 show methods used by the National politics to influence the campus politics. Figure 4.3 shows that 84 (52.5 %) out of 160 respondents mentioned that students were used as foot soldiers in electoral or other campaigns and this was a strategy used by members of the national political parties to influence campus politics. Another method mentioned by 28 (17.5 %) of the respondents was the establishment of campus youth wing. 12 (7.5%) of the respondents also mentioned that students were covertly trained by the national political parties to be leader.

Table 4.3: Methods used by National politicians to influence students' politics

N (Number of respondents) = 160

Variable	Frequency	%
Using students in Party Campaigns	84	52.5
Establish Campus Youth Wings	28	17.5
Underground training of students	12	7.5
Supporting SRC with Training Material	7	4.4
Assisting Students with School Fees	6	3.8
Touring Political Message to Campus	17	10.6
Offering Incentives to Students	2	1.25
Funding student Organisations	4	2.5
Total	160	100

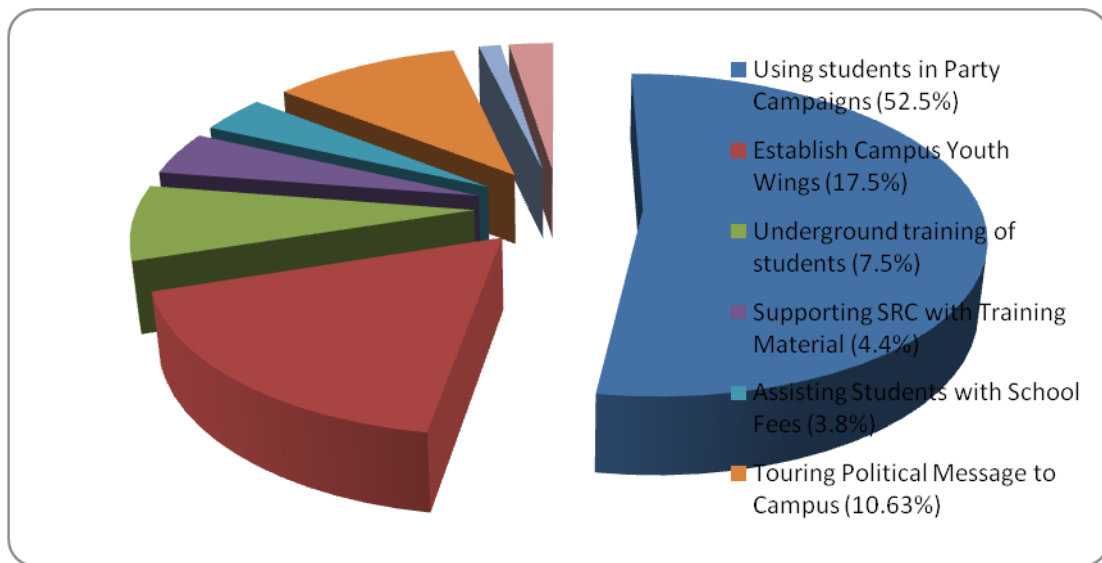
Source: Survey data, 2013.

7 (4.4 %) of the respondents stated that these parties supported student-led organizations with newspapers and 6 (3.8 %) added that students were assisted with the school fees 17 (10.6 %) of the respondents attested that students were used to convey political messages around campuses. that toured campuses 2 (1.25 %) identified offering incentives to students for participation in their programmes as one of the methods. While 4 (2.5 %) of the respondents stated that national political parties provided funding to students organizations to extend their influence.

National political national parties use language as a political tool to expand their influence on campuses. Language in the political arena is effective in mobilizing support and allegiance. Chilton (2004:6) asserts that “politics is very largely the use of language.” He further argues that this is so because “the use of language necessitates

choices between different modes of meaning” (Chilton, Ibid: 7). As such, national political leaders frequently visited campuses and utilised language manipulation as a strategy to galvanize the support of students in their campaigns.

Figure 4.4: Methods used by National politicians to influence students’ politics



Source: Survey data, 2013.

Theme 3: Students Participation in Democratic Processes in a Conflict Lense

Participation does not mean involvement. While involvement entails allowing people in, under certain conditions, to take part in certain action in a prescribed way, participation entails not only having a role to play or a task to complete, but also having ownership of a given undertaking (Muya, 2014). Students from both, the UDSM and the UDOM were asked whether they understood the concept of democracy, types of democratic activities they engage in, and the extent to which they practiced it on campus. Table 4.4 shows students responses.

Table 4.4 Students Understanding of Democracy, and Democratic Processes

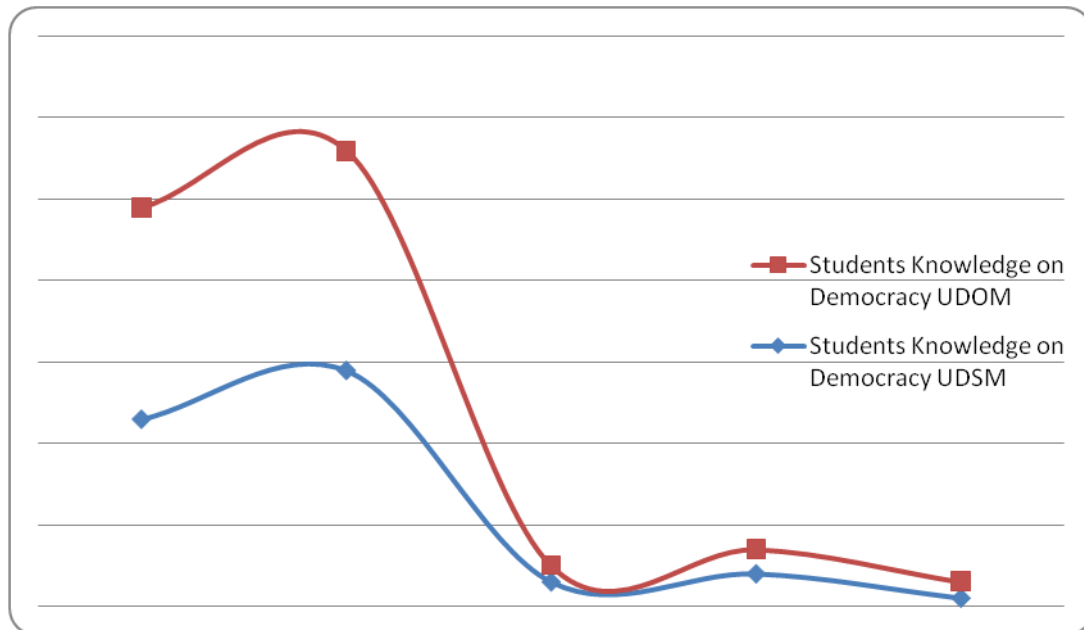
N (Number of Student in both Universities) = 120

Students Knowledge of Democracy	UDSM	UDOM		
	Frequency	Frequency	Total Frequency	Total %
Strongly Understand	23	26	49	40.8
Understand	29	27	56	46.7
Neither	3	2	5	4.2
Don't Understand	4	3	7	5.8
Strongly Don't Understand	1	2	3	2.5
Total	60	60	120	100

Source: Survey data, 2013.

The study findings in Table 4.4 shows that the majority of students which were 105 (87.5 %) out of 120 from both, the UDSM and UDOM understood the concept of democracy. The occurrence of a free and fair Students Representative Council (SRC) election was the mostly mentioned democratic indicator in campus. However, democratic aspects such as proportional representation in the SRC processes, political tolerance, and accountability to the fellow students were not often mentioned by the respondents.

Surveying students' knowledge on democracy, and democratic processes across university colleges, revealed that the demand for key political and civil rights, such as free speech and freedom of association, was high. The study revealed that among UDOM students it was 34 students equivalent to 56.6 % compared to 31 (51.6 %) of UDSM students. Figure 4.5 illustrates student knowledge of democracy, and democratic processes across both universities.

Figure 4.5 Students Understanding of Democracy and Democratic processes

Source: Field Survey Data, 2013

Since democracies require democratic citizens, and good citizens are made, not born, it is important to ask that what degree of civic and political knowledge is required to be a competent democratic citizen. Equally important, who is responsible for imparting this knowledge? From the Figure 4.5, students from the UDOM were found to have a slightly high level of knowledge of democracy compared to students from the UDSM. The high degree of civic and political knowledge in UDOM was attributed to the various campaigns of national political parties conducted outside the university campuses. Although liberal democracy has various definitions (Bakari and Mushi, 2005), for the purpose of this study, it refers to a political system in which political representation, participation and accountability are realised through regular competitive elections held under conditions of civil and political liberty and guaranteed by the rule

of law. The presence or absence of democracy can be ascertained by observing its main elements, or indicators, notably: the presence of pluralism; consensus on the major rules of governance; free and fair political competition; basic freedoms; political tolerance and, above all, prime accountability to the public. Many implications emerge from a generation of young people who do not either understand or value democratic aspects such as political tolerance and, above all, prime accountability to the public. It can be suggested that, without a politically engaged population of young people who can and will enhance political tolerance through conducting conversations or competition across differences, we cannot expect a similarly engaged population of adults. As a result, conflicts will always be a norm.

Universities in Africa need to create systems of nurturing youth leadership, developing accountability to the public as well as building democratic platforms for strengthening democracy, grooming a culture of political tolerance among students through various designed democratic institutions and processes if they aim at minimizing upheavals among students or at national level politics at large. Students were also asked to explain whether they debate on political topics or not.

Debate on political topics is unpopular on campus

Contrary to popular opinion, most university students do not debate on political topics. Often the public hears about acrimonious confrontations between student groups or between students and their administrations over hot-button topics such as corruption, terrorism and reproductive rights, as well as over campus-specific concerns like accommodation and security challenges.

Both politically uninvolved students and current student activists reported that they do not value political debate. Either they were intimidated by what they described as a confrontational situation, or they did not expect that engagement in formal or informal debate affects opinions. Most student leaders in the study, with the exception of political science students in UDSM, believed that debate wasted their time. A small fraction of students 39 (32.5 %) argued that the management of both, UDSM and UDOM did not give rooms for debates on political topics due to the fear that such debates could result into student strikes. Because of those restrictions, a vacuum left among politically uninvolved students is easily filled by anger and becomes evident during student riots.

Platforms that encourages students to debate on political issues and express their differences over social issues is not only important in expanding the knowledge of this students and their ability to accept differences but also needed to minimize conflicts and ensure participation in campus politics. The following photographs shows respondents from student's organisations who participated to generate data for the study.



Figure 4.6: FGDs Participants from UDOSO with Principal Investigator, in 2013



Figure 4.7: FGD Participants from DARUSO with the Pricial Investigator in 2013

Political mentors are absent from campus.

Political mentors on campus are key players in fostering democratic orientations, building political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, civic skills, and political participation among students. Students were also asked whether the college played any role to mentor or develop them politically. Virtually all the student leaders that were interviewed described themselves as arriving at the university already developed politically. They state that most of their political mentors were their parents or teachers. Members of the Students Representative Council (SRCs) expressed disappointment that they could not find similar mentors on campus, especially from the faculty. In response, majority of the faculty members that were interviewed preferred to remain indifferent or nonchalant about campus politics. A few faculty members, mostly men, were actively engaged with student activism.

Both, the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma had Student Affairs Offices that provided, at a minimum, organisational support and training to student groups. However, student leaders rarely mentioned staff in those offices as their mentors.

Using a scale of 1 = Co-operative, 2 = Conflictual, 3 = Do not Understand, the study probed students from both, the UDSM and the UDOM to find out the nature of students' participation in campus politics, that is, if this was conflictual or co-operative. It also explored how often they participated in campus politics, how often had they participated in voting for SRCs election and how often they have taken part

in a protest or demonstration on campus. Table 4.5 provides respondents responses to these questions.

Table 4.5: Student's participation in Campus Politics in democratic Transition

Students Participation in Campus Politics	UDSM		UDOM	
	Frequency (Agree)	%	Frequency (Agree)	%
Is Participation in Campus Politics a Conflictual?	23	38.3	30	50
Female Student Participation in Campus Politics	19	31.6	23	38.3
Male Student Participation in Campus Politics	41	68.4	37	61.7
Participated in Voting During the SRCs Election	38	63.3	41	68.3
Take part in Protest or Rally on Campus	47	78.3	40	66.7

Source: Survey data, 2013.

Student participation in campus politics can either be conflictual or cooperative. Most notably, 30 (50 %) of UDOM students who participated in the study agreed that participation in campus politics was conflictual. On the other hand, only a small proportion of 23 (38.2 %) students from UDSM perceived participation in campus politics to be a conflictual.

The study went further to critically analyse what made participation in campus politics to be conflictual. Although it was revealed that student conflict that emerged in the current era of democratic transition results from the nexus between national and student politics, dynamics of democratization which involves interaction between

diverse groups of students which were affiliated to national politics was also noted as another factor behind student conflicts. Arguably, the introduction of more political groups on campus led to increased political tensions and disagreements which could lead to conflict. As such, apart from the connectedness of national and student politics on campus, student conflict emerging in an era of democratic transition had also been inspired and perpetuated by incomplete democracy building on campus.

The study revealed that in this era of democratic transition, universities in Africa have played very little role in mentoring students on aspects relating to university values and ethos, political knowledge and leadership aspects. Because of this, students lack theoretical base to inform their political activism.

Equally important, the incomplete democracy on campus was derived from internal factors such as lack of democratic institutions, structures and democratic processes on various issues related to student governance. The study revealed that although Tanzania has practiced multiparty democracy for more than twenty years, the transition to democracy exists more at the national level, than at the lower levels of the society. For example, it has not trickled down to Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Because of this, the practice of student politics on campus is highly governed by student emotions instead of democratic rationality. This is worsened by the lack of proportional representation in the governance structures which causes political intolerance among students thus leading to conflict.

Participation in Student Representative Council Election

Student participation in SRC election took different forms. Some students contested for positions in the SRCs election, others campaigned for those standing for SRC office, another group were spectators and attended campaign rallies to learn about the views of prospective leaders, while a small fraction of students monitored the process of election as electoral committee on campus.

In the University of Dodoma the level of students engagement in the voting process was slightly high which was 41 (68.3 %) students. The University of Dar es Salaam was lesser with 38 (63.3 %) students. Some students stated that the lack of accountability of SRCs leaders was the reason behind their refusal to vote, others perceived the electoral committee as corrupt and bias in the election process of the SRCs candidates, and the rest, blamed their non-voting on the management of the University's intervention on the selection process. One of the respondents during an interview stated that,

University has some interests on certain candidates who are not accepted by the majority of students. As a result, students do not vote because some perceive SRCs president to have been already prepared by the University management and on-going electoral committee guided by the outgoing SRCs leadership. This is not democracy! Why should an academic institution prepare somebody to lead us!

A student aged 23 years in UDSM

An official in the Dean of students at the UDSM commented that:

Ah! These are speculations...Our university treats all students on equal democratic basis or platforms. Why

do we need to have some interests on certain candidates? You know the students we have today on campus reflects the politized society that they are coming from. Our primary role is academics and not politics!

A man aged 42 years

Another respondent in the Dean of students at the UDOM commented that:

Mh! You know when multi-party politics got in Tanzania, we as Higher Education Institutions were not prepared. And, thus did not foresee the effects of connecting national and student politics within the conflictual lens.

A man aged 38 years

In both universities, it was revealed that the management of these universities banned the use of very expensive pictures posted on campus, drinking of alcohols and so forth, and imposed new rules and regulations to guide SRCs election in a bid to ensure fairness among contestant. It sets special public places to post campaign pictures, and specific days for campaigning after the manifesto!

Theme 4: Democratic Transition and its implication on Campus Politics

The conflictual path experienced in the democratic transition of Tanzania reflects the on-going tradition of political activism in university campus. Since Tanzania's HEIs were centres of intellectual activity in which the young could experience new ideas, constructs and de-construct about the world, understanding implications of democratic transition on Tanzania's campus politics within a conflict lense became inevitable.

According to Bratton and Van de Walle (1997:10), a regime transition is a shift from one set of political procedures to another, from an old pattern of rule to a new one. For this reason, a regime transition can be depicted as a struggle between competing political forces over the rules of the political game and for the resources with which the game is played. Schraeder notes that any comprehensive understanding of contemporary African politics and society must draw upon its past (Schraeder, 2000).

While analysing democratic transition in Africa, REDET (2011) points out that there are three scenarios of democratic transition which may be may be reversed or aborted, entailing the movement back to status quo or any other undemocratic destination such as in the case of Rwanda genocide. It may stagnate or linger on by making forward and backward movements which do not permit consolidation of important institutions and processes; or it may consolidate into a mature democracy, in which democracy is institutionalised and ingrained in the political culture of the country (REDET, *ibid.*).

When analysing whether democracy has become part of the political life of members of the society in Tanzania, a high proportion of respondents which were 68 (56.6 %) out of 120 agreed and attributed this to the reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1992. Bakari and Mushi (2005) argues that although many analysts agree that democracy has grown with multiplication of political parties, it is difficult to see its effects basically. They went further to argue that without a transition, there can be no consolidation (Bakari and Mushi, *ibid.*).

Studies have shown that the transition process had not been completed in Tanzania (Bakari and Mushi, *ibid.*). Among the core indicators of transition was the holding of a competitive, free and fair election under conditions of civil and political liberties which were acceptable to the major political actors (Goran, 1999). Electoral rules and institutions governing elections were accepted by all major contestants. In all 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 election results were seriously contested. This is not because the losing party refused to concede defeat, but due to the lack of consensus on the rules of the game (Bakari and Mushi, *ibid.*).

Were the state run university campuses more democratic in an era of democratic transition compared to when they were under single party system? Most students, 92 (76.6 %) out of 120 perceived both universities, UDSM and UDOM to be democratic, with the exception of political science and international relations students in UDOM, who believed that elements of democracy are almost non-existent on campus. Those students were among the then third years in in the school of social science that were suspended for not less than a year following their engagement on campus upheavals. One of the students in a Focus Group Discussion had this to say:

Here at the University of Dodoma, the management of the University do not give room for students to debate or even discuss with friends some of the key issues that concerns either our academic or social life, due to the fear itt could result in student strikes. Sometimes, some of our fellow students are expelled silently, once they seem to discuss issues related to student affairs. Is this democracy?

A student aged 23 years.

When questioned to comment on whether Tanzania's university campuses were more democratic in an era of multi-party democracy compared to when they were under single party system, one of the senior lecturer said:

Mh! I think, the university of Dar es Salaam was more democratic under one party system than how it is today. We, the staff member use to elect our Head of Department before the multi-party democracy began!

A lecturer aged 53 years.

Another respondent had this to say during an interview session:

Under one party system, UDSM was run by an Act, approved by the Parliament of Tanzania, which gave the institution an autonomy to hire, fire and so forth. Nowadays, that autonomy does not exist. It is amazing, while our nearby countries such as Kenya has a charter of academic freedom, in Tanzania is not practical.

A lecturer aged 53 years.

When an official working under Directorate of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MOEVT) was approached to explain why all universities in Tanzania no longer had the power to formulate legislation but were formulated by the President, he responded by asking the questions:

"Where was it written that University Acts are university rights? Well, frankly I don't know the reasons behind withdrawal of such a university rights as you call it! However, with the establishment of both state run and private universities, it was thus important to establish administrative mechanisms to monitor all Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in a fair manner"

A man aged 58 years.

The re-establishment of multi-party politics in Tanzania (1992) and the birth of a democratic government in South Africa (1994) had made student participation in campus politics during the era of democratic transition more conflictual than co-operative. Nevertheless democratization of campus politics through campaigns of the national political parties had increased political awareness and consciousness among students, the framework which inform student engagement on campus politics was somehow unclear.

It was also reported that at different times the government had set orders, for the amendment of DARUSO constitutions according to the universities' interest. Despite the good intentions of the government, the extended influence of national politics on campus politics seemed to compromise the democratic choices and values of students.

Theme 5; State-Party Fusion in University Campus within a Conflict Lense

The authoritarian government of Tanzania under one political party CCM since 1960s to early 1990s established a strong political culture even within universities that affected post transition political institutions. The ruling power established rules that favoured the dominance of the single political party.

Following the implementation of political reforms from 1992 to the time of writing the study, all political parties, had exploited university students to advance the agendas of their political parties. The study had revealed that state-party fusion, and later, the ruling and opposition parties dynamics in state run university campuses affected the peace and security in the campuses. Tanzania's transition toward democracy

corresponds to what Munck and Leff (1997) and Hyden (1999) call “transition from above” and what Huntington (1991) calls “transplacement.” These terms refer to a ruling power that initiates a transition in the context of a weak opposition so that the ruling power can establish rules favourable to its retention of political control (Hyden, *ibid.*).

The CCM took full advantage of solely wielding power. It implemented policies that significantly impeded the development of an effective political opposition, thereby monopolising power and control of government. The opposition parties, on the other hand realised this, and utilised students from institution of higher learning as foot soldiers to meet their demands. Thus, this trend led to various conflicts in Tanzania.

In an attempt to examine the factors that have contributed to the declining performance of the opposition parties in Tanzania, Makulilo (2007) notes that “state-party fusion” undermines the opposition and democratic consolidation. According to Shivji (1990:2), when this marriage of convenience between the ruling party and the state occur, the party ceases to be an organ and institution of the civil society and becomes part of the state hence state-party. In this manner, the party relies heavily on state instruments and resources for its survival.

Also, the state-party fusion is entrenched in the systems of Tanzania’s Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). With the advent of multi-party politics since 1992, political reforms created loop holes in the HEIs which all political parties exploited. The struggle to advance agendas of their political parties, and the political dynamics of

parties were the main source of conflict in HEIs. According to Shivji (ibid.), state-party fusion can manifest itself in two forms which are, the “formal fusion” and the “informal”. In the formal fusion, the law stipulates clearly that, the country is a one party state. According to this arrangement the party derives its authority from law as opposed to a party which derives its legitimacy from, and as a party of, the civil society. Thus, increasingly and frequently, it begins to depend on the use of coercion rather than persuasion. Moreover the party is supported by all tax-payers rather than its members.

The second form is called “informal fusion”. This is when the marriage between the party and state is only by practice. In this case, the law does provide for the existence of many parties and the separation of state and party activities. However, the ruling party deliberately puts some strategies and mechanisms in place to monopolize the political space and contain the rest of the parties. In this case, the ruling party takes the advantage of state instruments and resources to undermine the opposition parties (Makulilo,1997).

What is the implication of party-fusion on campus politics in the current era of democratic transition? Clearly, after independence, state-party fusion existed in the systems of Tanzania’s Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Platforms for voicing grievances were not tolerated by the authoritarian government when the country was under one political party just like the current state-party fusion under the multi-party politics since 1992. Since then, the dynamics of state-party fusion and other opposition political parties on campus has been the main source of conflict in HEIs.

As Mthembu (2009: 14) puts it, universities in Africa for a long time have been used as “an ideological apparatus besides being a generator of knowledge”. This study posits that with the global transformation of the national states, the Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP) of HEIs has to create political policy alternatives in a bid to structure democratic institutions, platforms and processes in which all national parties can engage youths on campus politics. Otherwise, the conflictual situations in campus will always be a norm.

Theme 6: Appointment and Approval of Leaders in State Run Universities

The political process at which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellors are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders, is one indicator of the nexus between national and student politics which fuel conflict on campus. Is there any scientific truth behind these claims? Table 4.6 illustrates respondent’s responses to this question.

Table 4.6: Political Process of Appointing Leaders and Conflict Escalation

N (Number of Student in both Universities) = 120

	UDSM		UDOM	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly Agree	20	35	36	60
Agree	10	20	11	18.4
Neither	6	5	2	3.3
Don't Agree	8	13.3	3	5
Strongly Disagree	16	26.7	8	13.3

Source: Survey data, 2013.

From a scale of 1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither, 4=Disagree and 5=Strongly Disagree, students from both, the UDSM and the UDOM were asked to explain whether the political process at which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellors were searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders fuels conflict in Higher Education Institutions of Tanzania. The study findings in Table 4.6 shows that majority of the students, 47 (78.4 %) out of 60, from the University of Dodoma (UDOM), agreed that political process of appointing university leaders such as Vice Chancellors (VCs) was one of the factors behind often occurred conflicts.

Likewise, 30 (50 %) of the students from the University of Dar es Salaam supported that the political process of appointing university leaders such as Vice Chancellors (VCs) based on political affiliation was a source of conflict. A high proportion of student leaders (58 % in UDOM and 50 % in UDSM) were of the view that campus politics was designed to pursue the interest of the ruling national party (CCM). The reason behind these perceptions was due to the fact that the management of these state run universities had been appointed based on their affiliation to the ruling party. When these student leaders were asked which national political party they were affiliated to, they were reluctant to provide an answer and shied away from the question. However, they later stated that they were not allowed to practice politics on campus. When a lecturer of UDSM was questioned if being active in politics compromises their academic roles on campus, he said that,

Mh! I doubt, whether an academician who engage in politics was meant to be an academic! I think these are pseudo-academic.

A man aged 38 years.

When asked to comment on whether the management of UDSM was biased to students who belong to opposition parties, an official from the Dean of Students office at the UDSM had this to say:

Frankly, our VC is not a politician, his curriculum vitae shows his competencies, academic achievements and so forth. As such, he doesn't align to any political party. You know multi-party politics have slightly changed our thinking. We spend a lot of time to think about people in a conflictual lens instead of issues.

A woman aged 44 years.

However, Luhanga explains that soon after his appointment as a VC in 1991, both organs, UDASA and DARUSO condemned his appointment and decried the removal of his predecessor, Prof Mmari (Luhanga, 2009:10). A few days after his appointment as VC, the Executive Committee of UDASA paid him a courtesy call in his office. They explained to him that they had nothing against him as a person but that they decried the manner in which his predecessor had been removed. When Prof.Luhanga asked the Executive Committee of UDASA to tell him the difference between the manner in which his predecessor had been removed and that of the removal of his predecessor's predecessor, he got no coherent response (Luhanga, 1999). In line with the reaction of UDASA and DARUSO in his appointment, Prof.Luhanga said:

Previous Vice Chancellors had been appointed and were removed by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania without consulting the university community. The removal of Prof. Mmari and my appointment as Vice Chancellor did not depart from previous practice.

It is evident that Prof. Luhanga successfully implemented the Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP), which enabled UDSM to make the remarkable progress reported in *the chronicles of Higher Education*. It was noted that for two years running, UDSM was ranked first among African universities north of the Limpopo River and South of the Sahara desert, and thirteenth overall in the whole of Africa (Kihaule, 2005).

Besides these achievements, the study calls for retrospection in the appointment of leaders of state run universities to incorporate an open, competitive and merit based evidence. This will help to address conflict emanating from identity politics polarised by student political competition on campus. Apart from the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Dodoma had also suffered from a similar incidence in which high management officials, such as Deputy Vice Chancellor, had been condemned for his appointment. Speaking to researcher, one of the lecturers from UDOM had this to say:

In 2011, lecturers at the University of Dodoma attended an endless meeting to press the varsity administration and the government to pay them new salaries, annual increments, allowances and other work incentives. When this happened, the students assembled at the Nyerere grounds at the campus and accused the VC of being insensitive to their complaints, such as provision of water and fees to pay for students to undertake practical stints.

A woman aged 42 years.

In the two instances, complaints were made against the Deputy Vice chancellor, (Finance and planning) who was accused of being appointed as a result of his party affiliation.

Theme 7: Deconstruct or Construct National and Student Politics nexus

Respondents were also asked to explain whether the national politics should be disconnected from student politics bearing its effects on peace and security on campus.

Table 4.7: Deconstruct or Construct National and Student Politics nexus

N (Number of Student in both Universities) = 120

	Disconnect		Connect	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
UDSM				
Male	13	8.1	26	16.3
Female	17	10.6	4	2.5
UDOM				
Male	11	6.9	26	16.3
Female	14	8.8	9	5.6
Key Informants				
Male	16	10	20	12.5
Female	2	1.2	2	1.2
Total	73	45.6	87	54.4

Source: Survey data, 2013.

Table 4.7 shows that more than half, 87 (54.4 %) of the respondents rejected the idea of disconnecting national politics from student politics.

They were of the view that Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) should develop democratic institutions and processes to groom and develop democratic values on campus which were often realised through youth engagement in political affairs. One of the key informants who rejected the disconnection of national politics from student politics argued that,

If you have a society where youth are neither politically oriented nor active, that society is dead. However, if have also youth who are politically oriented without any political theory base that inform their activities, expect nothing, rather than conflict! Intellect is missing! We need to mentor them

A man aged 54 years.

Another key informant of this study had this to said:

Our biggest challenge nowadays is that we have youth who don't read like the youth of 1960s. Non of them energizes to understand, analyse or incorporate ideas of great thinkers in politics such as Nyerere, Chaguevara and so forth. Thus, disconnecting will not be a solution

A man aged 57 years.

In supporting the idea of strengthening national and student politics nexus, another key informant of this study said:

Mh..I frankly, reject the idea of disconnecting national politics from student politics because there is a new world order that whether we want or not we are part of it. Universities do not stand outside the society; they are subject to the conflicts and contradictions of the society, as such they should establish systems to respond the social change influenced in the wider world.In simple words, they should design strategies to cope or address issues of transition

Another respondent had this to say:

There is a mutual relationship and dependence between campus politics and national politics, thus you can't disconnect them. Our societies require graduates who are not just capable professionals, but also sensitive intellectuals and critical citizens vested with academic culture and practice to advance democratic ethos, political tolerance etc. Thus, university has a role to forge democratic citizenship and the nation has the right to utilize them.

A man aged 34 years.

A significant number of almost half of the respondents, which was 73 (45.6 %) supported the idea of disconnecting national politics from student politics given its effects on peace and security on university campuses. Apart from polarisation of the university community in political line which led to political tension among students, it was further argued that politicians, for their part, encouraged religious groups to vote for certain political parties. This situation had exacerbated the current upward trend in religious tension between Moslem and Christians in Tanzania.

Beyond political tension on campus, state run universities were increasingly being polarised along religious lines. In this context, political reforms that brought multi-party politics had led to the demise of the Tanzania national identity whereby the civil territorial model of secular national identity which was being practiced in the first three decades of independence was threatened by social identity based on religion and ethnicity (Campbell, 1999:106). In supporting the idea of disconnecting national and

student politics nexus, one among the UDOM students who participated in this study said:

Learning by doing is the best approach towards understanding subject matter. I think the university should establish well democratic process for us to practice campus politics instead of national politics. Once we are matured in practice, we will go and practice national politics in the ground elevation established by national states. However, the university also should draw a line between practicing legal rights on campus and campus politics. This is because, when you challenge the management in some issues, you will quite often be linked to opposition parties

A student aged 44 years.

4.5 Analysis of Leadership Roles and Responsibility of SRCs

Another objective of this study intended to analyse the leadership roles and responsibility of Students Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition. It can be assumed that most of the conflict that happened in higher education today was due to unclear roles and responsibilities of SRCs in executing their functions. The following themes discussed below emerged from the respondent's interview.

Theme 8: Unclear leadership roles and responsibility of SRC

Students are the major stakeholders in a university system. Thus, to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated and understood, by them. The constitutions of Dar es Salaam University Student Organisation (DARUSO) and University of Dodoma Student

Organisation (UDOSO) clearly states the roles and responsibilities of Student Representative Council (SRC). Before analysingleadership roles and responsibility of SRC, it is important to understand the organisational structure, and function of Dar es Salaam University Students Organisation (DARUSO) and UDOSO. In order to empower students to be responsible for their own welfare and promote good governance amongst them, University Council of the University of Dar es Salaam allowed students to form various organisations in order to advance their social, political economic and academic interests but under the supervision of the Dean of Students Office. An example of such organization is DARUSO

Therefore, the Students' Organisations of the University of Dar es Salaam were run by students themselves with high degrees of autonomy., . The University Management could intervene only when the peace and tranquillity at the university is being threatened. There were laws that guided the operation of students organization in this university. For example, for any students' organisation to operate in the University it should have a reasonable objectives and goals which did not conflict with the University Charter and Students By-Laws. Procedurally, it should present its constitution to the Dean of Students office for approval before being registered.

Apart from DARUSO, there were other types of organisations which were mainly academic oriented at UDSM. For instance, there was Dar es Salaam University Political Science Association (DUPSA) and Dar es Salaam University Sociology Organisation (DASUSO) just to mention a few.

Previously, there were regional associations for the University students who were hailed from a certain region or district. But all those associations had been deregistered in a bid to discourage tribalism and encourage nationalism. DARUSO was divided into three main organs namely the cabinet, University Students Representative Council (USRC) and DARUSO Board. Every student who was registered at this University was automatically a member of this organisation.

The cabinet comprised of President, his/her Vice President, Prime Minister and Ministers of various ministries. The USRC comprised of all students representative from the various classes, faculties and Halls or hostels, and those appointees by the USRC Speaker and the cabinet members. DARUSO board was a quasi-judicial organ which deals with disciplinary matters for DARUSO leaders. It is formed by Faculty Chairpersons and Secretaries.

The cabinet was the executive organ of the association. Its role was to run the DARUSO government through various ministries formed by the President, Vice-president and Prime Minister. The USRC handled student matters and made final decisions that the cabinet and DARUSO Board had to implement. It also received, discussed and approved the DARUSO budget of the student's government annually. However, USRC decisions should not contradict with the prevailing documents such as University Charter of 2007 and Students By-Laws of 2011. According to the new DARUSO constitution formulated by the 2011/2012 student government had the following functions: Ensure that student government conducts its business in

accordance with its constitution and by-laws; conducted orientation programmes to all newly-elected students' government leaders; and facilitated responsibility and accountability functions to all students.

Equally important, DARUSO decentralised powers to student government's participatory organs which was responsible for handling some cases of misconduct, dispute settlements and resolution of conflicts among students. It was also tasked with the supervision of the general elections and the facilitation of inter-institutional student leadership conferences and other social events.

In analysing student leaders in Higher education, Luescher (2005) grouped student leaders into two types. The first group comprises of officially recognised student representatives within formal structures of student governance. The informal student leaders are those who organize student movements and student politics outside the formal structures of student governance and administration. They employ informal political tactics which are outside the parameters of the formal structures and processes of governance. Luescher (2005:23) state that these informal leaders led students during protests.

A critical analysis of the leadership roles and responsibility of both organs, DARUSO and UDOSO revealed enormous complaints of leadership gaps among the SRCs student leaders. Table 4.8 analyses the leadership gap among SRCs leaders in HEIs.

Table 4.8: Analysis of the Leadership Gaps among SRCs Leaders in HEIs

Variable	UDSM Frequency	%	UDOM Frequency	%
Poor communication ability with fellow students	28	46.6	32	53.3
SRCs have become power mongers, & materialist	34	56.6	23	38.3
Student leadership is corrupt	30	50	26	43.3
Culture of smoothly handing over leadership is missing	26	43.3	18	30
SRCs lack adequate knowledge of the HEIs	13	21.6	16	26.6
SRCs lack adequate knowledge on Institutional Reforms	20	33.3	22	36.6
SRCs lack adequate leadership skills	23	38.3	26	43.3
Student leaders are not responsive to student needs	31	51.6	34	56.6
SRCs leaders are easily influenced by national political party leaders	39	65	42	70
Student leaders prioritise party politics and put students last	25	41.6	28	46.6
HEIs management corrupt the SRCs leaders so as to sell out their mandate itics and put students last	26	43.3	28	46.6
Soon after election approval SRCs leaderschange and become individualistic	29	48.3	31	51.6

Source: Survey data, 2013.

****Multiple Responses were Allowed**

The study findings in Table 4.8 shows that a high proportion of students from UDOM, 42 (70 %) were of the view that student leaders were easily influenced by national political party leaders.

This influenced the rate of students' participation negatively in democratic practices on campus. The study revealed that the political principles and values that guided the previous SRCs leadership style were different from that of the on-going SRCs. One of the students who participated in a FGD stated that;

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

A student aged 24 years.

Other leadership gaps of SRCs leaders as illustrated in Table 4.8 include; poor communication with fellow students (46.6 % in UDSM and 53.3 % in UDOM); the tightness of SRCs who used their power for private gain (56.6 % in UDSM and 38.3 % in UDOM); the corruption of student leaders (50 % in UDSM and 43.3 % in UDOM) ; the absence of the culture of peaceful transition of power to the incumbent leader (43.3 % in UDSM and 30 % in UDOM); SRCs lack of adequate knowledge of the HEIs (21.6 % in UDSM and 26.6 % in UDOM) and SRCs lack of adequate knowledge on institutional reforms (33.3 % in UDSM and 36.6 % in UDOM).

In the same vein, inadequate leadership skills (38.3 % in UDSM and 43.3 % in UDOM); non-responsiveness to student needs (51.6 % in UDSM and 56.6 % in UDOM); concentrated more on party politics and put students last (41.6 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM); and HEIs management strategy to corrupt the student leaders

in a bid to sell out their mandate (43.3 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM) were also reported as leadership gaps of SRCs leaders. What was the implications of these findings on the leadership roles of the contemporary SRCs regime?

It is without doubt that students' organisations have played an important role in fostering the expansion of democracy in Tanzania. However, this democratic transition had an opposite effect on students' politics. Most student leaders were corrupt and power who did not pursue the interest of the students but rather on their personal interests.. This is supported by Lange (2001) who observes that over the years, there appears to have been a decline in student leadership within higher education institutions. More so, during the era of democratic transition, there were no-clearly defined leadership roles and responsibilities of SRCs. In order to attain good governance in the university, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated to them. One of the key informants stated during an interview session that,

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

A man aged 56 years.

This argument was refuted by one of the lecturer from UDOM who commended that:

Campus demonstration has been historically part and parcel of new blood generation. Today's youths prefer politics that excite their feelings, politics that raises

their emotions, vested with dances and so forth. These are driven changes in the new World order, you cannot stop them!

A man aged 46 years.

It was also argued by another respondent during an interview session that:

The best way to address ecstasy politics driven by student community on campus is to strategize on how to accommodate them. This can be achieved by utilizing student energy as a social capital for national development in different developmental interventions.

A man aged 36 years.

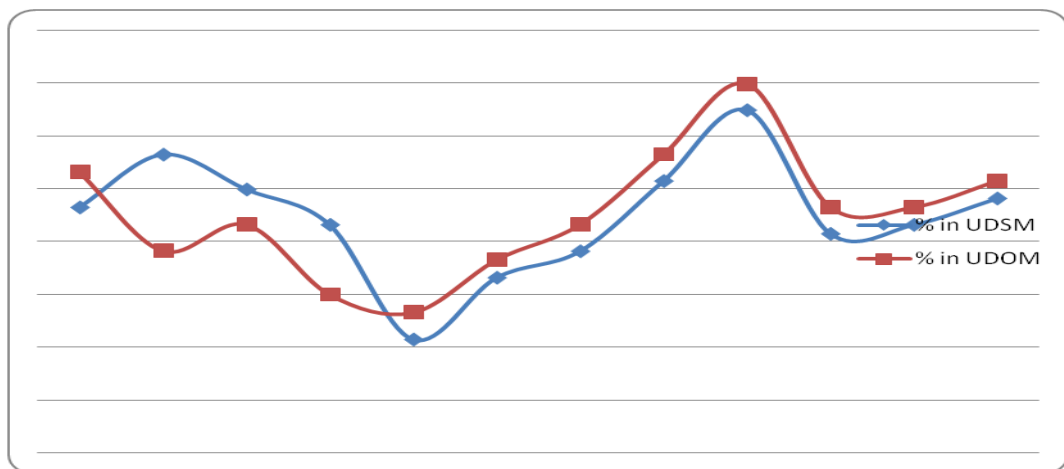
Another respondent during an interview session said:

There is no democracy in administering HEIs; otherwise students can throw your regime

A man aged 54 years.

The study also compared the leadership gaps of SRCs leaders of the two universities.

Figure 4.6 Comparing Leadership Gaps among SRCs Leaders in Both Colleges



Source: Survey data, 2013.

It is thus crucial to analyse the political environment that students' leaders played in campus in a holistic way in a bid to explore the competencies of the SRCs leaders.

4.6 Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators and Student Violent Behaviour

The study intended to determine whether there was a relationship between leadership styles of university administrators and the escalation of student's crises. The two themes which include institutional drivers of the student violent behaviour and leadership styles of HEIs administrators emerged from that objective.

Theme 9: Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators

Leadership styles refer to the technique employed by leaders in providing direction, implementing plans, and motivating people to meet desired goals. Leadership styles vary. When respondents were asked to describe the leadership styles of the HEIs administrators, the majority, 91(75.8 %) of students perceived the management of those universities to be authoritative and reactive in responding to student needs. Most of the student conflicts on campus were revealed to be exacerbated by poor leadership styles of HEIs administrators. These findings were also supported by the MSTHE (2004) report which concurred that poor leadership styles of HEIs officials was one among the determinants of student crises.

Utilisation of reactive measures when dealing with students instead of being proactive was the most cited causes of conflicts in Tanzania's universities. On the contrary, a minority, 19 (15.8 %) of students perceived the management of HEIs in Tanzania to

have utilised situational leadership. According to this approach, no leadership style was most appropriate as it depends on various variables. These variables include the issue confronted, qualities of the followers and the environment in which the problem was situated. When asked to comment on whether student violent behaviour was the function of leadership styles of HEIs administrators, one of the lecturers said:

Well! Partly, I could say that, however, I think there is a vacuum on what type of leadership is required for the institution called a university. Leadership should be distinguished from exercise of authority and routine compliance with organizational protocol.

A man aged 46 years

It was also revealed by some of the academic staff that in both UDSM and UDOM the decision making process on campus involved a long chain command structure, which was covertly done. Arguably, some top officials of the HEIs avoided making decisions and instead chose to hide behind committees. This was supported by Mosha (1994) who argued that the challenge of many African institutions including UDSM was the adoption of the election process of heads of departments, faculty deans and institute directors from North American and European Universities. Although these North American and European universities abandoned the electoral system in favour of research committees and consultative processes, African institutions retained the electoral mechanism. This had varying impacts ranging from conflicts to failures in maintaining quality in management, teaching and research.

Theme 10: Institutional Drivers that Cause Student Conflict

Besides the student conflict caused by the connectedness between national and student politics, the study went further to identify and analyse the extent to which institutional structures, processes and dynamics prevalent in HEIs caused regular student crises. Table 4.9 discusses the institutional drivers fuelling student violence.

Table 4.9: Institutional Drivers Fueling Student Violence in Tanzania's HEI's

Variable	UDSM Frequency	%	UDOM Frequent	
Poor student participation in decision making on campus	36	60	32	53.3
Incompetency of academic staffs in fulfilling their academic roles	21	35	28	46.6
Incompetency of non-academic staffs in fulfilling their work	23	38.3	26	43.3
The growing trend of insecurity on campus	43	71.6	28	46.6
Communication gaps between Management & SRC leaders	27	45	19	31.6
Changes of student-by-laws & Reforms on student welfare	41	68.3	22	36.6
Lack of funds and challenges for funding student studies	44	73.3	39	65
Residency problems for registered students on campus	45	75	38	63.3
Institutional problems in accommodating retrospective stds	28	46.6	24	40
Poor teaching and learning environment	42	70	31	51.6
Poor recreational and out of class environment	32	53.3	28	46.6
Putting little emphasis on games and sports	21	35	28	46.6
Poor leadership or governance styles of HEIs administrators	36	60	42	70
Lack of political freedom on the university campus	41	68.3	44	73.3
Putting student counselling and mentorship programs on campus last	19	31.6	23	38.3

Source: Survey data, 2013.

**Multiple responses were allowed

Various factors which include problems with students' accommodation (75 %), lack of funds and challenges emerging for funding student studies (73.3 %) and the growing trend of insecurity on campus (71.6 %) were mentioned as factors that propagated students' conflict in the University of Dar es Salaam. On the other hand, students from the University of Dodoma perceived lack of political freedom on campus (73.3 %) to be the leading cause of conflict between management and students.

Other mentioned problems identified in UDOM as the main instigator of conflicts include leadership or governance styles of UDOM administrators (70 %), and lack of funds and challenges emerged for funding student studies (65 %) . What were the implications of the study findings with respect to the objectives of the study? Arguably, the residency problems for the registered students on UDSM campuses was as a result of the country infrastructural challenges which are lack of safe water and electricity in the city.

On the other hand, one of the major causes of conflicts in UDOM was the lack of political freedom due to poor leadership or governance styles of UDOM administrators towards managing student conflict. Although UDOM campuses had in the past been polarised along political lines, dismissing students under the assumption from informants that they were going to cause chaos on campus did not fit academic intellect. The study also showed that the institutional drivers of violent behaviour across university campuses include poor student participation in decision making on campus (60 % in UDSM and 53.3 % in UDOM); incompetency of academic staffs in fulfilling their academic roles (35 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM); incompetency

of non-academic staffs in fulfilling their responsibilities (38.3 % in UDSM and 43.3 % in UDOM); the growing trend of insecurity on campus (71.6 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM); communication gaps between management & SRC leaders (45 % in UDSM and 31.6 % in UDOM); changes of student by-laws and reforms on student welfare (68.3 % in UDSM and 36.6 % in UDOM); and lack of funds and challenges for funding student studies (73.3 % in UDSM and 65 % in UDOM) .

Other reported institutional drivers on campus politics include residency problems for registered students on campus (75 % in UDSM and 63.3 % in UDOM); institutional problems in accommodating retrospective students (46.6 % in UDSM and 40 % in UDOM); poor teaching and learning environment (61.6 % in UDSM and 70 % in UDOM); poor recreational and class environment (53.3 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM); poor or little emphasis on games and sports (35 % in UDSM and 46.6 % in UDOM); poor leadership styles or governance of HEIs administrators (60 % in UDSM and 70 % in UDOM); as well as institutional gaps on student counselling/mentorship (31.6 % in UDSM and 38.3 % in UDOM).

Was there any relationship between leadership styles of HEIs administrators and students violent behaviour? From the analysis of both themes mentioned above, it could be concluded that, *under ceteris paribus*, if all other factors remains constant, there is a positive relationship between leadership styles of HEIs administrators and students violent behaviour. This was supported by Muya (2013) who argues that it is hard to predict the behaviour of human beings in certain occasions. The behaviour of

students who engage in campus politics could be predicted through analysing the conflictual behaviour of academic systems.

4.7 Effectiveness of the Conflict Management Measures in HEIs

In addition to other objectives, the study intended to assess the effectiveness of the conflict management measures or strategies in institutions of higher learning. In order to do this, it intended to establish whether most of the conflict that happened in higher education today occurred due to existence of ineffective measures or strategies to address them. Since the conflict management measures depends on the type or source of the conflict, identifying the types of conflict management measures in HEIs, and assessing their effectiveness in managing student conflict on HEIs campuses became crucial. The following two themes emerged from the respondents interview and documentary analysis: the types and effectiveness of conflict management measures in HEIs, and Re-thinking new strategies for conflict transformation in HEIs.

Theme 11: Types and Effectiveness of Conflict Management Measures in HEIs

Since the determinants of these crises were complex as they reflected historical and society transformational processes, the styles of handling conflict were thus determined by the source of conflict. In this regard, there was no one best approach to making decisions since conflict management style was depends on the situation. The following conflict management measure emerged from the respondents interview and documentary analysis: use of suppression or coercion; use of university governance body for determining students' cases at the university level as established by the

university by-laws, change governance processes in university by focusing on participation; maintain cordial relationships between students and the university authority; elect the president of SRCs based on campus politics without affiliating to national political parties; design responsive democratic institutions such as electoral committee; unbiased processes for election and effective strategies to manage conflict; and, lastly, employ religious exercises for divine intervention to reduce the emergence of conflict.

Of all the mentioned measures above, it was reported that the use of suppression and cohesion was a leading measure in an attempt to manage student crowd during boycott or demonstration. Zhimin and Ken Ramani (2012) opine that suppression or coercion, as a technique of conflict resolution in HEIs, was not an adequate procedure because it does not address the causes of conflict and therefore conflicts could reoccur.

Apart from the use of suppression and cohesion, both universities, UDSM and UDOM had organs (quasi-judicial bodies) set for determining students' cases from such crises. The structure and functions of those quasi-judicial bodies in both studied universities were stipulated under the respective University Charters. Prior to the Charter, UDSM exercised her mandate through the UDSM Act No 12 of 1970. Before the current Charter, the previous legal regime at UDSM did not have provisions on the application of the principles of natural justice. Therefore, those principles applied on humanitarian grounds. As a result, there were consistent records on non-adherence to rules of natural justice by UDSM in determining students' cases.

An example was the case of *Laiser Yona and 7 others v. UDSM* where the respondent's decision to expel the applicants without fair hearing was nullified for the breach of principles of natural justice (Gardner, 1985 in Nyalugwe, 2013)

Although in both Universities, the Charters required such quasi-judicial bodies to observe principles of natural justice in determining student's cases (Rule 54 of the 2007 UDSM Charter), adherence to the principle of natural justice had been compromised in both universities. Because of that, several decisions made by either the UDSM or UDOM authority had been appealed against the students, consequently reversed by Courts of law. The main grounds for revision cited by the Court included; lack of jurisdiction, bias, failure to observe right to a fair hearing, and failure to give reasons for decisions made.

Due to ineffectiveness of the above measures in managing student crises, the study called and supported different interventions for managing student crises depending on sources of conflict. Since an academic system such as the university was described as the relationships among its components (teachers, students, content, and contexts) and the relationship that system has with its environment, it was important to analyse the reform environment, strategies, and time factor before implementing it on HEIs.

According to Alcover (2009), the university and the world of academia in general are, due to its nature, a perfect breeding ground for the conflicts, disputes, problems, and grievances. Thus, the use of mediation as one of the dispute resolution mechanisms should be emphasised.

Malan (1997) supports that, the culture of gathering under trees rather than a table had become traditional places for conspicuous landmarks on conflict resolutions. Building conflict management skills and tactics as well as strengthen academic leadership background of HEIs administrators should be emphasised from the department up to the college level of the university. Equally important, HEIs should institutionalise mechanisms for enhancing lateral and vertical communication in institutions of higher learning in a bid to manage conflict. Miscommunication quite often established a vacuum which misinformed and misguided students, thus reaching to fueling conflicts.

4.8 Summary of the Chapter Four

The transition process to democracy in Tanzania had not been completed. Equally important, the focus of the transition process should not only be at the national level, but should also focus on the institutional level such as HEIs which prepare intellectual activity in which young could experience new ideas, constructs and de-construct about the world. Students must be given freedom to practice their politics under college guidance.

In Tanzania, the nature of decision-making of the four levels of command and the national and students political nexus in HEIs accounts for most conflict in universities. These were the flow of a political reform caused by multi-party democracy from national level to the campus, the flow of Ministerial decisions on campus, the implementation of cost-sharing policy, the decision of either the Ministry of Education or HELSB to withdraw student bursaries on certain grounds, and the political process of appointing and approval of the leaders in state run universities.

Since democracy requires democratic citizens, the use of both civic education and debate on political topics were suggested as it could potentially contribute significantly to managing campus conflict. While civic education had the largest effects on political knowledge, academic and political debates could be a strategy to quell anger that could trigger conflicts, this debates could serve as a platform for negotiation, mediation and compromise.. Without a politically engaged population of young people and leaders who could and would conduct conversations across difference, we could not expect a similarly engaged population of adults. Political mentors on campus were also key to foster democratic orientations, build political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, civic skills, and political participation. The transition process to democracy in Tanzania had not been completed.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings and discussion on the connectedness of national and student politics in South Africa's university campuses. Its aim was to inform evidence-based conflict management practices and policy restructuring in Higher education Institutions (HEIs). Two cases, the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria in South Africa were used as unit of analysis to generate a body of knowledge in line with the objectives of the study as stated in chapter one.

The presentation and analysis of data is organised under seven main sections: Section 5.2 describes the study area and provides the profile of political conflict in the surveyed institutions and section 5.3 discusses both social demographic characteristics of students and student background information; Section 5.4 critically analyses the national and student politics nexus in campus and Section 4.5 analyse the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs. Whilst section 5.6 analyzes leadership styles of University administrators and escalation of students crises, section 5.7 assesses the effectiveness of the conflict management measures/models. The last part, section 5.8 offers a chapter's summary. The chapter starts by describing the profile of study area at which the study was conducted. Both, the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria are covered.

5.2 Description of the Study Area

The section starts with a synopsis of the two case studies, the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria in South Africa. Historically, both universities were racially different in terms of serving either blacks or whites interests. Whereas the University of Zululand was formed to serve black populace interests, the University of Pretoria was established to serve Afrikaners interests. While the University of Zululand is located in the rural area of KwaZulu-Natal province, the University of Pretoria is located in Gauteng, which is the capital city of South Africa.

5.2.1 The University of Zululand

The University of Zululand (also known as Unizulu) is a rural-based comprehensive university, with its main campus in Kwadlangezwa, just south of Empangeni, a second Campus is in Richards Bay, as well as other off-campus centres. According to Wikipedia (2013), University of Zululand was designated to serve as the only comprehensive tertiary educational institution north of the Tugela River in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Its new status is in accordance with South Africa's National Plan for Higher Education aimed at eradicating inequity and costly duplication. As a result, Unizulu offers career-focused programmes as well as a limited number of relevant university degree courses that have been structured with potential employees and employers in mind. The University of Zululand was first established in 1960 as the University College of Zululand with only 41 students, 75 % male and 25 % female (Wikipedia, 2010). As a constituent college affiliated to the University of South Africa, it initially catered mainly for the Zulu and Swazi groups.

The main Campus is situated at KwaDlangezwa, 19 km south of Empangeni and about 142 km north of Durban off the N2 National Road on the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast. In 1970 the college was granted University status. Since then the University has continued to expand and has experienced an increased intake of students from other parts of Africa, especially from Botswana, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Nigeria, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. In 2002 this rural-based institution was declared a comprehensive institution offering both traditional degrees and career-focused programmes. In 2005 the former six Faculties Arts; Education; Science and Agriculture; Law, Commerce and Administration; and Theology and Religion Studies were restructured to four Faculties, namely Arts; Commerce, Administration and Law; Education; and Science and Agriculture.



Figure 5.1: A Cross Sectional Profile Picture of the University of Zululand

Source: Survey data, 2013.

5.2.2 The University of Pretoria

The University of Pretoria is a public research university in Pretoria, the administrative and de facto capital of South Africa. The university was established in 1908 as the Pretoria campus of the Johannesburg - based Transvaal University College. It is also the fourth South African institution to be awarded university status.

The university has grown from the original 32 students in 1960 to approximately 39,000 in 2010. The University was built on 7 suburban campuses on 1120 Acres of land (SARUA 2010). The University is organised into nine faculties and a business school. Established in 1920, the University of Pretoria has the faculty of Veterinary Science, which is the second oldest veterinary school in Africa and the only veterinary school in South Africa. In 1949 the university launched the first MBA programme outside of North America and the University's Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS). It has been ranked as the top business school in Africa for executive education, as well as being placed in the top 50 in the world.

Since 1997, the university has produced more research outputs every year than any other institution of higher learning in South Africa, as measured by the Department of Education's accreditation benchmark (Interview with SRC President in UP, 2013). In 2008 the university awarded 15.8% of all the masters and doctorate degrees in South Africa, the highest %age in the country.



Figure 5.2: Student Residence and Old Arts Faculty Building of the UP

Source: Wikipedia Picture, the free Encyclopaedia 2013.

5.2.3 The Conflict Climate Fuelled by Political Dynamics in Study Areas

It has become a regular norm to hear of cancellation of SRC election, a political party banned from taking office, SRC election ballots rigged, election intimidation, racist slandering, violent protest to SRC elections and dismal turnouts at voting stations. These complex issues have fuelled crises on campuses in South Africa. SRC election processes are riddled with conflicts and controversies. This conflicts have been widespread in the countries' media in recent times. The study seeks to answer this question; "Should state party politics be linked to the university student governance?"

Student Conflict fuelled by the Political climate in the University of Pretoria

For a considerable while, the ANC led SASCO has dominated student politics in the University of Pretoria, until late 2010, when it was defeated during an election by AfriForum Youth (AFY)⁶ which won an absolute majority in the SRC. Since then, AFY has dominated the student politics at the University of Pretoria. In an interview with the president of the SRC (2013), he stated that the following three years after AFY took office saw the decline of SASCO in UP. SASCO did not peacefully relinquish power to the AFY when it lost the elections as it took various measures to contest the electoral results.

In 2011, SASCO took AFY to court and forced UP to run re-elections refusing the results of the original election be released. The Pretoria High Court set aside the re-elections and a court order forced UP to release the results a full five months after the election in February 2012. The results were released and AFY had a record of 42% of the votes cast and twice the number of votes SASCO received. It was clear SASCO had lost its popularity among students in UP. Also, in 2012/2013, AFY won the students election with votes higher than the preceding election. SASCO, days before the elections, threatened the peace and tranquillity of UP by mobilising its supporters to protest and demonstrate. Eventually it withdrew from the elections and UP was forced to cancel its SRC elections just six days before the elections were slated to begin. SASCO had succeeded in cancelling the elections and preventing AFY from winning the elections.

⁶AfriForum is the youth wing of AfriForum, a civil rights organization committed to promoting and protecting the rights of mainly Afrikaner culture and other such minority groups in South Africa.

They deprived the student body of UP a student-elected SRC. To make matters worse, UP contravened its own constitution when they cancelled the election all together by declaring them illegal due to SASCO's protest. Furthermore, UP appointed its own SRC which was called Temporary Student Committee (TSC). This committee in effect took the place of the SRC indefinitely. This was a violation of the National Higher Education Act, which compels the university to establish a democratically elected body annually that would represent student's interests.

In the last three years UP has failed to elect a democratic SRC. Also, the constitution that guides students' governance has been changed three times in the last three years. The present constitution was formulated by various societies and the student body which was then approved by the University of Pretoria in September this 2013.

Student Political Violence at the University of Zululand

Unizulu has experienced its fair share of violence and conflicts due to the nature students' politics. For instance, in 2007, the SRC led by the South African Students Congress (SASCO) introduced new lecture visual aids in the lecture halls; however they destroyed some during protests regarding a backlog in student politics. Also, in 2009 a dispute over the SRC elections between the Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned students organisation SADESCO and the ANC-aligned Students organization SASCO resulted into a situation whereby a lecture hall was burned down and several buildings

were damaged. On 27 September, 2012 during the SRC election, voting process was disrupted due to an alleged misconduct by some students, from one of the political formations. On 01 October 2012 the Vice-Chancellor and Council called for the re-election of the SRCs in both campuses. Security and other supportive processes were reinforced and consolidated to ensure peace, credibility and fairness. This time, the SRC election went on peacefully and results were released.

South Africa had practised multiparty democracy for almost twenty years at the time of this study. In that length of time, it had managed to establish and attain considerable changes in her democratic institutions, processes, political as well as socio-economic system. Nevertheless a democratic society, according to Höglund (2006:4), is a non-violent and orderly, popular participation, and open competition. Ironically, this has had an opposite effect on campus politics. In an era of democratic transition, student politics have often led to regular students' violence.

In an attempt to explain the student conflict that arose from the connectedness between national and students politics on campus, the study profiled the conflict climate in KwaZulu-Natal province where Unizulu is located, and its implications on campus politics. KwaZulu-Natal, experienced great political conflict in the 80s and early 90s. This conflict was between two political parties, which are the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Large scale violence was used to demarcate and protect geographic areas based on boundaries set by these political areas. It is estimated that 25 000 people died as a result of violence between 1985 and 1994 (Schuld, 2013).

The violent conflict for political control between the ANC and IFP became the breeding ground for various local groups such as vigilantes, South African trade unions as well as violent entrepreneurs (warlords, taxi companies, ethnic groups, gangs, self-defence and self-protection units) who perpetuated these conflicts. Measures to open up the political landscape to de-escalate party antagonisms and overcome geo-political borders in the era of democratic transition at this time were unsuccessful (Schuld, 2013).

However, there are evidences which show that the geopolitical landscape of territorial control has shifted in the last decade, and the ANC has extended its influence in this area, thereby becoming the dominant party in KZN (Schuld, *ibid.*). This dominance has extended to university campuses, where national political parties spread their influence through student political organisations. This shows that the student political conflicts are influenced by their external political affiliations and the issues that define them. This is the case in the University of Zululand, where student's politics is a reflection of societal politics that operate at the national, provincial and municipal levels of political organization.

5.3 Socio- demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The total number of respondents sampled was 170. It comprised of 120 students from both UP and Unizulu, who were surveyed through the use of questionnaires. A sample of 20 key informants outside the university community, and a sample of 30 key officials from both UP and Unizulu were also interviewed.

Although the proposed sample size of the study on South Africa was 170 respondents, only a total of 158 were found to be valid for analysis. The remaining 12 were rejected as 'spoilt' for reasons ranging from unwillingness of respondents to continue with the survey to deliberate misinformation of the respondents. As such, the response rate in South Africa was $158/170 = 92.9\%$.

Three variables were used to understand socio-demographic characteristics of respondents which include, age, gender and level of participation in campus politics. Age was used to analyse an active respondents strata for practising campus politics thereby strengthening leadership skills. Gender analysis was used to understand how gender influences political leadership in campus within a conflict lense.

Also, the study investigated the level of participation in campus politics in order to explore students' understanding of their civic rights such as voting during the SRC election, their engagement in SRC leadership as well as being conscious of democratic practices on campus. Table 5.1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Table 5.1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

N (Total No. of respondents for the South Africa's context) = 158

		Frequency	%age
Gender	Male	46	27.8
	Female	114	72.2
	Total	158	100
Age	20-30	103	65.2
	31-40	24	15.2
	41-50	15	9.5
	51-60	16	10.1
	Total	158	100
Level of political participation			
(eg. Political meetings, debates on political issues, excluding participation in SRC election)	Very High	8	5
	High	13	8.2
	Fair	26	16.4
	Low	87	55.1
	Very Low	24	15.3
	Total	158	100

Source: Survey data, 2013.

The statistics in Table 5.1 show that the number of females interviewed was higher than the number of males. Of 158 respondents, 114 (72.2 %) were female and 46 (27.8 %) were male. The historical path and socio-cultural factors in the new South Africa, was suggested to account for high number of female students. The findings show that the UniZulu had more female students 45 (69.2 %), than the University of Pretoria which had 38 (64.4%).

In analysing how gender influences political leadership on campus, it was of import to identify the key perpetrators of conflict on university campuses. Although, the majority of respondents surveyed in this case study were female, a higher %age of SRCs leaders were male students. This suggests that campus politics was dominated by the male gender. Based on this, we could infer that campus conflict had a masculine character in terms of causes since men were mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that governed students politics in those university campuses. In the absence of any constitutional framework that guarantees females' student political representation in the campus political leadership, the situation of low representation of females in formal politics would always be evident, producing a mixed bag of gains and losses in different government machinery.

In addition, the mean age of respondents that participated in this study was 22 years of age and the median was 24 years. The age ranged between 20 to 59 years. The results in Table 5.1 show that 103 (65.2 %) of the respondents were between the age of 20 and 30. This age group is the most active age group. Its high frequency in the study indicates an active stratum for bringing societal change if empowerment will be implemented effectively.

Institutionally empowered students would be able to participate in institutional discourses. These empowered students will be politically aware of what was happening in the educational system, where and when to intervene, in most cases using their legally allowed organs like Students Representative Council (SRCs), and the

functions of other organisations set for different purposes on campus. With an increasing number of students being admitted into higher education for training, it was imperative to understand how student needs and challenges, and align with that of the HEIs in the university systems.

Apart from gender and age, the study investigated the level of participation in campus politics. It also intended to investigate whether engagement in political violence during SRCs elections were due to the legacies of apartheid/racism in South Africa. The findings of the study showed that out of the 158 respondent surveyed, 111 (70.4 %) had the view that the level of student participation on campus politics was either low or very low. One of the students in the University of Zululand had this to say during an interview:

Sometimes SRCs or political organisations on campus could organize political meeting or dialogue in our common venues such as NE5 and SC 101, amazingly not even 10 % of student would attend

A student aged about 22 years

On the contrary, students showed high level of participation in party manifesto during SRCs election. With more than 75 % of students attending the manifesto, it was thought that the voting process would reflect the same trend; however, that was not the case in both universities. While in the University of Zululand about 40 % of students participated in voting, in the University of Pretoria it was about 60 %.

5.4 The National and Students Politics Nexus in Conflict Lense

One of the objectives of this study was to identify the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic consolidation and how it fuelled conflict in South Africa institutions of higher learning. The following seven themes emerged from the respondents interviews and the documentary analysis: The flow of national politics on the university campuses, the influence of the national politics on the campus politics, students participation in democratic processes in a conflict lense; democratic transition and its implication on campus politics in South Africa; state-party fusion in University campus within a conflict lense; appointment and approval of the leaders in state run universities; and deconstruct or construct national and student politics nexus.

Theme 1: The Flow of National Politics to the University Campuses

Understanding respondents' awareness on the flow of national politics down to the University campuses was important in order to analyse the implication this nexus bore on campus peace and security as well as the mechanisms and strategies for addressing them. From a scale of 1=Strongly Agree, 2=Agree, 3=Neither, 4=Disagree and 5=Strongly Disagree, students from both, the Unizulu and the UP were asked whether they were aware of conflict fuelled by the flow of national politics down to university campuses. Table 5.2 demonstrates respondents responses.

Table 5.2: Awareness of Conflict from National and Student Politics Nexus

N(Student No. in both Universities) = 124

Do you agree that the flow of national politics on campuses is the main source of student conflict?	Unizulu	UP
Strongly Agree	17	15
Agree	29	20
Neither	2	1
Disagree	9	16
Strongly Disagree	8	7
Total	65	59

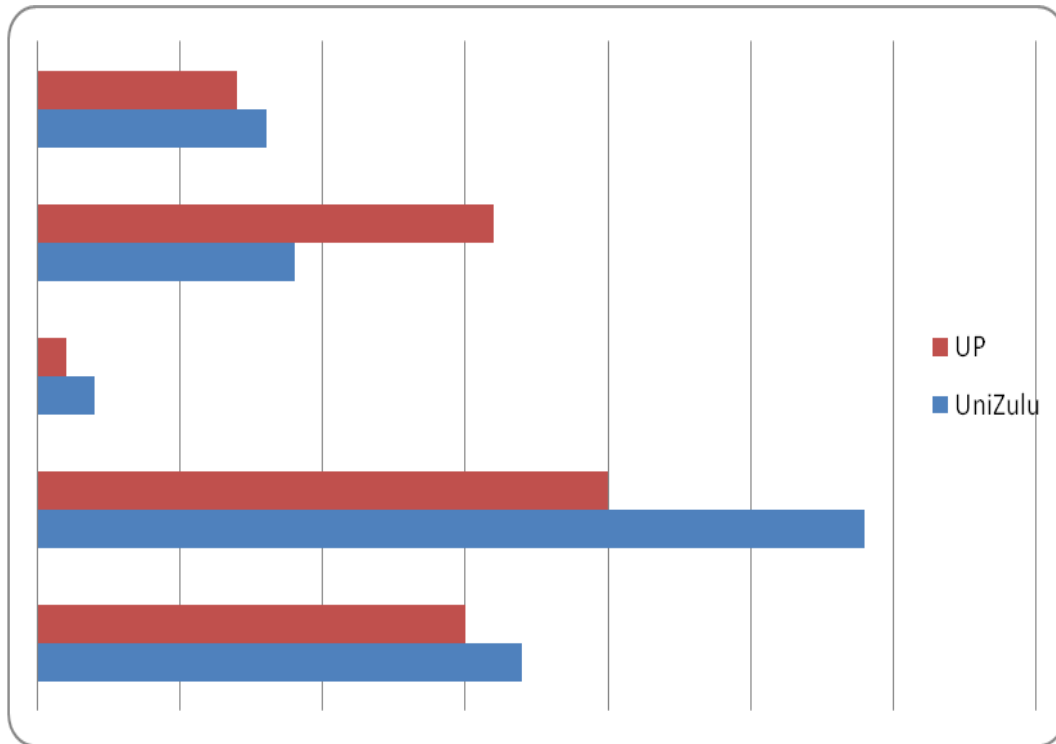
Source: Survey data, 2013.

Table 5.2 shows that a high proportion of respondents, which is 46 (70.8 %) out of 65 students, from University of Zululand (Unizulu), and 35 (59.3 %) out of 59 students from University of Pretoria (UP), were aware of conflict emerging from the flow of national politics down to university campuses. It was revealed that students from the University of Zululand were more aware of the flow of national politics down to campus than students from the University of Pretoria. Figure 5.3 below reflects this. Due to this level of awareness, the students from UP had been less affected by political conflict compared to the students from Unizulu in the era of democratic transition. One of the key informants during an interview session said:

University of Zululand is in a state of crisis in respects to SRC governance. Quite often, SRC election processes have become rocky and marred with controversies which resulted into re-voting process in 2012. The practice of national politics on campus, questions on the role that university has in SA political circus

A man aged about 42 years.

Figure 5.3: Awareness of Conflict from National and Student Politics Nexus



Source: Survey data, 2013.

Theme 2: The Influence of the National Politics on the Campus Politics

The findings derived from questionnaires and documentary evidence show two historical phases that explain the influence of national politics on campus politics in South Africa. The two phases include the apartheid era and democratic transition era from 1994. The focus of the study however centres on the contemporary era of democratic transition from 1994 to 2012.

The financing of the state run universities had been the main source of the connectedness between national and campus administration. This coupled with the transition to democracy had successfully influenced campus politics through the provision of resources, mentors, and incentives.

The presence of diverse national political parties on university campus and the polarisation of campus politics based on party affiliation has become a trigger for political tension among students on campus. Previously, in both Unizulu and UP, the leaders of national political parties campaigned for the SRC leaders aligned to their parties. This often fuelled political tension and divisions among students, and threatened the peace and security on campus. The SRCs elections are being funded by different political parties in order to use the campus political organisations as a means to pursue the parties' agenda at the lower level. This situation is supported by Omotola (2010) who argues that the youth are not the only key initiators of this violence as they can be instigated by political, religious and community leaders who take advantage of lack of jobs and other opportunities for outsourcing youth energies. Due to of poverty, a majority of students are exploited for the selfish gains of these parties. One of the respondents in an interview had this to say:

In 2009, Julius Malema, a former ANC youth leader, came to the University of Zululand to address SASCO on external politics. Students from the opposition organization called SADESMO tried to block him from entering the university premises, unfortunate they failed. After his address on campus, later that evening students aligned to SASCO were attacked by SADESMO students.

A man aged about 34 years

Although, the approved SRCs constitutions from both universities, had restrict students from engaging in party politics on campus, this has not been the case as SRCs campaigns are usually linked to national politics. Before analysing the nature of those politics, it is important to consider the methods used by the national politics to influence the campus politics. Table 5.3 below, provides respondents views on this. The study showed that the national parties influenced campus politics by funding the SRCs candidates' campaigns. A high proportion of respondents of about 38 (30.6 %) mentioned this as the leading method used. In addition, 24 (19.3 %) mentioned the provision of employment to graduate SRCs leaders.

Table 5.3: Methods used by National politicians to influence students' politics

N (Student No. in both Universities) = 124

Variable	Frequency	%
Using Students in Party Campaigns	20	16.1
Empowering SRCs Leaders on Political Leadership	6	4.8
Offering Job Opportunities to Graduated SRCs leaders	24	19.3
Supporting SRCs Party Candidates with Funds in Election	38	30.6
Touring Political Messages to Campus	12	9.7
Offering Incentives eg. Attending Party National Meeting	9	7.3
Funding Student Organisations	15	12.2
Total	124	100

Source: Survey data, 2013.

One of the post-graduate students from the Unizulu said this during the FGD session:

It is undeniable truth that many former SRCs leaders are now employed at the Municipal level. The former

SRC President under NASMO in 2004 to 2005 is now working as the Director at Nongoma Municipality, which is one of the base under NFP, thus practicing National politics ensures job security and career development.

A student aged about 27 years

Another student from the University of Zululand, in the same FGDs session said:

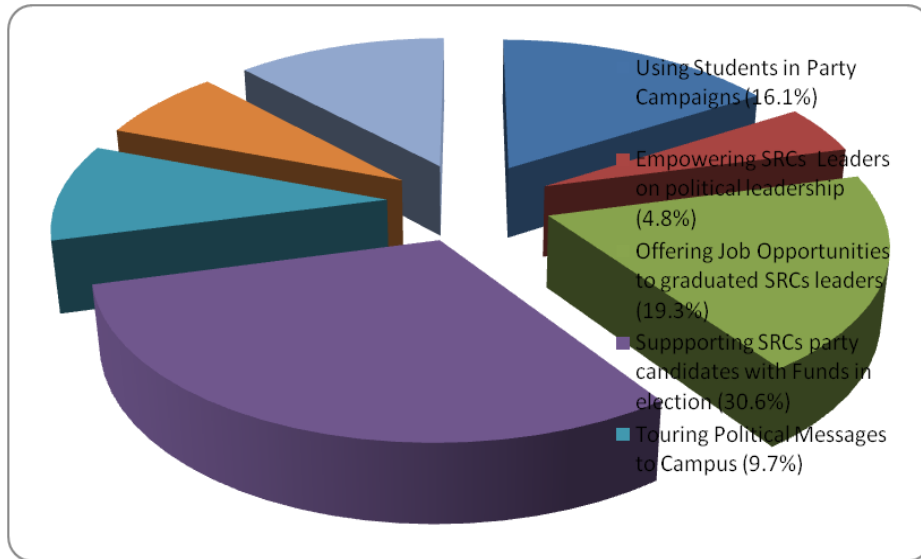
Ah! Let us not be bias! Even the ANC provide jobs at the municipality level based on political affiliation!. For example, the former secretary of the SRCs under SASCO, 2006 to 2007, has now been employed as a Personnel Assistant (PA), of the Deputy Mayor in uThungulu District Municipality.

A student aged about 25 years

Based on these arguments, it was unclear whether the government prioritised technocrats or political leaders to run state institutions. This called for critical analysis of the systems and mechanisms put in place in the appointment of national leaders in South Africa. Without a clear cut framework, public institutions will be polarised along political lines.

Other methods of influencing national politics on campus mentioned during the study include, funding student-led organizations (15 students - 12.2 %), producing political messages that tour campuses (12 students -9.7 %), offering incentives such as students participation in party national meeting or programs (9 students -7.3 %), using students in party campaigns (20 - 16.1 %) and empowering SRC leaders on political leadership.

Figure 5.4: Methods used by National politicians to influence students' politics



Source: Survey data, 2013.

Competition in the political arena is often spiced by effective mobilization tools central to which is language. Based on this, national political leaders pay visits to campuses and utilize language as a strategy to manipulate and win over students in their campaigns.

Theme 3: Students Participation in Democratic Processes in a Conflict Lens

Students in both, the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria were asked whether they understood the concept of democracy, types of democratic activities they engage in, and the extent to which they practiced it on campus. Table 5.4 shows students responses.

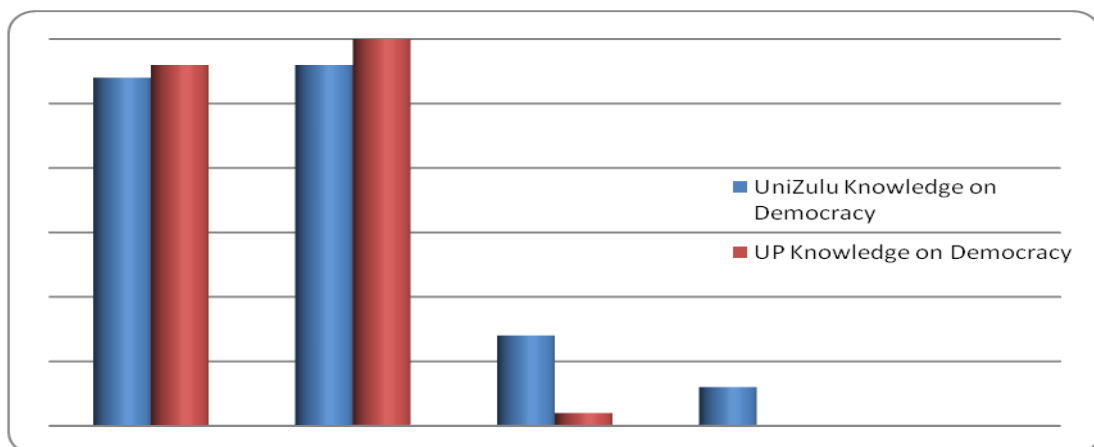
Table 5.4 Students Understanding of Democracy, and Democratic Processes

N(Student No. in both Universities) = 124

Students Knowledge on Democracy	Unizulu	UP	Both Unizulu and UP	
	Frequency	Frequency	Total Number	Total %
Strongly Understand,	27	28	55	44.4
Understand,	28	30	58	46.8
Neither	7	1	8	6.5
Don't Understand	3	-	3	2.3
Total	65	59	124	100

Source: Survey data, 2013.

Table 5.4 shows that majority of the students, which were 113 (91.2 %) out of 124 who studied in both, the Unizulu and UP understood the concept of democracy. The presence of free and fair election on campus was principally cited as the democratic indicator on campus.

Figure 5.5 Students knowledge of Democracy and Democratic processes

Source: Field Survey Data, 2013

However, democratic aspects such as political tolerance, and accountability to the fellow students were little mentioned. Figure 5.5 demonstrates these claims. According to Figure 5.5, there is high degree of civic and political knowledge in University of Pretoria (UP) compared to the University of Zululand. This could be due to the proximity of UP to Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) such as media, political networks and NGOs which were more concentrated in Pretoria. Since democracies require democratic citizens. And it is reasonably clear that good citizens were made, not born.

It is important to ask what degree of civic and political knowledge was required to be a competent democratic citizen. Also, who was responsible for imparting that knowledge? Based on this, students were also asked to explain whether they held debates on either academic or political topics on campus, and if the college played any role in mentoring or developing them politically.

Debate on Political Topics is Unpopular on Campus

It was noted that in both Unizulu and UP, students do not debate on academic or political topics. Many implications emerge for civil society of a generation of young people who do not value debate or do not have the skills to engage successfully in it. It could be suggested that, the absence of a politically engaged population of young people who could conduct conversations across social differences, would also be reflected in the general population of adults.

Political Mentors are outside Campus.

Students were also asked whether the universities played any role in their political mentorship or development. Virtually all the student leaders who were interviewed described themselves as arriving at university with their knowledge on politics already developed. For the most part, their political mentors were their parents or teachers. Members of student from Students Representative Council (SRCs) expressed disappointment that they could not find similar mentors on campus, especially from the faculty (Interview with SRC leader in UP, 2013).

Both, the University of Zululand and the University of Pretoria had Student Affairs Offices that provided, at a minimum, organisational support including training of new student leaders. However, student leaders rarely mentioned staff in these offices as their mentors. Political mentors are key to foster democratic orientations, building political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust and political participation.



An Interview with SRCs President, University of Pretoria, October 2013



An Interview with SRCs President, University of Zululand, October 2013

In addition, the study went further to probe; whether student participation in campus politics was conflictual or co-operative; how often they had participated in campus politics; and how often had they participated in voting for SRCs election and taken part in a protest. From a scale of 1=Co-operative, 2=Conflictual, 3=Did not Understand. Table 5.5 provides student participation on democratic process.

Table 5.5: Student's Participation in Campus Politics

N(Student No.in Unizulu=65, and UP=59, and in both Universities) = 124

Students Participation in Campus Politics	Unizulu		UP	
	Frequency (Agree)	%	Frequency (Agree)	%
Participation in Campus Politics is Conflictual	49	75.3	37	62.7
Few Female Student Participate in Campus Politics	41	63.1	44	74.6
Many Male Student Participate in Campus Politics	37	56.9	39	66.1
Participated in Voting During the Last SRCs Election	34	52.3	41	69.5
Take Part in Protest on Campus	27	41.5	23	38.9

Source: Survey data, 2013.

**Multiple Responses were Allowed

Student participation on campus politics could either be conflictual or cooperative. The majority of students (75.3 % in Unizulu and 62.7 % in UP) who participated in this study acknowledged that participation on campus politics was conflictual. The study went further to critically analyse what makes participation in campus politics conflictual? It was revealed that the dynamics of democratisation which involved the interaction of party groups contesting for student power under the umbrella of multi-party politics was the main cause of conflict. Arguably, as the political groups on campus increased so did the tensions and disagreements.

As such, student conflict emerging in an era of democratic transition had been inspired and perpetuated by not only the connectedness of national and student politics on campus, but also by incomplete democratic development on campus. This is as a result of internal factors such as lack of democratic institutions and processes on campus, lack of political tolerance among students, polarisation of students in the line of religious factors, and political parties dynamics on campus.

Participation in Student Representative Council Election

Student participation on SRC election took different forms. While some students participated as individuals who contested in SRCs election, others were campaigners for those standing for SRC office, the rest participated by attending campaign rallies to learn about issues and views of prospective leaders. A small fraction of students, however, participated to monitor the process of election as electoral committee on campus. While in the University of Pretoria there was a slightly high trend of about 41 (69.5 %) students who engaged in voting process, the University of Zululand showed a lesser level of only 34 (52.3 %) students. An analysis of student participation in voting for SRCs elections provides an interesting story. While some viewed lack of accountability of SRCs leaders to be the reason why students refuse to vote, others stated that the insecurity during the voting process could account for low voting rate.

One of the respondents said:

Our University is not the best place to stay during SRCs election. Anything can happen. Students are driven by emotions in voting instead of rationality, as such, I always move away during the voting process.

A student aged 23 years in UDSM

An electoral coordinator in the Unizulu said:

I think it is the right time to implement proportional presentation unlike what is happening now, whereby the winner takes the entire cake. By doing so, we can manage students political conflicts.

Theme 4: Democratic Transition and its implication on Campus Politics

The conflictual path experienced in the democratic transition of South Africa is also reflected in the on-going tradition of political activism on university campus. Since South Africa HEIs were centers of intellectual activity in which young could experience new ideas, constructs and de-construct about the world, understanding implications of democratic transition on South Africa's university campus within a conflict lense became inevitable. Had democracy in post-apartheid era become part of the political life of the society in South Africa?

In line with this question, a high proportion of about 86 (69.4%) respondents supported the claims that South Africa has achieved a remarkably successful political transition unlike other countries of Africa. It was argued that South Africa had managed to develop four sets of institutions of democracy which include, the constitution, the electoral system, the form of government and the national machinery of women. There also exist key political principles of participation, accountability and governance. However, despite South Africa's remarkably successful political transition to democracy at the national level, this has not been evident in its Higher Education Institutions.

Theme 5; State-Party Fusion in University Campus within a Conflict Lense

Mandela (cited in Russell, 2009:21) speaking to the ANC in its first year in government, stated:

We must never forget that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely

In his analysis, Russell (2009) cautioned that when a single party dominates public sphere for a long time, leaders lose sight of the liberation ideals, which leads to mismanagement and autocracy of the state machinery. This situation had made several dominant parties in the world end their regimes. When a single party dominates public sphere for a long time, it becomes difficulty to draw a line between party and state. According to Matshiqi (2011), single party dominance in South Africa had existed since 1948, and as such, the country does not have a strong history of opposition and a strong tradition of separation of powers.

Just like other African countries, the long existing state–party fusion had been integrated into the public institutions including educational systems of the states. This has adverse effects on the educational systems. For instance, state run universities establish rules favourable for retention of state political control on campuses, and this on the other hand, becomes a source of conflict, as opposition parties will also wish to do the same. The study revealed that the politics of the ruling and opposing parties on campuses have had adverse implications on the status of peace and security in the campuses. It was thus crucial to explore the dynamics of student’s politics on campus in a bid to manage the rise of identity politics and conflicts.

Although the university in Africa for a long time have been used as “an ideological apparatus besides being a generator of knowledge”, with the global transformation of the national states, the Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP) adopted or developed by HEIs have to integrate conflict management strategies in a bid to respond to the existing identity politics brought by pluralism.

Theme 6: Appointment and Approval of Leaders in State run Universities

The political processes through which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellors (VCs) are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders, is one indicator of national and student politics nexus which fuel conflict. This section intended to establish whether these processes escalate conflicts in HEIs. From a scale of 1=Strongly Agree to 5=Strongly Disagree, students from both, the Unizulu and the UP were questioned on their views on these claims.

Table 5.6: Political Process of Appointing Leaders and Conflict Escalation

N (Student No.in Unizulu=65, and UP=59, and in both Universities) = 124

	Unizulu		UP	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Strongly Agree	21	32.3	16	27.1
Agree	17	26.2	12	20.3
Neither	9	13.8	2	3.4
Don't Agree	12	18.5	11	18.7
Strongly Disagree	6	9.2	18	30.5

Source: Survey data, 2013.

While a high proportion of students from the University of Zululand (Unizulu), of 38 (58.5 %) out of 65 students, acknowledged that the political process of appointing university leaders such as Vice Chancellors (VCs) was one of the factors behind the frequent occurrence of conflicts, a lesser proportion of about 28 (47.4 %) students of UP supported these claims.

The reason behind this is that the management of UP had banned the practice of party politics on campus, but rather a system that emphasised student politics which is based on campus thematic issues. By the same token, the management of UP also put a criteria of a pass mark average to be attained by any student contesting for campus leadership. This was done to ensure that students who took part in politics were academically efficient students who would not extend their stipulated program duration due to failures and the same time build their political career like previous SRC leaders of the University of Zululand (Interview with Unizulu Officials, 2013).

The study could not ascertain if the appointment of VCs in these universities were based on political interests or merit. However, it calls for exploring the systems of appointing leaders of state run universities to incorporate an open, competitive and merit based evidence in a bid to address conflict emanating from identity politics polarised by student political competition on campus.

Theme 7: Deconstruct or Construct National and Student Politics Nexus

Respondents were asked to explain whether national politics should be disconnected from student politics bearing its impacts on peace and security on campus. Table 5.7 shows respondents views to this question.

Table 5.7: Deconstruct or Construct National and Student Politics nexus

N(Student No.in Unizulu=65, and UP=59, and key informants=34) = 158

	Disconnect		Connect	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
University of Zululand				
Male	1	1.5	19	29.2
Female	12	18.5	33	50.8
University of Pretoria				
Male	7	11.9	14	23.7
Female	25	42.4	13	22
Key Informants				
Male	1	2.9	2	5.8
Female	22	64.7	9	26.5
Total	68	43	90	57

Source: Survey data, 2013.

It was reported that more than a half, 90 (57 %) of respondents rejected the idea of disconnecting national politics from student politics. The respondents' disagreement to disconnect national politics from student politics was grounded in the fact that Higher Educations Institutions (HEIs) in Africa cannot exist effectively by isolating itself from national government given their dependency on for funding. HEIs should be part and parcel of experiencing conflictual issues brought by global dynamics and play its role in addressing them. In order to do this, respondents stated that HEIs must develop democratic institutions and processes to accommodate student conflict on campus.

It was also interesting to note that while 80 % of students from the University of Zululand rejected the idea of disconnecting the national politics from the student politics, 54.3 % of student from the University of Pretoria supported the idea of disconnecting national politics from student politics. One among the SRC at UP had this to say during an interview session:

Life is more than politics, I think the most important thing is to give students freedom of choice rather than manipulating them!!

A student aged 25 years.

Another respondent among the SRC leaders at UP had this to say during an interview session:

Active politics requires active and intelligent people. Some student contesting for SRCs leadership had been studying the undergraduate course on campus for not less than six years. I congratulate the management of UP for setting age limit on academic and political life on campus. This will disconnect incompetent youth leaders who want to utilize the blend of national and student politics on campus in unfair manners.

A student aged 23 years.

5.5 Analysis of Leadership Roles and Responsibility of SRCs

The second objective of the study intended to analyse the leadership roles and responsibility of Students Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition. The study intended to establish whether most of the conflict that happened in higher education were due to unclear roles and responsibilities of SRCs in HEIs.

Theme 8: Unclear Leadership Roles and Responsibilities of SRCs

The unclear leadership roles and responsibility of SRC in HEIs was the main theme which emerged from the respondent's interview. Among the unclear leadership roles and responsibility of SRC include; poor communication ability with fellow students (42.4 % in Unizulu and 38.8 % in UP); SRCs had become power mongers who enjoy the privileges of been in power i.e they soon after election changed and became individualistic (46.2 % at Unizulu and 38.1 % at UP); student leadership was corrupt (54.2 % at Unizulu and 40.2 % at UP) and the culture of smoothly handing over leadership to the next student leaders was missing (24.3 % at Unizulu and 20 % at UP).

It was also reported that SRCs lack adequate knowledge of the HEIs (18.6 % at Unizulu and 16.6 % at UP) and knowledge on institutional reforms (43.3 % at Unizulu and 26.6 % at UP). In the same vein, SRC had inadequate leadership skills (32.3 % at Unizulu and 43.3 % at UP) and non-responsiveness to student needs (46.4 % at Unizulu and 40.2 % at UP). By the same token, the respondents argued that SRCs concentrate more on party politics rather than the interest of the students (54.6 % at Unizulu and 46.6 % at UP). What were the implications of these findings on the leadership roles of student leaders under the current SRCs regime?

The current student under the waves of democratic transition, compromise their roles. Infact, transformation exacerbated by the liberalisation waves of 1990s had transformed majority of them into corrupt leaders and power mongers who enjoy the privileges of being in power. As such, there were no-clearly defined leadership roles

and responsibilities of Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition. In order to attain university good governance, the leadership roles and responsibility of SRCs should be well articulated and worked upon to meet them.

5.6 Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators and Student Violent Behaviour

Another objective of the study intended to determine whether there was a relationship between leadership styles of university administrators and the escalation of students crises. The following two themes which include institutional drivers of the student violent behaviour and leadership styles of HEIs administrators emerged from this objective.

Theme 9: Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators

When respondents were asked to identify the types of leadership styles at which HEIs administrators rely on in order to meet desired goals, a majority of 96 (77.4 %) out of 124 students who participated in this study perceived the leadership styles of HEIs administrators to be fair, however, sometimes reactive and militant when responding to student needs. University governance has to provide the type of leadership is required for the institution. Leadership should be distinguished from exercise of authority and routine compliance with organizational protocol. Nevertheless universities were confronted with challenges such as having academic and non-academic personnel in leadership roles within the same organization (Rowley and Sherman 2003). It was therefore important for universities to establish academic leadership values of their employees coming from different backgrounds.

In line with this, a number of complaints by a number of lectures at the University of Zululand emerged about the efficiency of the Department of Human Resource (Interview, 2013). In both universities, Unizulu and UP, the study revealed that the decision making process on issues affecting the campus involved a long chain command structure, which maintained secrecy and confidentiality. Interestingly, some top officials of the HEIs avoided making decisions and instead chose to hide behind committees. Probably it is the right time to introduce some degree programmes in South Africa on the University academic leadership to cater for existing challenges. When asked on whether the management of those universities involved them in various institutional aspects, a majority of 33(50.8 %) respondents interviewed at Unizulu argued that the management Unizulu did not engage students in campus affairs. They only involved them on some issues, after the students employ or threaten to employ violence. One of the SRCs leaders at the Unizulu had this to say:

There was no need for student strike this year (2014). We (SRCs) asked the management to open the system in a bid to allow more students to register, but they refused, for the reason that the university has reached its target of 16000 students. They were supposed to communicate with us before the end of last semester, so that we could have told students earlier on the university targets.

A male student aged about 24 years.

Another SRCs leader at the Unizulu said:

Ah! The management of this university always prefers to opt for militant decisions. We always end-up getting whatsoever we want after striking.

A male student aged about 25 years.

Theme 10: Institutional Drivers to Student Violent Behaviour

Besides exploring if students' conflict is caused by the connectedness between national and student politics, this study went further to identify and analyse the extent at which institutional structures, processes and dynamics prevalent in HEIs cause regular student crises.

Theme 10: Institutional Drivers to Student Conflict in South Africa's HEIs

Table 5.8: Institutional Drivers Fueling Student Conflict in South Africa's HEI's

N(Student No.in Unizulu=65, and UP=59) = 124

Variable	Unizulu No.	%	UP No.	%
Poor Student Participation in Decision Making on Campus	44	67.7	29	49.2
Incompetent Academic and Non academic Staffs in Fulfilling their Roles	36	55.4	21	35.6
The Growing Trend of Insecurity on Campus	41	63.1	32	54.2
Communication Gaps between Management & SRC Leaders or Student at Large	44	67.7	29	49.2
Challenges for Funding Student Studies as per Criteria of the NSFAS	46	70.8	41	69.5
Problems Relating to Registration Process	43	66.2	38	64.4
Failures to Address on Campus Intolerance on Different Issues Relating to Black Students And Africaners	0	0	49	83
Housing Problems	49	72.3	31	52.5
Poor Learning , Recreational or out of Class Environment	34	52.3	13	22
Putting Little Emphasis on Games and Sports	40	61.5	28	47.5
Millitant Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators	42	64.6	27	45.7
Putting Counselling and Mentorship Programs on Campus last	38	58.5	23	38.9

Source: Survey data, 2013.

**Multiple Responses were allowed

Table 5.8 discusses the institutional drivers fuelling student violence. The study revealed that the major institutional drivers fuelling students' violence in the University of Zululand main campus include housing problems (49 -75.4 %), challenges from NSFAS (46 -70.8 %), communication gaps between university management and SRCs or students at large (44 -67.7 %), and challenges from registration (43 -66.2 %). In addition, campus reforms were also revealed as an institutional driver of conflict. For example, in the University of Zululand, students demonstrated and went as far as destroying university structures due to problems with allocating students' accommodation.

Other drivers include, constraints experienced by off-campus students in accessing campus residences, lack of students engagement in matters relating to campus residencies, as well as problems that emerged from the registration process. One of the respondents during FGD session said:

The University of Zululand has more than six thousand students, less than a half of student population who are accommodated on the campus are the one who have were touched by reforms to improve accommodation. It was a successful roadmap. However, it did not reflect the student needs of the time

A student aged 24 years.

A majority of students (75.4 %) were of the view that instead of the university responding to the question of quality of accommodation, it should have addressed the perennial problem of quantity first. Another respondent during an interview session had this to say:

Unizulu has a large undeveloped area than other universities in South Africa! I do not see the reason why the management continues with the lyrics of accommodation problems

A male student aged 23 years.

It was also reported by another respondent during an interview session that:

I am staying in slums nearby the campus. There is no security and I was robbed of phone twice last year! Ah! I am fed up with this life!

A female student aged 22years.

When one of the University managers was approached to respond to these claims, he responded that:

I do not deal with speculations. Measures are underway to build more residencies for students after getting a bulk of funds for that purpose.

A male aged about 54 years.

In the same vein, students showed their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Department of Housing was run, describing their mode of decision making as militant and divisive based on class. A high proportion of students (34 -52.3 %) expressed discontent with the biased method of residence allocation employed by the department. They stated that the department allocated more decent residence to students pursuing accounting studies because it Unizulu gets reasonable returns from these students.

Other drivers include institutional failures to address campus intolerance of different issues relating to black students and Afrikaners (49.83%), challenges relating to NSFAS (69.5%) and challenges relating to on campus registration 38 (64.4%) were also found to be the leading problems in the University of Pretoria. It was also noted that there is a growing perception among black students that the university does not take firm decision to enroll more black students, and thus the institution is in favour of Afrikaners. These claims however, were rejected by the university authority which stated that they were based on speculations, as the number of black students on campus has increased enormously in the past years.

Other problems common to both universities include the growing trend of insecurity on campus, poor student participation in decision making and incompetency of academic and non-academic staffs in fulfilling their roles. To recap, the study found a positive relationship between leadership styles of HEIs administrators and students violent behaviour. This is supported by institutional theorists position that conflictual behaviour of academic systems can be well explained by assessing units such as university structures, processes, rules and regulations (see Sewell, 1992; Scott, 2004).

5.7 Effectiveness of the conflict management measures/models in HEIs

Moreover, the study intended to assess the effectiveness of the conflict management measures/models and strategies in institutions of higher learning. The objective intended to establish whether most of the conflict that happened in higher education today occur due to ineffective measures/strategies to address them. Since the conflict management measure depends on the type or source of the conflict, identifying the

types of conflict management measures in HEIs, and assessing their effectiveness in managing student conflict on HEIs campuses becomes crucial. The following theme that is discussed below emerged from both countries, Tanzania and South Africa.

Theme 11: Types and Effectiveness of conflict management measures in HEIs

Although the study established that the nexus between national and student politics was the main factor behind conflicts in HEIs, it was also revealed that other determinants of these crises existed. These exacerbating factors were complex as they reflect historical and society transformational processes. These include students background, parental support, psychological preparedness for undertaking studies in HEIs and level of income of parents or guardians. As such, the styles of handling conflict would thus be determined by the source of conflict.

The following conflict management measure emerged from the respondents interview and documentary analysis: use of suppression or coercion; use of organ for determining students' cases at the university level as established by the university by-laws, change governance processes in university by focusing on participation; maintain cordial relationship between students and the university authority, design democratic institutions such as electoral committee, unbiased processes for election and effective strategies to manage conflict and, lastly, employ religious exercises for divine intervention.

Of all the mentioned measures above, it was reported that the use of suppression and cohesion was a leading measure in an attempt to manage student crowd during boycott or demonstration. Zhimin and Ramani (2012) opine that suppression or coercion, as a technique of conflict resolution in HEIs, is not an adequate procedure because it denies the causes of conflict and allows the causes of the conflict to simmer and will remain a ticking time-bomb ready to explode once a trigger is pulled.

Apart from the use of suppression and cohesion, the use of quasi-judicial bodies in determining issues relating to the student discipline through the use of natural justice have been challenged. As a result, there are consistent records on non-adherence to rules of natural justice by Unizulu in determining students' cases. For instance, the university decision to suspend or expel the applicants without fair hearing was nullified by the courts as a breach of principles of natural justice. The main grounds cited by the Court include; lack of jurisdiction, biasness, failure to observe right to a fair hearing, and failure to give reasons for decisions made. Therefore, the study calls for understanding of the issues, procedures and processes used by HEIs in dealing with students' demonstrations and academic cases, in the context of natural justice.

Also, the study calls for different interventions for managing student crises depending on the various sources of conflict. According to Alcover (2009), the university due to its nature, structure and inside relationships, is a perfect breeding ground for the conflicts, disputes, problems, and grievances. Thus, the use mediation as one of the dispute resolution mechanisms should be emphasised.

5.8 Summary of Chapter Five

South Africa has achieved a remarkably successful political transition unlike other countries of Africa. However, besides this achievement which is mainly at the national level, democracy is yet to penetrate other levels of society and in the context of this study, HEIs. An academic system such as the university is described by its relationships among its components (teachers, students, content, and contexts) and the relationship this system has with its environment. It is thus important to analyse the reform environment, implementation strategies, the window period of opportunity, historical gaps of different populace that will be affected by the reforms, and timing aspect before implementing it on HEIs. It was also reported that the use of suppression and coercion as main response by the university authorities to manage students during boycott or demonstration, is inadequate because it denies the causes of conflict and allows the causes of the conflict to simmer on, which remains a ticking time-bomb ready to explode.

Since the majority of students from black communities had been affected in one way or another by apartheid, HEIs administrators should rely on proactive measures instead of utilizing militant decisions and strategies. Equally important, HEIs administrators should enhance collegiality; build mentorship programmes as well as strengthening the systems of games and sports via SRCs in a bid to forge love and unit on campus.

CHAPTER SIX

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS OF TANZANIA'S AND SOUTH AFRICA'S HEIs

6.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is three-fold: firstly, it presents a comparative analysis of the findings from both country's cases (the Tanzania's HEIs and South Africa HEIs); secondly, it shows how the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic transition from 1992 to 2012 is the main source of student conflicts in African universities; finally, it suggests new strategies or policy implications for conflict transformation in HEIs.

6.2 A Comparative Analysis of the Findings

.From the demographics, there were more males in both universities in Tanzania as opposed to more females than males in both South African universities. However, in all 4 cases, males dominated student leadership positions in the SRC. What then are the implications of these findings in line with the objectives of the study? Campus politics is male-dominated and this could account also for the conflictual nature of campus politics given studies that show males are more adversarial, less co-operative and thus less peaceful (see Gagnon, 2003; Isike, 2011). This gender analysis is also indicative of the fact that democracy is yet to penetrate all levels of society as the ruling parties in both countries have quotas that enable the mainstreaming of women into government

whereas this is not provided for by any of the political organizations in the 4 universities studied. There is also no provision for gender equity or any sort in the SRC constitutions of these universities. Based on this; in all surveyed university campuses, conflict has a masculine character in terms of causes since male students are mostly in charge of the structures and mechanisms that govern student's politics in these university campuses. In the absence of any constitutional framework that guarantees the political representation of females in the campus political leadership, it is not surprising that there exist low representation of females in campus politics.

In terms of age, the mean age range of respondents that participated in the study of both countries was between 22 and 24 years. This falls within the 20 – 30 age range which is usually very active socially. Its high frequency in participation in this study indicates an active strata that may be useful for bringing societal change if well empowered. Apart from gender and age, this study investigated the level of participation on campus politics. The findings of the study show some similarities and differences in the nature and level of political participation on campus politics in Tanzania and South Africa.

In terms of similarity, the study revealed that there was low level of students' participation in politics in the campuses of the two countries. Participation on campus politics was measured based on the trend of student attendance of political meeting or dialogues and political socialization activities organized on campus. While non-participation on campus politics in Tanzania was linked with to the authoritarian nature

of democracy practiced by HEIs management of both Universities, in South Africa, there were no clear reasons for this.

However, it was ironically observed that there was a high level of participation of students in the SRC elections, especially during the various party manifestos. For instance, in Tanzania, about 80 % of the students attended the manifesto for the SRC president, while more than 75 % of the students attended in South Africa. Unfortunately, this did not translate into voting participation as these high figures were not reflected in the total number of students that voted. Although there were disparities in the total number of voters that participated in both countries, the level of participation was generally low in the 4 surveyed universities. In Tanzania the students that voted over a three years period were between 20 to 40 %, while in South Africa, it was between 20 to 60 %; slightly higher than that of Tanzania.

Also, the study showed that the voting process for the SRCs president by students was usually emotionally based rather than rationally based. In South Africa 73 % of the respondents agreed with this and 63 % in Tanzania. The students were asked to explain the contributions made by the university in development of their civic and political knowledge in the various campuses. Virtually all the student leaders interviewed stated that they had already developed their civic and political knowledge before being admitted into the college. For the most part, their political mentors were their parents or teachers. Most Students Representative Council (SRCs) members expressed disappointment that they could not find similar mentors on campus, especially from their faculties.

In turn, majority of the faculty members interviewed showed lack of interest and nonchalance when asked about their involvement with campus political groups. A few faculty members, mostly men, were actively engaged with student activism. This has implications on the role of the African Universities in developing leadership. Should we leave the role of preparing African leaders to Civil Society Organizations such as political parties like what is happening today or should the universities be more involved in mentoring leaders of the future?

6.2.1 The National and Students Politics Nexus in Conflict Lense

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapters, one of the objective of this study is to explore whether the connectedness of national and student politics in an era of democratic consolidation fuels conflict in both Tanzania and South Africa's institutions of higher learning. The study findings show that a high proportion of students which was 46 (70.8 %) out of 65 students from University of Zululand (Unizulu), and 35 (59.3 %) out of 59 students from University of Pretoria (UP), were aware of conflict emerging from the flow of national politics on campuses.

Also, the study noted that the practice of national politics on campus raises questions on the role that university has to play in developing future leaders in both countries. For instance, it revealed that University of Dodoma in Tanzania and University of Zululand were highly affected by the flow of national politics down to their campuses which are more or less battle ground for societal politics.

However, it is noted that the influence of national politics on campus politics is rooted in history. In South Africa, two phases were identified which include apartheid era and the period of democratic transition from 1994 to date. While in Tanzania, three historical phases were identified which explained the influence of national politics on the campus politics? These are the era of national building and African Socialism (1961-1984), the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the continuing market-led policy period (1986-1990s) and the era informed by democratic transition from 1992 to date.

Nevertheless in both countries, the main source of the connectedness between national and campus administration has been the nature of funding state run universities. Also, the politics of pluralism driven in the current era of democratic transition coupled with the introduction of the multi-party politics have successfully influenced campus politics. With the increasing number of diverse national political parties on university campus, polarisation of campus politics based on party affiliation has become a trend, which has opened a new space for political tension, and conflicts among students.

It is interesting to note that in both countries, the leaders of national political parties visited the various campuses and campaigned for the Student Representative Council (SRCs) leaders. Although, administrators in all of the surveyed universities tended to reject the idea of supporting political advocacy of the national political leaders on campuses, these now take place in many areas close to the university-campuses in all of the surveyed universities with the exception of University of Pretoria. Basically, political leaders take advantage of the high level of poverty of these student leaders and

provide certain incentives such as money and job offers in order to achieve their personal interest and goals. Based on these findings, it is unclear whether the government of these countries prioritise the production of technocrats or political leaders from their state run institutions. This calls for critical analysis of the systems of preparing national leaders in both South Africa and Tanzania. Without a clear cut framework, public institutions will be polarised along identity based politics which could be detrimental to HEIs.

The study also compared the student understanding of democracy, and democratic processes. It was revealed that majority of students in these universities understood the concept of democracy. The presence of free and fair election on campus was principally the most cited democratic indicator in all the campuses. However, democratic aspects such as political tolerance, and accountability to the fellow students were barely mentioned. In order to address these challenges, the study calls for enhancing civic education on HEIs campuses. Political mentors on campus are key to foster democratic orientations, building political knowledge, civic duty, tolerance, institutional trust, and political participation. Civic education has positive impacts on the development of the political knowledge of students.

It was reported by both politically uninvolved students and current student activists that they do not value political debate. They stated that they did not do this because they were either intimidated by what they described as a confrontational situation and they do not think that the engagement in formal debate will affect opinions.

Student participation on SRC election in all universities took different forms. While some students participated as contestants in SRCs election, others campaigned for those standing for SRC office, the rest participated by attending campaign rallies to learn about issues and views of prospective leaders. A small fraction of students however participated to monitor the process of election in electoral committee in the various campuses. In general terms, student participation on campus politics was conflictual rather than co-operative. Majority of students (75.3 % in Unizulu and 62.7 % in UP) who participated in this study acknowledged that participation on campus politics was conflictual.

It was revealed that the dynamics of democratization which involves party groups contesting for student power under the umbrella of multi-party politics is the main cause of conflict. The increase in political groups in all the campuses led to increase in tension and conflict. As such, student conflict emerging in an era of democratic transition has been perpetuated by not only the connectedness of national and student politics on campus, but also by incomplete democracy building on campus which is as a result of internal factors such as lack of democratic institutions and processes on campus, lack of political tolerance among students, and polarisation of students in the line with political party's affiliations.

It was also pointed out that the conflictual path experienced in the national politics of both countries, Tanzania and South Africa in an era of democratic transition reflects the on-going tradition of political activism on university campus. Since HEIs are centers of intellectual activity in which young can experience new ideas, constructs and

de-construct about the world, understanding implications of democratic transition on university campuses within a conflict lense becomes inevitable.

According to Bratton and Van de Walle (1997:10), a regime transition is a shift from one set of political procedures to another, from an old pattern of rule to a new one over the rules of the political game and for the resources with which the game is played. In Schraeder notes that any comprehensive understanding of contemporary African politics and society must draw upon Africa's past (Schraeder, 2000). It is undeniable that South Africa has consolidated on its democracy better than Tanzania. It has developed four sets of institutions of democracy: the constitution, the electoral system, the form of government and the national machinery of women. Besides, the key political principals of participation, accountability and governance also prevail.

Despite South Africa remarkably successful political transition at the national level, it has never been able to translate it into its Higher Education Institutions. A democratic society, according to Höglund (2006:4), is a non-violent and orderly. Why does popular participation on campus politics fuel student's violence in both countries?

The study showed that the existence of conflict from national and student politics nexus was as a result of State-party fusion in the University campuses. As in other countries of Africa, the long existed state-party fusion has extended to their educational systems. This has led to the establishment of policies that enables the retention of state political control on campuses, and this on the other hand, becomes a source of conflict.

In an attempt to examine the factors that have contributed to the declining performance of the opposition parties in Tanzania, Makulilo (2007) notes that the “state-party fusion” is the primary factor that undermines the opposition party’s performance and democratic consolidation. Basically, the politics of the ruling party (ANC in South Africa and CCM in Tanzania) on campuses have had implication on the status of peace and security as it has fuelled conflict in many instances.

In Tanzania, the ruling party; CCM had managed to initiate political policies that are not only favourable to the party but weakens opposition parties. In response, opposition political parties have tried to expand their influence by gaining the support of students. This is supported by Matshiqi (2013), who argued that when a single party dominates public sphere for a long time, it becomes difficult to draw a line between party and state institutions. As aforementioned, according to Matshiqi (ibid), South Africa does not have a strong history of opposition, as such, single party dominance in South Africa which had existed since 1948, has never led to the separation of powers.

In Tanzania, with the advent of multi-party politics since 1992, the CCM took full advantage of being the sole agent of change, putting in place a set of policies in its state institutions that significantly impedes the development of an effective political opposition. The opposition parties, on the other hand, utilize students from institution of higher learning as foot soldiers to leverage the system. For instance, with the advent of political pluralism, all political parties started to exploit HEIs to counter state-student party fusion on campus. This necessarily instigated conflicts in HEIs.

6.2.2 The Conflictual Leadership Roles and Responsibilities of SRCs

The second objective of this study aimed to analyse the leadership roles and responsibility of Students Representative Councils (SRCs) in an era of democratic transition. It has been revealed beyond reasonable doubt that most of the conflict that happens in higher education today are due to unclear roles and responsibilities of SRCs in executing their function. Student organisations since 1960 have played an important role in fostering the expansion of democracy in Africa and the world at large through risked reprisals when demanding social and political changes in their societies, and in some instances sacrificed their lives to attain this.. Conversely, , transformation exacerbated by the economic liberalisation waves of 1990s have transformed majority of SRCs leaders in Africa's HEIs into being corrupt and power mongers who enjoy the privileges of been in power.

6.2.3 The Conflictual Leadership Styles of HEIs Administrators

Also, the study intended to determine whether there is a relationship between leadership styles of university administrators and the escalation of students' crises. When respondents were asked to explain about the leadership styles of HEIs administrators, they perceived leaders of the surveyed universities to be fair but autocratic when confronted with student needs. Leadership in HEIs should be distinguished from exercise of authority and routine compliance with organizational protocol. It is clear that the academic environment is substantively different from corporate environments, and that this impacts on both the nature and experiences of leadership (Johnston and Westwood, 2007).

Nevertheless universities are confronted by challenges such as having academic and non-academic personnel in leadership roles within the same organisation (Rowley and Sherman 2003). It is important for universities to establish academic leadership values in their employees coming from different background. In line with this, a number of complaints emerged on the inefficiencies of certain officials in different universities. In addition, the study revealed that the decision making process in the various campuses involved a long chain command structure.

Interestingly, some top officials of the HEIs avoided making decisions and instead chose to hide behind committees. It was argued by a majority of respondents (33 respondents-50.8 %) interviewed in Unizulu that the management of the University do not engage students on campus affairs. They only involve them in certain inconsequential issues and when the students use violence. Students in almost all surveyed universities did not understand university goals and plans on especially issues that are important to them. Some of these include student's welfare such as accommodation, security, classroom infrastructure and lecturer shortages.

Besides the conflicts being caused by the connectedness between national and student politics, this study went further to identify and analyse the extent to which institutional structures, processes and dynamics prevalent in HEIs cause regular student crises. Different campuses showed different issues, however, there were some similarities in some aspects such as the challenges relating to the accommodation. In Unizulu, 49 respondents (75.4 %) identified housing problems as the most cited institutional

problems which fuelled student violent behaviours on the campus; 46 respondents (70.8 %) identified emerging challenges from NSFAS; 44 respondents (67.7 %) stated that communication gaps between university management and SRCs or students at large was a major factor; while 43 (66.2 %) identified challenges emerging from registration. In the University of Pretoria the most cited problems were (lack of tolerance on different issues relating to black and coloured/white students on campus (83 %), NSFAS (66.1 %), and challenges relating to registration (64.4 %). To a larger extent, the problems experienced by the University of Pretoria emanate from racial gap that was historically created by an apartheid regime.

6.2.4 The Effectiveness of the conflict management measures/models

Objective number four of this study intended to assess the effectiveness of the conflict management measures/models and or strategies in institutions of higher learning. Building conflict management skills and tactics as well as strengthen academic leadership background of HEIs administrators should be emphasized by all departments of the university. In situations where legal expertise is needed HEIs administrators should consult legal officers in a bid address the situation. Equally important, HEIs should institutionalise mechanisms for enhancing lateral and vertical communication in institutions of higher learning in a bid to manage conflict. Miscommunication quite often establishes a vacuum which misinform and misguide students, thus contributing to fuelling violence acts.

6.3 The Policy Implications of the Study on HEIs and New Directions

Different themes emerged from the policy implications for the study. The issues are: the practice of democracy on HEIs campuses. Re-thinking the role of proportional representation in the SRC structure and integrating conflict management measures within Institutional Transformation Program (ITP).

6.3.1 Can democracy penetrate HEIs campuses?

There is no single answer to this question. However, two democratic principles need to be established in HEIs. These are democratic institutions and democratic politics. Campuses should be models of deliberative democracy; places of community where the espoused values are reflected in institution's educational programs and decision-making processes. Universities have duties of starting or expanding existing programs to explore models of democratic dialogue and collective action from the classroom level, faculty and in internal decision making processes. Universities should work in partnership with communities to entrench democracy. This should be done in such a way as to engage students, encourage participation and collective action to leads to meaningful and sustainable change in democracy building and civic education.

6.3.2 Re-thinking the role of Proportional Representation in the SRC structure

It is crucial for African countries to explore the dynamics of party politics in their educational systems in a bid to manage the rise of identity politics, and therefore conflicts on campus. One question to be answered is whether the use of proportional representation in the SRC could make a difference in managing conflict. Proportional representation will work perfectly when democratic institutions and democratic politics

are forged in the institutions of higher learning. As such, once democracy is designed on HEIs, the role of proportional representation in the SRCs structure will be realised.

6.3.3 Re-thinking Institutional Transformation Program within a Conflict Lense

With the global transformation of the national states, in the new World order, the Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP) that most of HEIs in Africa develop to respond the changes, needs to integrate conflict management measures in a bid to bring about the holistic achievement of targeted objectives of ITP. Can we integrate conflict management measures on HEIs within the Institutional Transformation Program (ITP) in a bid to make difference on ensuring peace on campus? The answer is definitely “YES”, however, research needs to be done on the link and dynamics of democratic institutions and democratic politics on campus.

6.4 Summary of Chapter Six

This chapter compared and contrasted student conflicts that rose from the connectedness of national and student politics on campus. In its analysis of political conflict in both countries, Tanzania and South Africa, the study used specific themes as the framework to analyse, understand and compare systems, structures, processes and policies which determine conflict instigated by the national and student politics nexus on campus. These themes emanated from the specific objectives that this study sought to fill at. Generally, eleven themes were utilized. The themes are: The flow of national politics on the university campuses; the influence of national politics on the campus politics; student participation in democratic processes; democratic transition and its

implication on campus politics as well as state-party fusion in University Campus. Other discussed themes were: appointment and approval of leaders in state run Universities; deconstruct or construct national and student politics nexus; unclear leadership roles and responsibilities of SRCs; institutional drivers of student violent behaviours; leadership styles of HEIs administrators within a conflict lens and types and effectiveness of conflict management measures.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study, main conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research in this area of study.

7.2 Summary of the Study

A descriptive case study research method was undertaken in four African Universities to investigate the nature of student conflict which arises from the connectedness of national and student politics in both South African and Tanzanian universities in a bid to inform evidence-based conflict management practices on campus, and policy restructuring to effectively address student crises.

A combination of both secondary and primary sources of data was collected for this study. The instruments used for collecting primary data were questionnaires, interviews schedules, and observation checklist. Secondary data was obtained from different sources including the University by-laws, SRCs constitutions, government reports, and leaflets related to the objectives of this study. Although the initially proposed sample size of this study in both countries was 340 respondents, at the end of our field survey, the responses of a total of 318 were found to be valid for analysis. The remaining 22 were rejected as 'spoilt' for reasons such as unwillingness to continue with the survey. While the probability sampling technique was used for selecting 240 students from the

four selected HEIs, non-probability sampling was used to purposively select a sample of 100 key informants within and outside the university area.

7.3 Conclusion

The findings from this study show there is indeed a connection between national and student politics in South Africa and Tanzania and that this is a major source of conflict in universities and other HEIs in both countries. Student political organizations which often are youth wings of local/regional/national political parties in both countries are vehicles of the continuation of societal ‘politics by other means’⁷. While this is understandable given the historical background of liberation politics in both countries and in many states in Africa where this connection exist, it is problematic in the light of transition to multiparty democracy where the development issues that define politics today are different from the liberation issues that defined politics in the past.

Therefore, in a post-liberation era of transition towards democratic consolidation, it is useful to rethink the need to continue to use liberation-politics approach and strategies that may not be relevant to the development-politics needs of a post-liberation era. Both South Africa and Tanzania are developmental states which have subordinated their politics and economies to national development given the developmental challenges they inherited and continue to deal with.

⁷ This came from the treatise of famous military theorist, Von Clausewitz conception of war as a continuation of politics by other means. In other words, war is not just an act but a means or tool of politics as the military and political objectives of a state are intertwined. Its relevance here is that student political formations in HEIs are used as tools to achieve the larger political objectives of their parent bodies in society.

However, a major challenge in transforming these states is the poor implementation of well-thought out development plans and policies due largely to poor governance characterized by leadership ineptitude, incompetent bureaucrats and corruption. There is therefore a need to train leaders, public servants and a general citizenry that will be alive to their collective responsibility in building their states and Africa as a whole. Higher education institutions in the continent are a very good breeding ground for such calibre of people who shall power the development process.

Impliedly, these institutions are meant to be training grounds for future leaders with the right ethos, pedigree and mental independence to take on the challenge of development. For this to happen, democracy needs to be entrenched in Africa's HEIs. Is this the case? Is the connection between national and students politics healthy for a developmental state in need of strong future leaders and bureaucrats to kickstart and sustain a development trajectory? If not, can students politics be divorced national politics to allow HEIs be proper training grounds for leaders of the future?

To answer these questions, it is useful to examine the state of student politics and governance in HEIs Africa. However, an important finding from this study is that in spite of an average of 20 years of democratic experience in both countries, democracy is yet to penetrate all levels of society and especially so in HEIs, in the context of this study. For example, while there is proportional representation at the societal governance structures in South Africa and Tanzania, at the HEIs level, SRC politics is not informed by proportional representation in leadership. Also, while women have

been mainstreamed into politics at the national, provincial and local levels and structures of governance through party quotas on an almost equal basis with men⁸, males continue to dominate student leadership and decision-making structures in all four universities in both countries. This has serious implications given the role that women can and continue to play in redefining the character of politics (See Isike, 2011).

The use of political organizations as a means of accessing political power has made representation skewed towards a section of students who belong to these organizations leaving a good number unrepresented. Besides this vacuum, it was also revealed that in this era of democratic transition, universities in both countries have played very little role in mentoring students on aspects relating to university values and ethos, the development of political and leadership aspects of the students.

More so, with the wave of pluralism driven by new World orders, national political parties have succeeded in upstaging the university's role of mentoring and training youth for future leadership in all aspects of societal life. Because of this, students have now placed their trust on politicians rather than academicians. The result is a student governance body that reactive, drab and caught up in liberation-style politics of mass protestation, sabotage and violence as conflict resolution tools.

⁸ For example, women make up 42% of the national parliament in South Africa where the ruling ANC have adopted a 50-50 quota for men and women in local government elections. In Tanzania, women make up 36% of the lower house.

Apart from lack of representation of a section of the student body within these countries, personal ingenuity is stifled as individual responsibilities of student leaders is covered by the sheen of organizational politics thus allowing mediocrity to thrive. In this way, student leadership are unable to inspire hope and followership in charting a new course for progress and transformation in South Africa, Tanzania and Africa at large. The study therefore concludes that in the light of a post-liberation era of democracy which pose new challenges of development, the role of the SRC should go beyond demonstrations over welfare issues to incubating future leaders for countries in dire need of them.

7.4 Recommendations

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

7.4.1 Recommendations for Policy Approach

- The governments of South Africa and Tanzania need to re-think their present approach and begin to see HEIs as avenues for nurturing future African leaders.
- In African countries where societal politics is still linked with student politics, there is need to rethink this relationship in a changing context of democratic transition.

7.4.2 Recommendations for Student Representative Council

- The role of the present-day SRC should go beyond campus demonstration. Gone are the days when SRCs functioned as forums of protest and opposition against the authoritarianism of the government of the day. SRCs should serve as an incubator to produce leaders, working to improve the quality of university academic programmes and the quality of student life.
- There is a need to deepen democracy in HEIs in South Africa and Tanzania by restructuring student governance in a way that opens access to every student. In this light, students politics should be de-organised; only individuals rather than political organizations should be allowed to contest for political positions. When individuals who meet the prescribed qualification requirements contest and win students elections, they would represent different sections of the student population and thus be more representative and accountable than the organizational model of accessing political office.
- As part of the restructuring of governance to deepen democracy, the SRC Constitutions should be ammended to allow for mainstreaming women into all decision making structures of student governance. This will be in line with the gender equality imperatives of United Nations Resolution 1325, 2000 and the SADC Protocol on Gender Equality, 2010 both of which South Africa and Tanzania have signed to.
- Students should convene general congresses where they can decide on decentralizing power between an executive body (EXCO) and a legislative bosity (Parliament). This parliament must be truly representative of all academic

departments and levels of study on campus. Only these should be the basis of a constituency based electoral system. The essence of devolving power from the SRC EXCO made up of a handful of individuals to a more representative Student Parliament is to prevent the phenomenon of allowing a few individuals and their external political affiliations decide how and when students express their grievances on campus. Both the EXCO and Parliament should form the SRC.

- Students should also agree with university management to limit participation in SRC to only undergraduate students. Often times, in both South Africa and Tanzania, postgraduate students are usually very matured students who are too steeped in societal issues that conflict with campus issues. For example, it came out from this study that most of them are working class and members of local/regional/national political parties whose interest may conflict with a dominant interest on campus at a particular time. Postgraduate students should be encouraged to form their own students associations or councils to represent their interests which are usually varied from those of undergraduates.
- Students can also work with university management to ensure that only the best crop of students get elected into political offices by raising the academic bar for contestants. For example, if you are not a merit student by your second year at university, you should be disqualified from contesting elections. A university must reflect academic excellence so that only those who appreciate the essence of being on campus in the first place get into decision making positions to

decide the fate of others behind them who are in school first and foremost to learn and get their degrees in record time.

7.4.3 Recommendations for HEIs administrators

- There is a need to integrate conflict management measures within the new HEIs framework of Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP)
- HEIs should develop systems of engaging and communicating students, within the university governance structure in a bid to bridge the gaps
- HEIs should act proactively rather than reactive, and unchain the long decision making process of command structure, which maintains secrecy and delays decision making.
- It is crucial to for HEIs leaders to understand what type of leadership is required for the academic institution called a university.
- New strategies of educational leadership in a time of reform should be synthesised and utilized in HEIs.
- Lastly, silencing students through withdrawing their political freedom on campus does not help to address the problem. HEIs should learn that if you do not listen, you will never be heard. And, a suppressed problem will always be like a bomb waiting to explode at any time.

7.4.4 Recommendation for stakeholders of an education industry

- Educational management in a time of reform requires participation of all key stakeholders. It is the right time to advice stakeholders to separate divisive politics that fuel identity politics, and in turn, destabilize the educational settings.

7.5 Suggested Areas for Further Studies

There would be a need to investigate:

- Academic Leadership in a Time of Reform: Assessing Issues, Actors and Dynamics in Higher Education Institutions
- Institutional Transformation Programme: Exploring Gaps and Prospects in Higher Educational Institutions

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APPENDIX 1

STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

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

Name of respondent:.....

Name of the University:.....Campus:.....

Informed Consent:

Good day. I am Dominick Muya, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Zululand. This discussion is being conducted to get your inputs in a research study entitled as: **THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition**. The study is specifically interested in exploring whether the connectedness of national and student's politics on campuses in the contemporary era of democratic transition has been the main source of conflict in HEIs. The aim of the study is to inform evidence-based conflict management practices and policy restructuring in both South African and Tanzanians universities. I am especially interested in your feelings/attitudes/perceptions about the study and any suggestions you may have.

Please note that your participation is voluntarily, and that it will not cause any harm as whatever information you provide will remain strictly confidential between you and I. We pledge to ensure anonymity where required and as agreed between us through the use of code names. There are no foreseeable risks for your participation in this study, and if you have any question or concerns about participating in this study, please contact my supervisor at the following number +277 27 49 11 55. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time of your choice without any negative or undesirable consequences to you. Please sign below as an indicator of your consent and voluntary participation in this study.

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

SECTION A: Social – Demographic Characteristics of Respondents:

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

1. What is your gender?

Male	Female
(1)	(2)

2. What is your Race?

African	White	Coloured	Indian	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

3. How old are you?

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

SECTION B: Student Background Information:

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

4. Could you please tick for the person whom you live with while being at home.

Only Mother	Only Father	Both Parents	None Parents
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

5. Could you please tick for the educational level of your parent (s)/Guardian

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Diploma	Bachelor Degree	Postgraduate
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

6. Could you please estimate an average monthly income of your parent (s)/Guardian

R201-R500	R501-R1,000	R1,001-R5,000	R5,001-R10,000	≥ R10,001
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

7. Could you please mention who supports you financially for your studies

Self/Family Support	Government Support	Others
(1)	(2)	(3)

8. Could you please rank the level of your participation in campus politics

Very High	High	Fair	Low	Very Low
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

Section C: Student College Experience on Politics and Campus Activism

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

- 9. During your college experience, how often you paid attention to national politics?
- 10. During you college experience, how often have you paid attention to campus politics?
- 11. During your college experience, how often have you been aware of current issues facing the community surrounding your institution?
- 12. During your college experience, how often have you contacted a public official or signed a petition or sent an email about a social or political issue?
- 13. During your college experience, how often have you debated on political or academic topics on campus?
- 14. During your college experience, how often have you contacted political mentors on campus to develop your political/leadership aspects?
- 15. During your college experience, how often have you read political books, journal articles and other related political documents in a bid to inform your political grounds?
- 16. During your college experience, how often have you taken part in a protest, rally, march, or demonstration?
- 17. During your college experience, how often have you been supported by either University staff or National politicians to protest against various issues on campus?

18. Why do student in campus vote? Is it because of rationality or emotion? Please explain

.....

.....

The Connectedness of National Versus Student Politics

Section D: Polarisation of Campus Politics

On a scale of (1=Disagree, 2=Agree, and 3=Do not Know), please give your opinion by ranking each statement with an appropriate response through putting a number (such as 2) in one box only.

19. There is a growing perception that among other things, the connectedness of national and student politics in the recent era of multi-party politics is the main cause of student crises in this university. Do you agree with this statement?

If the answer from the question 19 is 'Yes' (that is, Agreed), please, explain.....
.....
.....

20. It is argued that the decision of political leaders to run youth political wings is a main source/cause of conflict in this campus? Do you agree?

If the answer from the question 20 is 'Yes' (that is, Agreed), please, explain.....
.....
.....

21. It is also argued that leaders from National political parties occasionally pay visit in campus especially during SRC (Presidential) election to support their respective youth wings

If the answer from the question 21 is 'Yes' (that is, Agree), please, explain.....
.....
.....

22. Apart from advancing agendas of their parties, some of the political, religious and community leaders take advantage of lack of jobs and other positive opportunities to outsource energies of the young and offer them resources such as money, T'shirts, job promises and so forth especially during SRC election in campus

If the answer from the question 22 is 'Yes' (that is, Agree), please, explain.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Section E: The Influence of National Politics on Student Politics

23. It is argued that in the ongoing era of democratic transition, national political leaders have influenced student politics by using a number of methods. **Please give your opinion by putting a tick (√) to the most appropriate response in one box only.**

Political Influencing Methods	Put a Tick (√) in one box only
Using students in Party Campaigns	
Establish Campus Youth Wings	
Underground training of students	
Supporting SRC with Training Material	
Assisting Students with School Fees	
Touring Political Message to Campus	
Offering Incentives to Students	
Funding student Organisations	
Total	

Section F: Other Indicators of the Nexus between National and Student Politics

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

24. It is argued that the political process at which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellor are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders is a main source of conflict in universities? Do you agree with this statement?

If the answer from the question 24 is 'Yes' (that is, Agreed), please, explain.....

25. Have you ever witnessed or heard either students or lecturers rejecting the appointment of the University leader on grounds of being chosen to that post based on party affiliation and not merits?

26. It is argued that some among staffs of this University engage in propagating or supporting the practice of national politics in campus, as such they have become part of the conflicting process in HEIs. Do you agree?

Section G: Other Causes of Student Conflict on Campus

27. Please give your opinion by putting a tick (√) to the most appropriate response. You can fill in not more than four boxes.

Causative factors of Student Conflict on Campus	
Poor student participation in decision making on campus	
Incompetency of academic staffs in fulfilling their academic roles	
Incompetency of non academic staffs in fulfilling their work	
The growing trend of insecurity on campus	
Communication gaps between Management & SRC leaders	
Changes of student-by-laws & Reforms on student welfare	
Lack of funds and challenges for funding student studies	
unclear leadership roles, styles and responsibility of Student Representative Council	
Residency problems for registered students on campus	
Institutional problems in accommodating retrospective stds	
Poor teaching and learning environment	
Poor recreational and out of class environment	
Little emphasis on games and sports	
Poor leadership or governance styles of HEIs administrators	
Lack of political freedom on the university campus	
Student social background and Pre-College activism	
Lack or poor counselling and mentorship programs on campus last	

**Multiple Responses are Allowed

Section H: Student Understanding of Democracy and Participation in Democratic Processes

28. Do you understand the meaning of the concept “democracy”? By using a scale of (1=Understand, 2=Do not understand and 3=Neither), please give your opinion by putting the most appropriate response in form of a number in a box.

29.What is your understanding of democracy?

.....

.....

.....

30. To what extent do student participate in democratic processes and practices such attending in political meetings or debating in political topics? (1=high level of participation, 2=low level of participation, 3=fair participation and 4=Do not understand)

31. Did you participate to vote for SRC election during the last year?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

32. The process at which the president of SRC, and other student leaders are elected or chosen basing on political party affiliation has been more conflicting rather than cooperating. Do you agree?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

33. From this analysis, would you favour to have a free SRC election which does not contain any involvement or affiliations of the national political parties?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

34. From your understanding, do you think that it is possible, and will be appropriate to disconnect the national politics from student politics given its effects on peace and security in campuses?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

35. If the answer from the question 34 is 'Yes', please, explain.....

.....
.....

If 'No', Why do you think so?.....

.....
.....

Section I: Analysis of Leadership Gaps of Student Leaders (SRCs) in HEIs

36. From your general understanding, what are the role and responsibilities of student leaders on campus?

.....
.....
.....
.....

37. How can you rate the achievement of the current SRCs objectives on campuses?

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

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

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

**Multiple Responses are Allowed

Section J: Conflict Management Measures/Strategies and Techniques

Conflict Management Measures/Strategies and Techniques

39. What are your opinions on the best mechanisms or strategies to prevent student crises?

.....

.....

.....

.....

40. Are the measures taken by the University Authorities efficient and effective in managing student conflict in your campus?.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

.....

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

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Thanks for Participation

APPENDIX 11

SEMI STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

(FOR HEIs ACADEMIC & NON ACADEMIC STAFF)

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

Name of respondent:.....

Name of the University:.....Campus:.....

Informed Consent:

Good day. I am Dominick Muya, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Zululand. This discussion is being conducted to get your inputs in a research study entitled as: **THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition**. The study is specifically interested in exploring whether the connectedness of national and student's politics on campuses in the contemporary era of democratic transition has been the main source of conflict in HEIs. The aim of of the study is to inform evidence-based conflict management practices and policy restructuring in both South African and Tanzanians universities. I am especially interested in your feelings/attitudes/perceptions about the study and any suggestions you may have.

Please note that your participation is voluntarily, and that it will not cause any harm as whatever information you provide will remain strictly confidential between you and I. We pledge to ensure anonymity where required and as agreed between us through the use of code names. There are no foreseeable risks for your participation in this study, and if you have any question or concerns about participating in this study, please contact my supervisor at the following number +277 27 49 11 55. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time of your choice without any negative or undesirable consequences to you. Please sign below as an indicator of your consent and voluntary participation in this study.

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

1. Have you witnessed student crises taking place in your institution? If the answer from the question is 'Yes', please, explain.....

.....
.....

2. What is your attitude towards such crises? Do you approve or disapprove such incidences?.....

.....
.....

3. This study has revealed among other things, that the connectedness of national and student politics is the main cause of student crises in this university. Do you agree with this statement? Can you please give up your views.....

.....
.....

4. *The process at which the president of SRCs is elected or chosen basing on political party affiliation has been more conflicting rather than cooperating*, From this analysis, would you favour to have a free SRC election which does not contain any affiliations of the national politics?

.....

5. During your University experience, how often have you seen or heard that leaders from National political parties pay visit to support their respect youth wings in campus?

- (1) Never (2) Sometimes (3) Often (4) Very Often

6. Are you in favour of any political party that invests her politics in the campus through one among the youth wings?

1. Yes

2. No

7. Have you ever attended in any of those political parties meeting in this University?

1. Yes

2. No

8. It is argued that the political process at which the university leaders such as Vice Chancellor are searched, selected, appointed and approved by national political leaders is a main source of conflict in universities? Do you agree with this statement?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Please explain.....
.....
.....

9. It is argued that *Pre-College activism of students* is one among the sources of conflict in universities? Do you agree?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

10. If the answer from the question 9 is 'Yes', please, explain.....
.....
.....

11. It is argued that some among staffs of this University engage in propagating or supporting the practice of national politics in campus, as such they have become part of the conflicting process in Higher Education Institutions. Do you agree?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

12. From your understanding, do you think that it is possible, and will be appropriate to disconnect the national politics from student politics given its effects on peace and security in campuses?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

13. From either of the answer obtained in the question 12 argue for or against that statement,....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

14. My analysis shows that the University administrators lacks appropriate mechanisms for managing student conflict. Do you agree?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

15. From either of the answer obtained in the question 17 argue for or against that statement,.....
.....;
.....
.....

16. Being an outstanding academician or firm in your decision in this institution, which means do you think can be employed to prevent the outbreak of these crises or else diffuse students emotional energy? Is there anything else I can add to beef up my study?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thanks for Participation

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH KEY INFORMANTS

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

Name of respondent:.....

Name of the University:.....Campus:.....

Informed Consent:

Good day. I am Dominick Muya, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Zululand. This discussion is being conducted to get your inputs in a research study entitled as: **THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition**. The study is specifically interested in exploring whether the connectedness of national and student's politics on campuses in the contemporary era of democratic transition has been the main source of conflict in HEIs. The aim of of the study is to inform evidence-based conflict management practices and policy restructuring in both South African and Tanzanians universities. I am especially interested in your feelings/attitudes/perceptions about the study and any suggestions you may have.

Please note that your participation is voluntarily, and that it will not cause any harm as whatever information you provide will remain strictly confidential between you and I. We pledge to ensure anonymity where required and as agreed between us through the use of code names. There are no foreseeable risks for your participation in this study, and if you have any question or concerns about participating in this study, please contact my supervisor at the following number +277 27 49 11 55. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time of your choice without any negative or undesirable consequences to you. Please sign below as an indicator of your consent and voluntary participation in this study.

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

1. There is an assumption that apart from other factors, the connectedness of national and students politics has been the main source of student conflict in Higher Education Institutions. *For example, the process of electing the president of SRC based on political party affiliation has been more conflictual rather than cooperative.* From this analysis, what is your take?
2. It is argued that *the process of appointing the university leaders such as Vice Chancellor which requires approval by national political leaders is a main source of conflict in universities.* Do you agree with this statement? Can I please have your views in this regard.
3. The university has a role of teaching, researching and undertaking consultancy. Being an outstanding academician, what is your take on the practice of mixing politics and educational discourses in institutions of higher learning?
4. Polarisation of the university community along political party lines has made institutions prone to conflict. *Do the university staff take sides with the university management or students at the time of conflict* noting that some among them have similar political or group interest agenda with either students or management?
5. It has been argued that politics erodes professional ethics. *Are there any code of conducts at an institutional level which requires univesity staff not to engage in politics within the campus?* Is it followed?
6. From your understanding, do you think that it is possible, and will be appropriate to *disconnect national politics from student politics* given its effects on peace and security on campuses?
7. Apart from the national versus campus politics nexus, *what other factors are* behind students versus management *conflicts in universities.* How does your institution address them?
8. To what extent *have the measures taken by the University authorities over the past ten years been effective in managing student conflict?* Could you please explain
9. *Implementation of either academic or residential reforms* many times has brought tension on the campus. What do you perceive to be the gaps?
10. Reforms in higher education have to be politically and socially acceptable if they are to succeed. *To what extent has the University diagnosed the reform environment, timing factor, strategies, and tactics before implementing them?*

Thanks for Participation.

APPENDIX V

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Good day. I am Dominick Muya, a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in the University of Zululand. This discussion is being conducted to get your inputs in a research study entitled: **THE NEXUS BETWEEN NATIONAL AND STUDENT POLITICS: Managing Student Conflict in Four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Transition.** The study is specifically interested in exploring the conflict which arises from the connectedness of national and student's politics in campuses in order to inform evidence-based conflict management practices and policy restructuring in both South African and Tanzanians universities. I am especially interested in your feelings/attitudes/perceptions about the study and any suggestions you may have. Please note that your participation is voluntarily, and that it will not cause any harm as whatever information you provide will remain strictly confidential between you and I. Please sign below as an indicator of your consent and voluntary participation in this study.

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Signature of respondent/Participant

Signature of researcher

Date.....

Leading Questions

- 1. Polarisation of the university community in political lines has made higher learning institutions prone to conflict. From your understanding, what do you think needs to be done?*
- 2. Do you think that it is possible, and will be appropriate to disconnect the national politics from student politics given its effects on peace and security in campuses?*
- 3. What do you think should be done to address the nature of students' conflicts in your institution?*

Thanks for Participation.

**UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE**

(Reg No: UZREC 171110-30)



UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

Website: <http://www.uzulu.ac.za>

Private Bag X1001
KwaDlangezwa 3886

Tel: 035 902 6645

Fax: 035 902 6222

Email: MangeleS@unizulu.ac.za

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGD 2012/12							
Project Title	National versus student political nexus : Managing students conflict in four African Universities in an Era of Democratic Consolidation							
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	M Dominick							
Supervisor and Co- supervisor	Dr. C Isike							
Department	Political Science & Public Administration							
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year	<input type="checkbox"/>	Master's	<input type="checkbox"/>	Doctoral	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Departmental	<input type="checkbox"/>

The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives **FULL** ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project proposal and the documents listed on page 2 of this Certificate. Special conditions, if any, are also listed on page 2.

The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this Certificate, using the reference number indicated above, but may not conduct any data collection using research instruments that are yet to be approved.

Please note that the UZREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the UZREC
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UZREC in the prescribe format, where applicable, annually and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

The table below indicates which documents the UZREC considered in granting this Certificate and which documents, if any, still require ethical clearance. (Please note that this is not a closed list and should new instruments be developed, these may also require approval.)

Documents	Considered	To be submitted	Not required
Faculty Research Ethics Committee recommendation	X		
Animal Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Health Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Ethical clearance application form	X		
Project registration proposal	X		
Informed consent from participants	X		
Informed consent from parent/guardian	X		
Permission for access to sites/information/participants	X		
Permission to use documents/copyright clearance			X
Data collection/survey instrument/questionnaire	X		
Data collection instrument in appropriate language		Only if necessary	
Other data collection instruments		Only if used	

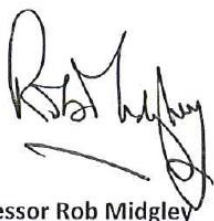
Special conditions: Documents marked "To be submitted" must be presented for ethical clearance before any data collection can commence.

a) A outstanding documents were submitted

The UZREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Certificate if
 - Any unethical principles or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in this Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting the research.



Professor Rob Midgley
Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Research and Innovation
Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee
22 October 2013

CHAIRPERSON
UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND RESEARCH
ETHICS COMMITTEE (UZREC)
REG NO: UZREC 171110-30

22 -10- 2013

RESEARCH & INNOVATION OFFICE



UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM

OFFICE OF THE VICE-CHANCELLOR

P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

Ref. No: AB3/3(B)

Date: 18th January, 2013

To: The Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Administration),
The University of Dar es Salaam.

UNIVERSITY STAFF AND STUDENTS RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Dominick Muya** who is bonafide student of the University of Zululand in South Africa and who is at the moment conducting research.

In accordance with a government circular letter Ref. No.MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July, 1980 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI.

I therefore request you to grant the above-mentioned member of St. John's University of Tanzania any help that may enable him to achieve his research objectives. What is required is your permission for him to see and talk to the leaders and members of your institution in connection with his research.

The title of the research in question is "**National Versus Student Politics Nexus: Exploring Leadership Competences in Managing Student Conflicts in Tanzanian Universities**"

The period for which this permission has been granted is from **March, 2013 to May, 2013** and will cover the following offices: **Students, Staffs and Managers.**

Should the offices be restricted, you are requested to kindly advise him as to which alternative places could be visited. In case you may require further information, please contact the Directorate of Research Tel. 2410500-8 Ext. 2087 or 2410743.


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE-CHANCELLOR

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. BOX 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM

Direct +255 22 2410700
Telephone: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
Telefax: +255 22 2410078

Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz

Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. BOX 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM



THE UNIVERSITY OF DODOMA
DEPUTY VICE CHANCELLOR ACADEMIC, RESEARCH & CONSULTANCY
OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

P.O. BOX 263
 DODOMA, TANZANIA
 TEL: +255 26 2310173 FAX: +255 26 2310005 EMAIL: ahmed_ame@yahoo.com, ame@udom.ac.tz

REF/UDOM/GS/2778

Thursday, 10th October 2013

Head
 Department of Political Science and Public Administration
 Faculty of Commerce, Administration and Law
 University of Zululand
 Private Bag X1001
 3886 KwaDlangezwa

Dear Sir,

RE: Permission to Conduct Field Study

Reference is hereby made to your letter dated 23rd September, 2013 regarding the above subject.

I am glad to inform you that the Chairman of Senate has on 10th October 2013 approved your request for Mr. Muya Dominic to conduct field study at the University of Dodoma with regard to his PhD research titled "National versus student politics nexus: managing student conflicts in four African Universities in an era of democratic consolidation".

Nevertheless, the field work will be based at the College of Humanities and Social Sciences only which is relevant for the proposed study and not across the entire University. This College has three Schools which are; School of Humanities, School of Social Sciences and School of Business and Economic Studies. Mr. Domonic will be guided about the College when he arrives at the University.

I wish you success in your study.

Sincerely,

Dr. Ahmed M. Ame
 Director for Graduate Studies

Cc: Chairman of Senate
 Deputy Vice Chancellor – ARC
 Principal – College of Humanities and Social Sciences