HIGHER EDUCATION AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: STUDENTS' AND GRADUATES' PERSPECTIVES FROM TWO TANZANIAN UNIVERSITIES

by

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Declaration

I, **Bertha Kibona** declare that the thesis, *Higher education and human development: Students' and graduates' perspectives from two Tanzanian universities*, submitted for the qualification of Philosophiae Doctor in Development Studies at the University of the Free State is my own independent work.

All the references that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that this work has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty for the purpose of obtaining a qualification.

November, 2020

SIGNED DATE

Abstract

Globally, there has been growing recognition of the value and importance of higher education (HE) to individuals, families, and nations. The evidence of this can be seen in the rapid expansion of higher education institutions (HEIs), increased enrolment, the ongoing linking of HE to issues of development, as well as investment directed towards the sector. However, the increasing realisation of the value of HE seems to be aimed predominantly at economic competitiveness and opportunities. This focus has been criticised by some scholars, policymakers, and commentators who argue that HE should also be valued for its potential to advance the non-economic elements that are essential for individual and national flourishing. This argument is premised on the broader idea of HE contributing to human development and/or the public good. Yet, relatively few studies have explored the perspectives of students and graduates on the value of HE, with even less focus on Tanzania. Using human development and the capability approach as analytical framework, this study explores how HE can enhance valued capabilities and promote the well-being of both an individual and the broader society.

The study is situated within the pragmatism paradigm in which mixed methods were employed to explore the perspectives of students and graduates. Data was collected through survey questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis from two universities. Data was analysed thematically and statistically. Bearing in mind the socio-economic climate of Tanzania as a developing country, findings from the study indicate that instrumental economic perspectives primarily influence Tanzanian HE. However, there are instances of concern about human development and the public good, especially from the valuable beings and doings mentioned by participants, which involved both economic and social values. Nonetheless, while universities enhanced some of the values, there are persistent factors, including socio-economic background, gender, public policy and teaching and learning that constrained students' or graduates' valuable beings and doings.

Based on the empirical findings, the study argues that the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the role of HE needs to be broadened. To fully appreciate the role of HE in human development and the public good, universities need to expand the valued human capabilities by addressing the conversion factors that have constraining effects. This includes: (1) Equitable access to university, including gender equity and students from disadvantaged backgrounds; (2) Updating the curriculum to provide economic opportunities to students and produce whole persons (graduates) for a flourishing economy and meaningful life for all; and (3) Equitable and inclusive education environments for students to participate and achieve their goals. This will not only promote the economic benefits of HE but also contribute to social justice and enhance students' and graduates' capabilities to choose and contribute to the public good and social transformation.

Keywords: higher education; human development; public good; economic development; capability approach; Tanzania

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my beloved late grandfather, Cornel Msasia, and my precious parents, Mr and Mrs Aliko Kibona.

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First, I would like to express my deep thankfulness to the Lord God, my provider, for all his countless blessings during this academic journey. I truly '*thank you and praise you, God of my ancestors, for you have given me wisdom and strength. You have told me what we asked of you and revealed to us what the king demanded*' (Daniel 2:23).

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Table of Contents

Declaration i
Abstract ii
Dedication iv
Acknowledgements v
Table of Contents vii
List of Tables xiv
List of Figures xv
List of Acronyms xvi

Chapter 1 1

Introduction, background and context 1

1.0. Setting the scene 1

1.1. The United Republic of Tanzania 2

1.1.1. Human development in Tanzania 4

1.1.2. The history of higher education in Tanzania 6

1.2. Students' voices in Tanzania 10

1.3. Research problem 12

1.4. Aim and research questions 13

1.5. Rationale and significance of the study 13

1.6. Methodology 15

1.7. The two universities 16

1.8. Chapter outline 18

1.9. Conclusion 20

Chapter 2 22

Review of literature on the role of higher education 22

2.0. Introduction 22
2.1. Higher education in the global context 22
2.1.1. Massification of higher education 24
2.1.2. Internationalisation of higher education 26
2.2. The role of higher education in Africa from the 1960s to 2000s 27
2.2.1. The role of African universities in the 1960s 27
2.2.3. The role of African universities in the 1970s 29
2.2.4. The role of African universities in the 1980s. 30
2.2.5. The role of African universities in the 1990s–2000s 31
2.3. The role of higher education in Tanzania 34
2.4. Economic development perspective 37
2.5. The role of higher education in the public good 40
2.5.1. Higher education and the public good: A global perspective 41
2.5.2. Higher education and the public good: An African perspective 43
2.6. Conclusion 47
Chapter 3 48
Higher education and human development: A conceptual/theoretical approach 48
3.0. Introduction 48
3.1. Economic development perspectives 48
3.2. Human development 50
3.2.1 Equity 52
3.2.2 Participation and empowerment 53
3.2.3 Sustainability 54
3.2.4. Efficiency 54

3.3. Capability approach 55
3.3.1. Capabilities 56
3.3.2. Functionings 56
3.3.3. Agency 57
3.3.4. Well-being 58
3.3.5. Conversion factors 59
3.4. Human development pathways 59
3.4.1. HE and economic opportunities 60
3.4.2. Educating professionals 61
3.4.3. Citizenship formation 62
3.4.4. Contributions to social justice 64
3.4.5. Public deliberation 65
3.5. Conclusion 66
Chapter 4 68
Research design and methodology 68
4.0. Introduction 68
4.1. Research paradigm 68
4.2. Research design 70
4.3. Case study 73
4.3.1. The cases 74
4.4. Research methods and data collection 75
4.4.1. Qualitative phase 1– sampling, methods and instruments 75
4.4.2. Quantitative phase – sampling, methods, and instruments 76
4.4.3. Qualitative phase 2– sampling, methods and instruments 77
4.4.4. Semi-structured interviews 77

4.4.5. Focus group discussions 79
4.4.6. Document analysis 80
4.5. Approach to data analysis 80
4.5.1. Managing the quantitative data 80
4.5.2. Managing the qualitative data 80
4.6. Ethical consideration 81
4.6.1. Voluntary participation 81
4.6.2. No harm to the participants 81
4.6.3. Anonymity and confidentiality 82
4.7. Ethical challenges 82
4.8. Conclusion 82
Chapter 5 84
Document analysis and the perspectives of university officials 84
5.0. Introduction 84
5.1. Introducing the university officials. 85
5.2. The role of higher education 85
5.3. Curricula and pedagogical practices for development. 90
5.4. Imparting values for human development 94
5.5. Beyond the formal curriculum 100
5.6. Challenges facing higher education 103
5.6.2. Gap between the curriculum and the needs of the society 104
5.7. Summative discussion 108
Chapter 6 110
Students' perspectives on higher education and human development 110
6.0. Introduction 110

6.1. Introducing the students 111
6.2. Aspirations and motivations to join the university 113
6.3. Students' experience at the university 117
6.4. Multiple conversion factors 123
6.4.1. Access conversion factors 123
6.4.2 Post-access conversion factors 129
6.5. Student agency in defining the role of the university 136
6.6. Students' views on the role of HE in Tanzania 139
6.7. Students' valued beings and doings 142
6.8. Summative discussion 152
Chapter 7 156
Graduate perspectives on higher education and human development 156
7.0. Introduction 156
7.1. Introducing the graduates 157
7.2. The purpose of higher education 153
7.3. Experiences at university. 157
7.3.1. Aspirations and motivations to join the university 158
7.3.2. Teaching and learning. 160
7.3.3. University conversion factors 162
7.4. Experience after university 164
7.4.1. Post-university conversion factors. 164
7.4.2. Graduates' valued beings and doings 168
7.5. Summative discussion 176
Chapter 8 178

Theorising higher education, human development and the public good in Tanzania 178

8.0. Introduction 178

8.1. Capabilities for the public good in and through higher education 179

8.1.0. Dynamic nature of capabilities 181

8.2. Higher education and the public good: Conversion factors 183

8.3. Higher education as space of capability formation 189

8.3.0. Equity of access to higher education. 190

8.3.1. Experiences at university. 192

8.3.1.0. Teaching and learning for economic opportunities. 192

8.3.2. Beyond employment 195

8.3.2.0. Educating professionals. 195

8.3.2.1. Citizenship formation 196

8.3.3. Beyond the curriculum. 198

8.4. Higher education, well-being and agency 200

8.5. A Tanzanian and African 'public good' university 201

8.6. Conclusion 204

Chapter 9 206

Concluding chapter 206

9.0. Introduction 206

9.1. Revisiting the research aim and questions. 206

9.2. Higher education, human development and the public good. 207

9.3. Valued capabilities in and through higher education 211

9.4. Original contribution to knowledge. 212

9.5. The limitations of the study and suggested areas for further research. 215

9.6. Lessons and recommendations 215

9.7. Conclusion. 217

References..... 218

Appendices 252

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of qualitative data collection methods, research interest, participants and data sources 81
Table 2: University officials' profiles 85
Table 3: University officials' capability set for students 99
Table 4: Focus group students' profiles 111
Table 5: Final-year survey students' profiles. 113
Table 6. Relationship between family income status and selected field of study 126
Table 7: Survey explanations on the positive conversion factors 134
Table 8: Conversion factors 135
Table 9: Students' valued beings and doings 149
Table 10: Graduates' conversion factors 168
Table 11: Graduates' valued beings and doings. 175
Table 12: A summary of the valued capabilities in Tanzanian higher education 180
Table 13: Conversion factors to, in and through higher education 188

List of Figures

Figure 1: Tanzania GDP composition 3
Figure 2: Students enrolled in Tanzanian universities from 2012/2013 to 2017/2018 9
Figure 3: Number of graduates 9
Figure 4: Visual representation of an exploratory sequential design. 72
Figure 5: Illustration of an exploratory sequential design used in this study. 73
Figure 6: University's influence on students' well-being. 102
Figure 7: Why did you choose this field? 114
Figure 8: Emphasis on developing professional/employment competence 119
Figure 9: Emphasis on developing critical, evaluation and analytical qualities 120
Figure 10: Do you think it was easy for you to join the university? 123
Figure 11: Who decided on the choice (Field) 138
Figure 12: Gaining a range of information that may be relevant to a career/ job. 144
Figure 13: A 'public good' university 203

List of Acronyms

HE – Higher education

HEIs – Higher education institutions

UDSM – University of Dar es Salaam

KIUT – Kampala International University in Tanzania

TCU – Tanzania Commission for Universities

HDR – Human Development Report

THDR – Tanzania Human Development Report

NHEP – National Higher Education Policy

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

AU – African Union

GNI – Gross National Income

OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development

UNESCO – United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

HEDP – Higher Education Development Programme

MSTHE – Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education

Chapter 1

Introduction, background and context

1.0. Setting the scene

The role of higher education (HE) and particularly universities[1] in contributing to development has gained ground over the past few decades. The focus of this contribution has been continuously analysed and discussed in terms of economic benefits to individuals and countries (Peercy & Svenson, 2016; Oketch, McCowan & Schendel, 2014; Cloete, Bailey & Pillay, 2011; Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI), 2008; Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006; Lin, 2004; Samoff & Caroll, 2004; World Bank, 2000). Generally, the economic benefits of HE overshadow the broader understanding of universities as social institutions that should foster the well-being of individuals and wider society. There is growing literature about the role HE can play in promoting human development beyond the current economic emphasis. The main argument is that the understanding of the role of HE from an economic perspective neglects other essential values of human development (see Mtawa & Nkhoma, 2020; Mukwambo, 2019; Mtawa, 2019; McCowan, 2019; Mathebula, 2018; Walker & Fongwa, 2017; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Boni, Lopez-Fogues & Walker, 2016; Leibowitz, 2012). In other words, the argument made in this body of literature is that HE should also be valued for its potential to promote human development by working towards social justice and developing professionals and conscious citizens for the interest of society.

Within the broader discussions on the role of HE, I have positioned my research to theoretically and empirically explore how universities contribute towards human development in Tanzania through the lens of human development and the capability approach. As developed by Mahbub ul Haq (2003, 1995), Amartya Sen (1992, 1999a) and further elaborated by Martha Nussbaum (2000), this approach helps to understand what universities are for, and what can they do for the individual and broader society in terms of what people are able to do, be and value. Therefore, as much as the economic

[1] In this thesis, the terms 'universities' and 'higher education' are used interchangeably.

(market) focus is important in enhancing and enriching the lives of people, a human development and capabilities lens allows us to appreciate also the role of social and political freedoms in improving the lives people are able to lead, (see Sen, 1999a).

Therefore, in this research project, I have considered two existing gaps in the discussions on the broader role of HE. These are context limitation and a limited focus on how numerous HE stakeholders define the role of HE. Therefore, my research uses the Tanzanian context to explore how HE can contribute to human development. This is done by drawing from students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE. Conceptualising the value of HE from a human development and capability approach would allow universities and external communities to better design and implement universities' core functions (research, teaching, and community interaction) in the direction of human development and the public good. In the theorisation chapter (Chapter 8), I have suggested that the policy, design and implementation of HE in Tanzania should be underpinned and/or informed by human development constructs to enhance the well-being of individuals and the broader society.

The next section provides a brief description of the Tanzanian context, where the study is situated.

1.1. The United Republic of Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania, a former British colony, previously under German rule from 1880 to 1919, was established in 1964 following the reunion between mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar islands. The country is located on the east coast of Africa. The total land area of Tanzania is 945 087 km^2 and the current population is 59,905,052 as of August 11, 2020. 32.6% of this population is urban (Worldometers, 2020). Tanzania has been characterised as a low-income country, which is mainly dependent on the contribution of external donors such as the World Bank (Sundberg, 2019; Istoroyekti, 2016; Mtawa, 2014; Ellis & Mdoe, 2003; Wangwe, 1997). According to the World Bank (2014), Tanzania is third among countries receiving the most significant financial donations from abroad. However, on July 1, 2020, the World Bank declared that the Tanzanian economy had been advanced from low to lower-middle-income status (see Battaile, 2020). My argument in this study remains rooted in the characterisation of Tanzania as a low-income country. This is because the World Bank classification criteria

of the growth in Gross National Income (GNI) do not reflect reality. Similarly, Battaile (2020) makes it clear that 'increased GNI per capita is not enough'. He further adds that investing in both human development and physical capital is key to improving the quality of life for all Tanzanians (Ibid).

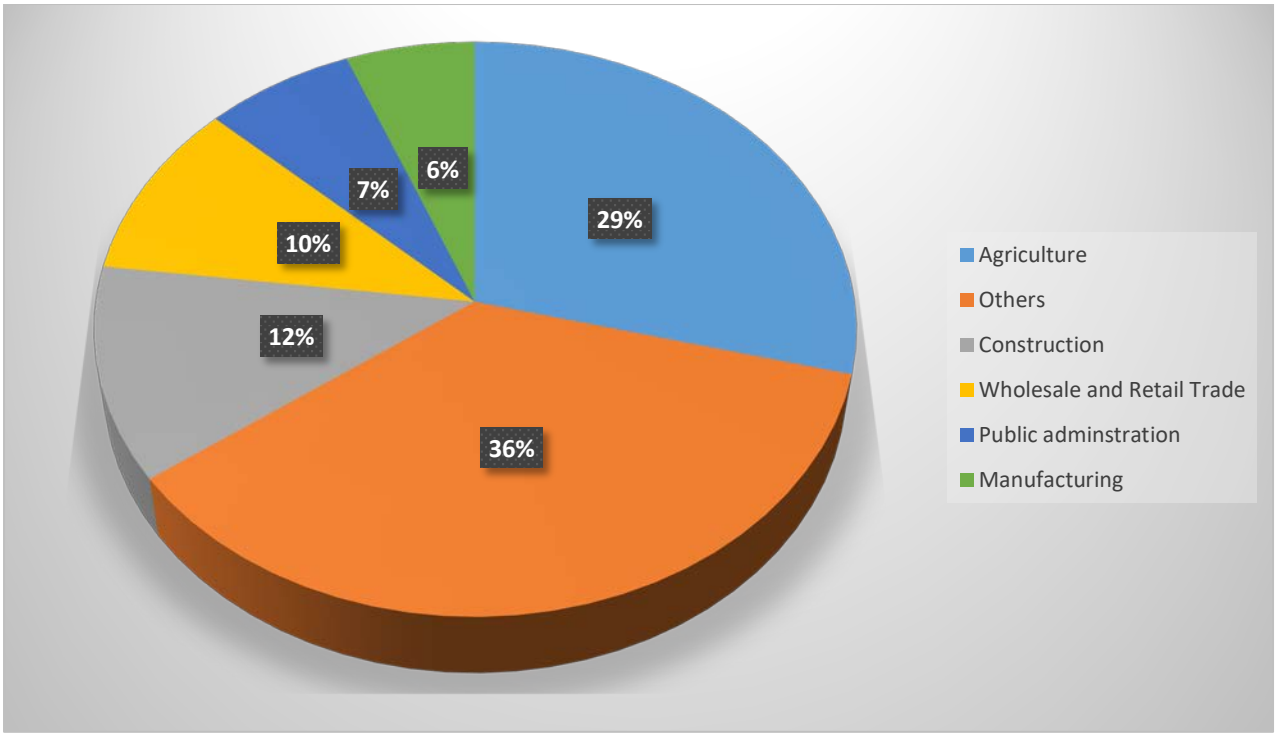
Therefore, despite high economic growth ranging from 6% to 7% a year (World Bank, 2018; Tanzania Bureau of Statistics, 2020), this growth has not transformed into substantial poverty reduction, because 47% of the population lives below the poverty line, which is $1.9 a day (UNDP, 2016). This suggests that the economic growth Tanzania has achieved is not 'quality growth'[2] as it remains an unequal country. In summary, Wangwe (1997) explains that:

> …the socio-economic situation in Tanzania is characterised by a large subsistence sector (agriculture, fishing and livestock keeping) in rural areas where the majority of the population live, and industry (mainly import substitution) that is largely based in urban areas (Wangwe, 1997:1).

The Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics provides data on the main contributors to the growing Tanzanian economy, which involves agriculture, tourism, mining, construction, transport, oil and gas (see figure below).

Figure 1: Tanzania GDP composition

[2] The UNDP (1996) explains quality growth as growth that generates full employment and secures livelihoods, fosters people's freedom and empowerment, distributes benefits equally, promotes social cohesion and cooperation, and safeguards human development.



Source: Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics, 2018.

Agriculture is the dominant economic activity in Tanzania, with the sector contributing about 66.7% of employment in Tanzania in 2017, while other areas like industry and the service sector contribute 5.97% and 27.32% respectively (Statista, 2018). These economic activities and developments are reported to be the primary influence in the provision of social services in Tanzania, including the provision of HE (Mtawa, 2014).

1.1.1. Human development in Tanzania

Human development is not a brand new concept in the Tanzanian context, since it has been central to Tanzania's development process since independence. This is drawn from the understanding that the first President of Tanzania, the late Julius Nyerere, had thought of development as a process of enhancing freedom. Nyerere said:

> Freedom and development are completely linked together as are chicken and eggs. Without chickens, you get no eggs; and without eggs, you soon have no chickens. Similarly, without freedom, you get no development, and without development, you very soon lose your freedom... For the truth is that development means the development of people. Roads, buildings, and increases of crop output, and other things of this nature, are not development; they are only tools for development. A new road extends a man's freedom only if he travels upon it (Nyerere, 1973:1).

It is, therefore, clear that Tanzania has long defined national development in a manner consistent with the current approach by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). As a result, in the first decade of independence, most official development policies echoed Nyerere's understanding of development. For instance, in 1967, the country adopted the Arusha Declaration, which used two guiding principles (socialism and self-reliance) for its social and economic development (Lihamba, 1985; Nyerere, 1977). This declaration promoted *ujamaa* (which translates to 'familyhood') for both the achievement of social development as communities and economic growth (see also Nyerere, 1987). In education, the policy of education for self-reliance also served two purposes: facilitating the acquisition of knowledge and skills to address the challenges of the society or meeting requirements of the labour market, while at the same time instilling societal values that were fundamental in building the nation (Shivji, 2003; Nyerere, 1987, 1967, 1968a).

However, despite its good objectives and particular realisations in human development, such as enhancing equality and freedom of individuals and commitment to reducing income and wealth differentials (Tanzania Human Development Report (THDR), 2017), ujamaa was not realised. Scholars like Keskin and Abdalla (2019), Yacouba and Wologueme (2018), and Ergas (1980) indicate that one of the causes for the failure of ujamaa was inadequate knowledge of its basic principles, which made it impossible for people to really participate in the process of modernisation and development. As such, in the early 1980s to the 2000s, the government adopted the structural adjustment programme, which was more strongly focused on economic reforms and viewed the social dimensions as having little economic imperative (THDR, 2017, 2014). One of the main tenets of this approach was the restraint of government consumption and social spending. In summary, this period was exclusively aimed at the economic restructuring of the country.

At the turn of the century, Tanzania, like many other developing countries, had a solid focus on poverty mitigation. This was mainly driven by an overall direction from the entire development community through commitments such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (THDR, 2017). Therefore, with emphasis on poverty alleviation, Tanzania formulated and implemented a series of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) (2001–2003); the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction

of Poverty (NSGRP), also known as MKUKUTA in Swahili (2005–2010); and the second phase of MKUKUTA, MKUKUTA II (2010–2015). While MKUKUTA accomplished its mission of sustaining high economic growth in Tanzania, it failed to alleviate poverty, as I indicated in Section 1.1. Moreover, regarding poverty reduction, a long-term development vision for 2025 that is currently guiding Tanzania was formulated in 2000. Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025 aspired that by 2025, the country should become a middle-income country, characterised by peace, good governance, high-quality livelihoods, a healthy, wealthy, and educated society, as well as a semi-industrialised and competitive economy (Planning Commission, 1999). Broadly, the 2025 vision not only focuses on the economic growth of the country but also includes other social aspects, such as good governance, high-quality livelihoods, and a healthy society. As I have shown in Section 1.1 above, although Tanzania has been declared a lower-middle-income country, it has not achieved its broader goals and the quality of living has not been improved.

Since the THDR indicates that education is the foundation of achieving sustained economic transformation (THDR, 2017: xxi), and one of the TDVs for 2025 is to have an educated society, my thesis, therefore, aspires to make a contribution towards how HE in Tanzania can enhance human development. The following section presents the landscape of the HE system in Tanzania, starting with its history, since the sector has witnessed different transformations since its establishment.

1.1.2. The history of higher education in Tanzania

The history of HE in Tanzania is associated with the country's political and economic account. As such, the history of HE in Tanzania dates back to the early years of post-independence (the 1960s) (Mtawa et al., 2016; Mushi, 2009; Ishengoma, 2008; Mkude, Cooksey & Levey, 2003; Mosha, 1986). During this period, opportunities for HE, which involved students with government-funded scholarships, were only available at the Constituent Colleges of Makerere in Uganda, the Royal Technical College in Nairobi-Kenya and few colleges in Europe, India and South Africa (Mkude et al., 2003). This period was characterised by a demand for professionals to replace the outgoing expatriates. This prompted the new Tanzanian government to establish Dar es Salaam University College in 1961 under the tutelage of the University of London, which awarded degrees in Arts, Law, and Medicine (Mkude et al., 2003). The college started

with 14 students enrolled in the Law Faculty. In 1963, as a way of broadening access, the Dar es Salaam College, Makerere University College, and Nairobi University College became constituent colleges of the University of East Africa, still under the University of London (Kilango et al., 2017; Mtawa, 2014; Leach et al., 2008). However, in 1970, the University of East Africa was dissolved, and three distinct universities were established in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (Mkude et al., 2003). Omari (1991:198) explains that:

> …some of the reasons for the disintegration included Tanzania's wish for autonomy to introduce more radical reforms at its university, consistent with the socialist transformations taking place in the country.

The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), which became a fully-fledged university in 1970, was established by Parliament Act No. 12 of 1970. This university laid a strong foundation and became the pioneer of HE in Tanzania for some of the current public universities, such as the Sokoine University of Agriculture established in 1984 out of UDSM's Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Science (Mwollo-Ntallima, 2011). Recently, the university acquired several constituent colleges, including Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE), established in 2005 in response to the growing demand for teachers in the country (TCU, 2013); Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) established in 2005 to extend secondary school education in the country (Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU), 2013); Ardhi University (ARU) established in 2007; and the Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (MUHAS) established in 2005, which used to be the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Dar es Salaam (Mtawa, 2014; TCU, 2013; Mkude et al., 2003; Mwollo-Ntallima, 2011).

Kilango et al. (2017), Mtawa (2014), Fongwa et al. (2012), Ishengoma (2007) and Levy (2004) argue that, in the late 1980s and 1990s, the HE system in Tanzania witnessed a rapid expansion characterised by an increase in public and private universities. Specifically, Ishengoma (2007:79) explains that 'one of the major causes of the growth of private HE in the late 1990s was the limited capacity of the public universities to absorb all the qualifying applicants.' This also resulted from the government permitting individuals and private agencies to invest in HE and operationalise private universities in 1997 (Morley et al., 2010; Kuhanga, 2006). Currently, the number of universities has grown from 17 private universities in 2013 to 40 private universities in 2020, and from one public university in 1970 to 18 public universities in 2020, yielding a total number

of 58 universities (TCU, 2020). These universities are located in different regions across the country, but mostly in urban areas. Due to the critical shortage of manpower in Tanzania, in the early 1960s, HE has historically been linked to issues of social and economic development (Ishengoma, 2007). Nyerere's idea of serving to develop in Tanzania mainly stated that 'the purpose of development is the people' (Nyerere, 1973:2). Universities were therefore encouraged to prepare students through teaching to understand society and know the problems of their nation (Mosha, 1986). But the focus shifted to economic benefits due to influence from global development agencies, for example, the World Bank, which encouraged the positioning of HE at the core of economic growth. For instance, the World Bank (2002:5) argues that 'sustainable transformation and growth throughout the economy are not possible without the capacity-building contribution of an innovative tertiary education system.' HE's significant impact on advancing economic development has also been recognised in Tanzanian development strategies, as shown in the Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) for 2025:

> …education and knowledge are critical in enabling the nation to effectively utilise the knowledge and mobilising domestic resources for assuring the provision peoples need and attaining competitiveness in the regional and global economy (TDV, 1999:4).

Hence, the role of HE in Tanzania resonates with Cloete et al. (2011), Bloom et al. (2006), and Sawyer's (2004) view that there is a growing realisation that universities in Africa have a significant contribution to make in advancing development. However, despite the rapid expansion of the Tanzanian HE system and its ongoing linkage to development, as I indicated earlier, the majority of the population in Tanzania still lives in poverty (see 1.2). While HE cannot compensate for the poverty and inequality in the country, it does not mean that it cannot contribute in other ways, as I will continue to discuss throughout this thesis.

Furthermore, the implication of HE for development is indicated by the increasing demand for HE. For instance, student enrolment in Tanzania has increased by 2.1% in 2010 to 3.9% in 2015. Figure 2 below presents the actual numbers of students enrolled in Tanzanian universities. The number of male students dominates the sector. Furthermore, Mgaiwa and Poncian (2016) add that more students are enrolled in public universities than private universities.

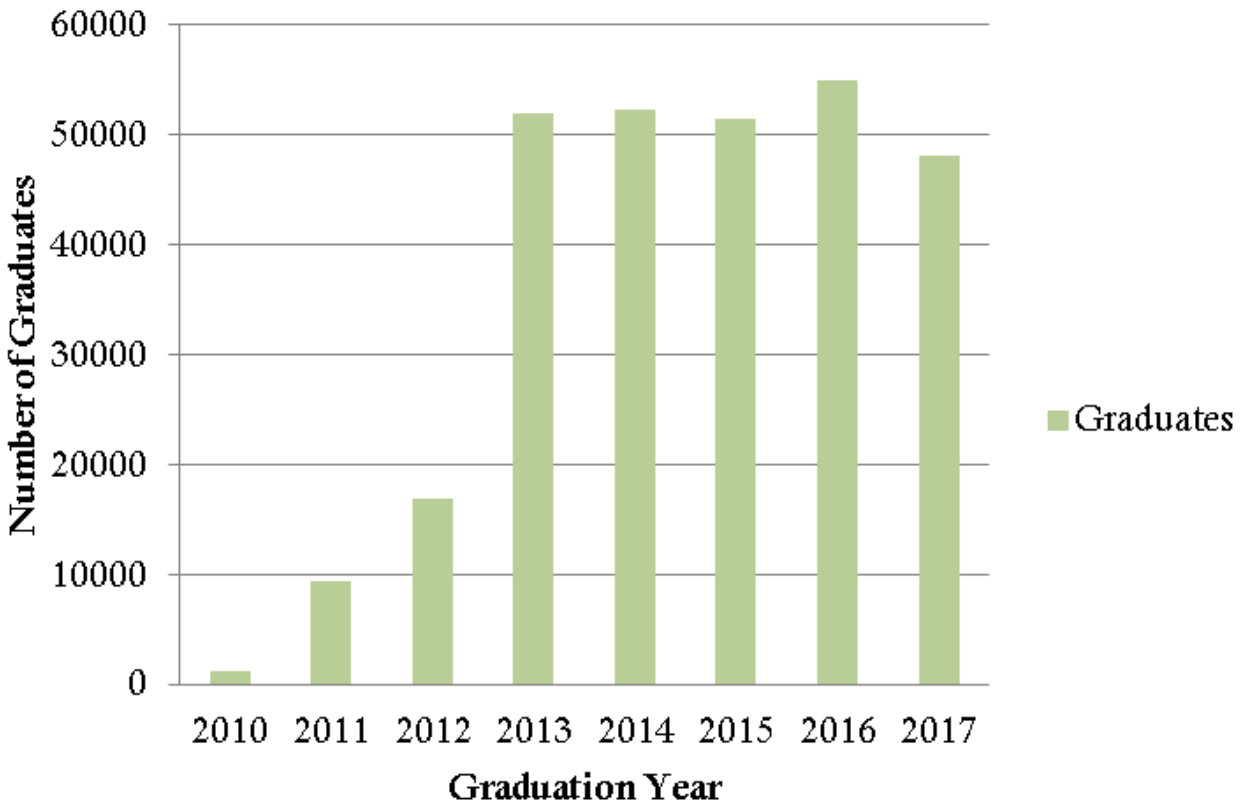
Figure 2: Students enrolled in Tanzanian universities from 2012/2013 to 2017/2018

Category	2012/2013		2013/2014		2014/2015		2015/2016		2016/2017		2017/2018	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	15388	29387	18858	33679	21069	38818	22225	42839	27359	42180	24958	38779
Total	44775		52537		59887		65064		69539		63737	

Source: Tanzania Commission of Universities, 2018

There is also a growing number of university graduates, of which a total of 286 577 students have graduated from universities in the past eight years; from the 2009/10 to 2016/17 academic years (TCU, 2018). Figure 3 below indicates a summary of the graduation list for the last eight years.

Figure 3: Number of graduates



Source: Tanzania Commission for Universities, 2018

In explaining the growing number of students, Sengiyumva (2012) reveals that the government of Tanzania has expanded access to universities to train and produce graduates in the major professions for economic development. Nevertheless, Kilango et al. (2017), Morley & Croft, 2011, Morley et al. (2010), Morley and Lugg (2009), Lihamba, Mwaipopo and Shule (2006), and Mkude et al. (2003) add that, despite Tanzanian and international policies to widen enrolment, participation rates from a range of social groups are not necessarily increasing. For instance, Kilango et al. (2017) advocate the increased enrolment of women in Tanzanian HE. In this context, my study asks how HE in Tanzania can eliminate these inequalities. In addition to this, I take up Boni and Walker's (2016:13) development question: 'What are these students learning to be, to know, to do and to value, with what effect for public services, well-being and development at the local, national and global level?' This thesis, therefore, explores students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE intrinsically and instrumentally, where the latter implies the reduction of inequalities.

Overall, HE in Tanzania has significantly grown since independence in 1961. In the review of literature in the following chapter, I discuss the role these universities have been playing.

1.2. Students' voices in Tanzania

Students have been subjected to the changes in the HE system in Tanzania and have responded through protesting and making demands. However, student voices in defining the role/purpose of the value of HE is absent in existing research. It is through other factors, as discussed below, that the government reacted to these demands. This encouraged me to focus on student and graduate voices in understanding how they perceive the value of HE for themselves and their families in order to explore how HE in Tanzania can contribute to human development.

The first student protest occurred in October 1966. Students from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) protested against a new mandatory national service requirement announced by then Vice-President Kawawa (Ivaska, 2005). The government decided to make national service compulsory, because of a lack of interest shown by the country's most highly educated youth, due to a perception that the service was for those 'unlucky' ones who had failed in other spheres of life. As a result of this protest, the government

expelled 223 students (Ivaska, 2005; Mkude et al., 2003). However, in November 1966, students issued an apology to the government, referring to what happened as a 'misunderstanding between father and son'. Nyerere subsequently allowed a vast majority of the expelled students to return to their studies after a year (Ivaska, 2005; Mkude et al., 2003). Nonetheless, in 1967, a political student group called 'University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF)' was formed and included expatriates such as Walter Rodney and Yoweri Museveni, the current president of Uganda, alongside Tanzanian nationals such as Issa Shivji (Ivaska, 2005). The group engaged in study and activism. More importantly, the group established a student journal containing many militant articles and analyses of not only Tanzania, but also the world situation and the role of youth in African revolutions (Ivaska, 2005; Mkude et al., 2003; Shivji, 2003). However, in 1970, the group and its journal were banned following the publication of Shivji's critical analysis of the Tanzanian political elite as a '*bureaucratic bourgeoisie*' in his widely read essay 'Tanzania: The silent Class Struggle' (Ivaska, 2005:101).

From the 1970s, Tanzania witnessed another student protest in 2008 where thousands of undergraduates boycotted classes and marched through campus. Benbow (2011) elaborates that this issue followed university-student demonstrations across many Sub-Saharan African countries, including Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and South Africa. The university protests were in response to issues of tightening university budgets and fee increases (Benbow, 2011; Ernest, 2011; Puja, 2009; Omari & Mihyo, 1991). Similarly, in late 2010, tuition-related troubles overcame the University of Dar es Salaam as students walked out of classes and marched into the city. The students' rationale for the protest was similar to one that drove student strikes at the UDSM in November 2008 (Benbow, 2011). The government then assured students that the issue would be resolved. For example, in October 2016, after laying a foundation stone for the construction of hostels at the UDSM President Magufuli, said: 'My government is determined to ensure all qualifying students get loans as they are entitled to the right to education'. Still, the Deputy Minister of Education, Stella Manyanya, emphasised that 'only students meeting the set criteria such as performance, social class (income) will be provided with loans, priority will be for those taking courses that the government needs in achieving its goals' (*The Citizen*, October 22, 2016).

In essence, focusing on students and graduates in this study gives them a voice, as they have been active agents in HE development. Also, it evaluates the Higher Education and Training Policy for Tanzania (1999), which illustrates that education offered in HEIs in Tanzania should meet stakeholders' demands by solving challenges that exist in the community. This thesis, therefore, aspires to explore key stakeholders' (students and graduates) understanding of the value of HE in human development. Against this backdrop, the problem addressed in this study is outlined in the next section.

1.3. Research problem

The contribution of this study is based on two gaps observed in the literature relating to the value of HE. First, the value of HE in Tanzania is mostly dominated by economic thinking and in private benefits accruing to individuals (Maduekwe, 2015; Mwamila & Diyamett, 2009). This interpretation is criticised for its narrow and limited account of the value of HE. It has generated debate from HE scholars, who have provided a more expansive interpretation of the value of HE, which moves beyond the economic dimensions to include human development values such as well-being, participation, equity and empowerment (see Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Walker & McLean, 2013; Boni & Gasper, 2012). However, from these debates, relatively little is understood about Tanzanian universities' potential to enhance valued human capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and broader society. Second, students' and graduates' views and/or perspectives on the value of HE are often ignored. While the focus is more on the number and diversity of the student population (Surya, 2016; Benbow, 2011; Mkude et al., 2003), their perspectives are often sidelined, and they are considered to be on the receiving end. Therefore, this thesis explores how HE in Tanzania provides significant opportunities to contribute to human development for the public good and take up Boni and Walker's (2016) question noted earlier on what students are learning to be, to know, to do, and to value (see 1.1.2.). By focusing on students and graduates, this study examines how universities influence students' lives and enable them to contribute meaningfully to broader society, if at all. This means exploring how students and graduates think about the value of HE in relation to their personal development as well as that of their families and communities.

1.4. Aim and research questions

The study aims to explore Tanzanian students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE in human development, with a particular focus on how HE can enhance valued human capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and broader society. Locating my study within a human-development paradigm, I seek to understand how and to what extent processes, conditions, structures, practices and culture in universities can enhance human development and the public good. In this way, we can understand how HE can be transformative by redressing injustices and expanding freedom for people to choose and live their desired lives in and beyond university.

To achieve this aim, I formulated the following main research question: **What are Tanzanian students' and graduates' perspectives on how HE can promote human development, and what does that mean for the role of HE in the public good?** The sub-questions are as follows:

1. How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE? What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education? How has HE expanded their agency?
2. What do students' and graduates' experiences and understanding of the value of HE suggest about the conditions of possibility of HE from a human development perspective?
3. Based on students' and graduates' perspectives, how can HE promote human development and reduce inequalities?
4. What does understanding the value of HE from a human development perspective add to debates on the role of HE in Tanzania and more widely?

1.5. Rationale and significance of the study

As noted above, there has been a growing number of studies arguing that HE has the potential to contribute to addressing challenges facing society today. Thus, its value ought to be defined in a broader sense beyond economic and private terms. However, little is known of the Tanzanian context, particularly regarding how students and graduates conceptualise the value of HE. HE debates have mainly been on the number and diversity of the student population. As such, this study is centred on building a

conceptual and empirical understanding of how HE in Tanzania could contribute to human development, drawing from students' and graduates' perspectives. This is important for Tanzania as the development vision indicates that the country aims for economic and social development by 2025, with a society characterised by:

1. High-quality livelihood;
2. Peace, stability and unity;
3. Good governance;
4. A well-educated and learning society; and
5. A competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits (see Planning Commission, 1999:2).

Therefore, while Tanzania aspires to both economic and social development, the contribution of education has mainly been interpreted from an economic standpoint, while other social values are ignored. This prompted me to examine the universities' contribution to human development, including economic and social development.

Moreover, my interest in this study draws on my own experience as a Tanzanian university student/graduate. During my master's education, which I started immediately after graduating with my bachelor's, I received a lot of criticism from friends and relatives. From their understanding, I was supposed to look for a job first and then apply for further studies. This represents the societal perception that one should only apply for further studies to secure a higher position in one's current career. While this might be true and significant, I believe every individual has their own aspirations, and my desire at that moment was for more knowledge. Having had a finance and investment background, I then started wondering what people expected for the return on their investment in university education. If it was only to secure employment, can we then say that unemployed graduates suffered losses from their education investment? After being introduced to human development and the capability approach, I understood that there was more to the benefits of HE than economic outcomes, which most people tend to overlook. This motivated me to pursue research on the voices of students and graduates, to hear what their aspirations were with regard to education and how they thought HE would benefit them and their community.

Walker and McLean (2013:16) indicate that universities can be regarded as 'spaces where relations of equality, respect for difference, and concerns for contributing to society are nurtured; and where original creative and life-enhancing knowledge is produced'. In this way, it becomes essential to understand how students experience university education and how HE enables them to achieve the life that they desire. Therefore, by drawing from students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE, this thesis provides crucial information on the factors (personal, social, economic, cultural, and environmental) that contribute to or hinder students'/graduates' freedom to choose what they desire. Findings and recommendations from this study, therefore, might end up providing relevant HE stakeholders with valuable insights and identifying appropriate and contextualised interventions aimed at equitable opportunities and freedoms for students to choose and lead the kind of lives they value, both individually and collectively.

Moreover, the study gives students and graduates a platform to raise their concerns and articulate their issues, demands and interests regarding their experiences in and through HE. Their voices, both individually and collectively, as expressed in the findings chapters, play a critical role in creating momentum that advocates or shapes the discourse of HE in Tanzania towards developing the well-being of an individual and the broader society.

Besides filling the lacunae above through theoretical and empirical data, this study also contributes to the growing body of literature on higher education, capabilities, human development and the public good, with a particular focus on the perspectives of students and graduates. It advances how we can theorise human development and the role of HE in the public good for individuals and a developing country like Tanzania.

1.6. Methodology

Empirically this research used a mixed methodology (the exploratory sequential design) within a pragmatic paradigm (Chapter 4 provides a full explanation of the methodology and specific methods used).

Data collection was conducted in three phases at two universities. The first phase of data collection involved semi-structured interviews and document analysis (qualitative data collection). Four university officials from each university, including the senior

faculty staff and lecturers from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Information and Communication Technology, were interviewed. I also analysed relevant policy documents and subsequently collected quantitative data through an online survey questionnaire circulated to all final-year students at both universities. The last phase comprised three focus group discussions with final-year students from each of the three selected faculties from each university, and interviews with graduates.

In general, document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and online survey questionnaires generated rich data that enabled a deeper and more critical understanding of the potential of HE in advancing human development.

1.7. The two universities

This section provides a brief introduction to the two universities that I used for my case studies in this research. This includes the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Kampala International University (KIUT).

University of Dar es Salaam: The UDSM started in 1961 as a College of the University of London and became a Constituent College of the University of East Africa in 1963. It was formally established in August 1970, as a national university, through the Parliament Act No. 12 of 1970. It is located on the western side of the city of Dar es Salaam. The main objectives for the establishment of this university include:

- To transmit knowledge as a basis of action, from one generation to another;
- To act as a centre for advancing frontiers of knowledge through scientific research, and;
- To meet the high-level human resource needs of the Tanzanian society (UDSM, n.d).

In relation to the above objectives, the vision statement of the university reads: *'To become a leading Centre of Intellectual Wealth spearheading the Quest for Sustainable and Inclusive Development'.* The mission of the university states: '*The University of Dar es Salaam will advance the economic, social and technological development of Tanzania and beyond through excellent teaching and learning, research and knowledge exchange*' (UDSM, 2017). The university has expanded from 14 undergraduate students in 1963 to

a total enrolment of 24 313 undergraduate students in 2017 (UDSM, 2017). Similarly, the UDSM has grown from having only the Faculty of Law to having several schools, colleges, and institutes, namely the College of Engineering and Technology (CoET); College of Natural and Applied Sciences (CoNAS); College of Humanities (CoHU); College of Social Sciences (CoSS); College of Agricultural Sciences and Fisheries Technology (CoAF); University of Dar es Salaam Business School (UDBS); University of Dar es Salaam School of Law (UDSoL); School of Education (SoED); School of Health Sciences (SoHS); Institute of Development Studies (IDS); Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA); Institute of Kiswahili Studies (IKS); and Confucius Institute (CI) (UDSM, n.d). Specifically, my study focused on the CoET, SoEd, and UDSoL. The rationale for choosing these three schools/colleges is discussed in Chapter 4.

The annual fee structure of the three selected fields of study amounts to TZS 1,500,000, which is equivalent to $646, for the College of Engineering and Technology. The tuition fee for the School of Education is TZS 1,000,000, which is equivalent to $431. To study Law, the cost is TZS 1,300,000, which is equal to $560 (see UDSM n.d.).

Kampala International University in Tanzania: In 2008, this university was established as Dar es Salaam Constituent College of Kampala International University in Uganda. The main goal of the college was to run academic and professional courses offered by the main campus in Uganda through the open and distance learning mode of course delivery (KIUT, 2016:1). However, in January 2011, TCU issued the interim college recognition by granting a certificate of provisional registration, through which the college started offering open and distance learning and residential modes of course delivery. TCU then gave the college a certificate of full registration in September 2012. Five years later, in July 2017, TCU approved the new status of Dar es Salaam Constituent College of Kampala International University in Uganda as a full-fledged university under the new name of 'The Kampala International University in Tanzania (KIUT)' (KIUT, n.d). This university is located in Dar es Salaam city. The university has several objectives, namely:

1. To produce highly skilled and competent graduates capable of making independent and wise decisions which will enable them to become respected members of society and contribute to their professions, the nation and the global community.

2. To become a premier international university in the Great Lakes Region, and beyond, providing needs-based, market-driven quality academic programmes.
3. To supplement the government's effort in the stimulation of higher education by providing university education to a larger section of society.
4. To provide professional development and continued learning for practicing professionals.
5. To undertake research projects in various fields that contribute to the political, economic, social and technological development of society.
6. To undertake partnerships with other institutions to enhance mutually beneficial objectives.
7. To recruit experienced well-trained academic and administrative staff with the ability to sustain an intellectually challenging learning environment that prepares and equips students with skills for continued development (KIUT, n.d.).

The vision statement of the university reads: '*To become a premier institution of international repute that prepares students for the world and an inclusive society'.* The mission statement is: '*To respond to societal and educational needs by designing and delivering education guided principles and values of respect for society, economy and to provide and develop a supportive research environment in which scholars at every stage of their career can flourish*' (KIUT, n.d.). KIUT offers undergraduate programmes from four faculties, namely the Faculty of Computing, Business Management and Social Sciences, Faculty of Medicine and Pharmaceutical Science, Faculty of Education and Legal Studies, and Faculty of Allied Health Science. Similar to the UDSM, my focus is on the Faculty of Computing, Education, and Legal Studies. The annual tuition fee for the Bachelor of Computer Science degree is TZS 2,150,000 or $2190, the Bachelor of Law costs amount of TZS 2150000 or $2190, and the Bachelor of Education costs TZS 1,440,000 or $1550 (KIUT, n.d). Thus, course fees are much higher than at a public university.

1.8. Chapter outline

The thesis has nine chapters. In this introductory chapter, I have given a brief overview of the study by highlighting the Tanzanian context and HE education in Tanzania. I also

presented the research problems, research aims, questions, rationale and significance of the study, as well as a brief summary of the research methodology.

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant literature that frames and shapes the arguments and the research problem addressed. The review is centred on a discussion of how HE is positioned in development literature, policy and practice both globally and in Sub-Saharan Africa. It involves the dominant strand that defines the value of HE under economic development and the discussion on how the role of HE in the public good has been described. Based on these discussions, I argue that while the economic benefits of HE are important, there is a need to foreground HE within the broader notion of human development and the public good, especially in developing countries like Tanzania. Additionally, with the study taking place a Tanzanian context, the chapter presents literature on Tanzanian HE and the debate about its role in societal development.

Chapter 3 builds on the argument made in Chapter 2 and presents a case for a human-development and capabilities-informed approach to the value of HE. I begin the chapter by presenting the dominant interpretation of the value of HE from an economic perspective (human capital theory), as well as its strengths and limitations. I then introduce human development and the capability approach and provide justifications as to why they have been used as central framing ideas in understanding the role of HE. I conclude the chapter by highlighting some of the pathways through which HE can enhance human development.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology. I position the study within the pragmatist paradigm and present an argument for why I used this paradigm. The research design I used falls within the domain of mixed methodology. The value of mixed methods is explained as well as why I made use of an exploratory sequential design. This is followed by a discussion of the research process that was followed and the sampling procedures used at both universities. I then introduce the set of quantitative and qualitative research instruments used in the research and explain briefly why each was included. A discussion of the various ethical considerations of the study follows, and the chapter ends with a description of how I managed both the qualitative and quantitative data.

Chapter 5 presents the results from the university officials and document analysis. I use the perspectives/understanding of the value of HE from the university officials and documents to understand what students and graduates consider the value of HE to be and their experiences in and outside of classrooms.

Chapters 6 and 7 report on results related to student and graduate voices. I use the human development and capability approaches to analyse and interpret these voices. Therefore, the chapters include their experiences at and after university. This comprises aspirations to join university and experiences in and outside of class, including challenges. The chapter then examines the valued beings and doings they have developed at and after university, and how they define the value of HE in Tanzania is discussed.

Chapter 8 synthesises the empirical results from Chapters 5, 6 and 7 by theorising the value of HE in Tanzania through the human development and capability approach. Because the understanding of development in human development and capabilities language resides in the knowledge of expanding freedom, this chapter argues for HE to expand students' freedom by enhancing how conversion factors can work in enabling ways, and reducing how conversion factors come together to constrain the development of students and graduates. In this way, the chapter elaborates on how HE in Tanzania can expand students'/graduates' freedom and contribute to human development with implications for the role of HE in the public good. Looking at what has emerged in the study, I propose a framework that shows what a Tanzanian and African 'public-good' university may look like. This refers to a university that enhances human development through its design, implementation and outcomes.

Chapter 9 concludes my study by reflecting on the results and key findings and how they relate to the broader aim of my research. I finish the chapter by making recommendations that can contribute to the modifications of HE in Tanzania in the direction of human development.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study through a brief discussion on HE and development. It outlined the context regarding development, the HE system, and the student population and voice. From the background information on the study, the chapter then indicated

the research problem and aim underlying the research project. Subsequently, the study rationale and significance was outlined. A central argument of this study is that HE has the potential to contribute to the well-being of an individual and the broader society.

Chapter 2

Review of literature on the role of higher education

2.0. Introduction

The purpose or value of higher education institutions (HEIs) and particularly universities has evolved over time and space. This implies that, from the outset, universities have been mandated to play a specific role at a particular historical juncture. In tracing the historical purposes of HEIs, it is important to consider the role of context, which determines the conditions under which HE operates, as well as the conception of its purposes. Expounding on the issue of context, Enders (2007:6) reveals that 'HE systems, missions, structures, and institutions differ according to their historical development and traditional features, current characteristics, and efforts to deal with recent trends and respond to new challenges'. Drawing on Enders' views, it can be argued that several factors define the purpose of HEIs, such as the context in which they function, the reasons for their establishment, as well as the demands placed upon them. As such, from the outset, universities have served multiple purposes, with the broader aim of addressing the needs of the citizenry at large (Franklin, 2009; Enders, 2007). Given that the debate about what universities are for in today's world continues to gain currency (Gibbons, 1998; GUNI, 2008; Collini, 2012), this chapter provides a review of literature on the discussions of the purpose or the value of HE globally, in Africa and the Tanzanian context.

2.1. Higher education in the global context

In recent years, the landscape of HE has witnessed tremendous changes and shifts across the globe. In an attempt to explain the global dynamics under which HE operates in contemporary times, Enders and Jongbloed (2007) state that:

> Higher education is currently undergoing multiple transformations in the midst of the impacts of overall public sector reform, the changing role of the state, new patterns of social demand, global flows and relationships, and the new technologies that are becoming available (Enders & Jongbloed, 2007:1).

In the context of this statement, researchers (Bejinaru, 2017; Sum & Jessop, 2013; GUNI, 2008; Brown, 2008) argue that the rise of the knowledge economy[3] has made knowledge an essential component in every part of our lives. The emergence of the knowledge economy is intertwined with economic globalisation and technological transformation. According to Varghese (2013), globalisation is a market-driven process that stems from a belief that markets play a more significant role than the state in promoting economic growth and social welfare. In HE systems, globalisation is referred to as a fundamental change of the purpose of HE from national development to producing and contributing to the global market through investment in knowledge industries (Brown et al., 2008; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007; Lee, 2007; Van Der Wende, 2007; Altbach, 2004; Altbach & Umakoshi, 2004). This argument reflects the growing dependence of many societies on knowledge products and highly educated personnel for economic growth. Thus, Gürüs (2003) argues that:

> The transformation from an industrial society to the knowledge society and global knowledge is characterised by the increased importance of knowledge, both technical knowledge (know-how) and knowledge about attributes (information and awareness) (Gürüs, 2003:3).

Central to these developments is the contribution of universities to advance the knowledge economy. For example, GUNI (2008) argues that we are becoming dependent on information and knowledge trends which have significant implications for education. Universities are expected to produce relevant knowledge, create links and/or partnerships with industries, as well as produce graduates who meet the requirement of an economy driven by knowledge and information (Collini, 2012; GUNI, 2008; Brown et al., 2008; Conceiçao & Heitor, 1999). Thus, one of the effects of the globalised knowledge economy is the rise in qualification requirements, in which a post-secondary level becomes a minimum entry requirement in many job markets (Varghese, 2014; Brown et al., 2008; International Labour Office (ILO), 2004).

[3] Tempe (2012) defines knowledge economy as an economy that has shifted from one in which physical resources, human resources and materials are the main inputs to production, to one in which the most significant and financially valuable activities are knowledge-based or 'symbolic'.

Writing from the broader globalised knowledge economy and changing terrain of HE, Unterhalter and Carpentier (2010) and Varghese (2009) identify some potential trends that are shaping HE or influence the patterns of HE today as discussed below.

2.1.1. Massification of higher education

Several authors have used Trow's (2000) idea of 'massification' to explain the tremendous expansion of HE across all continents in the late 20th and early 21st centuries (MacGregor, 2020; Goldstein & Drucker, 2006; Gibbons, 1998; Teichler, 1998). Massification is defined as a process that defies the traditional method of universities as the centre of elite education where only an exclusive few gain access (Trow, 2000). GUNI (2008) adds that massification includes not only an expansion in the number of students but also a dramatic increase in the number and kinds of academic institutions. Therefore, for HE to be considered a mass system, the enrolment proportion in a country should range from 16% to 50% (Trow, 2000). In 1973, Trow published *Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education*, where he explains the difference between mass HE and elite HE. According to Trow, mass HE and elite HE systems differ not just quantitatively but qualitatively. For instance, the purpose of HE has shifted from 'shaping the mind and character of the ruling class' (elite), to educating a bigger group in professional and technical skills (mass), to preparing the whole population in 'adaptability' to social and technological change (universal). Access has shifted from being a privilege (only for the elite) to being available to the masses, in addition to being an obligation for middle-class families (Trow, 1973:5–20).

UNESCO (2017) indicates that forces behind the expansion of HE include the pressure resulting from expansion at lower levels of education. Varghese (2009) further elaborates that, because of the pronouncement of laws governing compulsory primary education that have generated demand even from the most disadvantaged groups and those living in remote areas, the need for secondary and post-secondary education has, in turn, increased. From this perspective, widening of lower education levels, especially secondary school, has increased the number of candidates qualified to join HE, exerting pressure to expand the HE sector.

Second, the rapid expansion of HE is due to the growing industrial economy that needs highly skilled and educated workers. Varghese (2009) expounds that globalisation has

promoted the private sector in such a way that the slowdown in employment generation in the public sector has been balanced by employment created in the private sector. In this context, scholars like (Bejinaru & Prelipcean, 2017; Bejinaru, 2017; Naidoo, 2011, 2010; Varghese, 2009; GUNI, 2008; OECD, 2008, 1998; World Bank, 2002) explain that the global expansion of the HE sector has now become a necessary condition for a far more extensive range of professional preparation than in the past. In the same way, 'the system of HE provides a continuous flow of trained personnel for the industry, raising the general level of familiarity with science and technology throughout society' (Gibbons et al. 1994:72). For this reason, the expansion of HE is more or less in step with growing demands for graduate knowledge, skills and certified professional competences for market forces (Marginson, 2016:255). The rapid growth rates of HE in Sub-aharan Africa (SSA), especially in Tanzania, could be similarly associated with these developments.

Although there is growing recognition of the value of HE globally and increasing enrolments, inequality still prevails. A closer look at the literature reveals how debates on issues of widening access to HE for those who have been disadvantaged through, for example, socio-economic backgrounds, race, gender or geography has gained more attention. UNESCO (2017) explains that a number of research studies conducted in several developed and developing countries indicate that students from disadvantaged backgrounds tend to enrol in lower-prestige institutions and subjects. Specifically, Osborne (2003:48) argues in his comparative study of Australia, Canada, England, Finland and France that, 'despite a plethora of policy initiatives and the use of a variety of interventions, there is continuous under-representation of certain traditionally excluded groups in these countries'. Stuart (2012) provides evidence from the United Kingdom (UK) and explains that, by 2010, students from a working-class background had increased by nearly 20%. Therefore, since there is no parallel increase in participation by underrepresented groups and the rapid expansion of the HE system, UNESCO (1998) makes a clear argument on the importance of facilitating equal access in shaping a new vision for HE:

> Access to higher education for members of some special target groups, such as indigenous peoples, cultural and linguistic minorities, disadvantaged groups, peoples living under occupation and those who suffer from disabilities, must be actively facilitated. Since these groups as collectives and as individuals may have

> both experience and talent that can be of great value for the development of societies and nations. Special material help and educational solutions can help overcome the obstacles that these groups face, both in accessing and in continuing higher education (UNESCO, 1998: Article 3(d):22).

Arguably, ensuring equitable and affordable HE is essential for realising Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), under the fourth goal of inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all (see UNESCO, 2017; Hornsby & Osman, 2014; Carpentier & Unterhalter, 2011; Carpentier, 2010; Knight, 2006; Altbach & Knight, 2006).

Given the above, as one way to enhance human development, this study focuses on how HE in a developing country like Tanzania enables equitable access.

2.1.2. Internationalisation of higher education

Another trend shaping and/or influencing the patterns of HE today includes the internationalisation[4] of HE systems or cross-border mobility (Castro et al., 2016: Sanderson, 2011: Varghese, 2013a, 2011, 2009; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007; Knight, 2012, 2004, 2003, 1997; Qiang, 2003). Knight (2003:2) defines internationalisation as 'the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education'. This means that internationalisation can be understood as a process of integrating university core functions (teaching, research, and service) into international/intercultural measurements. It is frequently associated with initiatives such as international staff and student recruitment, teaching/learning processes, and joint- and double-degree programs, which help to determine the position of HE in influential global university rankings (Wihlborg & Robson, 2018). As such, internationalisation is used mostly to discuss the international dimensions of HE and universities' determination to equip students with knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for the global market (Sanderson, 2011: Van Der Wende, 2007: GUNI, 2008; Knight, 2012, 2004, 2003, 1999).

[4] In this study, 'internationalisation' and 'cross-border mobility' are used interchangeably.

In response to this, studies show that developed countries attract skilled workers or what is referred to as 'best brains' from other countries, notably developing countries, in order to meet the high demand for highly skilled persons in the developed world (Varghese, 2014; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007; Kapur & McHale, 2005; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). For instance, the OECD report on *International Migration Outlook 2016* shows that, on average, international students make up about 8% of the total tertiary enrolment. The major reason for these students to seek cross-border education is for them to enhance employment opportunities, obtain higher returns on investment and better quality education (Varghese, 2017, 2013, 2013a, 2009). It is therefore worth arguing that the internationalisation of HE reflects the demands of globalisation, economy, and labour markets, wherein universities are regarded as tools to provide sufficient preparations.

From the discussion of HE globally, I present the debates on the role of HE in Africa in the next section.

2.2. The role of higher education in Africa from the 1960s to 2000s

This section provides a review of the literature on the role of HE from the 1960s, because many African countries gained political independence in the 1960s and inherited the universities established during the colonial period, while some also began to develop new universities.

2.2.1. The role of African universities in the 1960s

In the African context, with its complex and diverse HE landscape, the history of universities begins with the medieval African HEIs that date back to 825AD (Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Lulat, 2003). These institutions were either established by the Roman Catholic Church or started as Islamic schools in West and North Africa (Teferra & Altbach, 2004). According to Lulat (2003), these institutions boasted the traditional beliefs that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was a worthy endeavour that many societies would want to encourage. These medieval institutions were followed by colonial universities mostly established between 1945 and the 1970s (Lulat, 2003). For instance, in the case of Britain, which was the largest colonial power in Africa with more than twenty colonies, Lulat (2003) and Brown (1964) argue that the British government

became actively involved with development in education and some HEIs in its territories to:

i. Supplement the existing missionary educational effort;
ii. Extend the benefits of basic literacy to many people;
iii. Provide training for the development of a cadre of low-level government officials;
iv. Provide vocational educational opportunities; and
v. Permit the development of some level of further education, especially in teaching, agriculture, veterinary and paramedical training.

In this context, Ashby (1966) elaborates that the above developments in education and some HEIs in British colonies was due to the lack of formal education policy in Africa. Furthermore, to advance economic, social and political conditions of the colonies, they needed a number of well-educated Africans. This involved: (1) Training African students overseas; (2) Externally running the university and secondary examinations; and (3) Institutional affiliations and granting external degrees (Lulat, 2003; Nwauwa, 1993; Hargreaves, 1973). However, following the wave of independence in the 1960s, most African countries which did not yet have universities began to establish national universities. According to Teferra (2007), Assié-Lumumba (2006) and Cloete et al. (2011), during this period, the primary mission of HEIs was to prepare human resources for national development, with a specific focus on enhancing the operations of the civil service and development of the educational system. Embedded in the mission of universities during the 1960s, after independence of most African countries, was a desire to solve the problems that societies were facing after gaining independence.

However, despite the above-stated roles/functions of universities in the 1960s, some criticism was levelled against them. One major criticism was the tendency of universities to train elite groups and produce knowledge solely for its own sake by following the Western universities model (Lulat, 2003; Court, 1991, 1980; Yesufu, 1973; Ashby, 1964). For that reason, universities in English-speaking (Anglophone) countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nigeria, and others were linked to the University of London. The HEIs in Francophone countries, such as Mali, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, and others were linked to Bordeaux and Paris (Lulat, 2003). In summary,

Court (1991) elaborates on the main characteristic of the 1960s Sub-Saharan African universities:

> …the new African universities being linked to established European ones. They initially imitated the British model and had a similar perception of the role. Their purpose was to nurture and sustain an intellectual elite through a similar organisation, similar procedures and often similar curriculum to the established English or French universities (Court, 1991:331).

In this context, universities were regarded as ivory towers occupied by an elite minority and maintained at the expense of the vast majority of the population (Yesufu, 1973:39). In essence, the social role of universities was non-existent. This trend, therefore, was followed by efforts intended to connect universities to African communities. Thus, I now explain some of the steps that were taken to address the challenges of the 1960s.

2.2.3. The role of African universities in the 1970s

Despite institution-building achievements, African universities were caught up in the tension between sustaining the Western model that they had been created for and responding to the needs of the continent (Court, 1991; Sherman, 1990). In the 1970s, African critique gathered momentum on the Western model of universities and began to consider a different type of university that was relevant to African conditions. A number of scholars argue that both African academics and politicians realised that there was a disconnect between what universities were doing and the needs of the society, because of the elitist orientation of the universities (Sawyerr, 2004; Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Mamdani, 1993; Court, 1991, 1980; ; Coleman, 1986; Yesufu, 1973).

The main effort in this mission was underlined in the Association of African Universities (AAU) Report in 1973, with consensus on redefining the role of the university (Court, 1991, 1980; Yesufu, 1973). Wandira (1977:73-74) provides a summary of the role of universities, which involved the following, among other things:

i. The ordering of priorities and deciding on the role of the university in national development.
ii. Adapting the curriculum and developing new programmes.
iii. Fostering staff development programmes.
iv. Deciding on the responsibilities of the university in continuing education and non-traditional education.

v. Developing research based on local needs.

The above-stated roles align with the following words of Kenneth Kaunda, the first President of Zambia, as cited by Wandira (1977): 'The University of Zambia is part and parcel of our society and, therefore, to have any meaningful existence it must continue to be involved in that society'. From a human development perspective, the mentioned role of the universities helps me to understand three main characteristics of African universities in the 1970s. These are: (a) Universities becoming more than institutions for teaching, learning or research and being accountable to serving the society; (b) The importance of producing knowledge that responds to the needs of the community (Curriculum reforms); and (c) Inculcating a sense of civic-minded/ public participation among students and academics.

However, through the clear intention of African universities to develop their societies and respond to their needs, Jowi, Knight and Sehoole (2013), Langa (2013), Sawyerr (2004), Wandira (1977) and Mosha (1986) argue that most African government and universities did not actually do much to promote and actualise their role in development because of numerous challenges. Thus, this was followed by another critical period.

2.2.4. The role of African universities in the 1980s.

The 1980s were arguably the most challenging years in the history of HE in Africa for several reasons. Sherman (1990) notes that:

> …despite the surge in university education in the 1960s and 1970s, Africa of the 1980s is one of economic stagnation, mass poverty, high illiteracy, disease and low productivity in agriculture, which leaves the continent unable to feed herself (Sherman, 1990:374).

This shows that, during this period, African economic conditions crumbled when the continent could not manage to penetrate global markets with weak bargaining power in international trade (Jowi et al., 2013; Woldegiorgis & Doevenspeck, 2013; Sawyerr, 2004, Samoff & Carroll, 2004; Mamdani, 1993; Court, 1991; Ravenhill, 1986). The decline in revenue and a general budgetary crisis in Africa is explained by the influence of the world economy's downturn in the late 1970s. As Mamdani (1993:10) says: 'If they sneezed in London, New York or Paris, we would catch a cold across Africa, and we did,' leaving most of the African countries with economic stagnation. In this context, the

rationale for continued state investment in HE was questioned by the World Bank, and most African countries that depended on Aid were instructed to reduce government spending on social services, including HE (Jowi et al., 2013; Samoff & Carroll, 2004). As a result, public investment in education was reduced and diverted from HE to primary education (Worl Bank, 1988). The World Bank argued that HE had little or no return on investment compared to primary schooling. For this reason, HE in many nations faced disinvestment, and a number of challenges, including worsening academic standards, budgetary deficits, deteriorating working conditions and low staff morale. Yet there was a significant enrolment increase, from 181 000 students in 1975 to 660 000 in 1985, with the number doubling again in a decade to 1 750 000 in 1995 (Woldegiorgis & Doevenspeck, 2013; Aina, 2010; Mamdani, 2007; Shabani, 2007; Teferra, 2007; Bloom et al., 2006; Sawyerr, 2004; World Bank, 2000; Ajayi et al., 1996) (These are Africa-wide statistics; therefore, they might look different from nation to nation). Still, it is worth arguing that the 1980s was a period of depression regarding the development of most African universities and their roles. The next section discusses another shift that continues to manifest in HEIs to date.

2.2.5. The role of African universities in the 1990s–2000s

During the late 1990s to early 2000s, the purpose of HE started to be renewed due to the shift of the World Bank's policy that emphasised the importance of HE for development. The World Bank's shift was partly due to globalisation and enhancement of the knowledge economy (Boni & Gasper, 2012; World Bank, 1988). This revitalisation effort required reforms to mobilise resources and the restructuring of study programmes, governance, and management to ensure better alignment with the market (Varghese, 2013; Cloete et al., 2011; Castells, 2009, 2001; World Bank, 2000). There was global pressure to renew the HE system, as the knowledge-based economy was seen as the motor of economic growth and competition (Mohamedbhai, 2014; Cloete et al., 2011; Altbach, 2008; Bloom et al., 2006; Brock-Utne, 2003; Castells, 2001). A report from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) called *Knowledge-Economy* recognised that HE and knowledge production are critical for economic development (OECD, 1999). Likewise, the World Bank report explained that 'as knowledge becomes more important, so does HE…the quality of knowledge generated within HEIs, and its availability to the wider economy, is becoming

increasingly critical to national competitiveness' (World Bank, 2000:9). However, changes in World Bank policy on the potential of HE towards development has been criticised, in that the World Bank ignores damage from its past policies and fails to take responsibility for fixing a system it helped to break in the first place, leaving HE in many developing countries with serious challenges (Collins & Rhoads, 2010).

According to Jowi et al. (2013) the revitalisation of HE coincided with the United Nations (UN) Millennium Summit, which called for global policies and measures corresponding to the needs of citizens in the world's poorest countries to enable them to achieve better lives. The UN summit agreed on new development initiatives and set an ambitious agenda for reducing poverty by phrasing their agenda in terms of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with targets set for 2015. None was directly about HE, but the role of the African university was underscored to attain the MDGs (Jowi et al., 2013; Atuahene, 2011). Similarly, the World Bank's 2002 report *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* recognised the importance of HE in reaching the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). According to this report:

> It is doubtful that any developing country could make significant progress toward achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for education—universal enrolment in primary education and elimination of gender disparities in primary and secondary education—without a strong tertiary education system (World Bank, 2002: xx).

In line with this, the World Bank restated its commitment to supporting critical areas of African HE, such as improving access, diversification of institutional financial resources, student support programmes, and above all, strengthening science and technology, research and development capacity (World Bank, 2002). The MDGs have subsequently been replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) with targets set for 2030. De Viller (2015) argues that HE can play a crucial role in pursuing Goal 4 of quality education. Similarly, Fourine (2018) highlights four ways through which HE can implement the SDGs: (1) Through fostering the moral conscience of students and researchers alike; (2) Through producing graduates who are conversant in more than one discipline; (3) Producing graduates with the ability to innovate and move beyond conventional solutions; and(4) Graduates who work in government, business and civil

society are required to be able to look beyond narrow organisational interests and even include those of future generations in their decision-making processes.

In this regard, the 2006 World Bank Report, *Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa,* provided robust evidence that validated the importance of HE for economic development. This has prompted a number of scholars to discuss the rationale behind the call for HE to be seen as an essential sector in contributing to development in Africa. For example, Aina (2010) argues that:

> The time has come for leaders and stakeholders in African nations to collectively and autonomously own their universities and the higher education sector and to make them work in their national interests and for the benefits of their countries and other people in inclusive and democratic ways (Aina, 2010:24).

Bloom et al. (2006:24) claim that 'for Africa, where growth is essential if the continent is to climb out of poverty, education [HE] is particularly important'. The narrative now is that HE has the potential to enable the African continent to develop, including: (1) A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development; (2) An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, shared values and ethics; and, (3) An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people (AU, 2015). Nonetheless, Schendel and McCowan (2016) highlight that HE in low- or lower-middle-income[5] countries (LLMICs) still face challenges such as: (1) Limited funding; (2) Being restricted to a small elite population as a result of restricted funding; (3) Insufficient number of qualified academic faculty to staff institutions; and (4) Challenges at primary and secondary levels, which lead to a high proportion of underprepared students entering university. On the other hand, Oketch et al. (2014) argue that HE plays a vital role in both economic and non-economic development in lower-income contexts. They point out that tertiary education has a substantial impact on the earnings of graduates and a positive effect on productivity in the workplace. Moreover, they point out that tertiary education provides measurable benefits to graduates regarding health, gender equality, and democracy.

[5] LLMICs includes countries like Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cabo Verde, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo Democratic Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe (World Bank, 2020)

Nonetheless, the dominant or primary role of HE is currently regarded as an essential means towards economic development in which the emphasis lies only in the private benefits of an individual and economic growth of the nation.

2.3. The role of higher education in Tanzania

The discussion in this section focuses on the defined purpose/role of Tanzanian universities since the 1960s and how various policies and initiatives have shaped this role. I follow Mtawa's (2014:33) argument that exploring strategies of HE assists with understanding the origin and the meaning of the role of HE to societies in Tanzania.

The purpose of HE in Tanzania can be traced back to the early 1960s when the demands for university education sharply increased due to the critical shortage and need for a trained workforce for the government (Ishegoma, 2007). The government hoped that Dar es Salaam University College would contribute to social and economic development. Chief among the tasks of this college was to Africanize the civil service and the professions (Ivaska, 2005). In 1963, the government introduced the National Service Programme to enhance the social purpose of HE in which students would undergo political, military, agricultural or vocational training as a prelude to nearly two years of working on nation-building projects, such as the construction of roads and farm works (Ivaska, 2005). The broader aim of the national service was to remind students of their obligation to serve the nation. Ivaska (2005) clearly explains that:

> …complicating official hopes, Tanzania's university would become a place where students were exposed to connections with cosmopolitan networks, culture, discourse, and movement that were often non-national in scope and impact…the campus design set the university apart as an elite institution, luxurious, high standard, high quality of campus facilities but typical of an 'ivory tower' distancing itself from the ordinary communities (Ivaska, 2005:85).

This argument adds to the justification of why the government introduced the National Service Programme, which arose from a concern about students who did not contribute to the Tanzanian society. Thus, the National Service Programme was made compulsory in 1965 for all universities and professional school and high school graduates (Mtawa, 2014; Ivaska, 2005; Mkude et al., 2003).

From the political leadership point of view, the late President Nyerere played a critical role in articulating the role of universities, particularly in relation to preparing students

to become civic-minded. For instance, in 1964, Nyerere encouraged universities to establish a link with the village and develop students to understand society and be aware of the problems of their country, so that they could be armed with the right weapons to engage with three enemies – poverty, ignorance and disease (Preece, 2013; Mosha, 1986). With creating a socialist society being his central vision, the government under Nyerere's leadership embarked on transforming the education system to make it relevant and appropriate in serving the needs and goals of a socialist society and predominantly rural economy (Kassam, 1983; Morrison, 1978). This was enshrined in the notion of 'education for self-reliance'. In espousing education for self-reliance, Nyerere (1967) argued that education needed to reflect and suit the lives of rural communities; to encourage people to live and work together for the common good; and to engage students and teachers in productive practices (see also Mosha, 1986).

Broadly, under socialism, which in Tanzania is commonly known as *Ujamaa* (see also Chapter 1), education in Nyerere's sense was important in: (a) Serving the common good and fostering the social goals of living and working; (b) Helping in the development of a society in which all members share its resources fairly equally; (c) Inculcating a sense of commitment to society; and (d) Preparing young people for the work they would be called upon in the society which existed in Tanzania (Kamando & Doyle, 2013; Ivaska, 2005; Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995; Mosha, 1986; Kassam, 1983). What is significant about these ideas is the intention to frame and articulate the value of education with the overall notion of contributing to achieving the public good through human development. Summarising Nyerere's way of thinking about the purpose of the university, Coleman (1986) states that:

> The university in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals…we in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a university of any type if it promotes real development of our people…the role of a university in a developing nation is to contribute; to give ideas, manpower, and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity, and human development (Coleman, 1986:478).

Therefore, in seeing universities as vital to fostering development, the UDSM was dubbed as a 'developmental university'. Importantly, as I indicated in Chapter 1, Nyerere's idea of development relates to the notion of human development and the role of HE in the public good, which my study explores. Nyerere argued that 'Every plan in

Tanzania must be judged by the criterion of whether it serves the purpose of development- and the purpose of development is the people' (Nyerere, 1973:2). Therefore, from 1967 until the late 1980s, Tanzanian universities were mandated to steer socialist ideology by championing social justice and economic development, and guaranteeing free HE (Ishengoma, 2008, 2007).

However, during the last period of President Nyerere's term, particularly the last five years (1980–1985), HE in Tanzania began to experience numerous challenges, most of which were a result of a change in social and economic policy from socialism to neoliberalism. As was the case in other African countries (see 2.2.3), the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) pressurised the government to shift its priority from HE to elementary and secondary education (Kamando & Doyle, 2013). One significant impact after Nyerere stepped down in 1985 was that various policies of his government were reversed under pressure from the World Bank, IMF and other donors. Shivji (2003) explains that the university was starved of resources and began to branch out to find funds outside the country or in research institutions. Thus, the societal role of the university pronounced and practised during the Ujamaa period had been weakened and the university was turned into a factory to support and answer the needs of the market (Mtawa, 2014; Kamando & Doyle, 2013; Shivji, 2003).

Nevertheless, as with other Sub-Saharan African countries in the 1990s, the Tanzanian government started to revitalise the HE sector by forming different initiatives and policies to guide the HE system. In 1992, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE) was established with the task of overseeing the HE sector. In 1995, Education and Training Policy (ETP) was established with the aim of enhancing access, participation, and quality (Leach et al., 2008). In 1999, the National Higher Education Policy (NHEP) was drafted with the aim to develop an HE system that responded to challenges brought by economic, demographic, political and social change (NHEP, 1999) (Mtawa, 2014). Then, in 2005, the government developed the Higher Education Development Programme (HEDP). The rationale indicated that Tanzania wanted to create a dynamic and robust HE that is firmly aligned and integrated with the economy and poverty reduction (Maduekwe, 2015; HEDP, 2010).

Moreover, the introduction of HEDP took into consideration the lessons learned by Tanzanian delegates who had visited African, Asian and European countries to learn

how they had successfully incorporated HE into broad-based national development strategies (Mtawa, 2014). The Tanzanian perspective on the role of HE from the 1990s to the present resonates with Cloete et al. (2011), Muller and Cloete, (2011), Bloom et al. (2006) and Sawyerr's (2004) view that there is a growing realisation that universities in Africa potentially have a significant contribution to make in advancing development. Although this is still problematic considering that Tanzania is a developing country. My study acknowledges that HE cannot do everything. It cannot compensate for poverty and inequality, but this does not mean it cannot do anything towards development, as I will discuss in this study.

In summary, it can be argued that the role of universities in the Tanzanian context has evolved over three phases. The first phase started with a strong emphasis on the universities being part of implementing socialism (*Ujamaa*) in the 1960s and 1970s, by providing services to the communities. In the mid-1980s, universities were compelled to contend with some difficulties, resulting in their declining role in society. In the 1990s and 2000s, there were indications that the government had begun to recognise that universities can play an essential role in addressing challenges, especially economic growth and competitiveness as the country aspired to become a middle-income country.

The following section discusses the dominant approaches to conceptions of the value of HE, both from an economic development perspective and its role in the public good.

2.4. Economic development perspective

Broadly, the value of HE has predominantly been interpreted from an economic viewpoint that foregrounds human capital. The human capital theory is foregrounded in neoliberal ideology. Giroux (2002:425) defines neoliberalism 'as a political, economic paradigm of our time [which] refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximise their personal profit'. In defining human capital, Becker (2002) states that:

> …human capital refers to knowledge, information, ideas, skills, and health of individuals. This is the 'age of human capital' in the sense that human capital is by far the most important form of capital in modern economies, depends on how extensively and effectively people invest in themselves (Becker, 2002:3).

In the context of this definition, there are two central dimensions of human capital thinking. On the one hand, people's success and well-being, as well as that of the nation, is defined solely in economic terms. On the other hand, human capital views people as individuals who live as isolated and self-interested beings detached from broader social connections. As such, Holborow (2012:99) argues that human capital is regarded as 'a core plank of neoliberal ideology'. Giroux (2010:1) helpfully provides a critical analysis of the critical underlying features of neoliberal rationality:

i. Believes in the ability of the market to solve problems.
ii. Removes economics and market from ethical considerations.
iii. Transforms citizens into consumers and social responsibility into an object of disdain.
iv. Compassion is viewed as a weakness.
v. Democratic public values are ignored because they subordinate market considerations to the common good.
vi. Morality is stripped of any obligations to the other.
vii. The language of privatisation, deregulation, and commodification replaces a discourse of the public good.

Locating these characteristics within an education context, it is argued that neoliberalism 'treats education as just another service to be delivered in the market to those who can afford to buy it' (Lynch, 2006:3). It also defines the person to be educated in economic terms as 'homo economicus'[6], a labour market actor whose life and purpose are determined by their economic status.

In a HE context, Walker (2006) states that human capital theory views education as an investment to improve productivity and the level of distribution of individual earnings, while Lanzi (2007) argues that from a human capital perspective, education is seen as an investment, which yields returns that are largely instrumental and private in nature. This resonates with the argument that the value of HE from a human capital perspective is concerned with individual needs in terms of skills, better job attainment, productivity, earnings as well as enhancing nations' economic competitiveness (Holborow, 2016;

[6] Homo economicus refers to a man or person as an economic subject, an entrepreneur of himself (Read, 2009).

Maduekwe, 2015; Pillay, 2011; Marginson, 2010; Mwamila & Diyamett, 2009; McMahon, 2009; Lanzi, 2007). The positioning of HE as producing human capital has raised HE to be a commodity that can be sold in the global market and defines students as consumers (Olaniyan & Okemakinde, 2008; Roberts, 2007; Tilak, 2008; Naidoo & Williams, 2015).

In summary, Walker (2006:11) argues that valuing HE only from the human capital standpoint conceptualises a 'good life' as one that envisages 'the accumulation of material goods, a highly individualised notion of the citizen, and democracy as synonymous with capitalism, consumerism and the unrestrained pursuit of profit'. Therefore, it is not that human capital is not important for development, the problem is when economic development is foregrounded as the only form of development. This way of thinking has major implications for the core functions of universities and particularly those related to teaching and learning. At issue is that teaching and learning (pedagogy and curriculum) are commercialised and commodified, viewed as just another way of generating profit. It situates students as consumers and gives them skills and knowledge to make them employable in the market (Walker & Fongwa, 2017; Molesworth et al., 2010; Lynch, 2006; Walker, 2006; Nixon, 2004), without attention to more extensive benefits, such as developing the understanding which includes the roles and responsibilities of graduates (professions) in society or how they can benefit their societies.

Although I do not support a unidimensional human capital approach, I agree with Robeyns' (2006) argument that human capital importantly contributes towards skills and knowledge acquired through education, which are a significant part of a person's income-generating abilities and their well-being. This is generally important, but more so in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of the population lives in poverty. Thus, a human capital perspective encourages people to be more productive and earn higher wages. Students need the skills and knowledge for economic opportunities and participation in the economy, as part of their well-being.

While this study acknowledges the importance of the human capital perspective and includes it in development and HE, I argue for a more nuanced way of interpreting the value of HE by thinking about what HE can do both for the person and broader society. McArthur (2011) comments insightfully:

> …the problem for higher education is not the trend towards it having an economic role, but rather the narrowness of the way in which the role is conceptualised. Higher education fosters privilege and fails to enrich our humanity and wider society when it is based upon an understanding of its economic purposes that is both narrow and disarticulated from the wider social realm (McArthur, 2011:738-744).

This argument gives us a starting point to think about the non-economic values of HE.

2.5. The role of higher education in the public good

The notion of public good derives originally from classical economic thinking. Economist Paul Samuelson is credited in his 1954 article, 'The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure', for playing a seminal role in advancing this idea. In defining the concept, Samuelson (1954:387) states that a public good is the one 'which all enjoy in common, in the sense that each individual's consumption of such a good leads to no subtraction from any other individual's consumption of that good'. In the context of this definition, public goods have two distinguishing characteristics, namely 'non-rivalrous' and 'non-excludable'. A good can be non-rivalrous if 'one person's consumption does not diminish other people's consumption levels of the same good', and non-excludable if a person's consumption of it cannot practically be excluded (Locatelli, 2018; Marginson, 2011; Deneulin & Townsend, 2006; Samuelson, 1954). Central to this framing is that 'goods which fulfil these two properties are generally available to be enjoyed by all, and are not subject to market competition' (Locatelli, 2018:3). Deneulin and Townsend (2006:3) provide the following example of street lighting as a good that can be considered public: 'It is there for all to benefit from; irrespectively of the consumer contribution to its provision [and] nobody passing on the street can be excluded from the lighting'. Embedded in the non-excludable and non-rivalrous nature of the public good, its provision cannot merely be through a market mechanism. Instead, it requires some form of public action, because market mechanism primarily conveys private (individual) and economic goods (Chambers & Gopaul, 2008; Deneulin & Townsend, 2006; Chambers, 2005).

Although the origin of the concept of public good dates back several decades, multiple authors who have recently used the notion of public good argue that it remains one of the most contested and loosely used ideas and a subject of much literature (Locatelli, 2018; Marginson, 2011, 2009; Dill, 2005; Singh, 2001). Moreover, drawing on Deneulin

and Townsend's (2006:3) argument that 'public good can be provided by other actors than the government,' in recent years HE has become one of the sectors that has a critical role in contributing to advancing the public good (Dill, 2005). Therefore, public good has become one of the key terms or lexicon in contemporary HE literature. In another way, universities have been considered or linked to the notion of the public sphere, referring to them as a space for autonomy or independency, a space for change in society (Deem & McCowan, 2018; Unterhalter et al., 2018; Valenzuela, 2015; Haberman, 1992, 1989). Although there are some typical rationales behind the growing debate about HE for the public good globally, it is essential to highlight the contextual specificities and nuances that drive this agenda. This is in line with Marginson's (2014:53) understanding that 'public goods in HE and research have a local dimension, a national dimension, in some locations a regional dimension, and also a global dimension whereby *global public goods* are produced and distributed'.

Therefore, while most of the debates on HE's role in public good are geographically global North, this study aspires to understand the public good in a Sub-Saharan African, specifically Tanzanian, context by drawing the value of HE foregrounded within the human development perspective. The following section first discusses the notion of public good from global perspectives.

2.5.1. Higher education and the public good: A global perspective

In discussing the contestations surrounding the concept of public good in relation to HE, one of the central themes in global discussions has been the public *vis a vis* private duality. According to Marginson (2007), this debate depends mainly on how public and private in HE are analysed. At issue is the argument that 'the work of HE can be public and/or private; and manifest either as individual or collective benefits' (Marginson, 2007:310). Several authors are in agreement with the view that HE can be both a private and public good (Merrill, 2010; Brennan & Naidoo, 2008; Chambers & Gopaul, 2008; Chambers, 2005; Kezar, 2005; Grace, 1989). The main argument among those who believe that HE is a public good is that it contributes to social benefits. They use terms such as 'externalities' and 'positive spillover effect', which are often difficult to measure and hence under-researched (Hensley, Galilee-Belfer & Lee, 2013; McMahon, 2009; Dill, 2005; Naidoo, 2008). The private good/benefits for individuals are well articulated, and they include, among other things, better employment prospects, social

mobility, higher salaries, and a more exceptional ability to save and invest (McMahon, 2009; Dill, 2005). Arguably, this private gain is one of the issues that continues to exacerbate the debates about who should pay for HE (Naidoo, 2008), as well as the issue of state-owned institutions vs. privately owned institutions and the outcomes they produce in relation to the public good and private good (Marginson, 2007). For example, Hensley et al. (2013:555) argue that 'students and their families demonstrate a willingness to pay ever-increasing tuition and fees suggesting that they buy into the argument that a college [university] degree will yield sufficient private benefits as to outweigh the costs'. Encapsulated in public vs. private benefits of HE, McCowan (2016) provides a useful conclusion that enables us to propose a more nuanced way of theorising the broader benefits of HE. He argues that:

> [T]here are still significant needs in terms of verifying the kinds of impact on society and individuals' lives that different kinds of higher education have. More fundamentally, there is a conceptual and theoretical lack, in terms of developing an understanding of what the university is and for, and how systems interact with and impact the rest of society-from analytical and normative perspectives (McCowan, 2016:506).

This statement demonstrates that even in global discussions, the question of what counts as a public good and private good in relation to HE remains unanswered, and it requires a comprehensive and compelling conceptual and theoretical framework and a view of what universities are for.

A closer look at the literature from the Global North indicates the growing discussion about the public good and the commodification and marketisation of HE. The crux of the argument is that neoliberalism continues to shape HE in countries such as the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and Australia (Naidoo & Williams, 2015). This trend has resulted in HE operating under the realm of marketisation and commodification, which defines education as a product that can be sold and students as consumers of HE (Lynch, 2006; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Giroux, 2003; Leslie & Slaughter, 1997). In the context of these trends, core functions, and primary processes such as research, teaching, learning, and curriculum adopt commercial models. Multiple authors (Naidoo & Jamieson, 2005; Naidoo, 2003; Gumport, 2000; Morley, 2001) are, however, concerned that these market forces are eroding and constraining not only the conception of HE as a public good but also its capacity to produce and advance outcomes that can enrich individuals' flourishing and benefit the broader society. This is

partly due to the tendency that HEIs 'have directed most of their resources and educational priorities to meeting private needs like economic advancement and social mobility, not serving the common good' (London, 2003:14). At issue is that goals related to public good of HE such as building caring relationship among students (affiliation), preparation for citizenship, and inculcation of moral and aesthetic values are at risk (Persell & Wenglinsky, 2004). As a way of summing up the decline of public good values of HE under the guise of neoliberalism, Giroux (2002) argues that:

> …the relationship between a critical education, public morality, and civic responsibility as conditions for creating thoughtful and engaged citizens are sacrificed all too willingly to the interest of financial capital and the logic of profit-making (Giroux, 2002:427).

The preceding account indicates the concern that the public good values and/or benefits of HE are under threat with the dominance of commodification and marketisation, which align with the pursuit of individual interests. Thus, due to different historical conjectures that shapes HE, the next section discusses the public role of HE from an African standpoint.

2.5.2. Higher education and the public good: An African perspective

The majority of African literature that discusses the role of HE for the public good is predominantly from Sub-Saharan African, more specifically South Africa. The key debates focus on the importance of HE in addressing issues of inequality, widening participation, civic responsiveness, public-good professionals, and so on.

One of the dominant discourses from Africa has been the link between HE for the public good and economic imperatives (private interests). Central to this discussion is that the overemphasis of economic imperatives or individual interests of HE have blurred social responsibilities of HE (Singh, 2001). This tendency has resulted in consideration of universities as an essential part of producing knowledge and skills for economic competitiveness to increase a country's performance in the market (Singh, 2014, 2001; Hall, 2012; Lebeau, 2008; Motaung, 2007; Jonathan, 2001; Bertlsen, 1998). The dominant analysis of the value of HE in Africa (economic perception) is due to the influence of the World Bank (see 2.2.3), through which universities have come to be seen as the most productive forces for a knowledge economy and technological innovation (Cloete, Bunting & Maassen, 2015:5). Other evidence is shown by Bertelsen

(1998:130) who argues that 'a thoroughgoing commodification of knowledge and instruction is well underway, and in the process, universities are systematically transformed into a pliant service industry for the late capitalist market system'. Clearly, the economic benefits or the production of the knowledge economy is an important factor in evaluating the value/purpose of HE, especially in Africa and specifically in Tanzania where the majority of the population lives in poverty. But it is not the cornerstone. In response to this, multiple authors argue for a more nuanced way of interpreting the value of HE by considering other social purposes and public benefits of HE, such as: Social justice, democratically informed citizens and pursuit of knowledge in a variety of fields that are critical to human development (Unterhalter et al., 2018; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Singh, 2014; Leibowitz, 2012; Hall, 2012; Souden, 2012; Jonathan, 2001). In summing up the debate of HE and the public good over the market responsiveness of HE, Singh gives an insightful argument that:

> …the survival of developing economies in a globalisation world requires higher education in those countries to produce knowledge and skills relevant to positioning and participation in a global economy but on a set of fiscal and social terms that largely ignore the historical circumstances (Singh, 2001:11).

The above argument recognises the importance of evaluating the value of HE from not only the economic perspective but also the social terms in order to bring material or intellectual benefits to individuals or society (Leibowitz, 2012).

Moreover, in discussing HE in relation to the public good, some scholars from Africa draw from the relationship between HE and social justice. According to Schendel and McCowan (2016:407) in scaffolding the notion of social justice within HEIs in low and middle countries, universities are faced with issues such as:

i. Resource constraints, which limit public funding for HE.

ii. Restriction of HE to a small elite population, because of public resource constraints.

iii. Insufficient number of qualified academic faculty able to staff institutions.

iv. The quality challenge at the primary and secondary level that leads to a high proportion of underprepared students.

Therefore, in addressing the above problems, scholars have argued about different ways in which HE can advance social justice. Some argue for participation, widening access and inclusion for the marginalised and excluded groups (Walker, 2018; Walker & Wilson-Strydom, 2017; McCowan, 2016; Wilson-Strydom, 2015, 2015a, 2011; Walker & Mkwananzi, 2015; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2014; Mkwananzi, 2013). Walker (2018:92), who draws from a capability perspective, summarises the main argument among these scholars, by arguing that 'for HE to contribute to comparatively greater justice and more of the public good, access to HE should be equitable or inclusive so that it does not allow circumstances to limit opportunities'. To attain this, McCowan (2016) provides insight in his work, *Three dimensions of equity of access to higher education,* that we might consider: (1) Availability of places, including a number of places and existence of adequate services; (2) Accessibility to those places, which includes removing of barriers such as tuition fees, and competitive exams that disadvantage those students with poor-quality previous education; and (3) Horizontality, which involves stratification of universities that students have access to, either prestigious or lower-ranked institutions (see also Carpentier, Lebeau & Valimaa, 2018). Therefore, considering the massification or expansion of HE in Africa, Unterhalter et al. (2018) and Morley (2011) argue that, in thinking about the role of HE in the public good, it is significant to reflect on access and participation in HE. This is because it raises the question of whether counting more students into under-resourced, overcrowded, frequently male-dominated universities and outdated curricula provide a right affordance for social, personal and public transformation (Ibid). I agree with Masehela (2018:165) that 'the current unequal access to HE creates a blind spot that prevents policy-makers and decision-makers from seeing beyond the walls of universities and negatively affect students from a poor background'. Drawing from a human development perspective, my study will, therefore, explore what the role of HE in the public good looks like in a Tanzanian context—considering Walker's (2018:83) points: (1) If there are sufficient resources to achieve income; and (2) What conversion factors form the freedom to achieve access (see also Robeyns, 2017; Wilson-Strydom, 2015; Sen, 2009).

Another discussion about the notion of the role of HE in the public good in Africa lies in the type of graduates universities produce. Deem and McCowan (2018:70) ask the following critical question: 'A good deal has been written on the general contribution of the university to the public good…but what about the impact its teaching has, through

the lives and actions of graduates?' In answering this question, scholars (Mtawa, 2017; Marovah, 2016; Walker & Loots, 2016; Bitzer & Waghid, 2015; Van Schalkwyk et al., 2011) call for HEIs to enhance citizenship in order to keep democracy vibrant and substantive. In defining the notion of citizenship, Von Lieres and Robins (2008) argue that citizenship is measured to be beyond inactive acceptance of the state that determines social and political duties and responsibilities, whereby citizens remain subjects essentially to a sovereign state. The call for HE to enhance citizenship thus means to produce graduates who are civic-minded, act responsibly and take responsibility in promoting democratic values. More fundamentally, citizenship can be defined as a requirement that people cultivate mutual respect, warmth, friendship, trust, self-respect, dignity, generosity, and compassion towards each other (Waghid, 2004). In alignment with this, scholars from Africa have explained the importance of critical citizenship in curricula to enhance the well-being of students and the society (Walker & Loots, 2016; Bitzer & Waghid, 2015; Lund, 2011; Ngamlana & Poswayo, 2007; Waghid, 2005, 2003; Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004; Singh, 2001). Vital to all scholars is that through citizenship formation, HE is able to prepare free citizens who are on equal terms with others, encourage critical reflection on the past, and imagine the future that is shaped by social justice to allow them to live in a diverse society.

Furthermore, Mamashela et al. (2011:11) adds that 'student political involvement at the campus level can be considered as an expression of citizenship'. In this sense, for HE to cultivate citizenship among their students, it involves teaching them to become active citizens (curriculum and pedagogy) and giving them the freedom to act on their beliefs – on and outside of campus. Bitzer and Waghid (2015:45) conclude by arguing that 'because HE proves to influence society and shape the lives of citizens, HEIs and their educators are morally bound to contribute to the achievement or prevention of equity and social justice'. In this way, an investment in HE is not just a gift for the individual students who is lucky enough to study there, but a benefit for the whole society (public good) (Deem & McCowan, 2018:73).

Generally, from the discussions above, both globally and in Africa, Unterhalter et al. (2018:70-80) summarise these debates by conceptualising the relationship between HE and the public good in two ways: First, as instrumental, and second, as intrinsic. On the one hand, the instrumental version of the idea of public good defines HE as an engine of

the public good. This includes improved distribution of income and wealth, better-informed citizenry, and creation of new knowledge that can address social problems and challenges and expand human development and social solidarity. On the other hand, the intrinsic argument on public good defines HE as a public sphere or a space to experience public good and human development, such as widening participation and enhancing access, democratisation, and critical thinking (Ibid). Most significant argument from this project is that 'context matters'. As such, the characterisation of HE of the public good (instrumental or intrinsic) cannot take place without an analysis of the political/economic and social/cultural relationships in which HE systems are located (Unterhalter et al., 2018:201).

From the above discussions on the role of HE in the public good, it is clear that little is known about the public role of HE in the Tanzanian context. This study, therefore, aspires to contextualise the notion of public good by drawing from the human development perspective to capture all the values of HE (economic and social) through the perceptions of students and graduates in Tanzania.

2.6. Conclusion

As stated above, this study acknowledges the importance of economic development/ human capital in defining the value of HE. However, it adopts ways of human development in conceptualising the value of HE, which provides an expansive and more nuanced way of thinking about what HE can do for individuals and broader society. Valuing HE in human development terms underpinned by the notion of the public good is pertinent in today's world and arguably ought to be a matter of urgency, because of the challenges the world faces today (Boni & Walker, 2016; Walker, 2010). As such, HE's commitment to producing professionals oriented towards the public good (Walker & McLean, 2013), the cultivation of humanity (Nussbaum, 2010, 1997), as well as capabilities formation (Wood & Deprez, 2012) is central to pushing HEIs towards playing an active role in addressing the contemporary local and global challenges, such as inequality. Thus, HE ought to strive towards enabling students 'to gather their abilities and achievements, their gifts and talents, their failures and disappointments, and make the lives that are worthwhile both for themselves and others" (Nixon, 2011:83). The next chapter further explores the value of HE by employing the human development and capability approach.

Chapter 3

Higher education and human development: A conceptual/theoretical approach

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical and conceptual framework through which the value of higher education (HE) can be analysed and interpreted. This is in accordance with the point made in the literature review that HE has the potential to enhance human development and the public good. In spite of the potentiality of HE in contributing to human development, relatively little has been explored conceptually, and empirically, from the Tanzanian context.

The chapter has four sections. The first section presents the dominant interpretation of the value of HE from the economic standpoint. The second section discusses the human development and capability approach, which informs the conceptualisation of the value of HE in my study. The third section discusses the pathways through which HE can enhance human development, followed by the conclusion in section four.

3.1. Economic development perspectives

In the literature review, I highlighted the dominant interpretation of the value of HE in terms of human capital or the economic development perspective. This conceptualisation focuses mostly on the economic/instrumental value of HE aimed at advancing individual and nations' economic prosperity and competitiveness (Marginson, 2017, 2011; Nixon, 2011, 2010; McMahon, 2009; Lynch, 2006; Walker, 2006). In human capital theory, intrinsic value and social returns of HE are merely spin-offs, as Naidoo explains:

> The perception of HE as an industry for enhancing national competitiveness and as a lucrative service that can be sold in the global marketplace has begun to eclipse the social and cultural objectives of HE generally encompassed in the conception of HE as a public good (Naidoo, 2003:250).

HE is only interpreted in terms of how much economic earnings graduates would bring to themselves and their society (Tikly & Barret, 2009). I acknowledge the economic

contributions of HE to an individual and the broader society, similar to Tikly and Barret's (2009) explanation that:

> …the increased wages, strong macroeconomic environment and labour market are significant for Africa which is increasingly being left behind in economic terms by the globalisation process with growing inequalities between Africa and other regions of the world, as well as within and between African countries themselves (Tikly & Barret, 2009:2).

However, in as much as the economic benefits of HE are significant, I argue for a broader definition of the value of HE, because in the human capital approach, emphasis is only placed on the productivity and economic prosperity for quality of life. Thus, economic growth becomes the normative framework for development and synonymous with well-being. In this case, the value of HE from the human capital perspective is justified as a tool to foster economic growth rather than a holistic and cohesive notion of human development (Walker, 2012, 2012a). This restricts the potential of HE to address broader social and political issues in society. While I am not disproving the importance of economic growth measures, not least in a developing country like Tanzania, I am arguing against its over-emphasis and exclusion of other aspects of development. Hence, the challenge is when the economic benefits exclude other benefits of HE.

The human capital approach has been criticised by multiple scholars for its overemphasis on economic, quantified and often private related outcomes (Mukwambo, 2019; Walker & Wilson-Strydom, 2017; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Boni & Gasper, 2012). These authors draw on the human development and capability approach to make a case for HE to be interpreted beyond economic and private terms. The common point of all these scholars is that university education has both instrumental and intrinsic value. Thus its value should be understood from a more robust and expansive human development framework. Overall, this approach calls for HE to be interpreted from the perspective of expanding people's capabilities and promoting human development values in the direction of advancing the public good (Walker & McLean, 2013; Boni & Gasper, 2012). Thus, I propose the human development and capability approach as a theoretical framework most suited for this study.

The rationale behind the use of human development and the capability approach in this study is threefold. First, the dominant conceptualisation of the value of HE under

economic development, which focuses on individual and nations' economic prosperity, neglects other essential benefits of education. Thus, applying human development and capability approach in this study provides a nuanced and expansive way of interpreting the value of university education, in which economic benefits become only a subset of the human development paradigm. Second, human development and the capability approach provide tools that can enable us to analyse and theorise about what students and graduates consider to be the value of university education for themselves and the broader society. Third, the human development and capability approach have the potential to reinvigorate the public good (social purpose) of universities by advancing human capabilities. Human development and the capability approach, therefore, provide critical elements that can enable us to understand how HE enhances the well-being of an individual and the broader society.

3.2. Human development

Human development is an approach developed by Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq in 1990. Boni and Walker (2016:56) add that although the appearance of the Human Development Report (HDR) in 1990 marks a fundamental milestone for the dissemination of the concept of human development, the origins of this theory go back to the 1970s, with the conceptualisation of the basic needs approach applied to development. Therefore, in developing this approach, Ul Haq drew insights from early leaders of political and economic thoughts (Ul Haq, 2003). For example, he cited Aristotle, who argued that the idea of social arrangements must be judged by the extent to which they promote human good; Immanuel Kant, with his idea that a human being should be treated as an end, not as a means; and Adam Smith who argued that economic development should enable a person to mix freely with others without being ashamed to appear in public that is, to be socially included (Ul Haq, 2003).

For Ul Haq (2003), the fundamental purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices; such choices are plural, dynamic and encompass the economic, social, cultural and political. Thus development is about creating an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives (Ibid). The main argument in human development is that the dominant measures of development give too much attention to achievements regarding economic growth alone, which is not sufficient on its own to measure good

lives (Boni & Gasper, 2012). Thus, Alkire (2010) gives an expansive definition of human development as follows:

> Human development aims to enlarge people's freedoms to do and be what they value and have reason to value. In practice, human development also empowers people to engage actively in development on our shared planet. It is people-centred. At all levels of development, human development focuses on essential freedoms: enabling people to lead long and healthy lives, to acquire knowledge, to be able to enjoy a decent standard of living and to shape their own lives. Many people value these freedoms in and of themselves; they are also powerful means to other opportunities (Alkire, 2010:43).

In this perspective, development is much broader than economic growth, as it gives us an alternative way of interpreting economic and social progress beyond the usual income and economic growth consideration (Chiappero-Martinetti & Sabadash, 2014; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). The 1990 HDR of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) gives the clear and most influential argument:

> The purpose of development is to offer people more options, one of their options is access to income…but there are other options as well, including long life, knowledge, political freedom and community participation (UNDP, 1990: iii).

Therefore, the theoretical foundation of human development is concerned not only with increasing people's skills (human resource development) and knowledge, but it also rests on a broader conception of human well-being that sees development as the promotion and advance of human well-being (Boni & Gasper, 2012; Fukuda-Parr & Kumar, 2004; Fukuda-Parr, 2003, 2003a).

According to Fukuda-Parr (2003a), human development is different from other theories like human capital, because, first, it is concerned with freedoms, which are defined to be the main aim of development. In this way, human development emphasises political and social freedoms through enhanced participation in the realisation of social and economic goals (Boni & Walker, 2013; Fukuda-Parr, 2003; UNDP, 2010, 2000, 1992, 1991, 1990; Ul Haq, 1989; Sen, 1999a, 1989). Second, human development focuses on human beings as active agents of their own development. Thus, the realisation of development concentrates directly on people as active agents of change, not just on nation-states, by looking at what a person is able to do and accomplish in pursuit of valuable goals (Alkire, 2007; Fukuda-Parr, 2003a; UNDP, 2000, 1995, 1993, 1991; Sen, 1985). As McGrath (2018:127) outlines, 'individuals are to be understood as agents of

change rather than as beneficiaries'. The third difference is the definition of means and ends, in which human development focuses on expanding people's capabilities and functionings as the end of development (Fukuda-Parr, 2003a; Sen, 1999a, 1989). For example, in considering globalisation, the 1999 HDR goes beyond the impact of global markets and global technology on economic growth, and instead focuses on how opportunities change people's lives and advance concerns over new insecurities that are being built. (UNDP, 1999). In the same way, the 2001 report *Making New Technologies Work for Human Development*, argues for technology as a tool to improve the lives of people, not only as a reward of higher incomes such as an increase in productivity or employment opportunities (UNDP, 2001). Therefore, human development is about people's well-being and expansion of their freedom (Sen, 1999a). Boni and Gasper (2012) argue that human development is also significant in educational policy and evaluation and can assist us in defining and characterising a university that promotes the public good by looking at the core functions of university.

This is why the contribution of universities to human development is central to my study. In describing what a 'public good' university would look like in the Tanzanian context, I am looking at how universities should or can expand real opportunities for students and work towards addressing the tremendous problems the world faces today (see also Boni & Walker, 2016). Alkire and Deneulin (2009) identify the core tenets of human development, namely, empowerment and participation, equity, sustainability, and efficiency. Given the focus of this study, I next discuss these values in relation to my research.

3.2.1 Equity

According to Peercy and Svenson (2016:139), the idea of equity is a subject of moral equality based on the belief that people should be treated with equal access to life chances. Alkire and Deneulin (2009) provides an expanded interpretation. They note that:

> Equity draws on the concept of justice, impartiality, and fairness and incorporates the idea of distributive justice, particularly in terms of access to opportunities and outcomes to all human beings. It is related but different from the concept of equality that implies equal treatment to all people (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009:6).

This statement demonstrates that equity recognises the importance of enabling those who have unequal opportunities because of various disadvantages they face; for example, the poor, ethnic minorities, and other disadvantaged groups with similar opportunities. Therefore, for universities in Tanzania to enhance human development and conceptualise a 'public good' university, Boni and Gasper (2012) provide a useful argument about what they should do, including: (1) Have cultural and multicultural information in the curriculum; (2) Benefit the society through conducting and funding research, even with low economic returns; (3) Contribute to the local economy and social cohesion; and (4) Enable equitable access to university for the majority and excluded groups (Boni & Gasper, 2012:464). Although these pillars from Boni and Gasper's study are essential, my research is not necessarily aimed in that direction, but mostly informed by the students' and graduates' perspectives as later chapters elaborate.

3.2.2 Participation and empowerment

These are intertwined values of human development that explain the process in which people act as agents individually and as a group (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009:30). Boni and Walker (2016:59) go further by explaining that:

> Participation and empowerment are about the freedom to make decisions in matters that affect their lives; the freedom to hold others accountable for their promises, the freedom to influence the development in their communities (Boni & Walker, 2016:59).

The assertion above provides three key ideas: (1) Freedom to make decisions; (2) Ability to hold others accountable for their promises; and (3) Freedom to influence the development in one's life. For this reason, in defining development, participation and empowerment would profoundly enable people to become aware of the opportunities that they have in order to benefit their communities and to achieve valuable beings and doings (see Alkire & Deneulin, 2009; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007). Therefore, in the reform of the HE system, human development would consider the participation of people[7] in policymaking or implementation at every stage, not merely as beneficiaries but as

[7] 'People' here include agency of children, parents, teachers, the local community, teacher community, teacher unions, NGOs, the media, and so on (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

agents who are able to pursue and realise goals that they value and have reason to value (Boni & Walker, 2016; Boni & Gasper, 2012; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

3.2.3 Sustainability

Alkire and Deneulin (2009) argue that the idea of sustainability is often used to present the strength of development in the face of environmental limitations. They add that sustainability refers to advancing human development, such that progress is in all spheres – social, political and financial – and endures over time (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009:30). This suggests that sustainable human development meets the need of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation (UNDP, 1996:56). Therefore, for HE sustainability, universities require quality in the process, such as curriculum inclusivity of global issues, holistic and long-term perspectives for secured educational achievements (see also Boni & Gasper, 2012; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). Specifically, Boni and Gasper (2012) indicate some universities' activities that would enhance sustainability, including: (1) Global issues in the curriculum (ethics, sustainable development, peace studies); (2) Research themes relevant for global issues; (3) Opportunities for staff and students to be engaged in overseas activities; and (4) Inclusion of environmental policies in their university or government policies (Boni & Gasper, 2012:465). Therefore these activities will ensure students' progress in all sphere of life, either financially or socially (see also Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).

3.2.4. Efficiency

From a human development perspective, it is argued by Alkire and Deneulin (2009:29) that 'efficiency is the least costly method of reaching goals through the optimal use of human, material, environmental and institutional resources to expand capabilities for individuals and communities'. In this perspective, efficiency involves maximum use of existing resources for individuals to attain their valuable achievements (see Boni & Walker, 2016). Therefore, for universities to enhance human development for the public good, they should offer the highest impact in terms of what students value in and through their university education. Boni and Walker (2016:59) add that, in applying the idea of efficiency, one must conceive of efficiency in a dynamic context, since what is efficient at one point in time may not be in the long run.

It is, therefore, clear that the underlying principles of human development aim to expand people's freedom and/or opportunities. Boni and Walker (2013:3) add that 'human capability formation is human development; human development demands human capabilities'. They further add that 'human development is theorised through the capability approach, and the two concepts are closely interwoven; human development seeks to expand people's capabilities and expanding capabilities, in turn, advances human development nationally and globally' (Boni & Walker, 2016:61). From this perspective, both the capability approach and human development point in the same direction of capability expansion as their core argument. Therefore, the following section presents a discussion on the capability approach.

3.3. Capability approach

The capability approach is a normative framework, which emerged through the work of economist Amartya Sen in the 1980s. This framework offers a broad basis to conceptualise and evaluate individual well-being and social arrangements in any particular context or society (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007; Sen, 1993). It can be used to assess plural aspects of people's well-being, such as inequality, poverty and the well-being of an individual or members of a group (Robeyns, 2006). Furthermore, as I indicated, it is argued that the capability approach provides the theoretical underpinning for human development (see Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013). In this case, the capability approach aligns with human development in defining development by focusing on human freedoms in contrast to a narrow view of identifying development with the growth of gross national product or rise in personal income (Sen, 1999a). It is clear that, through the capability approach, freedoms (well-being) are both the primary end and the principal means of development. This means that the capability approach's main objective is to enlarge people's freedom so that they can achieve valuable beings and doings (Sen, 1999a, 1992). Deneulin (2014:34) emphasises that 'a person is free when she or he has the opportunity to function and pursue goals he or she values'. In this perspective, Sen argues that the evaluation and analysis of policies should focus on what people are able to do and be (Sen, 1999a).

3.3.1. Capabilities

Capabilities are defined as a person's ability to achieve various valuable functionings that reflect the things the person may value doing or being in their lives (Nussbaum, 2011, 2000; Sen, 1999a, 1993). Nussbaum (2011:20) emphasises that capabilities are the answer to the question 'what is this person able to do?' The significance of this notion lies in its criticism of utilitarianism that focuses more on the income of people to assess society's development (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007; Robeyns, 2005). Based on this conception, capabilities are more than resources that enable individuals to achieve their desired goals. Narayan-Parker and Petesch (2002) add that, because people value different things and have various reasons to value them, capabilities can also take on multiple forms. Capabilities include, but are not limited to, life enhancing, an opportunity for good health, sense of identity, opportunity for a good life and participation in political life (see also Nussbaum, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2006).

The capability approach indicates that each person should be treated as an end of development and not as a means (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999a). In other words, the purpose of development, well-being or justice should begin with expanding real freedoms (capabilities) that people enjoy to be and do what they have reason to value (Robeyns & Crocker, 2010). Hence, Boni and Walker (2016:61) give an insightful point that, once opportunities are in place, a person chooses the options they most value. As such, HE for the public good should contribute to the enhancement of capabilities among students. As per Sen's explanation that 'attention has to be paid to the actual ability of a person to achieve those things that she has reason to value' (Sen, 2002:10). Therefore, in defining the role of HE in the public good, capabilities are useful in this study to understand how (if at all) HE cultivates well-being among students and which capabilities universities cultivate in relation to advancing individual and human development.

3.3.2. Functionings

Functionings are broadly defined as the 'various things a person may value doing or being' (Sen, 1999a:75). In other words, functionings are the achieved outcomes or valuable activities and states that make up people's well-being (Deneulin & Shahani, 2009; Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). Examples of functionings include being safe, well-

fed, educated, sheltered, able to visit loved ones and take part in community activities (Deneulin & Shahani, 2009; Robeyns, 2006). Alkire and Deneulin (2009) state that 'when people's basic need for food (a commodity) is met, they enjoy the functioning of being well-nourished'. This means that functionings are also related to goods and income and describe what a person is able to do or be with these (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009:31). In an evaluation, Boni and Walker (2016) and Walker and Unterhalter (2007) suggest that we should consider not only functionings, but also the opportunities for functionings. In some cases, this is crucial, because we might have equal outcomes (functionings) but with different capabilities (see Walker & Unterhalter, 2007:4-5 for useful examples). For this reason, in defining the role of HE in the public good as well as characteristics of a good university, or what Boni and Walker (2016) call 'the human development friendly university,' functionings help me to understand which achievements students and graduates value in and through university education, specifically if these achievements aim towards human development or not.

3.3.3. Agency

Because human development is not passive, agency matters. Human agency is defined as 'someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievement is to be judged regarding her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them regarding some external criteria as well' (Sen, 1999a:19). This concept is crucial because it marks what a person does or can do to realise any of his or her goals. For example, the ability of students to decide on whether or not to join the university and choose the field of study they pursue. In the same way, Walker (2005) explains that:

> …at the boundary of functionings and capabilities is the matter of choice, where a person exercises his or her agency, having the requisite set of capabilities, to make choices from a range of options and alternatives, if such a choice achieves his or her well-being (Walker, 2005:106).

In this context, agency helps to assess what an individual can actually decide and do for himself or herself. In other words, agency opposes the idea of people being oppressed or passive in bringing about change in their lives. Central to this is the purpose of people to become 'active participants in change rather than being a passive and docile recipient of instructions or dispensed assistance (Sen, 1999a:281). Likewise, Alkire and Deneulin (2009:37) add that agency is related to self-determination, authentic self-direction,

autonomy, self-reliance, empowerment, voice and so on (see also Boni & Walker, 2016: Robeyns & Crocker, 2010; Sen, 2008).

Therefore, in defining the public good through human development, students and graduates should be independent and critical thinkers, able to exercise their voices and freedoms to act and choose to bring about change. This aligns with Sen's (1985:203) argument that agency cannot be understood without taking note of a [person's] aims, objectives, allegiances, obligations and, in a broader sense, the person's conceptions of the good.

3.3.4. Well-being

In the capability approach, well-being is perceived as the end result that can be achieved by expanding people's freedom and enabling them to flourish (Alkire, 2010: Deneulin, 2004, 2004a; Sen, 1993; UNDP, 1990). This suggests that having a broader capability set means having greater well-being. Thus, according to Sen (1999a), well-being is regarded as living a life one has reason to value. In other words, Robeyns (2017) defines well-being as 'how well the life of a person is going for that person'. Sen further explains that:

> …a person's achievement in this respect can be seen as the vector of his or her functionings. The relevant functionings can vary from such elementary things as being adequately nourished, being in good health, avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality, to more complex achievements such as being happy, having self-respect, taking part in the life of the community (Sen, 1992:39).

In this context, the assessment of the constituent elements of the person's well-being should be from the perspective of his or her own welfare (Sen, 1993). The idea of well-being is linked to agency, which can expand or advance our well-being in ways we deem worthwhile (Alkire, 2002). Hence, well-being is further divided into two categories. First, well-being achievement, which is explained as the 'personal well-being related to one's own life' and 'the outcomes resulting from sympathies'; for example, the feeling one gets after helping another person (Robeyns, 2005:102). Second, well-being freedom, which is a combination of a person's current state and achievement as well as the freedom to achieve other valued ends (Robeyns, 2005). This study applies the concept of well-being by focusing on both forms of well-being to understand the

contribution that HE makes beyond economic development. The research aspires that, through human development, HE can contribute to individual well-being and that of the broader society.

3.3.5. Conversion factors

According to Robeyns (2017), conversion factors are defined as factors that determine the degree to which a person can transform a resource into a functioning. In other words, conversion factors influence the relationship between a good and the achievement of individual beings and doings (Crocker & Robeyns, 2009). Conversion factors discussed are typically categorised into three groups. *Personal conversion factors* are internal to the person, such as age, sex, physical condition and personal skills. *Social conversion factors* are factors from the society in which one lives, such as societal norms, cultural practice or public policy. *Environmental conversion factors*, emerge from the physical or built environment in which a person lives, such as climate, pollution, the proneness to earthquakes, and the presence or absence of seas and oceans (Robeyns & Crocker, 2010:68). In this perspective, the three types of conversion factors inform us that it is not sufficient to know the resources a person can use to be able to assess the well-being that he or she has achieved or could achieve; instead, we need to know more about the person and the circumstances in which he or she is living (Robeyns, 2017; Crocker & Robeyns, 2009; Crocker, 2008). Conversion factors, therefore, assist me in understanding not only the perspectives of students and graduates but also the factors that influence their conceptualisation of the value of HE, such as background education, gender, social class (income) and university arrangement. Conversion factors can thus address structural social arrangements in an integrated explanation. Moreover, these factors are not discrete and do not operate independently of each other, rather they intersect.

3.4. Human development pathways

This section presents some of the pathways that my study proposes through which HE can or should contribute to human development for the public good in Tanzania.

3.4.1. HE and economic opportunities

Economic opportunities do matter in order to achieve economic benefits. Thus, one of the ways I propose for universities to enhance human development includes universities' potential to enhance economic opportunities for students. This aligns with Kigotho's (2015) argument that 'greater access to quality tertiary education helps create greater and more decent jobs (economic) opportunities for young men and women in developing countries'. This is important in Sub-Saharan Africa, and especially in the Tanzanian context, where the country aspires to have a wealthy (better-off) and educated society by 2025 (Planning Commission, 1999). Also, Ndyali (2016) argues that, in Tanzania, many students leave universities without the requisite skills or competencies needed in today's Tanzania and global economy and society. Therefore, the present dominant discourse in Tanzanian HE emphasises the different ways HE can enhance graduate employability in order to increase the economic development of the country (Kessy, 2020; Mwita, 2018; Ngalomba, 2018; Munishi, 2016; Istoroyekti, 2016). Although this might be difficult given the ever changing labour markets and its requirements, Mwita (2018:269) suggests that 'HE should conduct labour market research to understand well the labour market demands that can be used as a base in developing their curriculums'.

However, because human development aims to enlarge people's choice including economic opportunities (Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Alkire & Deneulin, 2009; Ul Haq, 2003, 1995; Sen, 1999a, 1992), Ligami (2018) proposes that universities provide entrepreneurship courses or transform their current education curricula to equip graduates with skills for the job market. Nonetheless, I support DeJaeghere's (2017:20) argument that 'the outcome and effects of entrepreneurship education and training are not only employment or economic development; but rather, these economic outcomes are mediated by goals of social development and practice of moral and local economies'.

For this reason, for human development, from providing students with skills for job markets and/or providing entrepreneurship courses, students should gain appropriate skills and competencies for self-employment, self-reliance and, where possible, employment (Ndyali, 2016; McGrath & Powell, 2016; Association for Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), 2015; Allais, 2012; Allais & Unit, 2011). This is important

because students have the opportunity to choose what they value doing and being through having different livelihood skills, such as budgeting, saving and becoming financially independent (see DeJaeghere, 2017).

While Sen identifies the importance of giving 'the markets their due,' he also underscores the importance of 'other economic, social and political freedoms in enhancing and enriching people's lives (Sen, 1999a:9). To this end, I will now discuss the pathways of HE to human development by enriching other social benefits.

3.4.2. Educating professionals

Another way in which HE can or should enhance human development for the public good, is through producing graduates who are public-minded professionals. Preparing students for different professions has been and continues to be central to the mission and functions of universities (Ngalomba, 2018, 2018a; McCowan, 2015; Oketch et al., 2014; Nganga, 2014; Al-Harthi, 2011; Bonnen, 1998). In this context, higher education institutions (HEIs) are being driven by human capital / economic development ideology that demands the production of graduates who can participate in the global economy and job market (Walker & Fongwa, 2017; Walker & McLean, 2013, 2010; Walker, 2010; Calhoun, 2006). The implication for the global economy is that universities tend to create graduates who are self-interested, individualised and have little concern for the well-being of the broader society (see Walker & McLean, 2013, 2010; Nussbaum, 2010). Thus, human development and capabilities scholars call for a more comprehensive approach to professional education, by training students towards developing public good attributes (Boni & Walker, 2016; Nixon, 2011; Walker, 2010; Walker & McLean, 2010; Walker et al., 2009; GUNI, 2008). Specifically, Walker and McLean (2013) argue that HE should train professionals with socially responsible values and attitudes to improve the lives of others. East, Stokes and Walker (2014) further add that:

> The university's role is to produce skilled workers for the knowledge economy, so general graduate attributes are important. However, the university must also produce skilled professionals with a commitment to professional standards and codes of conduct (East et al., 2014:1919).

More important is the formation of professional capabilities, which enables graduates to expand the capabilities of disadvantaged individuals and community. Gutmann (2015) gives a useful argument that:

> …just as teaching about politics helps to prepare students for thinking creatively about the role of politics in their lives and the life of their society, and about how best to hold politicians accountable to serving the public. So too teaching about the ethics, history, politics, and sociology of the professions would help prepare students to think creatively about the role of the professions in society and how best to hold professionals publicly accountable (Gutmann, 2015:16).

From these ideas, it is worth arguing that the formation of public-minded graduates is a significant contribution HE can make to human development and ultimately the public good.

3.4.3. Citizenship formation

Another way HE can or should contribute to human development includes advancing citizenship. It has been argued that the idea of citizenship is complex and multi-layered and may also include issues of local, ethnic, active or cultural citizenship (Waghid, 2015; McCowan, 2012; Haigh, 2008; Smith et al., 2005; Yuval-Davis, 1999). There are many ways in which citizenship can be conceptualised, such as through aspects of rights and duties, universality and diversity, or local, national or global, and through criticality and conformity (McCowan, 2012, 2011, 2006; Kymlicka, 2002). Mostly, the concept of citizenship is understood from competing views of liberal and civic republican.

The liberal perspective considers the citizen a bearer of rights guaranteed by the state, focusing more on the states' assurance of political and social rights but not the obligation of political participation (Heater, 2013; White, 2013; McCowan, 2012, 2009, 2006; Waghid, 2005). However, in the civic republican view, while not denying the importance of citizens' rights, there is a greater emphasis on the idea of citizens to work together in shaping the future of the society (White, 2013; McCowan, 2009; Waghid, 2005). From this perspective, we come to learn that in as much as rights are important for citizens, participation is also essential since it gives emphasis to citizens regarding their duties towards their development and the broader society. For this reason, participation enables moving beyond the elements of individualism that could be linked to the liberal perspective, where a citizen is guaranteed with only individual rights with no duties and a weak sense of identity (Heater, 2013; McCowan, 2009). Thus McCowan (2012:7) argues that 'it is essential to consider that individuals have active participation in politics and civil society, both for the effective functioning of a democratic society and for the well-being of the individual'.

Waghid (2005) suggests that the civic republican perspectives provide a more nuanced interpretation of the concept of citizenship for its potential to promote values of commitment, tolerance, responsibility, accountability, and public participation. However, the conceptualisation does not give more details to explain what is personal and private, it also assumes a pre-existing cultural consensus underlying political community (Waghid, 2015:325). In the same way, McLaughlin and Annette (2005:59) tells us that civic republicanism identifies citizenship with being only an educated male property holder and ignores other political identities such as race, ethnicity, social exclusion, and so on.

Therefore, because of the above complexities in defining the notion of citizenship, in this study, I draw from Nussbaum's (2002:209) conceptualisation of citizenship. Her definition is helpful for my research, because it defines citizenship as individuals who are self-examining, which involves developing the capacity for consistency of reasoning, the correctness of facts and accuracy of judgment (Nussbaum, 2002). The definition also implicates self-governing that is concerned with the ability to think as a citizen of the whole world, not just some local region or group (Ibid). Lastly, Nussbaum identifies it as narrative imagination, which involves the 'ability to think what it might be to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, and to understand the emotions, wishes and desires that someone so placed might have' (Nussbaum, 1997:10). In sum, Nussbaum defines citizenship as:

> …being active and open-minded to make a personal decision; being able to recognise and care about the needs and capacities that link to other citizens living in afar distance; and understand with sympathy the conditions of other human experiences (Nussbaum, 2002:209).

From this definition, it is worth arguing that HE has the potential (although this is not guaranteed) to produce active citizens, committed to justice, have a sense of identity and critical interest in society and public affairs (see also Mtawa, 2017; Marovah, 2016; Walker & Loots, 2016; McCowan, 2012, 2006; Haigh, 2008; Nussbaum, 2002).

Training students for citizenship is significant in Africa because this notion aligns with the African philosophy of Ubuntu[8]. In Swahili known as *Utu,* the philosophy helps us to

[8] According to Van Binsbergen (2001), Ubuntu is a revived African concept that does not only focus on a particular locality or region, but rather on the entire continent.

conceptualise the role of HE in the public good in Tanzania by suggesting that students and graduates not only address themselves to a problem, but also look at whether what they are doing will enable the community around them and help to bring about positive change (see also Khomba, 2011). This way, students would understand their own well-being as bound up with the well-being of others. As such, universities would produce graduates who are socially responsible by being critical reflectors on the past and able to imagine a possible future shaped by social justice to prepare people to live together in harmony in diverse societies (Waghid, 2020, 2014; Mtawa, 2017; Marovah, 2016; Costadius et al., 2015; Van Binsbergen, 2001). Therefore, HE for human development would include developing students' critical thinking, seeing things from different perspectives, and being concerned for others (Costandius & Bitzer, 2015; Johnson & Morris, 2010; Barnett, 1997).

3.4.4. Contributions to social justice

One of the core values of human development is equity, which is drawn from the concept of social justice, as discussed above. Hence, another way wherein HE can contribute to human development and help us define/characterise a good university for the public good is through enabling social justice. This notion has received considerable attention within HE in recent years (Wilson-Strydom, 2015; Leibowitz & Bozalek, 2015; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Caltiz, 2015; Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010; Brennan & Naidoo, 2008). According to Bell (2007):

> …the goal of social justice education is the full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs, while the process for attaining the goal of social justice should be democratic and participatory, inclusive and affirming of human agency and human capacities for working collaboratively to create change (Bell, 2007:1-2).

Social justice in HE settings might then include among other things, equity (including gender equity), empowerment, widening participation, access to resources, capabilities for human well-being and diversity (Martinez-Vargas, Walker & Mkwananzi, 2020; Nkhoma, 2020; Walker, 2019; Wilson-Strydom, 2015; Singh, 2014; Boni & Walker, 2013). The debate of social justice in HE captures the broader discussion of the role of HE in advancing human development for the public good. For Hackman (2005:104),

social justice education 'encouraged students to critically examine oppression at institutional, cultural and individual levels in search of opportunities for social action in the service of social change'. For universities to foster human development through equity and social justice, Singh proposes that universities need to have a responsibility to enhance democratic participation and encourage economic development (Singh, 2014). Nixon (2011) argues that HE can advance social justice by engaging in activities that create opportunities for people to be able to address inequalities, power imbalances and any other related forms of injustice.

Specifically, scholars like Walker and Wilson-Strydom (2017), Leibowitz and Bozalek (2015), Wilson-Strydom (2015, 2011), Alexander and Hlalele (2012), and Howell and Lazarus (2003) argue for HE to enhance social justice through widening access, participation, and success, ensuring inclusion for marginalised and disadvantaged groups. For example, Wilson-Strydom (2011:416) makes a useful argument by drawing from the capability approach that, for universities to enable social justice, 'they should start to imagine and theorise new ways of confronting the legacies of the past and the injustices of the present through the enhancement of students' capabilities to access and engage with university study successfully'. A human development university, through social justice, therefore includes: (1) Availability of resources as the means to achieve valuable outcomes; and (2) Each person's set of conditions that shape the freedom of attaining access, for example, gender, class, and so on (Walker, 2018; Robeyns, 2017; McCowan, 2016; Wilson-Strydom, 2015).

3.4.5. Public deliberation

Another way HE can, or should, enhance human development is by enabling public deliberation. The idea of public deliberation is closely related to concepts of empowerment and participation (see Sen, 2009, 1999a). As I indicated in Section 3.3.2 above, empowerment and participation consider activities imbued with dynamics of power, status quo and privilege in allowing people to free make decisions in matters that affect their lives (Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Ibrahim & Alkire, 2007). In this way, Crocker (2008) defines public deliberation as a platform wherein people participate in deciding what they should be committed to in respect to what they value. Further, he explains that deliberation processes can act as an end and means, leading to a group's

collective choice, contributing to individual agency and group empowerment (Ibid). From a development point of view, Sen (1999a) explains public deliberation as an exercise that gives individuals and groups space and freedom to choose and decide what they value and how to go about achieving their goals. Therefore, for human development, universities can or should ensure freedom to students (individually and as a group) that allow them to participate and be heard. This is similar to Sen's (2009) argument that:

> In seeking resolution by public reasoning, there is clearly a strong case for not leaving out the perspectives and reasoning presented by anyone whose assessments are relevant, either because their interests are involved, or because their ways of thinking about these issues throw light on particular judgements – a light that might be missed in the absence of giving those perspectives an opportunity to be aired (Sen, 2009:44).

From this perspective, public reasoning is essential because it offers individuals and communities freedom to decide for themselves (see also Davis & Wells, 2016; Deneulin, 2009; Crocker, 2008; Sen, 2005, 1999a). Specifically, in this study, public deliberation ensures students with space, freedom, and responsibility to decide what they value and to be authors of their own lives.

In sum, it can be argued that advancing economic opportunities, social justice, citizenship formation and developing professionals are significant challenges in contemporary HE, since much attention is given only to economic and private values. In this study, it is proposed that the value of HE foregrounded within human development can enable HE to promote the notion of the public good.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework on how HE can be understood from a human development perspective. The approach provides a means of exploring and operationalising issues of social justice, public deliberation, public good professionalism and citizenship as the broader purposes of HE, while not neglecting the economic dimension. This approach provides an understanding of how relevant principles in HE offer a theoretical and practical foundation for designing and implementing HE for human development and the public good, given Boni and Walker's (2016) argument that 'globalisation has pushed universities to prioritise their

contributions to economic growth and national innovation systems, obscuring other valuable purposes of higher education in relation to development'. Thus, human development and the capability approach highlight the importance of understanding the transformative potential of HE for individuals and society.

Approaching the purpose/value of HE from a human development viewpoint can enable us to interrogate barriers to the pursuit of the role of HE in the public good, including: Promoting justice values by equipping graduates to participate in the economy; producing critical knowledge for participating in society and professionally; and, making contributions to improve society (see Boni & Walker, 2016:180). Therefore, approaching HE from a human development perspective in this study could potentially contribute to HE debates and human development and capability scholarship. Firstly, through building a conceptual and empirical understanding of how HE in Tanzania can contribute to human development by drawing on students' and graduates' perspectives. Second, the human development and capability approach aids in understanding and characterising the role of HE in the public good, especially in a low-income country like Tanzania. Third, it would build and contribute to the knowledge on the value of HE for individuals in a low-income country like Tanzania. To summarise, Boni and Walker (2016) provide useful characteristics of a university that is oriented to social change, which includes: (1) Equality of opportunities to aspire to and access to HE, especially for marginalised groups; (2) A broad understanding of people's well-being, freedom and achievement by considering the emotional, individual and social aspects; (3) A concern with fostering people's agency to bring about the goals they have reason to value; (4) Consistent with human development's emphasis on participation and deliberation, for example, involvement of staff and students in the core activities of a university to enable a democratic way of making decisions; and (5) Sustainability which highlights local and global connections and is forward-thinking (Boni & Walker, 2016:179).

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

4.0. Introduction

In Chapter 1, I indicated my broad research aim and research questions. It is useful to re-state my research questions since my methodology was developed in response to them. Five research questions have guided my work, namely:

1. What are Tanzanian students' and graduates' perspectives on how HE can promote human development, and what does that mean for the role of HE in the public good?
2. How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE? What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education? How has HE expanded their agency?
3. What do students' and graduates' experiences and understanding of the value of HE suggest about the conditions of possibility of HE from a human development perspective?
4. Based on students' and graduates' perspectives, how can HE promote human development and reduce inequalities?
5. What does the understanding of the value of HE from a human development perspective add to debates on the role of HE in Tanzania and more widely?

This chapter focuses on processes and procedures that were undertaken and developed in responding to my research questions. In this chapter, I begin by presenting my research paradigm of pragmatism and mixed methods as my chosen methodology. Following a theoretical argument for pragmatism and mixed methods, the chapter moves into the more practical aspects of the research. I summarise my research process, followed by the various research instruments used and the ethical considerations. Finally, an overview of how I managed and analysed the data gathered is also presented.

4.1. Research paradigm

Mertens (2008:73) defines a paradigm as 'a conceptual model of a person's world view, complete with the assumptions that are associated with it'. This way, paradigms provide

the lens through which researchers 'look at particular topics in particular ways and offer appropriate philosophical and theoretical justification for this way of seeing, observing, and interpreting' (Greene, 2008:93). It is therefore important to position the study in a particular theoretical paradigm because it provides a setting and rationale for the researcher, together with a framework within which social phenomena can be understood, and the research findings can be interpreted (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Bryman, 2008; Morgan, 2007). Kivunja and Kuyini (2017:27) indicates that a paradigm comprises four elements:

1. Epistemology, which describes how we come to know something, or how we (researchers) know the truth or reality;
2. Ontology refers to the form and nature of reality and what one's beliefs can be known about that reality;
3. Methodology articulates the logic and flow of the systematic processes a researcher follows in conducting a research project in gaining knowledge; and
4. Axiology, which refers to the ethical issues that researchers need to consider.

From these elements of a paradigm, Kivunja and Kuvini (2017) further indicate the dominant research paradigms that are applied in educational research, namely: positivism, interpretivism, critical paradigm, and pragmatic paradigm (see also Alise & Teddlie, 2010; Biesta, 2010; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). In research methods, the positivism paradigm is known as the scientific method of investigation, which defines a worldview as objective and scientific, disregarding possible subjectivity from the researcher. Interpretivism, or what is sometimes called the constructivism paradigm, emphasises the individual's understanding and their interpretation of the world around them. This means researchers make meaning of their data through their thinking and cognitive processing of data informed by their interactions with participants. A critical paradigm situates its research in social justice issues and strives to address the societal problems (political, social, and economic). The pragmatic paradigm critiques the use of a single scientific method to access the truth about the real world. This paradigm advocates the use of pluralistic approaches that would allow a combination of methods. My study, therefore, adopts pragmatism as a guiding paradigm, even though it is oriented to social justice concerns and subjective understandings.

Feilzer (2010) provides a useful definition of the pragmatism paradigm by explaining that:

> Pragmatism, when regarded as an alternative paradigm, sidesteps the contentious issues of truth and reality, accepts, philosophically, that there are singular and multiple realities that are open to empirical inquiry and orients itself toward solving practical problems in the real world (Feilzer, 2010:8).

Therefore, pragmatism can be regarded as a pluralistic approach recognising the value of different paradigms in solving 'real world' practical problems. This way, different from other paradigms, a pragmatist approach offers the flexibility to think reflexively about all the instruments used in the study, and it gave me the freedom to use appropriate methods to answer the study's research questions. In essence, pragmatism allows the researcher to focus on the research problem and then use a pluralistic approach to derive knowledge about the problem (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011, 2006; Feilzer, 2010; Morgan, 2007). This aspect makes the paradigm ideal in exploring the students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE.

Further, this paradigm was chosen because, first, it is real-world and practice-oriented (Creswell, 2014); second, pragmatism is pluralistic, allowing the researcher to use methods which best answer the research questions (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007:125). In this case, a pragmatism paradigm enables this study to apply different methods in order to derive the understanding of students and graduates on the value of HE. Third, a pragmatist approach offers a researcher an opportunity to link philosophy to practice, which makes it compelling for the research design in this study since the research is guided by a clear theoretical framework (human development and capability approach) (Morgan, 2007:63).

4.2. Research design

In line with a pragmatic approach, my study used a mixed-method design. The choice of this design is steered by a pragmatic perspective acknowledging that neither qualitative nor quantitative methods on their own are sufficient to adequately address the research questions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2011; Johnson et al., 2007; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). According to Johnson et al. (2007) mixed-method research is described as follows:

> Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al., 2007:123).

Therefore, the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data enhances the rigour of the study (Creswell, 2014). A review of literature on mixed methods indicates relevance and justifications to the context of my research. For instance, using a mixed-method approach in my research, provided a deeper understanding of the perspectives of students and graduates, wherein the quantitative data provided the breadth of understanding of student and graduate views with the depth from qualitative data (see Creswell, 2009; Lee & Greene, 2007; Seifert et al., 2010; Wolf, 2010). This way, the use of different methods assisted me in reaching new insights and understanding of my research topic (the purpose of HE in Tanzania) (see Wheeldon, 2010; Wolf, 2010; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Also, combining two methods allowed me to compensate the limitations of one method with the strength of another to achieve a more robust conclusion (Creswell et al., 2011; Seifert et al., 2010; Creswell, 2009; Greene, 2008; Morgan, 2007; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006).

As suggested by DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2016) and Creswell et al. (2011), there are five basic designs within mixed-methods research, i.e. explanatory sequential design, exploratory sequential design, convergent parallel design, embedded design, and multiphase design. Further, DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2016:13) indicate different questions one needs to ask in selecting a mixed-methods design. First, is the order of data collection, whether data will be collected in phases (sequentially) or at the same time (concurrent or parallel). The second question is the consideration of the relationship or weighting between the quantitative and qualitative data. If qualitative data supports or extends the quantitative data. The third question lies in whether or not mixed methods will be embraced within the traditional quantitative or qualitative design. Therefore, after a careful review of the mixed-methods design possibilities and questions, for this study, I found an explanatory sequential design to be the most applicable for my research, because it answers the above questions well.

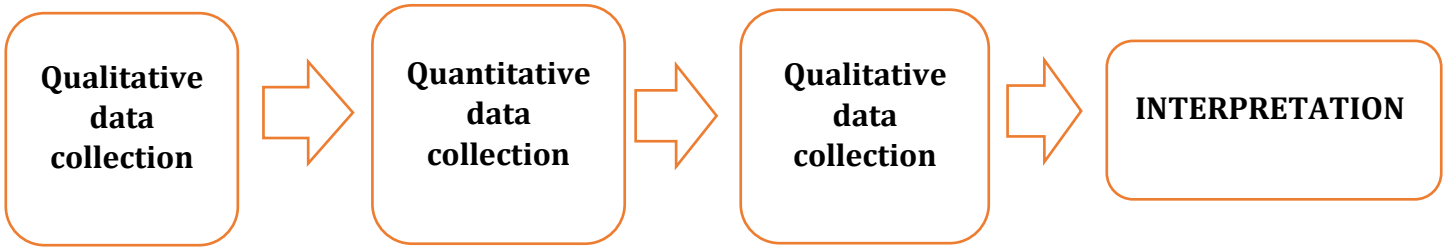
An explanatory sequential design is a research design where qualitative data is collected initially and then used to identify the quantitative data to be collected. Therefore, this design requires researchers to analyse the first phase of data before they can collect the quantitative part, so that the qualitative data can help to shape what is done in the quantitative component (DeCuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). A graphic illustration of an explanatory sequential design is shown in Figure 4 below

Figure 4: Visual representation of an exploratory sequential design

Source: DeCuir-Gunby and Schutz (2016:7).

Although, because of time constraints, I did not do a detailed qualitative analysis before collecting quantitative data, the preliminary qualitative data analysis helped me to reshape and inform the quantitative data. As Creswell (2014) explains that, the overall intent of this design is to have the qualitative data explain the quantitative results in more detail. According to the nature of my research questions, I have modified the exploratory sequential design by having three phases instead of two (see also Tsushima, 2015). Therefore, an initial phase of qualitative data collection and preliminary analysis was followed by a phase of quantitative data collection and the last phase of another qualitative data collection and analysis (see the figure below). The three phases are integrated into the overall procedure and data interpretation. The initial qualitative data analysis offered the perspectives of the university officials on the value of HE, which then informed and underpinned the students' and graduates' perspectives in phase two and three. The quantitative phase gave wide-ranging data from many respondents, and the second phase of the qualitative data provided in-depth discussions on the value of HE from fewer participants. Therefore, through the merging of both qualitative and quantitative data, this design allows me to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem.

Figure 5: Illustration of an exploratory sequential design used in this study



4.3. Case study

Stake (1995, 2005) defines case study as the study of particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances. He further categorises case studies into three types, namely:

i. Intrinsic case study, which involves studies in which researchers undertake an investigation due to their interest in a case without representing an understanding of a certain phenomenon or representing a certain problem.
ii. Instrumental case study, which is undertaken to demonstrate a particular problem. The cases, therefore, supports and assist in understanding the researcher's interest.
iii. Multiple cases, which refers to the study that uses several cases in order to investigate a phenomenon. Hence, the selected cases operate on the belief that they will provide a better understanding or theorising about a larger collection of cases (Stake, 2005:437)

Therefore, the particular approach of my study is a multiple-case study of two Tanzanian universities. The main goal in this research was to conduct an in-depth exploration of the potential of HE to enhance valued human capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and broader society. The case study approach was chosen for this study because of its advantages, which provides a more nuanced way of exploring the contribution of Tanzanian HE in promoting human development. Doing case study research, therefore, means identifying a topic that lends itself to in-depth analysis in a natural context using multiple sources of information (Hancock &

Algozzine, 2006:17). According to Yin (2003), a case study design should be considered when:

- The focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions;
- There is no manipulation of the behaviour of those involved in the study;
- Contextual coverage to bring relevance to the phenomenon under study; or
- The boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon and context.

Similarly, Simon (2009:21) illustrates that 'a case study is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institutional programme or system in real-life situations'. In this way, I chose a case study to explore the perspectives on the value of HE from different participants, and was able to use a variety of methods and collected data from various sources (participant) (see Simon, 2009). The choice of the two universities was to provide a broader understanding of the conceptualisation of the contribution of HE to human development. This was drawn from Yazan (2015), Yin (2012, 2009), and Stake's (2005) argument that multiple cases provide an intensive investigation of the particular context. Thus, the case study in my research aimed to explore the perspectives of Tanzanian students and graduates on the value of HE in human development.

4.3.1. The cases

There are 58 universities in Tanzania, both private and public. I intentionally decided to select two universities to attain depth and richness in my study (see also the Introduction). As I indicated in Section 1.5, I use the Tanzanian context, because the country aspires to both economic and social development, but the contribution of education has only been defined from economic perspectives. Therefore, the selection of the two universities was purposive according to characteristics of similarity and difference between the two. The similarity between the two universities is that both operate in a centralised system under the TCU. Both universities offer some related programmes, which are similar but not the same,.For example, both universities have the Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Information and Communication Technology. They are also both located in the major and commercialised city of Dar es Salaam, which ensures similar access to economic opportunities for their graduates. Wherein their point of difference is the ownership in which one university is a public university and the oldest university in Tanzania, with

notable alumnae. Also known as the best university in country, this university was established to contribute to the development of the nation. The other institution is a private international university established in 2008 with the aim of responding to societal and educational needs by designing education guided by values of respect for the society and economy. Therefore, because of these similarities and differences, I found these institutions to be the ideal cases for my research.

4.4. Research methods and data collection

The collection of data from the two universities aimed to bring a breadth of information from different contexts (private and public university). The target was to explore and gain insights into influences embedded in students' (graduates) conceptualisation of the value of HE. Therefore, my intention was not to compare the two universities, unless the data reveals differences that are significant between these universities.

4.4.1. Qualitative phase 1– sampling, methods and instruments

The initial qualitative phase aimed to understand the perspectives of university officials and policies. This was done through document analysis and semi-structured interviews with the senior faculty officials and lecturers. Although this was not the focus of the study (as the study focuses of students and graduates), the perspectives from the documents and university officials aimed to reflect what students are being taught in relation to human development (from teaching point of view) to inform: (1) Why/what students and graduates defined to be the value of HE; (2) Students' experience in and outside classrooms; and (3) Students' understanding of their contribution to society. Therefore, the significance of having the perspectives of university officials and policies was merely to inform and help us understand the perspectives of students and graduates. Participants (university officials) were sampled from the three faculties, which were selected according to economic opportunities, and the number of students enrolled: (1) Faculty of Art and Social Science, specifically Bachelor of Education. Normally, in order to increase the number of teachers, the government would provide student loans to those pursuing a Bachelor of Education. This also includes guaranteed employment immediately after graduation, and is the least expensive in terms of tuition fees (see Chapter 1). Thus, it is a leading faculty for student enrolment in Tanzania. (2) Bachelor of Computer Science (Faculty of Information and Communication Technology), most of the students are also funded by the government, refer to the Deputy Minister for

Education's statement (see 2:4:1) that these are among the courses that the government needs to achieve its goals. However, this course has small enrolment figures (see also SARUA, 2012), which aligns with Memba and Feng's (2016) argument that less than 30% of students in HEIs in Sub-Saharan Africa are enrolled in the fields of agriculture, health sciences, engineering and technology, and basic and applied sciences. Also, among the three selected fields, the Faculty of Information and Communication Technology is expensive (see Chapter 1). (3) Faculty of Law, which has the lowest enrolment numbers compared to the other two faculties, and it is neither a priority course for student loans nor does it offer good employment possibilities (see SARUA, 2012:98).

4.4.2. The quantitative phase - sampling, methods, and instruments

From the perspectives of the university officials and the analysis of documents, the quantitative phase sought to understand students' demographic data and their understanding of the purpose of HE. An electronic survey was sent to all final-year students from each university. To access students' contacts, while ensuring that no privacy concerns were violated, I asked the university administrators to send the information and questionnaires to students on my behalf. At first, students were reluctant to reply to the online survey because they did not know anything about the researcher. I experienced this at both universities. To overcome this challenge, I was allowed to enter classrooms and introduce myself and my study to the students. It was a challenge at UDSM, because they no longer had classes. But to solve this, I visited students at their residences and informed them about the circulated survey in their phones or emails. This way, students gained awareness of the researcher and the study, which removed what most students termed 'replying to a stranger'. As I mentioned, the survey only aimed to provide demographic information and views on the value of HE, as such, I initially targeted 200 students from both universities. However, due to these challenges, only a total number of 171 students from both universities responded to the survey (98 students from a private university and 73 students from public university).

The questionnaire was designed based on the university administrators' understanding of the value of HE and the human development and capability lens—the questionnaire comprised mostly closed questions with responses scaled on a Likert-type scale (see Appendix E). I designed the questionnaire in an electronic survey programme (Google

forms) that was distributed via email and SMS. The questionnaire was compatible with a mobile phone application, which allowed easy access for most students with smartphones.

4.4.3. Qualitative phase 2– sampling, methods and instruments

The second qualitative phase sought to obtain in-depth information concerning the value of HE and human development. This was done through semi-structured interviews with graduates, focus group discussions with final-year students, and observations. Participants for the second qualitative phase were sampled from the three faculties (see 4.4.1). Having the perspectives of participants from these faculties helped me to understand how and why participants conceptualise the value of HE (if the factors above have any influence) and what it means for human development and the role of HE in the public good.

4.4.4. Semi-structured interviews

According to Kyale (1996), interviews are defined as an understanding of the world from the subjects' point of view in order to draw the meaning of people's experience before proceeding to explanation and interpretation. Interviews enable a researcher and interviewees to interpret the world in which they live and the purposes they create through social interaction. My research aimed to understand the contribution of HE to human development. This enabled an assessment of participants' conceptualisation of the value of HE and the possibilities for universities in Tanzania to enhance human development. Thus, the use of interviews in this research was based on the argument that interviews can provide a great deal of valuable information (Yin, 2003). In this study specifically, I employed semi-structured interviews in both phase 1 and 2 of the qualitative data collection, because they are flexible enough to allow people's views and feelings to be heard (Layder, 2013; Robson & McCartan, 2016; Bryman, 2012).

Moreover, contrary to other types of interviews such as structured and unstructured, semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to use respondents' own insights as a basis for further inquiry (see Thomas, 2009; Yin, 2003). Therefore, since the primary purpose was to understand the interviewees' views on what they consider to be the value of HE (see Appendix E: Sample interview schedule), semi-structured interviews allowed me to develop a conversation without relying only on the pre-formulated

questions, but instead provided what Thomas (2009) calls 'a conversation with a purpose'. A total of 38 participants (see Table 1 for a summary) were involved in a 45–60 minute interview. Mostly, the discussions depended on the time interviewees had available for interviews. A sampling of this population took place as follows:

Graduates: An email was sent from the three faculties to the graduates who had graduated at least within the last four years from each university. The rationale for selecting graduates who had graduated at least four years ago is due to my belief that they would have had enough relevant experience since they graduated from university. This would help them to integrate what HE did and did not do for them and their families. Since information on and contact details of these graduates were available from each university, for graduates' privacy I asked the universities' administration to send out the information on my behalf. Graduates were provided with information about the study and an invitation to participate in an interview. From the graduates who responded to the invitation, a purposive sample of five graduates from each faculty would be selected. However, because of the low response (only 11 graduates responded the invitation) I then had to use snowball sampling to get the desired number of graduates for my study. Therefore, from the graduates who replied, I managed to recruit another 19 graduates. In sampling these graduates, I ensured diverse participants in terms of gender and time elapsed since graduation. This provided a total number of 30 graduate interviews, which I had intended, from the two universities.

University officials: I interviewed four university officials in each university, including the senior faculty officials and one lecturer (either senior or not) from each selected course. In each university, I was received by the director of research who then directed me to the selected faculties. In these faculties, I was then introduced to the senior officials (who perform both teaching and administrative work at the respective faculties). In the interest of anonymity of these senior faculty officials, I will not mention their exact positions at the faculty. These officials then shared the study information with the lecturers and asked them to take part in my study on my behalf. It took a few days of following up to get these lecturers to participate, I only interviewed lecturers who were willing, with the condition that they were from the selected faculties, and I also ensured gender equality. Initially, I planned to interview the director of undergraduate studies from each university. However, it appeared that it was not easy

to get hold of senior university administrators as they claimed to be busy. Hence, this provided me with eight university officials from both universities (see Table 1).

4.4.5. Focus group discussions

A focus group discussion is defined as a question-and-answer format of an interview involving interaction within the group (Mertens, 2007). Since this study included survey questionnaires for final-year students, the focus group discussions was aimed at a debate among students to agree or disagree on their perspectives. Therefore, the survey questionnaires provided students' individual views on the value of HE, while the focus group discussions provided a space for discussions. As Morgan (2007) explains, the focus group discussion helps to elicit participants' points of views. It is useful when the researcher is interested in how individuals form perspectives on a problem, and it offers opportunities for participants to argue, disagree and reach consensus around issues raised (Morgan, 2007). This study employed three focus group discussions from each university. Each focus group consisted of five to seven students from each faculty selected. I was the moderator in all six discussions. To make students feel comfortable and mediate power relations, I used my own prior experience as a Tanzanian university student to specify that I am no different from them. For easy selection, I asked for permission to enter into classrooms and explain the study to students. Additionally, I asked university administrators to send information to students on my behalf via email. Specifically, with the UDSM, since my research permit only came when students were already writing exams, information about my research was sent to students via email. Instead of engaging with them at their classes, I had to use meet them at their residences to explain my study and provide them with my contact details. Students were invited to volunteer for the discussions, where the selection of participants was sampled purposively and based on their willingness to participate. The response was positive, so much so that I had to tell other interested students that I had enough participants for the discussions, but that they could participate in the study through the online survey if they had not completed it already. I therefore made sure that I had an even spread of male and female participants from all ethnic groups. These focus groups discussion lasted for about 60–90 minutes, and they were conducted at a time most suitable for the participating students.

4.4.6. Document analysis

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted) material (Bowen, 2009). Simons (2009) adds that the information may involve not only formal policy documents or public record but also anything written or produced about the context or site. Despite its limitation, such as having insufficient details, document analysis also provides accurate, detailed and often unbiased, useful data (Yin, 2003, 1994). In this study, document analysis in phase 1 delivered a way to understand the culture, history, values, and underlying policies that govern the university (see Stark & Torrance, 2005). Also, in this study, document analysis provided corroboration of different data obtained from other research methods, such as surveys, semi-structured interviews and focus groups (Bowen, 2009: Yin, 1994). The documents analysed in this study consisted of: (1) National policy on higher education; (2) University prospectuses; and (3) University websites.

4.4.7. Observation

According to Yin (2003), observation is a special mode in which a researcher undertakes a variety of roles in a case study and actively participates within a case study situation. This way, observation allows a researcher to be located in the setting and take notes of the things that might be overlooked (Gillham, 2005). Therefore, in this study, I employed observation to supplement data collected from surveys, interviews, documents, and focus group discussions. Gillham (2005) further elaborates that there are three forms of observation, namely: (1) Complete observation of what people do, where the researcher observes from a distance with no interaction with participants; (2) Complete participation, where a researcher only listens to what participants say, and; (3) Listening to what participants say, and the researcher occasionally asking for more interpretations. I employed the first observation, where my role as a researcher was to move around the two universities and observe what people do as well as their available infrastructure and facilities, such as lecture rooms, like computer rooms, accommodation, and the general university environment. Given the possibility of participants modifying their behaviour because of my presence, I did not observe any lectures.

Table 1: Summary of qualitative data collection methods, research interest, participants and data sources

Methods of data collection	Researcher's interest	Participants and data sources
Document analysis	Aspects related to the value of HE in the promotion of human development.	➢ National policy on HE ➢ University prospectuses ➢ University websites
38 Semi-structured interviews	➢ Conceptualisations of the value of HE. ➢ Perspectives and experience at university (graduates). ➢ Reflection on emerging issues related to valued capabilities development and promotion of human development.	4 University administrators from each university: ➢ 1 lecturer ➢ Senior faculty officials ▪ 1– Faculty of Law ▪ 1– Faculty of Information and Communication Technology(ICT) ▪ 1– Faculty of Art and Social Science **TOTAL= 8 University officials from both universities**
		15 Graduates from each university: ➢ 5 – Faculty of Law ➢ 5 – Faculty of ICT ➢ 5 – Faculty of Art and Social Science **TOTAL= 30 Graduates from both universities**
6 Focus groups discussions	Views, interpretation, meanings, experience, agreements and disagreement on the values of HE and human development.	3 Focus groups from each university: ➢ 5–8 students – Faculty of Law ➢ 5–8 students – Faculty of ICT ➢ 5–8 students – Faculty of Art and Social Science **TOTAL= 6 Focus groups from both university**
Observation	Aspects related to the promotion of human development from campus activities and environment.	The two university campuses.

4.5. Approach to data analysis

In conducting research, the careful management of data is a crucial component. It ensures the quality of data illustration and data management, as it is necessary to observe the relevant protocols related to each of the methods used (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009; Wolf, 2010). The following sections briefly outline how I managed and processed the qualitative and quantitative data sources.

4.5.1. Managing the quantitative data

The quantitative (numeric) data collected using the Google forms were optically scanned and loaded into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), thoroughly cleaned and then analysed using SPSS. The statistical analyses of the quantitative data were carried out with the whole sample of 171 responses from both universities. I used descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies and cross-tabulations (Bryman, 2016; Treiman, 2009). The primary purpose was to provide a meaningful interpretation of the type of students, their understandings of the value of HE, and how it relates to human development, if at all. It was useful using mixed methods, because from the statistical presentations, qualitative data provided additional perspectives that assisted with the interpretation of the quantitative data within the particular context of my study. For instance, the quantitative data indicated the number of students regarding whether or not it was easy to join university, while the qualitative data explained the question of 'why'.

4.5.2. Managing the qualitative data

All focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. As the researcher, I conducted, transcribed and analysed all interviews and focus group discussions. All transcriptions were managed and analysed using NVivo 12, a qualitative analysis software. Although my interview questions were grouped according to themes, I manually made use of several rounds of coding in order to determine the codes and identify emerging themes. My research questions informed the data analysis. A series of thematic codes were generated, explicitly drawing on human development and the capability approach. All data sources were analysed using the same codes. I carefully checked, and cross-checked, the coding several times to ensure consistency and accuracy of the coding process. This allowed for an integrated

exploration of the perspectives of my participants. The results are demonstrated in the upcoming chapters.

4.6. Ethical consideration

Since my research involved people (university officials, students, and graduates), my first ethical task was to obtain permission from the University of the Free State's Research Ethics Committee to conduct my study. This was done at the outset of the study, and permission was granted through a written letter (Appendix 1). Then I sought permission via email from both universities involved in my study. To begin phase 1, the first university (KIUT) authorised me on the condition that I present my ethical clearance (see Appendix 3). Therefore, after I got my ethical approval from the UFS, I immediately started fieldwork at KIUT. Phase 2 with the second university (UDSM) was slow and difficult. After months of email communication and following up telephonically, I was told that the university could not provide a research permit. Instead, I was instructed to apply for my research permit under the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I therefore submitted my application and permission was granted through a certificate (see Appendix 2). Additional ethical considerations are discussed in the following sections.

4.6.1. Voluntary participation

I asked my participants (university officials, students, and graduates) to participate in my study voluntarily. They were also free to withdraw at any point. My selected participants were provided with detailed information about the study before consenting. This information was provided through consent forms, which were read and signed by participants before involving them in the interviews or focus groups. None of the participants I approached declined to participate.

4.6.2. No harm to the participants

To ensure that no harm was caused to the research participants, all the instruments (interview and focus group guides) were submitted to the Research Ethics Committee. I was also conscious that the language used in drafting interviews and focus group guides were appropriate to minimise any potential harm. Also, I was sensitive to the participants' reactions and feelings during interviews and focus groups. Moreover, focus

group discussions and interviews were conducted at a time and place suitable for the participants.

4.6.3. Anonymity and confidentiality

No participants' names were recorded during interviews and focus groups. This includes the exact position of the senior faculty staff. In transcribing data and analysing data, I assigned pseudonyms to all participants, and their inputs have remained confidential during the study. Also, in ensuring anonymity and confidentiality, particularly of focus group participants, I drafted a confidentiality clause that required all participants to safeguard the confidentiality of the participants by not revealing the names or contents of focus group discussions to anybody beyond the individuals involved. Each participant was asked to sign the clause.

4.7. Ethical challenges

In conducting this study, I came across several ethical challenges. The first, as I indicated earlier, was gaining access to the public university. This was due to university bureaucracy, wherein no clear instructions or guidelines on research permits were shared in the early stages of our communication. It took a lot of patience and following up through emails, phone calls, and sometimes physically, before I was granted a permit. By the time I obtained permission (28 June, 2019), students were starting their final examinations, considering that the HE academic year in Tanzania ends in July or early August. This resulted in the second challenge of getting participants, as I indicated earlier. However, these challenges did not negatively impact the data or erode the credibility of the study as I was able to get the research permit and all the required participants.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented an account of the research design and methodological approach that informed my data collection. My rationale for positioning my study within a pragmatist research paradigm was presented, together with an explanation for the use of mixed methods. I described the research methods used, sampling procedures, research instruments, and the approach I used to data management and analysis. This is due to the argument that the methodology provides spaces for 'respectful listening and understanding' (see Greene, 2008). Therefore, my methodology provided space for

exploring and understanding the role of HE in advancing human development. In the coming chapters, I present my results, drawing from the perspectives of the university officials, students and graduates.

Chapter 5

Documents analysis and the perspectives of university officials

5.0. Introduction

The findings discussed in this chapter are based on a review of the Tanzanian National Higher Education Policy (NHEP), university policy, and university websites to investigate if and how the role of HE is articulated. However, we cannot entirely rely on what is contained in the policy documents to debate the interpretation of the role of HE in Tanzania, or make an assumption of how HE in Tanzania is understood to contribute to human development. Here, the information from the university officials can help to flesh out policy statement. Therefore, this chapter also draws from eight semi-structured interviews conducted with university officials from Kampala International University in Tanzania (KIUT) and the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and my interpretation. The data presented in this chapter aims to inform and help us understand the students' and graduates' perceptions (in the next chapters) and enlighten us about the possibility of HE in Tanzania to contribute to human development from a teaching and policy point of view. Generally, this chapter builds a foundation for the students' and graduates' perspectives on the value of HE. This way, the presentation of this data should not imply foregrounding the findings from university officials' perspectives and policy documents, but rather a foundation for students' and graduates' perspectives in the next chapters. The dual analysis (policy and empirical data) endorses, clarifies, and challenges some ideas on the role of HE in Tanzania.

The chapter begins by introducing the university officials who participated in the semi-structured interviews, after which it explores how the role of HE is defined. It then presents different thoughts on the ways students could be taught in relation to the defined purpose of universities and other essential values students could develop to enhance human development. Subsequently, the chapter discusses the challenges that Tanzanian HE faces at the moment, together with possible solutions, and integrates this with the stated HE policy.

5.1. Introducing the university officials

The table below presents the university administrators from the two universities who participated in the semi-structured interviews. All the names are pseudonyms except for the titles.

Table 2: University officials' profiles

NAME	FACULTY/SCHOOL[9]	UNIVERSITY
Dr Magreth	Senior faculty official, Education	Kampala International University in Tanzania
Dr Luis	Senior faculty official, Law	Kampala International University in Tanzania
Dr George	Senior faculty official, Computer Science	Kampala International University in Tanzania
Mr William	Lecturer, Education	Kampala International University in Tanzania
Dr Grace	Senior lecturer, Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Dr Cornel	Senior faculty official, Computer Science	University of Dar es Salaam
Dr Baraka	Senior faculty official, Education	University of Dar es Salaam
Dr Harun	Senior lecturer, Law	University of Dar es Salaam

During the interviews, these university officials shared their understanding of various issues ranging from their definition of the purpose of universities in Tanzania to pedagogical practices they employ to teach[10] students. They also indicated the challenges and possible solutions to the various problems that HE faces at the moment. The following section presents the corresponding findings.

5.2. The role of higher education

The National Higher Education Policy (NHEP) was formulated in 1999 with the aim of not only guiding the provision and processes of HE, but also to address operational problems, conflicts, and dissonance in HE activities. The role of HE in Tanzania is not

[9] Instead of 'faculties', the University of Dar es Salaam refers to them as schools. For example, their School of Education is called the Faculty of Education at the other university.

[10] Senior faculty officials and senior lecturers who participated in my study all indicated that they take part in teaching at the university.

stated clearly in the policy, though the policy has defined what it means by HE/ universities in Tanzania. The definitions in the document enlighten us about the purpose that higher education institutions are expected to play in Tanzanian society. It states:

> *Higher education refers to the scope of knowledge and skills imparted within the tertiary level of education…universities are the highest level of institutions dedicated to the professional and intellectual development of humankind and society in general. On the other hand, institutions of higher education are devoted to human resource development for a full level of the occupational structure of society, for which they concentrate on the pedagogical mission of teaching, instructing, career training, and role-modelling (Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE), 1999:3).*

The extract above presents universities as an engine of development for an individual and the broader society through knowledge production and skilled human resources. In this context, it is worth noting that the NHEP emphasises the economic development of the country, because the definition of HE ranges from *professional*, *human resources development,* and *the level of the occupational structure of society*. I acknowledge that having the NHEP in itself is a progressive move towards recognising the importance of HE. However, apart from the definitions of what HE entails or what is meant by HE in Tanzania, the policy does not articulate the role and purpose of universities in relation to the well-being of individuals and the broader society. Social development is not discussed, nor the notion of a more inclusive community or human development. The policy is instrumental, and it envisages the relationship between HE and society from an economic point of view.

Nonetheless, a grasp on the role of HE in Tanzania is also drawn from the websites of the two universities. Similar to the NHEP, the role of HE has not been clearly stated in these universities. However, we are still able to learn about the potential or contribution of HE through the visions of these universities. For instance, KIUT indicates that their vision is to become an international institution that prepares students for the world and an inclusive society. UDSM's vision lays on spearheading the quest for sustainable and inclusive development (see also Chapter 1). It is therefore clear that these universities aspire to not only economic benefits to the society, but also socially to ensure an inclusive society. Moreover, the responses from university officials reveal a similar

understanding of the value of HE, except that these responses gave more detail and examples of the purpose of Tanzanian universities. Out of the eight interviews, five responses indicated the importance of universities in enhancing knowledge and skills of students so that they can contribute to the economic development of the country. For example, Dr George (KIUT) explained as follows:

> *The purpose of HE in Tanzania is to ensure that the country reaches the development goals, the 2025 development goals[11]. One of the most significant emphasis has been on education or quality education. Therefore, we need to get youth who are qualified and competent for jobs.*

Dr George's comment indicates that the role of HE is to assist the country in achieving these goals by producing enough skilled and competent human resources. In the same line of thinking, he added that:

> *Explicitly, the purpose of this university is to add knowledge, skills, and to fit in the government move of industrialisation[12]. Therefore, we need to get qualified, and competent skilled people on board, which I believe are our graduates. If it is on industrialisation or agriculture, we are preparing them with a lot of inputs so that they are capable of meeting the demands of the current market, either employment, entrepreneurship, and others.*

Broadly, Dr George's understanding of the role of HE is foregrounded in the economic way of thinking, indicating that KIUT prepares students with knowledge and skills to meet the demands of the market. Similarly, Dr Grace (UDSM) argued that:

> *As you know, the world is moving fast, and as far as our African countries are concerned, they are still developing; we need to become middle or high-income countries. Where when you talk about poverty, it has to be reduced, when you talk about rural areas, people should be educated and developed by having different economic opportunities to keep them grow economically. However, you cannot get this by just sitting at home, but through university education, by producing skilled graduates who will work for the economy of the country.*

[11] As indicated in Chapter 1, the 2025 development goals in Tanzania include becoming a middle-income country and having a society which is characterised by high-quality livelihood, peace, stability and unity, good governance, a well-educated and learning society, and a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits (see Planning Commission, 1999:2).
[12] As indicated in Chapter 1, Tanzania currently aspires to having a semi-industrialised economy with modernised and high manufacturing (*The Citizen*, 2018).

In the same way, Mr William (KIUT) also explained the importance of imparting to students knowledge and skills for economic development. He gave an example:

> *Singapore is right ahead of us because they forecast on what type of a country is needed in the next three or four years, so they are proactive and start producing the particular courses so that when that particular time comes, they fit in the situation*.

For Mr William, the curriculum in Tanzania has to be updated and meet the current society's needs so that graduates contribute to economic development. He also added his view on profit-making in private universities:

> *There is a difference between public and private universities. Because the primary purpose of the university is to impart knowledge, right? However, the private universities go beyond to another extension of making a profit*[13] *because they are also doing business. Therefore, the other objective or purpose of private universities is that we get more students, they pay more, and we make more profits because we are in a business, which is contrary to the public universities. In general, I would say the primary purpose of universities is to impart more knowledge.*

These responses resemble the kind of language one might associate with utilitarian views on education, where education is primarily defined in instrumental terms according to the competencies (skills) a student can acquire through education for the sole purpose of employment. In addition to stating that students should be equipped with the right skills and knowledge for the economic growth of the country, Dr Cornel (UDSM) spoke about the contribution of HE to economic development from a research perspective:

> *I think universities can contribute to economic development, primarily through research. Therefore, the research that we are doing, to some extent, has the ability to contribute to the economic growth of the country.*

As mentioned earlier, not all responses indicated the role of HE as an engine only for economic development. For example, Dr Baraka (UDSM) defined the purpose of HE as a tool for development, but then added: *'I think a critical question we need to ask ourselves is what is development?'* According to Dr Baraka, *development is about people*. He explained:

[13] Because private universities do not get subsidies from the government or other external funding, they depend on their profit to cover their expenses.

> *If development is about people, then you need knowledgeable people. When we talk about knowledge, we are talking about higher learning institutions (universities) in terms of generating and disseminating knowledge. Therefore, there is no way I can say we have developed if the HE sector is not functioning well. What I am saying is that HE is at the centre of development. If we are talking about Tanzanian development, then we need competitive people, competitive in terms of nothing else but the knowledge that we have. Therefore, there is no way you can separate HE and development.*

The comment above defines the role of HE in relation to knowledge production and distribution to people/society to make them aware of different matters (knowledgeable). The comment emphasises the development of people by illustrating that the country can only be developed when the nation is educated and people are aware of various issues. In this way, HE goes hand in hand with development because universities are mandated to produce and disseminate knowledge. In the same way, Dr Luis (KIUT) spoke about the ability of universities to make people free or independent by giving them knowledge:

> *The purpose of HE in Tanzania is to liberate a person from illiteracy. It helps this person to become liberated in the sense that it is supposed to put this person in the ability to cope with the environment, if necessary, to become independent.*

This statement resonates with Dr Harun's (UDSM) comment on the type of independence universities can instil in their students:

> *Independence does not mean coming to my house at midnight. But as an educated person, one should be able to control the environment they are living in. This control should be individual-driven or initiated. That is where the importance comes in.*

These comments define the role of HE as a potential tool to make people independent in a responsible way. These responses emphasise the ability of one being able to cope, control their environment, and act on their own to bring about change in their lives.

In summary, what emerged from the data is that university officials talked differently about the purpose of HE in Tanzania. Nonetheless, when looking across the data, it is observable that the primary definition of the role of HE is for the economic development of the country by providing students with the required knowledge and skills for

appropriate jobs. Therefore, based on the responses from the interviews, HE in Tanzania seeks to:

- Enhance economic development of the country through knowledge, skills production, and research;
- Stimulate the development of the people/community through knowledge production and dissemination (awareness);
- Develop students' capacities to make decisions autonomously and control their environment by being literate;
- Generate profit, specifically private universities, for running their expenses.

5.3. Curricula and pedagogical practices for development.

From the responses on the role of HE, I then asked each interviewee to comment on what and how they teach students in relation to their defined role of HE. Moreover, because this chapter also draws from the analysis of the documents, this section discusses the general influence of university arrangements on the students' experiences at the university, including curriculum, pedagogical practices, and other university arrangements outside of class. This section, therefore, discusses academic perspectives on what and how students learn in class as a matter of human development. Looking at section 5.2, university administrators defined universities as an engine for economic development by providing students with the 'right' knowledge and skills for jobs. From this perspective, lecturers seek to impart students with knowledge and skills for employment to contribute to the economic development of the country. For example, when explaining how he teaches students towards economic development, Mr William (KIUT) said:

> *Number one is providing students with the right course that will impart the effect of development. The right course means those particular courses, which will create easy jobs for students. Because what I believe is that when you empower students and create jobs for them, then automatically you are developing the nation.*

This comment emphasises helping students to get jobs quickly by providing them with appropriate courses. Dr Magreth (KIUT) added a more explicit statement:

> *We have a theoretical part of the teaching, which is mostly for students from social sciences. Then after they have finished the theoretical part like now[14] from the next few months, July, August, and September, they are free, so they go for fieldwork. That is where they coordinate the theoretical and practical part of it. They go for fieldwork for three months, and then they come back. Therefore, we try to integrate between practical and theoretical. We also give them projects, group work, assignments to see how they can share the knowledge.*

Similarly, Dr Harun elaborated on students' practical and theoretical learning by giving an example from the Faculty of Law:

> *We teach them theory; then, we teach them the practical aspects. This is mostly in terms of moot courts[15]or other kinds of activities where students go to the court, participate in cases, and attend multiple court sessions.*

The comments above indicate the understanding of university officials about the importance of integrating both practical and theoretical learning to impart knowledge and skills for jobs. Likewise, the university prospectuses from both universities also emphasise the importance of practical training for university students by indicating that '*students who do not go to places allocated to them for practical training without satisfactory reasons will be deemed to have failed their practical training, and will, as a result, be discontinued from the University*' (UDSM Undergraduate Prospectus, 2018). Broadly, the KIUT prospectus defines the objectives of practical training or fieldwork as follows:

- *To provide an opportunity for a student to integrate theory and practice;*
- *To obtain training and valuable experience in real-life situations, which cannot be simulated in lecture rooms, or computer laboratories;*
- *To enhance students' skills, knowledge, work abilities, attitude towards their areas of specialisation, develop habits of rigorous thinking and get exposed to managerial responsibilities; and*
- *To create a closer link with potential employers, generate more knowledge from visits and students' reports, and initiate opportunities for research and consultancy with employers* (KIUT Undergraduate Prospectus, 2019:112).

[14] By 'now' she meant from the time of the interview in May 2019 to the end of the academic year, July 2019.
[15] Moot court refers to an activity in which students participate in preparing and arguing cases in front of judges.

From the above, it is evident that there is a significance in linking practical and theoretical learning to escalate the future economic opportunities of students. In the next chapters, the students' and graduates' perspectives will provide us with more insights to understand their interpretation of practical and theoretical learning for their professional development.

From the discussion on the contribution of HE to economic development, I was also interested in understanding perspectives on teaching and learning. Dr Baraka (UDSM) explained the role of HE more broadly and claimed that:

> *We are training[16] them to become a whole person, a holistic person. Because when you are talking about the development, you are talking about different aspects of a human being. Therefore, we are producing Tanzanians or learners who are holistic, holistically developed, built politically, economic, cultural, and the ways to change the mind-sets. In this way, without a human at the centre of development, there is nothing.*

Dr Baraka's claim resonates with the conceptualisation of the value of HE in this study, which recognises the complementarity of economic benefits and other social benefits of HE to enhance the well-being of an individual and the broader society. Dr Baraka continued:

> *In the era that we are, it is not how beautiful you are but how competitive you are. Therefore, we are training our learners to be competitive at the individual level, at the national level, but also at the international level so that they fully function to overcome the challenges.*

Dr Baraka's comment on the preparation of students to become knowledgeable and competitive locally and internationally to overcome challenges aligns with the statement from the NHEP on the type of curriculum HE in Tanzania needs to have:

> *The curricular emphasis in institutions of higher education shall be placed on programmes that are geared towards responding to the changing world of science and technology and the corresponding ever-changing needs of the people, their government, industry, commerce, and the surrounding environment in general. As agriculture will continue to be the backbone of the economy, agricultural-related disciplines and technologies shall be given priority (MSTHE, 1999:10).*

[16] By 'training' Dr Baraka meant teaching. Therefore, it is the role of the curriculum (what they teach).

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From the above assertion, HE has the potential to enhance the well-being of an individual and the broader society by having a curriculum that aims to meet the needs of the nation. Nonetheless, the policy prioritises economic development by giving priority to courses and fields that contribute directly to the backbone of Tanzania's economy. On the other hand, the policy calls for a curriculum that meets the needs of the people and the environment in general. This aligns with Dr Harun's argument on how UDSM trains students:

> *If I consider my university, we have some programmes that try to link what we are teaching students and their impact on society. We have programmes that are called challenge-driven education, where we are now teaching students how they can solve challenges associated with the community. Therefore, they go outside, learn about existing problems, and come up with solutions.*

Dr Harun indicated that these are exchange programmes[17] in association with Sweden. This way, they have been able to do fieldwork and learn about the problems in society, because the Swedish government funds their projects. However, in as much as these programmes seem promising towards societal issues, the limitation comes when not all students can participate and benefit from such experiences. Dr Harun also emphasised universities to practically train students towards problem solving:

> *I think for universities to address the economic challenges, they should teach students to solve the challenges that exist in society, not only in the theoretical issues; but also they should focus on solving practical problems facing the community*.

Overall, while policy and practitioners seem to prioritise contributions of HE to economic development, there were indications in the interviews of some broader concern with what HE could and should do to ensure more economic benefits. The few comments on the broader contribution of HE to students' and society's development gives us a departure point to discuss other valued beings and doings that university officials thought will be necessary for students in order to enhance their well-being and the broader society beyond preparation for employment. I asked each interviewee to

[17] According to Dr Harun, these programmes include students in their second or third year. Selected students take part in research projects about societal problems. This also includes exchange programs to and from Sweden as an opportunity to learn about the two countries.

comment on two values (public-minded and critical thinking) that I drew from the literature on what ought to be done to enhance human development and the public good. However, apart from these two values, other values unfolded during the interview responses, as I will discuss in the next section.

5.4. Imparting values for human development

The discussion in this section comprises the values that university officials thought would be crucial for students. First of all, as noted above, all interview responses indicated the importance of equipping students with the knowledge and skills for the economic growth of the country. For instance, refer to Dr George's comment from KIUT in Section 5.2. In defining the role of HE in Tanzania, he used phrases like *'we need to get qualified, and competent skilled people on board, which I believe are our graduates'.* He further added, *'we are preparing them with a lot of inputs so that they are capable of meeting the demands of the current market'.* In addition to this, Dr Harun from KIUT stated that:

> *The more a person gets an education, the more this person has a better chance to contribute to development. Therefore, universities should produce or enhance students with knowledge and skills for different economic opportunities to increase our economy.*

From this perspective, it is worth arguing that university officials acknowledge the importance of students' ability to enhance economic growth through professional development (employment). Nonetheless, despite the economic value or contributions of HE, interview responses also indicated other essential values that should or can be imparted on Tanzanian students. First, it is important to note that all answers agreed with the argument that there is a need to prepare students to become public-minded and critical thinkers. For example, Dr George (KIUT) noted that '*public-minded reminds students of their society, about where they came from, and reminds them that they do not live in isolation with whatever happens in the society'.* He then added how KIUT has been trying to enable students to become public-minded:

> *We usually use what we call forums and workshops, whereby students are given opportunities to discuss various topics related to the current issues. Sometimes we invite professional consultants to provide their perspectives in different areas.*

Similarly, Mr William (KIUT) emphasised the importance of being public-minded by saying that *'actually that is what most of the universities are supposed to be doing, but most of them don't do it'.* He also added that:

> *It is essential to do so because we only teach these students on the theoretical part, and they have the mind of capitalism aspects. But we have to develop them to have communist elements of thinking that yes, you are educated, but this is not only for yourself but also for a community's help. Therefore, when you give them such particular mind-sets that they need to go and serve the community, the better it is. That is my view.*

These comments indicate the importance of training students who think about society and giving back to the community, rather than having only self-centred students. Correspondingly, Dr Baraka (UDSM) spoke about how their Swedish-funded programme enables them to educate students to become public-minded:

> *Allowing the students to become public-minded is one of the purposes of the program that we call CDE (Challenge Driven Education). Therefore, what we are teaching the students is the significance of thinking out of the box, meaning that they should not only focus on the materials from class, but they have to go outside and see the challenges. For example, we have been visiting some government agencies like Dar es Salaam Water and Sewerage Authority (DAWASA); there we learn about different problems concerning water supply and demands. Therefore, we teach them to think outside the box and think about the challenges that exist in society.*

Another value that was discussed in the interviews involved the issue of critical thinking. Although the explanations from the university administrators about critical thinking were expressed differently, what was common in their interpretation was words like the *ability to evaluate, analyse, and to make judgments*. For instance, Dr Cornel's comment from UDSM:

> *Globally, we now have what we call the 21st skills; critical thinking is just an aspect. Therefore, we need people who can make judgments and be problem solvers. We need students who are critical of the existing challenges, who are open-minded and ready to change.*

Similarly, Dr Grace (UDSM) added that '*I think critical thinking goes hand in hand with creativity'.* She then explained that one should not only be able to understand the

complex issues or problems in their communities, but they should also be creative to come up with quick solutions. Dr Grace added that:

> *It is essential because if you have creative people, it means they are ready to face the world. They can even create jobs instead of always looking for jobs; they can change the challenges into opportunities because they are creative. We have a lot of problems in our society, so if we have people who are problem solvers some of these things won't be there. So we will have people who are not good at complaining, but they are good at solving problems, at their level but also the more substantial scale of society, nation, and finally globally.*

In the same way, Dr Luis (KIUT) shared the following on how he helps students to become critical thinkers:

> *I am also a consultant, adviser, and career path developer. I have been running some training on a career path; for example, in the coming Easter, I will have some university students and advanced secondary school students, trying to explain their career path by looking at their strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, I usually use such spaces or even in the classroom to tell my students the importance of being critical, ask questions, and analyse different events in society just for them to become better citizens.*

Another significant value that was mentioned by all participants includes students' valuing of learning. I have mentioned this as an essential value because my assumption is that it might be challenging for students to achieve other values if they are not disposed to learn. Dr George (KIUT) gave his experience on students' value for learning by providing an example of how students engage in reading:

> *I have been teaching for almost 12 years now, but when you ask me at what time did I have serious students, I would tell you the students that I had maybe ten years ago. Those were really serious students. They were engaging seriously in reading and working very hard, possibly, because most of them were coming from the office, and they needed their bachelor's and masters for their promotion. But now, we find students spending most of the time with their smartphones, chatting, and all that. They also do not like readings; they do not like assignments; they tend to complain when they are given too many tasks. Therefore, the biggest problem is on students, how we can say they need to become critical thinkers if they are not reading.*

Similarly, Dr Baraka (UDSM) commented on the development of the country by saying, *'when you have people who are not serious, you will end up having a nation which is not serious'.* He went further and explained:

> *Therefore, if all people are serious about education and all the required skills are here, then we can talk about the development of the nation, because how come, one student, is very skilled and another one from the same course is not skilled.*

> *Sometimes it's because of the individual differences, students' commitment to their learnings, not because of the university. That is why if you ask students about their experience at the university, one will tell you that they had a great experience while others will tell you that I had a bad experience. Therefore, I think students need to start paying more attention to their education.*

The statement above points out the difference that exists among students, which is reasonable because people are not the same. However, from this point, Dr Baraka emphasised the common value that students can share to realise the benefits of HE is the *students' commitment to their education.* In Dr Baraka's understanding, students' willingness and commitment to their learning would help to realise the benefits of HE.

Additionally, in the discussion about students valuing their learning, university officials added the importance of students becoming active inquirers and participants. The main idea was that the more students participate in the learning process, the more they can benefit from the knowledge and skills provided by universities. Therefore, respondents commented on the participation trends in their classes and indicated the methods they employ to enhance students' full participation. For example, Dr Grace claimed that '*we can preach the whole day about the benefits of university education if students are dull in classes'*. This comment speaks about the importance of students having not only the desire to learn but also becoming active participants in order to gain from the lessons taught in class. For that reason, the university officials first indicated that students do participate in class, especially those from a private university, due to the small numbers of students. For example, Mr William (KIUT) noted:

> *When you have a minimal class, that is 40 students, and below, everybody can participate. But when you have 100 students, they cannot all participate; in most cases here, we have few students; even when we have more than 40, it is divided into another class. Therefore, under that situation, when you have a few students, it is 100% participation. Even if one or two students are absent in class, you know it. So it becomes easy to monitor them.*

This comment suggests that participation in class depends mostly on the number of students. However, the responses from the interviews indicate the lecturer's attitude as the primary influence in students' involvement in class, either in a large or small class. In this vein, Dr Luis (KIUT) said the following:

> *Yes, we have a few numbers of students, which is an advantage for us because we know all of our students. But there is a massive influence on students' participation in relation to the way you teach. Because we do not have a template on how to teach, everybody goes in class with their ideas and instruments, which speaks a lot to the way students will engage.*

Similarly, Dr Cornel (UDSM) added:

> *Number one, in terms of participation in class, it is all upon the lecturer. The first time you go to class, you are supposed to know the kind of students you have. We have those students who depend on lecturers if there are no lecturers; they cannot move forward. There are those students who are independent, and we have students who like participation. Therefore, it is up to you as a teacher to use a method, which is more suitable for your class.*

These comments indicate the influence of a lecturer in encouraging students to be active participants. In explaining how they strengthen the involvement of students, the university officials spoke about allocating a few marks to motivate students to participate. The following comment from Dr Magreth (KIUT) provides an example of such sentiments from lecturers:

> *What I sometimes do is that instead of getting 60% for the final exam, I give them 50% and 10% for participation, so if you don't participate in class, it means that you might miss a grade. Therefore, I think the techniques of teaching also matters to enhance or diminish students' participation.*

Moreover, from the significance of students having a curiosity for learning, and being active inquirers and participants, university officials spoke about the need for students to become confident. This is drawn from an understanding that for students to achieve their goals and aspirations, they need to believe in their skills and ability. Six officials mentioned this. Consider the following example from Dr George (KIUT):

> *What I came to understand is that from the first year to their third year, students have made a very progressive development. When they were in their first year, they could not even talk in class, but now they have changed. When they first came in, first was the issue of language, so doing assignments and presentations was challenging, but after three years for those who take a three-year course, they have developed. Presentations and all these assignments have made them more confident.*

Dr George's comment indicated some examples, like language. The official language in Tanzania is Swahili; hence, most students feel less confidence presenting ideas or participating in dialogues in English, but with time and having a number of such assignments and presentations, students were able to develop their confidence. In the same way, Dr Cornel (UDSM) said:

> *Because most of them are scared to make mistakes, we motivate and give them the confidence to believe in themselves. Sometimes I would tell them that there is nothing wrong with giving out incorrect answers; this goes to all students; it does not matter their gender or any other factor.*

The assertion above speaks to the motivation students get from their lecturers. University officials, thus, acknowledge the importance of students participating in class for them to gain from the knowledge and develop the capacity of believing in themselves as a matter of their development.

For that reason, drawing from the perspectives of university officials, the following are the values that students in Tanzania should or could develop:

- Valuing acquiring skills and knowledge for employment;
- Valuing critical thinking;
- Valuing being public-minded;
- Valuing learning, and;
- Valuing confidence.

Therefore, these values tell us about the possibility of HE in Tanzania to enhance human development, by having students who do not only value acquiring knowledge and skills for employment, but also develop other social values like being public minded. Discussing these values in capability language, the table below indicates these values according to what university officials thought were necessary capabilities for students.

Table 3: University officials' capability set for students

Capability	Description
To be able to work after university.	Being able to acquire skills and knowledge for economic opportunities.

To be able to be public-minded.	Being able to develop an interest in social and public affairs.
To be able to be a critical thinker.	Being able to reason, understand the logical connections between ideas and complex events in society.
To be able to have a learning disposition.	Being able to have curiosity and a desire for learning. Being an active inquirer and participant.
To be able to be confident.	Being able to believe in your ability, skills, and experience.

5.5. Beyond the formal curriculum

Since the university officials only spoke about the formal curriculum in class, the realisation of the efforts by universities to enhance students' well-being is seen through other university arrangements out of class. This was achieved by exploring the university websites and prospectuses, and my experience on both campuses. For example, in July 2019, the UDSM announced on its website an opportunity for graduates from all over the country to participate in an entrepreneurial workshop themed '*Badili Changamoto kuwa Fursa'.*[18] The ultimate goal of this workshop was to provide youth with the knowledge, information, skills, and ability to identify the opportunities around them and to take advantage of them by creating jobs for themselves and their peers and thus improving the lives of the community as a whole (UDSM, 2019). This was a great initiative, with ideas like *developing the capacity and attitude for graduates to view problems and challenges as opportunities that arise from their professions.* However, it would have been more effective or more significant if universities had incorporated such training in their curricula and taught students while they were still at the university. Moreover, not all graduates in the country could attend. Although the workshop was also held in nine other regions apart from Dar es Salaam, 20 other regions lost out. Bear in mind too that not all graduates live in urban areas, and not all graduates can afford to travel and accommodate themselves for a number of days. Therefore, this workshop was advantageous to a small number of graduates who had the ability to attend and it left behind those who could not attend, not because they did not want to, but because they were not able to.

[18] 'Change Challenges to Opportunities'. The workshop was held for a minimum of five days in 10 different regions.

Similarly, in December 2019, KIUT posted a message on the website from the former president, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, reminding all graduates of the kind of graduates they need to be. In Mwinyi's words, graduates need to *'engage in problem-solving initiatives to address societal challenges using the skills and knowledge acquired during their study period at KIUT'.* This statement speaks to the broader contribution HE can make to society by producing graduates who are problems solvers and engage with the community. However, from this comment, the first question one could ask is: Do these graduates actually have the necessary knowledge and skills to engage in societal problem solving?

The prospectuses from the two universities signpost the efforts by universities to foster a friendly environment for a student to flourish in their studies and general life at the university. The prospectuses mention students' residence, worship and religious services, the university library, students' activities and organisations, and provision relation to non-discrimination, equal opportunity, and ethnic diversity. This way, it is clear that universities do realise the importance of creating a conducive environment for students to flourish academically and personally. However, this realisation is only one side of the coin, while the other hand would be the implementation of these efforts to ensure students' well-being. For instance, the KIUT prospectus indicates that '*there are a limited number of rooms in the halls of residence on the university campus which are available on the application before the beginning of the academic year'.* Accommodation in the halls of residence is not guaranteed for every student. However, the university indicated that '*priority is given to first-year students, students with disabilities, international students, last year students, and female students from upcountry'* (KIUT, 2019). In the same way, the UDSM claimed that to enhance students' welfare, the university offers a range of quality accommodation in the on-campus and off-campus residences (UDSM, 2018). In the following chapters, students and graduates will indicate university opportunities and space that allowed them to flourish or constrained them.

The prospectuses also indicate how universities seek to enhance students' activities and cooperation in academic, political, social, outreach, and recreational activities. This includes associations like the Dar es Salaam University Student Organisation (DARUSO) and Kampala International University in Tanzania Student's Organisation (KIUTSO)

with the responsibility of playing the role of bridging the gap between students and university management. Effective cultivation or facilitation of such spaces for students allows them to speak and to be heard in different matters that they face at the university, either academically or socially. This also speaks to the opportunities that are given to students in relation to their spiritual development. Both prospectuses specify that students have the freedom to worship on campus based on their religious beliefs. Such spaces are critical for enabling human development by enhancing spaces that allow students to interact and form social relations and networks.

Furthermore, in exploring the two campuses, I came across a poster board on both that read '*Graduate with 'A's not AIDS'* (see Figure 6 below). The interpretation of the poster in this study is two-fold. First, the sign reminds students to graduate with 'A's, meaning that they should focus on their education and get excellent grades. This aligns with the dominant understanding of the value of HE from the economic perspective, i.e. universities reminding students to perform well, graduate with A's, and get good jobs for economic benefits. On the other hand, 'not AIDS,' reminds students to take care of their health and life in general on and off campus. While, I acknowledge the message on the board as a reminder to students about their health and well-being, I argue that students need more than a board, including the curriculum and a conducive environment for their well-being.

Figure 6: University's influence on students' well-being

Still, university officials and university arrangements in general do acknowledge the broader benefits that HE can contribute to an individual and society. Nevertheless, it remains to be ascertained if the acknowledgement is translated into action, and whether the challenges that HE faces at the moment might also be the factors standing in the way of a human development orientation.

5.6. Challenges facing higher education

These challenges are extrapolated from the responses of the university administrators, in which I specifically asked them to describe the current problems that HE faces. In explaining the challenges, some of the university officials suggested possible solutions to developing the HE system in Tanzania.

5.6.1. Financial challenges

The major challenge was financial difficulties. The responses specified low financial investment in HE as a significant problem. University officials indicated the need for the government to invest more money in education to smooth HE operations and create a conducive environment for students to study and lecturers to work. For example, Mr William (KIUT) spoke about the government's responsibility towards higher education institutions (HEIs) and said that *'government needs to put in more money into the institutions so that we create an environment that is conducive to learning'.* He further explained:

> *The institutions are supposed to create about 12% of the funding specifically for research and development, which most institutions tend to ignore. Other countries like South Africa invest a lot of money for research and development. Still, it is different with us here; you would find institutions like private universities struggle to allocate only 5% into research.*

Likewise, other responses signposted the need for the government to invest more in education in general; as this affects the quality of students who come to university. Lecturers indicated that financial problems produce poor quality students, because there are inadequate resources for students to utilise in their learning. For example, Dr Cornel (UDSM) explained that:

> *The ministry of education has still got a lot to do, like the investment in education, which is currently very low; We have many primary and secondary schools, but the output is of low quality, I would say. This is because they are doing their education*

> *in a very unpleasant environment; they don't have laboratories; they don't have the necessary facilities; and, the morality for teachers is low because of less payment. So that being the case, we have a long way to go because investment in education is very significant. Even when you look at the government budget, education is not yet leading on that budget.*

Apart from school facilities for learners, the statement also indicated the importance of motivating teachers to do their jobs by giving them higher salaries. Dr Magreth (KIUT) provided more emphasis that '*we cannot talk about HE and ignore what it takes for students to get here'*. She further noted:

> *We all know that primary and secondary schools are very keen for the education development of kids, but it's a pity how much their teachers are being paid. Then we expect these teachers to be motivated and put 100% passion into their jobs; it is impossible. In other countries, high paid jobs are for teachers. Therefore, if we fail to develop these students in an early stage, we kill the whole education system.*

From this perspective, there is a need for the government to allocate more funding not only to HE, but also the education system in general (primary and secondary education). Of course, the quality of school will affect not only HE access, but also students' ability to participate effectively in their HE learning. Furthermore, Dr Baraka (UDSM) commented that Tanzania is a low-income country, which cannot manage the costs for every student, which is why there is a Student Loans Board to assist those students from underprivileged backgrounds only:

> *The point to introduce loans was not for everybody to access loans, but for equality purposes, that you should not have access to education just because you have money, but as long as you have the ability. But we have people who can pay tuition fees, and yet they want to access loans, knowing that our economy is not that good enough to accommodate everyone.*

Dr Baraka calls for individuals to be more responsible with student loans (a public-good challenge), by encouraging those who can pay their tuition fees to take responsibility on their own and leave the government funding to those students who do not have the means to pay.

5.6.2. Gap between the curriculum and the needs of the society

Another problem that emerged from the interviews was the gap between what students learn in class and the challenging issues that exist in society. The participants' replies elaborated on the breakage between the curriculum taught to students and the needs of the community. For instance, Dr George (UDSM) explained:

> *The biggest challenge that or just the way we are doing things is the link or a connection between the university and society. I see a broken link, we are teaching our students this, and the community is doing something else. For example, the industrialisation policy that the government is pushing right now needs to have a link with what we are teaching the students. The society also needs to be aware of what we are doing in which for me, I think that is where the gap exists. Because we are pumping many materials to our students, and we have not linked to what society needs. Then we are left with producing many products that we are not sure if the community wants. Therefore, that is one of the challenges, a weak link, or a broken link between the university and community.*

Likewise, Dr Luis (KIUT) noted:

> *The main challenge right now involves curriculum development. The lecturers think we know what we are doing and then teach the theoretical part of it, but when you go out, things change every day, the technology changes every day. What used to be in the market 20 years ago cannot be the same today, but you find some of the institutions still using the same programme and style that were used to teach 20 years ago. There is a need to update our curriculum and meet the changing society*.

The issue of what students learn in class matters because it informs the contribution HE can make to an individual and the community, it tells us about the possibilities of HE for human development by looking at the kind of graduates Tanzanian universities produce. From this perspective, the comments from lecturers call for universities to update curriculums so that they go hand in hand with the needs of society in order for students to make a change or be useful to their community.

5.6.3. Insufficient resources

The interview responses also indicated insufficient university facilities as another problem that HE in Tanzania faces. This involves the ratio of students to lecture rooms and residences, where existing university facilities do not meet the needs of a larger number of students. Dr Grace (UDSM) indicated that:

> *The issue of infrastructure, in general, is a problem. For example, sometimes we are not able to accommodate a large number of students; one lecture room might have a large number of students that have to listen to one person. This also speaks to other facilities like microphones, sometimes they do not function, so while teaching, you could see that some students are talking, others are on social media, but they are still in class.*

This comment indicates the challenges that universities face, particularly public universities, because there are more students in public universities compared to private universities. Dr Cornel (UDSM) explained that it is sometimes difficult for a university to replace simple things in their offices like the air conditioner, computers, and desks. He went further with his complaint and said, *'it could be because the university cannot afford, that is why it takes forever for them to fix things, or it's just poor administration'*. Moreover, Dr Baraka (UDSM) added the issue of human resources, where he claimed that there are insufficient academic staff:

> *There is an expansion of HE, but the academic staff is expanding very slowly. One might not notice this at the national level, but the problem exists especially to some specific courses, so when you go to these courses precisely, its when you know the student and staff ratios.*

It is not clear which courses face this problem of insufficient staff, but Dr Baraka's opinion points to a similar problem of the ratio between students and university facilities. In this way, it is not only about physical facilities such as lecture rooms, but also human resources (lecturers), where the number of students is large compared to what the university can handle.

Therefore, from the responses of university administrators, the challenges that the HE system in Tanzania faces include:

- Financial challenges (increase funding to the HE system and education in general);
- A gap between the curriculum and the needs of the society;
- Insufficient university facilities;
- Human resources shortage (academic staff).

Arising from these challenges, I turn to the NHEP of 1999 to reflect on where HE in Tanzania stands now. We find that, although this policy was formulated about 21 years

ago to provide a general framework for HE, it still relates to all the existing challenges that Tanzanian HE faces today. This suggests that the existence of policies does not translate into action, because the same difficulties that existed 20 years ago are still around today. Take, for instance, the issue of HE funding; the NHEP states that *'the education sector should be given priority in the allocation of resources by the Government'.* This comment aligns with university officials stating that, while it is essential to talk about funding to HE, we should not neglect the funding concerns of the whole education system. Similarly, the NHEP indicates the need for HEIs to have all the necessary resources like human resources, adequate lecture rooms, libraries, computing centres, laboratories, and sports facilities for universities to fulfil the mission for which they are chartered. This policy also addresses the issue of the curriculum gap (see Section 5.3) that programmes offered by HEIs should be geared towards responding to the changing world and corresponding to the needs of the people.

In general, the NHEP was formulated due to serious concerns about the pitfalls and gaps in the national philosophy to guide the provision and process of HE, in addition to addressing potential operational problems, conflicts with respect to the allocation of resources, governance, delivery systems, curricular arrangements, and the final products of the processes. It is not the objective of this study to assess how far Tanzania has come in achieving the objectives of this policy. My interest is in the aspects related to the value of HE in the promotion of human development and the lack of progress despite policy. In summary, the NHEP's main concerns from 20 years ago include:

- Expansion of enrolment, specifically imbalanced intake between the sciences and the liberal arts;
- The need for HE to meet the changing world by having an updated curriculum;
- Allocation of funding to HE, including distribution of funding to students from a poor background;
- Call for universities to have requisite resources in order to fulfil their missions, and;
- Promote cooperation between HEIs within and beyond Tanzania's borders to promote, among others, enhancement of capabilities in training, research, and extension.

The concerns in this policy give us an understanding of what ought to be the purpose of HE in Tanzania and the possibilities of universities to promote human development and the public good. In this way, I acknowledge that the NHEP is one way of achieving human development and fulfilling the role of HE in the public good in Tanzania, yet, we cannot accomplish this by only relying on the documented policy, but rather through operationalising and putting the policy into action.

5.7. Summative discussion

Findings in this chapter dealt with the discussion of the value of HE in Tanzania, drawing from university officials, Tanzanian policy, university prospectuses, and university websites. First, the chapter indicated how lecturers understand the role of HE in Tanzania, in which the majority of the responses drew from the understanding that HE is an engine for economic development through training students with the right skills and knowledge for employment. One lecturer added that HE could also contribute to economic development through research. Some interview responses defined the purpose of HE as a tool to develop people or communities by giving them knowledge and information on different matters, while another response defined HE as a means to make people independent by setting them free from illiteracy and enabling them to make decisions autonomously. Additionally, one lecturer indicated that, apart from knowledge production and dissemination, the purpose of private universities is to make a profit.

In acknowledging the importance of lecturers, as Julius Nyerere commented that 'teachers can make or ruin our society' (cited by Liundi, 2012:62), this chapter, therefore, looked at the way lecturers prepare students in relation to the defined purpose of HE. From the dominant understanding of the purpose of HE (economic development), responses indicated arguments like providing students with the right courses that will enable them to get jobs quickly, and integrating theoretical and practical learning to increase students' economic opportunities. Other responses indicated the need to teach students to become developed in all facets of life, preparing students to become a 'whole person', together with imparting knowledge for students to be aware, knowledgeable, and competitive locally and internationally.

Apart from students' development of the right skills and knowledge for jobs, this chapter also discussed other values to enhance human development. These values

included valuing critical thinking, valuing being public-minded, valuing confidence, and valuing learning. From the lecturers' perspectives on these values, the chapter noted university arrangements that promote students' well-being outside of class that were extrapolated from the university prospectuses and websites. These include the provision of necessary facilities like accommodation, and spaces to participate in different organisations academically, socially or politically, as well as freedom of worship. Furthermore, the chapter indicated universities' effort to enhance the well-being of students through publicity about HIV/AIDS on both campuses or to remind students about their academics and their well-being in general. In addition, universities made an effort to develop graduates' economic opportunities through a workshop on 'changing challenges into opportunities' and to remind graduates of their responsibilities to help society. It is, therefore, clear that universities do value the well-being of students and the broader community and this is at least promising for human development orientation.

The last section discussed the challenges that HE faces at the moment by relating these challenges to the NHEP of 1999. The problems that were indicated in the NHEP are still some of the issues that Tanzanian universities face today. From the interview responses, these challenges include funding to HE; insufficient university facilities, including lecture rooms and human resources (academic staff); and the gap between what students learn in class and the needs of the society. Such challenges may reduce the conditions for human development and the public good. Tanzania has the policy to guide the HE system with clear statements such as the need for university facilities to realise the mission of universities and the need for government to allocate more money into education to facilitate smooth operations of HE activities. However, these strategies need translation into action in order to promote the role of HE in the public good by producing graduates who are better citizens.

Hence, from the responses in this chapter we observe both possibilities for human development in concern for wider student well-being, but also limitations on the primary focus on economic development. The challenge is how to balance university concern for contributing to a more expansive view of the role of universities in their contributions to a better society with more well-being. Therefore, while there is a realisation of the possibilities of the role of HE in human development, we still need

more implementation in order to achieve the broader purpose of HE foregrounding human development.

The next chapter will discuss the perspectives of Tanzanian students on the role of HE to understand how effective they think they are now, whether they do indeed perceive themselves as citizens oriented towards the public good.

Chapter 6

Students' perspectives on higher education and human development

6.0. Introduction

This chapter draws from quantitative and qualitative responses to explore student perspectives. Quantitative responses come from a sample (N=171) of final-year students from both universities, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the Kampala International University in Tanzania (KIUT). Qualitative responses are derived from six focus group discussions, three from each university, one from each of the three courses, Bachelor of Education (BSc. Edu), Bachelor of Law (BSc. Law), and Bachelor of Computer Science (BSc. Comp). The survey and focus group discussions were conducted with final-year students who have been at the university for three and four years to understand what these students are learning to be, to know, to do, and to value with regard to their own development and contributions to the broader society. My interpretation aims to expand the dominant understanding of the value of HE that focuses only on economic competitiveness and opportunities. Hence, discussed in this chapter is how students interpret the role of higher education (HE) for themselves and the broader society, and what type of education might be required in the future.

The chapter addresses the research questions: How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE? What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education? How has HE expanded their agency? The presentation of findings signifies student perspectives by drawing substantially on their voices; their responses stand out and dominate the text. The results are discussed statistically and thematically and the headings represent the themes from qualitative data. The chapter begins with an introduction of the students, followed by a discussion of issues concerning access to university, including the reasons why students joined the

university and selected their field of study. A focus on students' experiences follows, including their experiences in class (teaching and learning), plus experiences out of class. The summative discussion at the end of the chapter examines the challenges that students face, the dominant understanding of the value of HE in Tanzania, and the valuable beings and doings developed by students.

6.1. Introducing the students

At the time data was collected, all students were in the last semester of their final year. Table 3 below presents the profiles of students who participated in focus group discussions from the three courses. All the student names listed are pseudonyms. Table 4 presents the profiles of the final-year students who participated in the survey, including their age, gender, and social background.

Table 4: Focus group students' profiles

Student	Gender	Study Programme	University
Ethan	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University
Albert	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University
Catherine	Female	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University
Grace	Female	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University
George	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University
Martha	Female	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
Khadija	Female	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
Jennifer	Female	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
Amos	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
John	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
Daniel	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University
Benson	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
Patricia	Female	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
Monica	Female	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
William	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
John	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University

Gregory	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
Amina	Female	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University
Allen	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Joanitha	Female	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Cuthbert	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Daniel	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Isaac	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Francis	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam
Jackson	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Stella	Female	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Doreen	Female	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Ken	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Peter	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Harris	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Ngosha	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Morris	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam
Lonny	Female	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Arthur	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Henry	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Herieth	Female	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Richard	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam
Johary	Female	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam

In summary, the students who participated in the focus group discussions were all Tanzanian, except for one who is Ugandan (Allen (BSc. Comp) from KIUT). In the focus group discussions, students were not asked about their income background, as the online survey introduction provides this information. In total, 38 students participated in focus group discussions:

- 14 Female students;
- 24 Male students.

Table 5: Final-year survey students' profiles

		Gender	
		Female	Male
Age	18–25 years	41	70
	26–35 years	25	28
	35 years and above	1	2
Total		67	100
Family income status	Low income	22	53
	Middle income	41	50
	High income	3	2
Total		66	105

Table 5 above provides a summary of students who participated in the online survey. The table indicates that the majority of students are aged between 18 and 25 years, from low- and middle-income[19] backgrounds. Specifically, in the sample of 171 students, there were 66 female students and 105 male students.

6.2. Aspirations and motivations to join university

The most common view among students from both universities was the aspiration to be employed, which for them means a career or professional qualification that will enable them to get jobs. This is not surprising, especially in a developing country like Tanzania. This came out strongly from students regardless of the type of university (private or public). Most students from the private university (KIUT) believed that graduating from an international university would increase their chances of employment. In the same way, students from the public university (UDSM) were positive about their career prospects, considering the UDSM is referred to as the best university in the country with

[19] I categorised these income groups using the criteria that a low-income family would earn. In other words, below TZS 416 927, which is equivalent to $179. This is the average monthly household consumption in Tanzania (see the Ministry of Finance and Planning and National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). As such, the middle-income family would earn double the amount of a low-income family, i.e. $358, and a high-income family would earn more than the amount in the middle-income families.

the most prominent graduates. John (BSc. Edu) from KIUT gave an example of students' reasons for joining the university and their choice of programme:

> *The primary reason for me to join university was to improve my studying career; for example, when I was at advanced secondary school, I only knew about studies or subjects, but I knew nothing about career development. So, as you know that at university, an individual focuses on careers to be able to work later. For example, now, I can stand and consider or regard myself as a teacher; this is different compared to when I was a secondary school student.*

In a similar vein, Gregory (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained his expectations for getting a job:

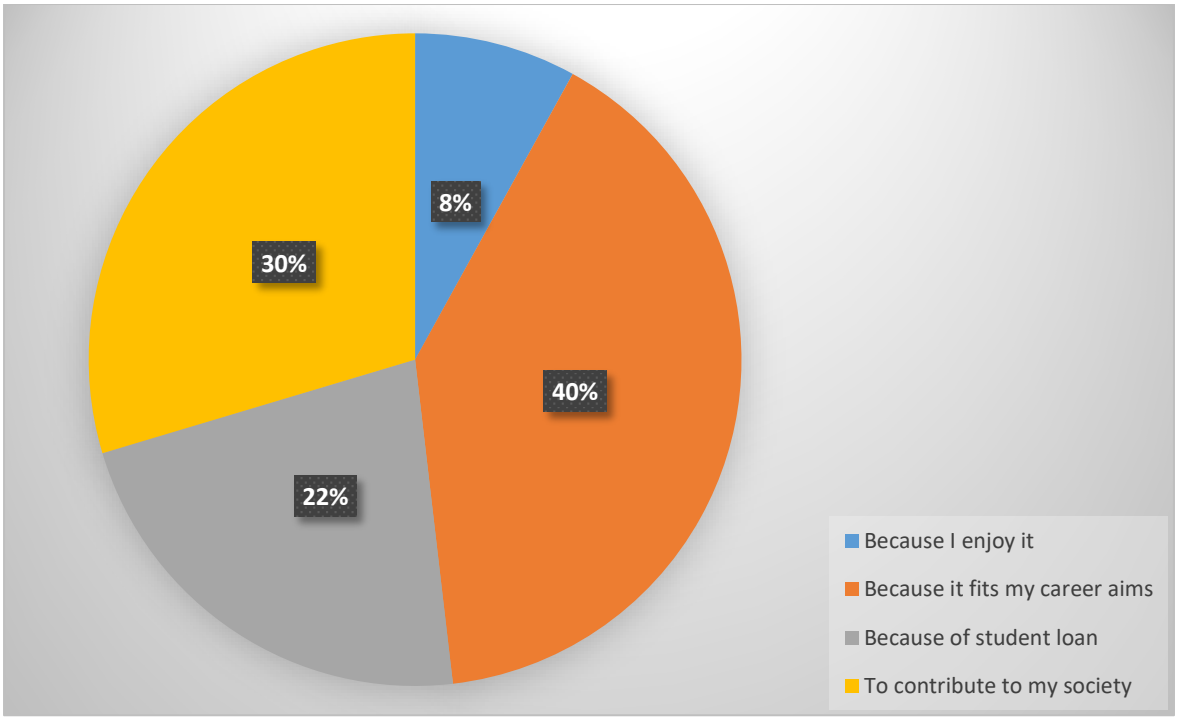
> *I joined a university and particularly this course because I used to hear what people say about university education, that you will get a job, or you will have a good life only when you finish your university education.*

Allen (BSc. Comp) from UDSM was candid about his choice of studying at the public university, explaining how certain he was about his career future and how he thought university was going to nurture him towards his dream job:

> *I choose this university because this is the best university in Tanzania, so I believe having a bachelor's degree from this university is an advantage because it is a recognised institution. I did not want to go to other universities that are not known to avoid questions in the future, mainly when I apply for a job. This is also the oldest university, which gives it proficiency in the services or courses that the university offers.*

Although the students indicated that they chose their fields and joined university for employment, it is not the only reason why students enter university. A remarkable diversity in the students' motivations for selecting their fields was observed in the online survey as to validate the responses in the focus group discussions. Figure 7 below shows the response from final-year students from both universities on why they had chosen their particular field.

Figure 7: Why did you choose this field?



From the online survey results, it is clear that, even though the majority of students (40%) select courses for their career goals, this does not subsume other aspirations and what students think universities could do for them and society beyond career development. To get a sense of the meaning and interpretation of the result above, I reflect on the focus group discussions for nuanced and detailed responses.

A typical example of the replies that came from students regarding their aspirations to help/contribute to society is provided below. Daniel (BSc. Law) from KIUT chose to study Law despite the constant pressure from his parents, who preferred that he study medicine. However, he insisted on studying Law. His response shows that his decision was carefully considered in order to pursue a career he values:

> *My father has been asking me so many times, why do you think you want to become a lawyer. My answer is simple; I want to help people. I guess that is my passion for why I decided to study Law because I want to help people. Different from many people who are doing Law; their spirit is not to help people but is about money. But for me, Law is my facility to help the society; I become a lawyer and help people.*

Similarly, Joanitha (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained her desire to contribute to society through studying computer science:

> *I joined this course because I love Information and Communications Technology (ICT), so I have developed this passion for ICT. Moreover, considering that the world now moves or changes to technology, I believed that studying this course would give me enough skills and knowledge to solve various problems in my society.*

Moreover, because of the financial challenges that I discuss later, some students also select specific fields because of available financial support (see Figure 7 above). This is mostly the case with students pursuing a Bachelor of Education, because the government of Tanzania used to direct bursaries to students of education and give them employment immediately after graduation (which is no longer the case). This means that some of these students chose to study education not because they want to become teachers or because this course is exciting, but because it secures their future needs. Peter (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained how his friend convinced him to study a bachelor of education and the advantages that come with it, even though he initially did not want to study education:

> *Student loan was another reason why I joined this field. I remember my friend told me you could not survive without student loans if you go to university. However, with this course, you will get funding, so I was encouraged and forced to accept it because, honestly, I needed the student loan, and as my friend said, I would not have survived if I did not have a student loan.*

Doreen's statement from UDSM is quite similar, and it is clear that she wanted to help her family reduce the costs of her education:

> *Another thing is economic factors that if you choose a bachelor of education, you get student loans. Therefore, I also did not want to be a burden to my family. I applied for this course so that I get a student loan and save the costs for my family.*

The students' motivations for and aspirations to join university suggest what they expect to benefit from their university education. Therefore, while the data (quantitative and qualitative) specifies that students mostly decided to join university in their field of study for economic purposes, i.e. career development, this was not the only motivation. As indicated, other students mentioned reasons like aspiring to help society and because of financial challenges.

6.3. Students' experience at university

This section discusses the students' experiences after joining university, specifically their involvement in class (teaching and learning) and their experiences outside of class, including the activities they do on and off campus. This helps to establish what and how students' experiences can help us to understand the role of HE in the public good.

To facilitate thinking about the students' experience in class, I asked what they considered to be the focus of their university education and how they participated in the learning process. Students explained not only what they learn in class but also how they learn and the challenges experienced throughout the learning process. Attention to actual learning and not just an achieved qualification is arguably important for quality education as an element of human development. Most responses claimed that what students learn in class mainly focuses on preparing them for jobs. When they elaborated on their answers, they often gave examples of different professions that universities focused on creating, and they mentioned a few things that they thought need more attention than only preparing them for employment. For instance, Joanitha (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained what she thought was the focus of her university education and the effect therof:

> *Our education system only focuses on training students for white-collar jobs. In this case, we were supposed to be having a lot of economic opportunities. Still, we don't cause our education only focuses on us being teachers, engineers or IT, and if you don't get a job in that profession, then there is nothing else one can do.*

Joanitha (KIUT) problematised the dominant focus of her university education, where students only thought about jobs, and explained what would happen if they did not get these jobs. Similarly, George (BSc. Comp) from KIUT emphasised that:

> *I am sure that if you ask 90% of students in our class, all they think about is sitting at the office, this is because of the education system where the focus is only on training students for jobs. No one wants to go and be a cop or wants to go to the refugee camps[20], but we are connected to these refugee camps, to issues of human rights, except everybody is looking for an office job.*

[20] Tanzania has three refugee camps (Nyarugusu, Mtendeli, and Ndutu) with a total number of 310 824 refugees (United Nations Children's Fund, 2017).

Cuthbert (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained the focus of his education on professional development, but also provided examples of a few courses that gave students a broader perspective:

> *Although most of the lessons that we have in class are only based on our career goals, most of the other exposure that we get is through our own experience. Also, a few courses, like general studies, give us a broad perspective or knowledge about our society, history, and the future.*

Cuthbert highlighted the argument that core subjects mainly focus on preparing students for jobs, while non-core subjects expose them to a different viewpoint of thinking beyond their professional goals. In other words, the main course subjects emphasise preparing students for their career goals while non-core or optional subjects teach students beyond their career development. Many students' responses also represent this view on core and non-core subjects. For example, Amina (BSc. Edu) from KIUT said:

> *Apart from studying the courses on education, we also have other courses such as development studies that help us to understand different societies or different communities. Also, other courses such as sociology, philosophy all help us to understand our society.*

Similarly, Lonny (BSc. Law) UDSM said that:

> *Generally out of six subjects, for example, always only one or two subjects that give us another perspective of life apart from the rest of the subjects that only teaches us about our professions.*

Richard (BSc. Law) UDSM interjected:

> *Those subjects always have lower marks compared to the main subjects, which I think tells you where to put your focus. So automatically, we end up focusing on the subjects with higher scores so that we pass, get our certificates, and get jobs, that is what most of us believe.*

On the other hand, some students' responses from the Bachelor of Computer Science indicated no difference between core subjects and other subjects. As Daniel (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explains:

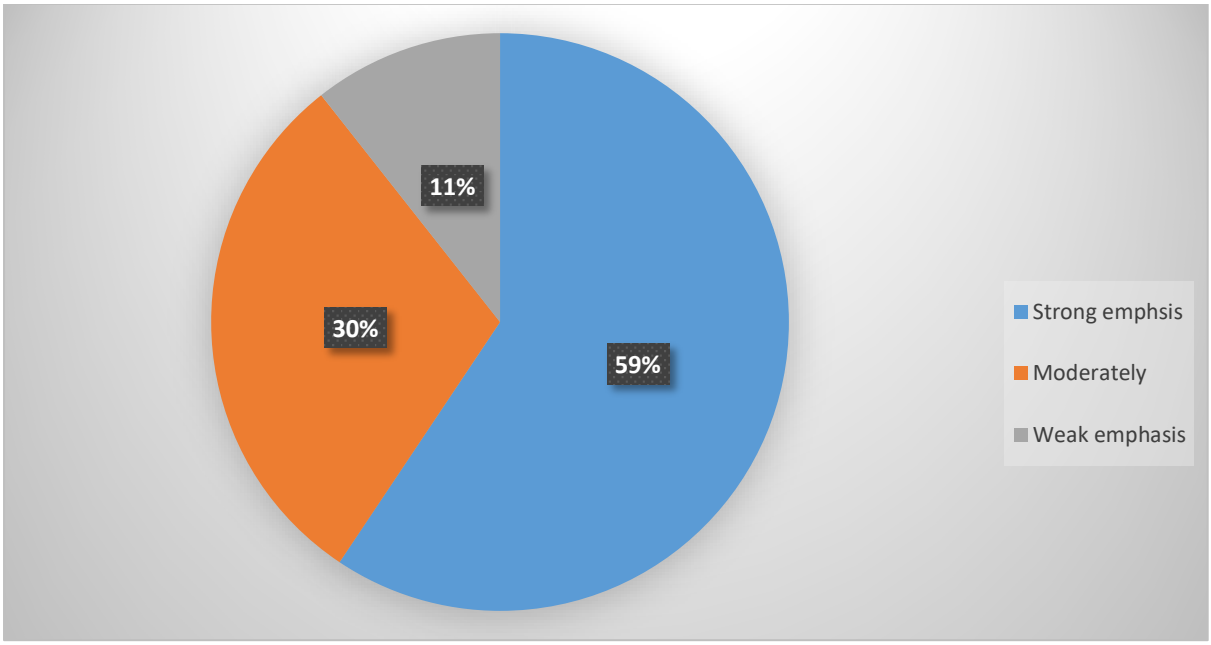
> *I agree that when we talk about university education from a classroom point of view, the focus has been on how they can make us professionals. However, mostly the training on what you should do when you are done with your university education, and how you should live with society, is the education that we learn through our own experience and interactions. Mostly the school in class has been more into our career goals. Especially with our course, mostly it is about IT, sometimes even when it comes to optional courses, the focus is still on the lessons about computers and technology nothing else.*

Likewise, Joanitha (BSc. Comp) explained that they:

> *Barely have courses on self-development, entrepreneurship, or how to invest. These kinds of things would have been necessary for making us think about what else to do apart from being computer scientists and would have helped to develop ourselves.*

It is, therefore, clear that the focus of university education in Tanzania has been mainly to prepare students for specific jobs. Including the results from the online survey, the majority of students indicated that there is a strong emphasis on occupational/ employment competence in their university education (see figure below).

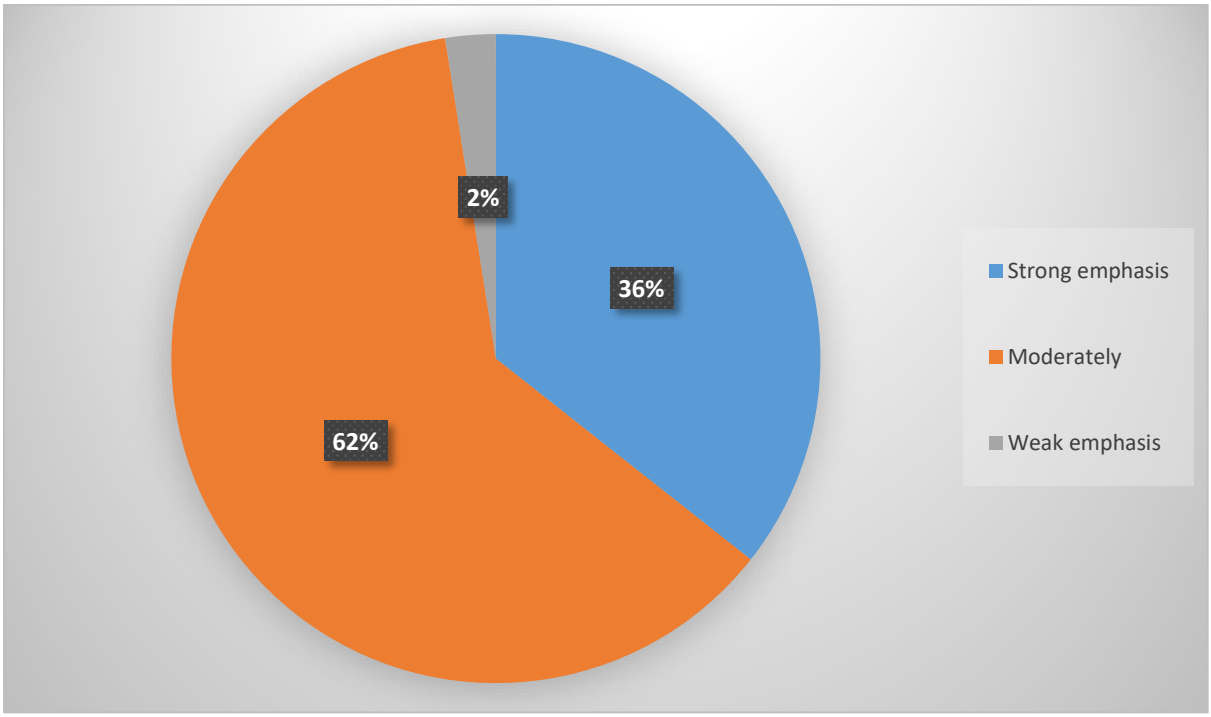
Figure 8: Emphasis on developing professional/employment competence



As Joanitha (KIUT) mentioned earlier, students are not able to do anything else if they do not get these jobs, meaning that university education has been only training or preparing these students to work after graduation and only to do certain jobs.

This leads us to question students' critical and evaluative skills, which might help them to become critical citizens, think beyond employment, and perform analysis of their own lives and the broader society. The evidence of this is shown in students' responses in the figure below, where the majority of students indicated that there is only moderate emphasis on developing critical, evaluative, and analytical qualities at university.

Figure 9: Emphasis on developing critical, evaluation and analytical qualities



What we find is preparation for work, but gaps with regard to human-development values beyond employment. Nonetheless, the indication of moderate emphasis on students' development of qualities other than those pertaining to their professions, as showed in the figure above, suggests the possibility of HE contributing to human development by putting stronger emphasis on developing other social values.

I was keen to understand how students participate in their learning experiences and other university activities. I asked students to tell me about their participation experiences in class, how they engage, and if they think that their university education provides them with a space to act and speak out on their views. Responses on participation in learning experiences differed between the students from the private

university and those from the public university, with one comment relating to the number of students in the class. Students from the public university explained their difficulties in participating in class with a large number of students, while it was the opposite for students from KIUT, especially students of BSc. Law and BSc. Comp. For instance, Amos (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained their participation in class:

> *We usually use an interactive method. For example, when lecturers teach something, you should add, you should ask questions and so forth. Contributing something, maybe something different compared to what we have been taught or what you have in your own perspective.*

Similarly, Joanitha (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained that she usually tries to interact and be active in class because she knows that will help her to gain more knowledge. Martha (BSc. Law) from KIUT also explained how advantageous it is for them who are few in class to concentrate and participate fully:

> *Being a small number in class helps us to behave, discipline like not using your phone while in class. Even people participate in class because they are paying attention or concentrating on what is being taught. For example, with other universities, they have a large number of students, people are always on their phone, posting on social media while they are in class, posting a lecturer teaching, this proves that a student won't concentrate in class. So one of the advantages of this university, especially our faculty, is that the fewer the number of students, the higher the participation.*

Martha's (KIUT) comment above confirms the responses of students from BSc. Edu and students from the public university who spoke about how a large number of students in class limits their participation. For instance, John (BSc. Edu) from KIUT who talked about the number of students in class and also explained that most students are generally not exposed to raising issues and speaking their minds, which then constrains their participation:

> *The nature of students we have, especially here in Tanzania, we are not open or exposed to the environment where we can express our views, especially when we are in class. Hence it becomes difficult to participate, also because of the number of students. It becomes hard to host a discussion where everybody can participate and make a contribution. The only way we can get into in-depth discussions and arguments is by having group discussions after classes.*

When students talked about their experience outside of class, they only mentioned their discussions from classes and social events that brought them together. Harris (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained that:

> *We do have conversations about school out of class because that is our common goal, but we also talk about other issues such as politics and sports.*

Allen (BSc. Comp) from KIUT added that:

> *There are many activities that we do out of class, for example, sports; we play football, tennis, pool table and others. We also have a screen where we play video games sometimes or watch soccer.*

Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT also claimed that:

> *There are many volunteering issues from this university, religious clubs that help in not only getting students together but also understanding and assisting other groups*.

In giving examples of volunteering activities done by students in society, Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT gave examples of other courses like medicine, which sometimes assist the community around the campus. Similarly, Cuthbert (BSc. Comp) from UDSM acknowledged that the discussions they had outside of class had helped them to understand their studies better, together with the sports competitions, especially those between staff and students, that improve their relationships with their lecturers.

In general, from the contribution of teaching and learning in class, including students' learning about their professions and some learning of other social values, we also see what universities could do beyond the curriculum in class. Hence, it is clear that students need a space to act and speak out for their well-being. This includes active participation in class, and other activities outside of class to enhance their well-being and that of the broader society.

After discussing students' experiences at university, including the main focus of their education and how they have been participating in learning and other activities outside of class, the next part discusses the challenges / conversion factors that students face in their university experience.

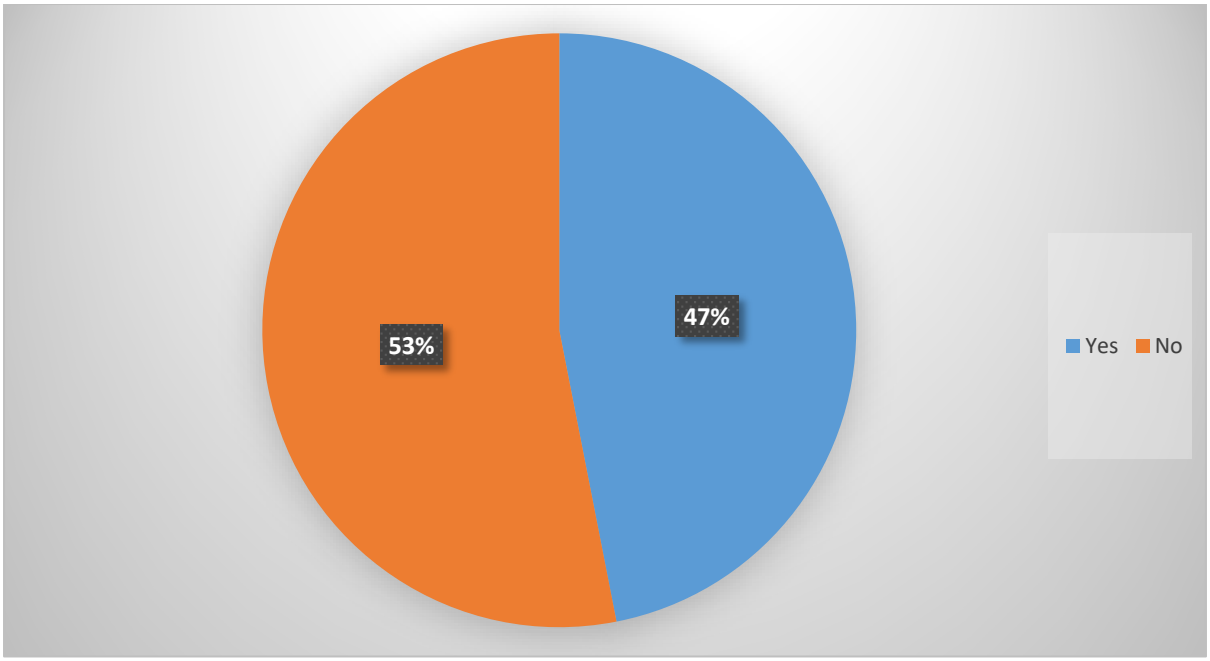
6.4. Multiple conversion factors

This section discusses the conversion factors that influence the degree to which a person can transform resources into functionings. In other words, these are the factors that influenced the students' experience at university. I group these factors into two categories; first, the factors relating to the issue of access to the university; and, secondly, the factors that influenced students once at the university (post-access). These factors are closely related to students' perspectives on why they joined university, why they chose their field of study, their experience at university, and their general understanding of the role of HE in Tanzania. These factors emerged after I had asked students to tell me about the problems that they had been facing, and which influenced their decisions at the university, together with how they thought they could change universities in Tanzania.

6.4.1. Access conversion factors

To begin with, I will start discussing the challenges related to the issue of access. First, I provide the figure below, which shows the students' responses when they were asked to indicate whether it was easy for them to join university or not. Because the students from the survey and focus group discussions reported that it was not easy for them to enter university, the figure below confirms the responses. This section then discusses the factors that made it hard for these students to join university.

Figure 10: Do you think it was easy for you to join university?



From the figure above, the majority of students said that it was not easy to join university. The question that we need to ask is why? What makes it hard for students to enter university and what is the implication thereof on HE's role in the public good?. This is important, since the university cannot realise its role in the public good fully if access is not equitable in the first place. During the focus group discussions, students acknowledged that they had overlooked their experience of coming to university by thinking that it was easy. But, after reflecting and thinking about it, they elaborated that they experienced bumps in the road to get to where they are right now.

The analysis of students' responses indicates income (social class) as the major constraint that most students faced. It is because of income that some students selected fields like education hoping to get financial support from the government. I have indicated examples of students' comments on how they chose their fields because of financial constraints (see section 6.1). This suggests that social class constrains the real freedoms of students to select the fields that they have reason to value; they chose the fields that are funded, because they could not afford to pay tuition fees. Although this argument came out in a similar way at both universities, more complaints came from the private university. Students' responses drew attention to the fee arrangements between public and private universities. The main argument from students was that the tuition fees at private universities are higher compared to the tuition fees at public universities. Students from the private university discussed their struggles and concern

about cost structure between public and private universities. For instance, Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained that:

> *Tuition fees for most private universities are very high. So most students would struggle with that, plus the students' loan board does not give much support to private universities. Therefore, most students from private universities like this university do not have a student loan, and yet our school fees are very high. Thus, that is the biggest challenge.*

With this statement, Ethan (KIUT) shows that being selected to join university or being given a chance to join the university is not enough because students are required to pay tuition fees first before they register, and yet the tuition fee is high. He also gave a compelling argument that chances are high of getting financial aid if one goes to a public university compared to someone attending a private university. Similarly, Daniel (BSc. Law) from KIUT noted:

> *KIUT is among the universities, which are very expensive comparing to other universities, specifically with our course (Law). It becomes tough for people with no loan, and their parents are too poor to pay school fees.*

In this way, one of the implications of economic factors is the limitation on students' freedom to study the courses of their choice. Other responses explained student dropouts due to their inability to pay their tuition. Jennifer (BSc. Law) from KIUT talked about how economic challenges constrained students from taking courses that they had hoped to study:

> *Some students aspire to become lawyers, but because of the financial difficulties, they fail to pay the school fees, and they opt to study other courses, for example, education. Because in those courses, they are granted a 100% loan. Therefore, I think the government or the education system kills students' dreams.*

Similarly, Albert (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained:

> *Sometimes you may find a student who wants to become a lawyer or any other profession, but because of the economic challenges, this puts them back towards achieving their dreams. Also, female students are sometimes tempted to even get into unhealthy relationships to get money so that they could pay their school fees. So these are the things that need to be changed, make this education affordable for everybody.*

Albert's comment on making education '*affordable for everybody'* shows his awareness of economic challenges that range from constraining students' dreams to making them vulnerable to unhealthy relationships.

Moreover, the implication of finance is seen on the table below, which shows the relationship between family background and decision on the field of study. For instance, most students from low-income families indicated that they selected their field of study for financial assistance, while the majority of students from middle-income families selected their field of study for career goals. It can therefore be argued that finance is the major influence in students' access to HE in Tanzania.

Table 6: Relationship between family income status and selected field of study

Why did you choose this field?						
		Because I enjoy it	Because it fits my career aims	Because of student loan	To contribute to my society	
Your family income status	Low income	4	16	27	24	71
	Middle income	9	50	11	24	94
	High income	0	1	3	2	6
Total		13	67	41	50	171

From the challenges regarding finance, students also reflected on how public policy undermined their access to university. By public policy, I mean the public or government policies guiding university application and admission processes. In Tanzania, all admission applications are made through a centralised system, whereby all applicants apply to the universities of their choice through the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU), which decides on a selected university for an applicant. Responses from students indicated public policy as a challenge in joining university by describing different issues such as the application process, application fees, and the decision made by TCU to which university an applicant should go. Take, for example, the experience that Allen (BSc. Comp) from KIUT had:

> *I can tell you, the process that I went through was very hectic, very tiresome, complicated, and very bureaucratic. Well, I spent almost two weeks following up on the admissions. The first day they will tell me, the TCU system is now slow, please come back tomorrow, come back tomorrow, sometimes they would say to me they need to contact the Ugandan examination board. In short, the system was very complicated and not friendly.*

Allen's struggle and what he calls the 'complicated' and 'bureaucratic' system, illustrates how the administration and process of his application were inconvenient for him. Although in his comment, there are no specific details about what is complicated, it is clear that the application process for Allen was not straightforward and friendly. However, because Allen is a Ugandan citizen, I asked him if he considered whether his citizenship possibly contributed to his experience. He replied:

> *No, I would not say that, because it was clear that the system is just complicated, because even some of the colleagues who are Tanzanians, felt like the whole process of joining university through TCU was not easy.*

The comment above explains not only that it was hard for students to join university, but as Allen indicated expressly, it was even more complicated through TCU. For instance, Jackson (BSc. Edu) from UDSM talked about the complexities of applying for universities through TCU, which requires an online application:

> *Most of the students do not know how to apply, especially the career knowledge on how to apply for these universities. This is why most of us didn't make the applications on our own, and some don't know what they are going to study because she or he doesn't have an idea. So TCU should make sure that society receives enough knowledge on university education.*

This comment illustrates that students are not aware of the process of TCU itself, which makes their application experience hard because they are not well informed. Jackson's (UDSM) comment goes hand in hand with the knowledge of what to study at university. Therefore, students have struggled to apply, because they are not aware of TCU processes nor what to apply for in terms of their career goals. Richards (BSc. Law) made a similar point from UDSM that:

> *This is true because most of the time, I remember I had to call a friend who is already at university to ask for advice. But if education would have been given to*

students while they are in school, on how they can apply and what courses are offered in different universities, this would have been very helpful.

In trying to understand why students are not aware of the TCU processes, Ngosha (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained that:

For us who were lucky to go through national service[21], we were taught by the TCU staff on how to apply and the whole procedures on how to live at the university level. The only challenge is that not everybody goes through national service.

Ngosha's comment illustrates that TCU is aware of the importance of educating students about the application system. But the problems remain that not every student gets this information, because it is too expensive for the government to enrol all high school graduates in the national service programme. Therefore only students who go for the programme get the advantage of learning about the TCU process and university products before joining the university. Moreover, given that TCU is an online application, some students spoke about the challenges of internet and network connections. Peter (Bsc. Edu) from UDSM explained that:

Another problem that I faced was the accessibility to internet services. Applications to the universities are made online, most of the Tanzanians do not have access to the internet, and most of us are coming from rural areas where you need to go to town for internet services. Therefore, for you to be able to apply for university, it requires you to travel to a certain distance.

Jackson (BSc. Edu) from UDSM added:

Apart from travelling to get this internet service, the other problem is its accessibility when you are there. You might have all the requirements; you are required to attach a photo, but it takes longer just uploading your photo. So this becomes very expensive for someone who is coming from a distance, travelling every day without success.

The examples above show the challenges that students face to get access to the internet for TCU applications. As indicated, some students had to travel to get an internet connection, which comes with another expense of costs to travel. In the same way,

[21] National service is the programme for high school graduates to attend national youth service training for three months before joining university, with the aim to instil patriotism in students. (Discussion about this in the literature review.)

students gave a general comment on poor internet service, which makes their experience even harder in terms of time. These challenges on TCU applications were the same at both universities, with the exception there were more complaints from students at the private university concerning the decision made by TCU on which university they should attend. Most of these students from the private university said that they had first preferred to go to public universities, because these are believed to be the best universities. Also, it increases their chances to get government financial aid. If TCU did not select them for public universities, they were sent to a private university. William (BSc. Edu) from KIUT shared his experience:

> *When I was making my selection for universities, I only selected these government universities because we all believe that these are the best universities in Tanzania. After the first selection, I was not chosen in any of the universities and was supposed to apply again. That is when I remembered about KIUT and listed it on my second application. Honestly, I'm here because my first application failed. After all, TCU didn't select me in my first application.*

Similarly, Doreen (BSc. Edu) from KIUT talked about her experience where she was also not selected in her first application, which made her choose a different field and private university:

> *After I was selected not to join public universities, I had to apply for this university. This also changed the course that I had to apply because, initially, I planned to study Law. Still, after I failed to get a chance in the first selection, in the second selection, I had to change and apply for a bachelor of education in this university.*

It is clear from the students' responses that after not being selected in the first application, most of them did whatever it took to get into university, even if it meant choosing a university or course outside of their preference.

6.4.2 Post-access conversion factors

This section discusses the challenges students faced post-access to university. In the same way students struggled to join university, because of economic problems, they also talked about how hard it has been to survive at university without financial support. This way, finance is a key conversion factor. Students indicated how income had been a big problem by alluding to the number of student dropouts. Khadija (BSc. Law) from KIUT gave an example from her class where students had dropped out of university because of economic challenges:

> *I think a good example is with our class, the first day that we joined university we were about 120, but now, in our final year, the finalists are only 27 students. So financial issue is the challenge, since these students failed to pay tuition.*

Correspondingly, Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT compared tuition fees between KIUT and UDSM and provided examples from his class:

> *For instance, in our class, we started as 77 students, but now we are about 55 students; you can imagine the gap of the dropout students. Also, when you look at the cost for Medicine degree at KIUT is 6M TZS while at UDSM is 1.5M[22] TZS so that you can see the comparison. I think the government has to look at the fee structure of these private universities.*

Students from the private university argued that their tuition fees are expensive compared to those of public universities. At the same time, the chances of getting financial aid from the government are also higher at a public university compared to a private university. As Amos (BSc. Law) from KIUT added, *'it has been hard living without student loan, its frustrating when sometimes you don't know how you will get or who you need to ask for money'.* However, this should not imply that public universities are cheap and affordable. It does not mean that all students from public universities have financial aid. Students from UDSM talked about their own economic challenges, how hard it has been for them to live without student loans, which also influenced some of them to apply for other courses to get financial assistance. Joanitha (BSc. Comp) from UDSM talked about the experience of her friends who could not afford to stay at the university because of financial challenges:

> *I have seen friends of mine going through this challenge (economic). As we all know that most of the Tanzanian families are poor, so many students, after not being able to get student loans, could not afford to stay at the university. Therefore, this has been the main challenge for many of the students.*

Likewise, Allen (BSc. Comp) from UDSM provided an example of a friend, who had financial aid that only covered other expenses, but not his tuition fees:

> *I can give an example of someone I know who faced this challenge. He is from a poor background, and he was given student loans[23], which only covers other*

[22] 6M TZS ($2 598) and 1.5M TZS ($649), more examples are indicated in Chapter 1.
[23] Student loans are granted in percentages. For instance, a 100% loan means a student is given a loan that covers their tuition fees and other living costs. Sometimes students are given loans that only cover tuition fees or living expenses (see Higher Education Students' Loans Board [HESLB], 2020).

expenses like food, stationaries but not tuition fees. You need to be registered first before they process your funds, and he couldn't register because he was not able to pay tuition fees. Therefore, he would borrow money from different people to be able to pay tuition fees so that when he gets his fundings, he pays back the money he borrowed. At some point, he had to sell his room [24]on campus to top up the payment for tuition fees, in which he is putting himself in another struggle of finding another accommodation. So this is quite a challenge, to be honest.

Allen's example above shows the students' struggles, whereby a student had to sell his accommodation to raise money for tuition fees. In sum, it is clear that students suffer economic challenges that reinforce their perception of valuing university education for economic benefits. As Khadija (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained:

Therefore, you can sometimes find that, although you have the passion of helping the society, but you find yourself thinking that, for how much I have struggled with finances in all these years, I have to make money out of my education.

The comment above emphasises why most students value the economic benefits of their education, which, according to Khadija (KIUT), is mostly to compensate somehow for the financial struggles and expenses experienced during their education.

Students also spoke about difficulties related to curriculum and pedagogical practice as conversion factors. As I mentioned previously, students regarded this as the main focus of their university education, i.e. professional development. These students said that they were not satisfied with their training or teaching, claiming that the focus is more on theory than practice. This claim came out strongly from students at both universities when they explained what they would have changed about their university education. Most of the students said that they would have changed their curriculum focus from theoretical to practical, adding that the current education focus contributes to unemployment, because graduates do not have enough practical skills to get jobs. For instance, Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained that:

If I could, I would have changed the universities from a perception of theoretical analysis of courses to the practical, because these issues of looking at problems in theoretical form, they put us down.

[24] Because of the scarcity of accommodation on campus, some students sell their rooms on campus for higher prices and find other accommodation off campus.

While, in Chapter 5, I indicated the university's realisation of the significance of integrating theoretical and practical learning, the students' comments illustrate the disparities between policy and practice. Likewise, Khadija (BSc. Law) gave an example of her course that:

> *When it comes to the Law, most lecturers would tell us that Law and practice of Law are two different things, so I ask myself a question, what am I doing here, if what I'm studying is different from what I will practice.*

Similarly, the students from BSc. Comp spoke about practical learning and its importance by giving examples of practising fixing computers rather than learning about it theoretically. These students stated that they had learned the importance of practical education when they went for fieldwork, where they started learning things differently than they had in class. For example, Isaac (BSc. Comp) from UDSM claimed that:

> *I think whatever we learn in class is just a foundation for our career cause even when we go for fieldwork, we usually have a week of learning how things operate in the field. So in as much as this education is helpful. Still, I feel like it is just giving us a picture but not the real cause when you go to the field, you start learning again as if you didn't go to class for four years. For me, this is the main challenge*.

Similarly, Daniel (BSc. Comp) from UDSM made the same point:

> *The university should have some garage or something to ensure our practicals. Because sometimes when the university computers need maintenance, they get computer scientists from outside, but why don't they let us do the work, which is part of our learning?*

Allen (BSc. Comp) from UDSM also asked, '*if these studies are meant to help us in the future, why don't they make our learning process more practical*?' He went further and justified his question by explaining the importance of practical learning: '*Instead of just depending on looking for jobs, we should be able to stretch our wings'.* For these students, the perception of practical learning is that it has the potential to increase their economic opportunities.

Apart from the issue of practical and theoretical knowledge, some students talked about curriculum updates in relation to the needs of society. The main point among students is that what they learn in class does not relate to what is happening in society. A typical

example of the students' response is given below. John (BSc. Edu) from KIUT provided his thoughts on the issue of curriculum updating and government policies:

> *The current president Magufuli focuses on industries, he wants Tanzania to be an industrialised country, but we cannot manifest (see) this in our curriculum, and nothing that changes in our society reflects in our curriculum.*

In the same way, Stella (BSc. Edu) from KIUT asserted that:

> *I think the changes need to start with our curriculum because our education does not prepare students to depend on themselves but rather depends on employment. I would have changed that if I could. For example, now we have the industrialisation policy, but we cannot say we want the country to be industrialised while you have not trained workers for those industries. It becomes industrialisation in a world where nobody knows anything about industries.*

Arthur (BSc. Law) from UDSM commented on the update of the curriculum according to the needs of society, and stated that it would help with the issue of employment, because students would be trained for the specific needs of the country or a particular community.

Yet another intersecting conversion factor was similar to the responses of university officials in the previous chapter, where students also signified the views on their challenges with university facilities or arrangements. Taking an example from the public university, students talked about the inconveniences they had experienced in class due to a large number of students. This was not the case with the students from the private university, because the TCU usually allocates more students to public universities than private universities (see Chapter 1). Yet, the number of public universities is smaller. Ngosha (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained how difficult it had been for him to participate and understand in class, as he could not hear what the lecturer was saying, because they sometimes used a microphone that was not working. Morris (BSc. Edu) added that:

> *I can also confess that I usually don't understand anything in the lecturer room. Because the teaching facilities are inadequate, the visual presentations of slides sometimes are not clear that it is hard for someone to see, the mics don't work sometimes, and we are a large number of students.*

With this statement, Morris (UDSM) emphasises inadequate university facilities for visual presentation and sound, especially in a class with a large number of students, so that many lose concentration. Students also mentioned the shortage of accommodation as another challenge that they have been facing being at the university. For instance, Martha (BSc. Law) from KIUT described conditions in the residences available at KIUT, and these residences are only available for female students:

> *They are affordable in terms of money, but not in the state of hygiene. Because, although they are cheap, it becomes expensive to live there because of the condition.*

In the same way, John (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained how he was forced to find accommodation somewhere near the university, which was hard for him, considering that he comes from another region:

> *Because most of the universities don't accommodate or make the environment for students who are coming from other areas, like Rukwa[25], Morogoro, and others. So when a student gets here, he/she is forced to look for a place to live. This was a challenge for me because I knew nothing about this city.*

Allen (BSc. Comp) from UDSM added that:

> *They keep on decorating the environment of the university instead of building more accommodation for students, more concrete tables, and benches. It is beautiful to decorate the university, but the priority should be what is essential for students.*

Despite these factors that constrained students' freedom to access the university, and their experience at the university, the table below provides responses from the survey (not all students responded to this question), on how they overcame some of these factors.

Table 7: Survey explanations on the positive conversion factors

[25] These are some of the regions that are far from Dar es Salaam; for example, Rukwa is 1000km away and Morogoro is 185km away.

Briefly explain how you overcame these challenges	Frequency
Accommodation on campus, I had to find a room close to campus.	11
Asked a friend to stay with me.	10
Engaging in small business so as to afford my living expenses.	5
Contributions/help from family and friends.	27
I appealed the student loan and applied again.	18
I had to gain confidence to speak English.	1
I went for the second choices / applied to university again.	13
Stayed home for a year and applied again.	2
Through individual hard work and learning from others.	15
Total	102

Therefore, the table below provides a summary of the conversion factors that students experienced.

Table 8: Conversion factors

	Constraints	Enablers
Access conversion factors	• Finance • Public policy	• Individual resilience and determination • Family and friends • Public policy
Post-access conversion factors	• Finance • Teaching and learning • University facilities	• Teaching and Learning • Family and friends • Individual resilience and determination

From this perspective, while students faced some factors that limited their well-being, like teaching and learning, e.g. theoretical learning only, it is clear that they still need such learning as it provides the foundation for their practical knowledge. In a way, the enabling conversion factors allowed students to thrive in the challenges that limited their freedom. Additionally, individual resilience and determination helped students to

find different solutions in order for them to thrive, such as working hard, looking for accommodation off campus, and engaging in small business to cover their living costs. Human development, therefore, requires universities to enhance students' freedom and remove the conversion factors that constrain students' well-being.

6.5. Student agency in defining the role of the university

I now turn to agency and how students act in facing these challenges. For instance, if we are to consider the decision made by students to join university and select the courses that they are studying, we need to ask who makes these decisions, in order to determine to which extent students are active in bringing about change in pursuit of their goals. Taking a closer look at the students who participated in this study, it is clear that these students came to university as active agents. In analysing the challenges that students face through the lens of the capability approach and human development, specifically the problem of public policy in applying to university, it is apparent that students used their agency in taking the initiative to apply for a second time after not being selected the first time. This is important, because it indicates that these students are not passive but active towards achieving their goals. Similar to the examples presented of what students experienced after not being admitted to university at their first attempt, John (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained that:

> *When I decided to study Law, and I was not selected to join UDSM, I had to apply again and include other private universities. That is how I got the chance to come here.*

Students like John knew what they wanted and acted to bring about change towards their goals and aim, even though sometimes this meant going to a university or enrolling for a course that was not their preference. Another example is Doreen (BSc. Edu) from UDSM, who is the most educated person in her family, which is advantageous to her because everybody trusts her decisions:

> *After I went for my advanced secondary school and studied History, Geography, and Kiswahili, I knew that I would study education when I go to university. I did not involve anybody in my decision-making. I chose everything on my own; even my parents did not know that I am studying education until my second year. Therefore, I usually make my own decisions and go for them because I am an educated person in my family.*

Unlike Doreen, Herieth (BSc. Law) from UDSM explained how her decision to study Law was made difficult due to pressure from her parents, who preferred that she become a doctor. But she chose to study Law, despite the dissatisfaction shown by her parents. This meant that she was challenged to exercise her agency, but she remained persistent and followed the career that she valued:

> *I have always hated maths and all science subjects, so I knew I could never become a Doctor as my parents wanted. For them, this has always been a disappointment because they wanted to see me in a white coat, but I love Law, and I thought this was my only chance to study Law, I believe I will be a great lawyer one day and maybe make them proud for that.*

Similarly, Daniel (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained how he had to go against his father's wish for him to study engineering and stand by his decision to explore his valued career:

> *I choose this course myself because I wanted to become a Lawyer. My father did not like the idea of me studying Law, because he wanted me to be an engineer. Therefore, it was a very complicated story at home. He wanted me to study PCM (Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics) at high school but I hated physics so instead I studied HGE (History, Geography, and Economics), Although I was in trouble with my father, but yeah I'm here doing Law because this is what I wanted for myself.*

Different from Daniel and Herieth, Amos (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained that he was willing to fulfil his parents' wishes for him to become a doctor. Still, studying medicine was not an option for him after he failed science subjects in secondary school:

> *I had this passion for becoming a Lawyer since back then. However, I remember during my O-level studies (secondary school), my parents convinced me so much to study science subjects, as, in our village, there was a challenge in the number of medical doctors. That is why my parents convinced me so much to become a doctor and study science. However, after the national examination results, I was not selected to join A-level (Advanced secondary school) in a government school, so we had to find a private school, where I was registered as an art student, not science anymore. This was the time that I realised science subjects were a mistake, which I only did because my parents insisted. But studying arts was a way towards my passion, which is Law.*

While most of the students exercised agency, a few could not, leaving their family and friends to make decisions for them. Jennifer (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained why she could not decide for herself and let her parents choose for her:

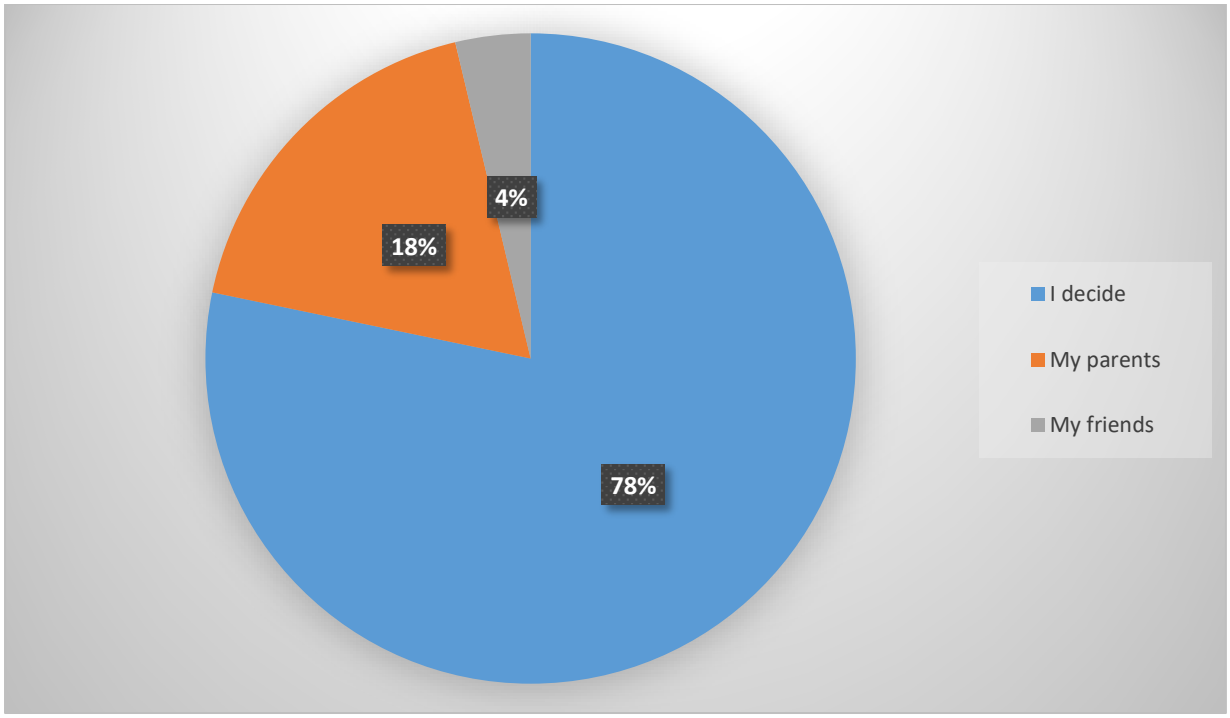
> *My parents are the ones who chose this course for me because when I completed my O-level, I had no idea who I want to become and what to do, so I went to A-level and studied arts subjects. The only course that my parents thought that I would do better was Law, and that is how I ended up studying Law.*

Ken (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained that he ended up studying education only to please his parents:

> *Most of our parents believe that the only relevant course at the university level is education. I had no dreams of becoming a teacher, but you cannot tell your parents that you want to study music or anything else because they might kick you out of the house. Therefore, the influence of parents made me pursue this course, but it wasn't my plan to study education.*

A summary of the students' decision is shown from the online survey response, where it is seen that most of the students are not passive, but can stand up for themselves and choose the career that they value. However, the students also showed different degrees of agency, as some of them were more passive. For human development, we need students who are active and can exercise their voice and freedom to bring about change.

Figure 11: Who decided on their choice (field)?



Moreover, the degree of agency is seen in the way in which students thrive at the university despite the existing challenges. For instance, responses like '*individual hard work*,' *'I had to find a room close to campus,*' and *'engage into small business to afford living expenses,'* show us the extent to which students worked hard to achieve what they value. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the conversion factors in Tanzanian HE constrained rather than expanded student agency. This is evident in the students' views on how challenges limited their freedom and experience at university. In this way, human development is only realised through allowing students to thrive and giving them the freedom to attain their goals, individually and collectively.

6.6. Students' views on the role of HE in Tanzania

To facilitate thinking about the role of universities in Tanzania, I asked students what they thought the general purpose was of universities in Tanzania. To facilitate an in-depth discussion, I only asked this question in the focus groups. Compared to other discussions I had with students, this was a brief discussion, because students had clear answers. Most responses fell within the scope of describing universities as an engine for economic development through the production of different professionals, in other words, ensuring employability. When they explained their answers, they often gave examples of different professions where university education can be used to improve

the economic development of the country. For instance, Khadija (BSc. Law) from KIUT said:

> *Tanzania is one of the developing countries, so through different courses that are produced in various universities, it will help Tanzania to become developed. This means that professionals will help to increase the income of the country and move the country to another stage of being developed.*

With this statement, Khadija (KIUT) emphasised students' capacity to contribute to economic development through employment in different professions. In the same way, Gregory (BSc. Edu) from KIUT also explained that:

> *Because this is a poor country, I think the purpose of universities, including this university, is to give out different professionals like teachers or engineers who will go and work to increase the income of the country.*

Students emphasised that universities mainly serve the economic development of the country. This is a shared sentiment from students at both the public and private university. Ethan (BSc. Comp) from UDSM commented that:

> *The purpose of HE in Tanzania is to add more skills and professionals to the country through graduates. This is why we have different professionals that are produced after graduation, like teachers, engineers, public administrators, and others.*

Similarly, Cuthbert (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained his thoughts on the primary purpose of Tanzanian universities, which is only to '*train and prepare professionals for economic development'.* Despite the challenges of curriculum and the unemployment rate that students mentioned (see 6.4), Nonetheless, about 26 students from the focus group discussions defined the purpose of HE in Tanzania in a range of economic opportunities and professional developments. That is to say, HE only exists to enhance the economic development of the country by producing different professions. Only three had a different understanding of the value of HE. For Isaac (BSc. Comp) from UDSM, the purpose of HE in Tanzania is to provide students with more knowledge and exposure:

> *I think the primary purpose of universities is that we, as students from primary to secondary education, do not have enough knowledge of what to apply to the world or society. So the main reason for universities to exist is to allow us or give us the*

experience that can make us independent. So one can start anything on their own, not necessarily getting a job.

Similarly, Francis (BSc. Comp) from UDSM also added:

> *Because we had no universities or very few universities for that matter, so very few people were able to go and study in other countries. For example, if you look at most of the former leaders or even old famous people, had studied out of the country because we had no university of our own before they opened this university (UDSM). So opening universities here in Tanzania has helped give many students the knowledge that they need and also reduces the cost for the government to take their students to foreign universities.*

In this way, Francis emphasised knowledge production for students and saving the government's cost by operating their universities rather than sending students abroad. William (BSc. Edu) from KIUT also had a broader understanding of the purpose of universities in Tanzania:

> *I think the purpose of universities is to contribute to the nation's economic, social, and political development. For example, we once participated in managing the elections of the Member of Parliament from this province. Therefore, why would they ask for university students to this job, we are teachers. Still, we managed the election because they knew we are educated so it will be easy for us to understand the instructions and do the work well, regardless of our professionals.*

For William, being able to manage elections, which is different from his professional role, means that his education gives him the ability to be more than a teacher and contribute in other areas as well. He can work anywhere and contribute to national development economically, etc. The evidence for this claim is shown at the end of his statement:

> *So I think universities are preparing us for what is out there, helping the nation in either our professional as teachers or any other job.*

Still, students mainly perceive HE as a driver for economic development. The role or purpose of universities was described with phrases ranging from 'professional development' to 'economic development,' which suggests that students recognise that the application of different professionals would contribute to the economic growth of a developing country like Tanzania. Emphasis is placed on the role of universities in producing graduates with different skills to increase the income of the country. Hence, similar to the argument in the literature, students' main understanding of the role of HE

in Tanzania resides in its economic benefits and less on the other benefits of human development.

6.7. Students' valued beings and doings

From the discussions with students across the three faculties in both universities, this section presents the valued beings and doings among students, informed by student evidence in the previous sections. Some of the capabilities had been operationalised as functionings by the students already (for example, they had all accessed higher education) but others were capabilities they not yet been able to exercise as chosen functionings, or capabilities they would have liked to develop but had not been able to (for example, more practical knowledge). Because students argued that what they learn in class only focuses on preparing them for jobs, I wanted to know about other valued beings and doings that they had developed, and that they think have helped or will help them to become better citizens or people. Therefore, the range of capabilities and functionings discussed in this section reflect what students described as things they appreciate most about their university education. Note that the line of questioning did not include specific questions about these capabilities. Instead, the questions were about other important things that they have learned through their university education, that have changed them as human beings, and the biggest achievements they think they have had through their university education. What is interesting is the claim from students that they have developed some of these values through their experiences outside of class and interaction among themselves.

The table at the end of this section shows the number of instances in which each capability was identified in the qualitative data. The quantification of the qualitative data should be seen as a rough guide to understanding the spread of these capabilities. It is useful to show that students mentioned all capabilities and some more often than others. Without disregarding what they learn in class, because they said the focus was mainly on preparing them for jobs, some students spoke about their appreciation of the knowledge they gained from their education and how it broadened their understanding and awareness of other facets of life. For example, Grace (BSc. Comp) from KIUT spoke about how she appreciates her knowledge for making her aware of different issues in her country (Tanzania) and other countries:

> *My university education has helped me a lot in understanding the community in different kinds of issues. For example, the question of politics, I have become aware of various political issues in my county, other countries, and even in the world, due to the primary education that I have acquired from my first year until now. I have gained an understanding of many matters that I was not aware of before.*

Similarly, Harris (BSc. Edu) from UDSM added how he values his education, because it makes him feel educated:

> *I have learned so many things. I'm now educated about a lot of things that I did not know three years ago. This includes issues that I have learned in class and out of class. So I feel educated.*

George (BSc. Comp) from KIUT also explained broadly how he appreciates his knowledge:

> *I want to exemplify what I have studied. When they talk about human rights, I should be the first person to respect human rights. I have also learned issues of corruption that I should not embezzle money. Therefore, my knowledge will help me to be a better citizen who follows the Law and not being followed by the Law.*

George's comment illustrates how his university education gave him the understanding and awareness of different matters like corruption. However, it is clear that George did not only gain the knowledge, but he is also hoping to demonstrate his knowledge to society by coming a better citizen. This speaks to some of the other claims from students that university education had helped them become better citizens by making different contributions to society. Martha (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained how her legal knowledge makes her a better citizen by giving her the ability to contribute to the community regarding awareness of laws and rights.

> *So many people are not aware of the rights that they have; they are not aware of things that they are supposed and not supposed to do. Mostly, people do not know anything about their rights. For example, you find a husband who always abuses his wife, but the wife is still there doing nothing because she does not know what to do; she does not know her rights. Therefore, I want people to be aware of their rights, about laws in different situations. In short, I want to make people aware.*

In the same way, Law students, Amos, John, Lonny, Richard, Jennifer, and Daniel from both KIUT and UDSM spoke about how the knowledge they had gained from studying

Law has been helping them to provide legal aid to their families and neighbours. Amos (KIUT) explained that:

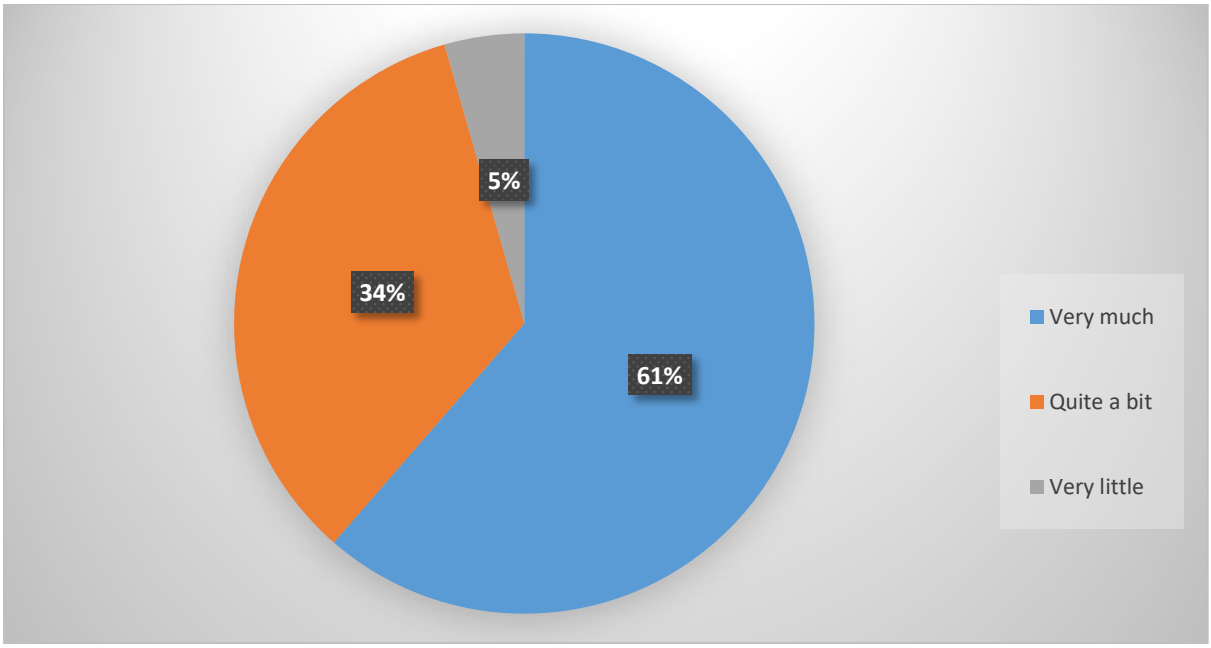
> *I have been able to help people with their questions, especially when a person fails to pay rent on time, and his landlord wants to chase him out. Therefore I would try to explain to them about contract law and tell them about their rights. Although we cannot practice Law unless we graduate from law school and become registered advocates, our knowledge gives us the ability to provide our society with legal aid only, but we cannot assist them in the enforcement of that Law.*

Doreen (BSc. Edu) from UDSM also explained how she felt about her community:

> *I think I can educate my society about various issues that I have learned. I will also be an example to my community by being close to them and teaching them different things that maybe they had some beliefs that I know are not true. I will correct them. Also, because I am an educated person, I will be an example in my society. In that case, I can influence people in different issues for example, development issues like the importance of paying tax, so being educated gives you a chance of becoming a better person by behaving, influence, and teach our society.*

It is therefore evident that students have developed a citizenship capability by having interests in society and public affairs in order to bring about social change. On the other hand, students also talked about their aspirations of being able to apply their education in jobs for different professions. These students explained that they had obtained a range of information and knowledge that was relevant to their career or job plans. A relevant example is shown on the survey questionnaire response, where the majority of students (61%) indicated that they had gained a range of information for a career or job. Figure 13 below shows the students' responses.

Figure 12: Gaining a range of information that may be relevant to a career/job



Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained that, for him, employment would be the most significant achievement after finishing his education by applying the knowledge he had obtained from his university education:

> *To me, I will count my education as the most considerate achievement soon after I am happy. Happy means that I have money, I have clothes, and I can party. In short, I have the ability to apply this knowledge to a job that gives me money that will be my greatest achievement.*

Likewise, Isaac (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained:

> *I think my university education had given me the knowledge and the direction of my career, the things that I need to do to become a computer scientist.*

Similarly, Ken (BSc. Edu) from UDSM also acknowledged being able to acquire knowledge for career development, but he is disappointed with the current employment rate. He said, '*We can all see that the issue of employment will be a challenge'.* In this way, he doubts if he will be able to apply his knowledge and he questions the benefit of his university education in general:

> *Therefore, I guess my university education has not helped me anything because I don't know how and where I will apply it.*

It is clear from Ken that he was determined to apply his knowledge to career development, but because of unemployment, he is not sure of where and how to use this knowledge, which made him discount the value of his university education. However,

John (BSc. Edu) from UDSM criticised Ken's argument by saying that '*whoever feels that university education is a wastage of time, are those who only believe in employment'*. For John, university does more than prepare students for jobs, and he stated that *'we learn about a lot of things, one of the things that my university education has helped me with is confidence'.* John was not the only student who appreciated their university education for helping them feel more confident. For example, Cuthbert (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explains that:

> *Before I came to university, I was low minded, did not believe in myself that I can do something and win. There is somehow university has taught us, which gives us confidence, because now I can stand anywhere and motivate people who gave up on life, for example I can also have discussions with different people and advise them on various issues; that is what I feel my university education has helped me to do.*

Cuthbert's argument shows how his education has helped him to gain more confidence to believe in himself and to interact with different people. This aligns to Benson (BSc. Edu) from KIUT on his positive view about how his university education has given him the confidence to think about his future:

> *Today I have the courage to say I am planning to have two companies or two shops cause I know what it takes to reach there.*

Other students explained how their university education gave them the confidence to face senior government officials who they previously only saw on TV and thought it impossible to ever talk to them someday. For example, Arthur (BSc. Law) from UDSM asserted:

> *I have the ability and confidence to face someone, I can now go to the Regional Commission office and introduce myself as a graduate from this university, and I want to speak with the Commissioner, which is different from someone who just finished form four maybe.*

John (BSc. Edu) from UDSM had the same argument on how he used to perceive senior government officials like ministers before. He said, '*Previously, when I hear a minister, for example, to me, it sounded like God'*. He went further to explain how easy it has been for him to interact with elders from his village, whom he once thought knew everything. Still, through the knowledge gained from his university education, he had the confidence to correct and challenge these elders.

I live in the village with my grandparents, so there are some elders who we used to think that they are perfect and they know everything. But, after I came to university and went back, I was confident enough to talk and even question the kind of conversation they bring, something that I couldn't do before.

Additionally, John gives us a departure point to discuss other capabilities that students developed through their university education:

I would say that most of these advantageous feelings we get from our university education is through the informal learning that we get by being at university. Because they only teach us to become teachers.

The statement above summarises the sentiment from other students that, apart from the focus of their education on developing them as professionals only, they have been able to cultivate different values through their interactions, exposure, and informal learning outside of class. The students spoke about their ability to live, interact, and care for each other. In other words, the ability to create valued social relations and networks. Harris (BSc. Edu) from UDSM stated the following:

I can say that we have been supportive and helpful to each other because we live, and study together, so we get to understand each other better, which helps us to become close.

This statement suggests the obligation, collaboration, and responsibility students have towards each other, which they have developed through living and working together. Peter (BSc. Edu) from UDSM added that sharing other interests, such as soccer and religious groups, brings them together to create friendship and a sense of belonging:

We share courses, accommodations, cafeteria, shuttle to campus, and we share other interests. For example, soccer, so you find students discussing soccer together regardless of their courses or any difference between them. There are also religious groups, which promote our relationships as students and ethnicity because we meet different people. Therefore, these groups do no divide us but develop the relationship of the people coming from a specific religion or any other group and connect as students in other words, 'communal life'.

Likewise, Ethan (BSc. Comp) from KIUT spoke about students' learning support and their ability to live, recognise, and show concern for each other:

Despite the interactions that exist in the class, we do have discussions about family matters or outside classes, which makes us closer, through understanding someone's family background, their weakness, and strength. This creates a good relationship between us because we know each other better.

It is clear that students' ability to understand and care for each other and develop a sense of belonging and friendship contributes to their ability to have respect, dignity, and recognition for others. For example, Martha (BSc. Law) from KIUT commented that:

> *Being at the university has helped me to be not too judgemental on people and to understand why people do certain things and not just judge them as to why they are doing whatever they are doing. Being at university gives you exposure to many things to the point that you understand people instead of asking questions like how can this person do that.*

Similarly, Harris (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained how he now values and respects other people and cultures different from his own, clarifying that it is something that he did not have before coming to university:

> *When I see somebody, I do not just judge them the way they are; I tend to think beyond what I see. Before coming to university, I would take things the way they appear to be. But now I have learned how to respect other people and their culture, for example, if you go somewhere today and you find people eating something unfamiliar to you, how do you take or understand these people? Rather than judging them.*

Daniel (BSc. Comp) from UDSM added that:

> *Interaction with other people has made me understand others more because compared to secondary school. In university, there are no rules, which tell us how to live, so everybody is being themselves, and this exposes us to different types of people and behaviours.*

These comments illustrate the ability of students to recognise and show respect for others, where it goes beyond the compassion that they feel for each other (among students) to the broader society (e.g. Harris's comment above). The students also reflected on the ability to be responsible for their own lives as adults. Their responses indicated that the lives they are living as university students has shaped them to be more accountable. William (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained the experience of living off campus due to a shortage of residences on campus:

> *Another thing that changed most of us is the life that we live out of campus. We are now independent; we can budget how to spend money because you have to pay rent, buy electricity, water, and gas. Therefore, this life shapes us to become responsible adults.*

Correspondingly, Herieth (BSc. Law) from UDSM explained:

> *Having no school uniforms, ringing bells, and roll calls forces me to be responsible for everything. I feel like I am now in charge of my own life. I manage my time and decide what to do. Different from secondary school where the school was telling us what to do.*

With regard to the lives that students have outside of class, Henry and Martha (BSc. Law) from UDSM and KIUT said that their legal knowledge had taught them to be careful with their actions and decisions. While Khadija (BSc. Law) from KIUT added that professional training in the classroom had also helped them to become responsible for their actions and life in general and be more professional:

> *Although I have not experienced this, I had seen some of my colleagues who came to university when they were smokers, some of them drink too much, but you find them throughout the time they have been changing and started to act professionally because of what we are studying.*

Similarly, Cuthbert (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained how practical training gave him another perspective on his life by being responsible for how to dress and act as a professional:

> *I went for fieldwork and experienced how it is and how it feels to be in an office and work. This comes with so many other lessons and responsibilities in my life, like how to dress, managing time, and act as a professional.*

Lastly, is the capability or ability to join university. Reflecting on the access problems that students indicated in Section 6.4, it is important to acknowledge that students who participated in my study achieved this capability by being able to join university despite all the challenges. Drawing on the experiences and challenges that students went through to join university, I interpreted the capability to enter university as a means to achieve other valuable achievements. Moreover, students' persistence at university indicates students' resilience and determination in pursuing their goals and aspirations.

The table below provides a summary of the capabilities drawn from students. This table also provides the definition and number of instances that each of the capabilities occurred in the qualitative data. The definitions are drawn from what I understood from students' explanations together with the theoretical framework.

Table 9: Students' valued beings and doings

Capability	Description	Number of instances identified
To be able to have a livelihood/work after university.	Being able to gain knowledge and skills for career and economic opportunities (being employable, being able to generate self-employment); to have an income/livelihood.	38
To be able to be a responsible person.	Being able to manage or take control of one's different facets of life.	29
To be able to be a concerned citizen.	Being able to gain education or knowledge to become citizens who are not only concerned with their welfare, but also have a sense of identity and interest in social and public affairs.	22
To be able to have knowledge and awareness.	Being able to gain an understanding of various issues. Awareness in critical and complex questions about society.	19
To be able to have and to give respect and Recognition.	Being able to recognise and respect other people and groups different from yours.	14
To be able to be confident.	Being able to visualise and care for yourself as you want to be. Believe in your ability, skills, and experience.	13
To be able to develop and to be involved in positive social relations and social networks.	Being able to form networks of friendship and a sense of belonging for learning and collaborations in solving problems.	11
To be able to access university.	Having the grades, information, and funding to be able to gain admission to a university.	38
To be able to have resilience and determination.	Being able to persevere academically, to be responsive to educational opportunities and being able to overcome adaptive constraints. Having aspirations and hopes for a good future.	38

From the above capabilities, the following corresponding functionings (beings and doings) are:

- Applying professional expertise in a wide range of contexts, industries, and job positions for economic development.
- Being knowledgeable and aware of multiple perspectives of life in general.
- Applying knowledge and values to become an active citizen committed to justice and other interests of society.
- Being confident in one's abilities to succeed.
- Being responsible and accountable for one's life and choices.
- Having friendships and networks for support and solving problems.
- Recognising, caring for, and respecting oneself and others.
- Accessing HE.
- Being resilient and determined.

Each capability and its corresponding functioning can be read as 'if–then' statements that represent a sequence of assumptions about the kinds of beings and doings that can and ought to be achieved through HE that is for human development and the public good.

For example, looking at the first capability on the list, namely acquiring knowledge for career and economic development, the following statement would apply:

> **If** HE provides students with knowledge for career development, **then** graduates should be able to apply professional expertise in a wide range of contexts, industries, and job positions for economic development.

As another example of a capability, specifically, being able to acquire knowledge and awareness, one could say:

> **If** HE provides students with knowledge and awareness of different matters, **then** graduates would have multiple perspectives of life in general and subject or professional knowledge.

Regarding the third capability on the list, namely citizenship capability, one could say:

If HE enhances students' citizenship capability, **then** graduates would become active citizens who are committed to justice and other interests of society.

The same approach would apply to the remaining capabilities[26]. It is important to note that the valued capabilities and functionings were equally distributed among students at both universities. That is, transcripts from focus group discussions with the public university were similar to the transcripts of the focus group discussions from the private university. Because the intention was not to separate the perspectives but combine them, the recognised capabilities and functionings are summarised together and illustrate the value of combining public and private university perspectives on the value of HE. The students' views provide a more nuanced understanding of the various reasons why they decide to pursue a university education, what they are able to gain from their knowledge, and how this is linked to the potential of HE for human development and the public good.

Therefore, because students broadly acknowledge the economic benefits of HE, i.e. the ability to work after university, and the social benefits, i.e. becoming a concerned citizen and being able to give respect and recognition, it is then worth arguing that HE in Tanzania has the potential to enhance the well-being of an individual and the broader society.

6.8. Summative discussion

Findings in this chapter dealt with students' aspirations and motivations to access university, their experience after joining university, and what they value most about the process and its outcomes. Additionally, the chapter indicated the challenges that students face during their university education, and it discussed their agency and, lastly, their perspectives on the role of HE. It is important to note that, generally, students' responses from the two universities were not that different, except on a few occasions that I have indicated during the discussions.

The discussion on students' aspirations and motivations to join university highlighted the importance of considering students' capabilities instead of merely looking at their valuable achievements if one seeks to understand how students define the value of HE to themselves and the broader society. Questions related to the students' reasons for

[26] Another discussion of how and if students/ graduates have really achieved these functionings will be presented in a later chapter with the responses from graduates.

attending university and selecting their fields of study were important to ask in order to establish how these choices were made. These factors might also suggest what students expect to gain or benefit from their university education. Not surprisingly, the findings indicate that most of the students (70 students)[27] decided to join university and select their study fields for employment or what they referred to as '*professional development'*. In other words, students joined the university in certain careers that will enable them to get jobs after graduation. However, some students spoke about helping society (57 students) and targeting fields with financial aid (39 students). However, at the same time, the results revealed that some students' decisions were made in a way that seemed somewhat arbitrary. For example, some indicated how they had to select a particular study field to fulfil their parents' desires or because they were not aware of the application process or what universities were offering. However, it was clear that the majority of students were active agents, because many of them indicated that they made their own decisions to study their preferred courses.

After having discussed students' aspirations and motivations for joining university, my discussion moved to their experience after joining university. Based on students' interpretation of their involvement in class, outside of class, and their participation in the process, it appears that, from a classroom point of view, the focus was mainly on training them for jobs. The students discussed optional courses that taught them about broader issues. During the learning experience in class, some students from the private university indicated their full participation in discussions, while others from the public university spoke about how hard it has been for them to participate in class due to the large number of students. Students explained how they valued their group discussions outside of class, because it gives them an opportunity to discuss their studies more, as well as other issues. Similarly, other students spoke about social events and activities that they participated in outside of class, which brought them together both as students and with the lecturers. Furthermore, students gave examples of how other fields from their universities have been volunteering to assist the community around the campus.

I then discussed the challenges (conversion factors) that these students have been facing in the process of their university education. Here students talked about their

[27] The number of students presented are from the quantitative data.

experiences of joining the university by mentioning the issue of finance, how funding had influenced their decision to choose their field of study, and how hard it had been for some of them to remain at the university because of a lack of funding. Other students criticised public policy on application and admission as a challenge, because it made their application process '*tiresome'.* This included bureaucratic administration, lack of transparency in the application process, and other difficulties related to issues of internet connection, since the application had to be done online. Moreover, students mentioned their concern about the curriculum and pedagogical practice, and indicated their interest in both practical and theoretical learning. They lamented that their curriculum was only focused on teaching them about theories and less on gaining practical knowledge. This shows disparities between what university officials indicated in the last chapter on how they ensured that students got both practical and theoretical teaching. These students argued that practical learning would help them to get more economic opportunities, rather than solely depending on jobs. Additionally, the students felt that the curriculum needed to be updated to meet the needs of society.

On the other hand, some students indicated the lack of university facilities, such as insufficient accommodation, as well as issues with equipment, such as poor quality of sound and visual presentations in class, which is especially problematic in classes with a large number of students, and it hinders student participation and concentration. The chapter then looked at the students' ability to act in their life and bring about change (agency), which is crucial in defining the role of HE in the public good and understanding how, and if, students have agency. As I mentioned above, most students indicated the degree their agency in their university experience by finding solutions to various challenges they faced. However, their agency was affected by various conversion factors that constrained their freedom instead of expanding it.

This chapter also considered how students described the role of HE in Tanzania, suggesting that students generally define the role of HE as facilitating economic development, because Tanzania is a developing country. Universities would then help the economy of the country by producing various professionals who will work in the country.

The last section of the chapter looked at the valued beings and doings that students have developed through their university education. Based on the interpretation of

students' articulation of what they appreciated most from their studies, it appeared that the focus of their education, as I continually mentioned, has been mainly on professional development. The majority of students valued their knowledge for career development (being employable). In contrast, others valued their university education for affording them knowledge and awareness on different matters, and others spoke about being able to help society and become better citizens. The students also indicated how they had developed a capability to create social relations and networks, develop a sense of care, recognition and respect for others, be confident and responsible for their lives, have resilience and determination, and access university knowledge in general.

The next chapter discusses the perspectives of university administrators and policies in relation to what and how students are learning to be and do in defining the broader purpose of HE in Tanzania.

Chapter 7

Graduate perspectives on higher education and human development

7.0. Introduction

This chapter draws from the semi-structured interview responses to explore graduates' perspectives on the value of universities in Tanzania. The interview responses come from a sample (N=30) of graduates, including 15 graduates from the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Kampala International University in Tanzania (KIUT). The interviews were conducted with those who had graduated from university within the last four years, to understand how they define the role of HE and the experiences they had both at the university and after graduation. Similar to the last chapter, the interpretation of the responses in this chapter aims to problematise the dominant definition of the value of HE that focuses only on instrumental benefits, by exploring how or if graduates understand a broader interpretation of the importance of HE.

The chapter addresses the second research question: How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE? What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education? My discussion draws on the voices of graduates, interjecting with an analysis of their replies. The results are discussed thematically; the headings represent categories of themes in relation to human development and the capability approach.

The chapter begins with an introduction of the graduates who participated in interviews, followed by a discussion on how they define the purpose of universities in Tanzania. Then a general understanding of graduates' experiences at the university follows, which includes issues like why they joined university, their experiences in class, and the challenges they faced at university. The chapter then presents the experiences that graduates had after graduation, including difficulties after university and the valued beings and doings that graduates had developed from their university education. A summative discussion concludes the chapter.

7.1. Introducing the graduates

The table below presents the graduates who participated in the interviews, showing their names, their field of study, university, gender, year of graduation, and employment status. All the graduates' names are pseudonyms.

Table: Graduates' profile

NAME	GENDER	FIELD	UNIVERSITY	YEAR OF GRADUATION	JOB STATUS
Steward	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Abraham	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Asifiwe	Male	BSc. Law	Kampala International University	2015	Employed
Rehema	Female	BSc. Law	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Susan	Female	BSc. Law	Kampala International University	2014	Self-employed
Yohana	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University	2015	Self-employed
Sarah	Female	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University	2015	Self-employed
Martha	Female	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Paul	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Benjamin	Male	BSc. Edu	Kampala International University	2014	Self-employed
Beatrice	Female	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Joel	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University	2014	Employed
Carlos	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University	2015	Employed
Dennis	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University	2013	Self-employed
Donald	Male	BSc. Comp	Kampala International University	2015	Employed
Ibrahim	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Employed
Hezron	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam	2014	Employed
Jane	Female	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam	2014	Employed

Jonas	Male	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Self-employed
Joyce	Female	BSc. Law	University of Dar es Salaam	2014	Employed
Jeremiah	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Self-employed
Khadija	Female	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Employed
Leah	Female	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Self-employed
Patrick	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam	2014	Employed
Sam	Male	BSc. Edu	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Employed
Michael	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Self-employed
Omari	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam	2014	Employed
Sebastian	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam	2013	Self-employed
Elizabeth	Female	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam	2015	Employed
Gabriel	Male	BSc. Comp	University of Dar es Salaam	2013	Employed

In summary, the graduates participated in this study comprised:

- 10 Female graduates;
- 20 Male graduates, and;
- 10 Self-employed graduates;
- 20 Employed graduates.

7.2. The purpose of higher education

Graduates described the purpose of HE in various ways, ranging from equipping students with knowledge and awareness to producing human resources for the economic development of the country, as well as contributing to development in general, either socially or politically.

The dominant interpretation among graduates of the value and role of HE in Tanzania was that it was a tool for economic development. The description of HE as an engine for economic benefits was mentioned by 18 graduates out of the 30 interviewed. The explanations on universities and economic development ranged between the ability of universities to equip students with the right knowledge and skills for employment, produce manpower or human resources, and its ability to create other financial opportunities. For example, Steward (BSc. Law) from KIUT stated that *'the purpose of universities is to meet professional or employment demands'.* His comment purported that universities produce graduates who will fill different employment positions. Paul (BSc. Edu) from KIUT made the same argument, where he gave an example of the university that he had studied at:

> *With the university that I went to, for example, they offer a lot of courses or fields, which contribute to the economic development of the country through different professions like health, law, education, politics, and each of the other courses that are offered by the university.*

These comments elaborate on the understanding of the contribution HE can make to the economic development of the nation by preparing students with the specific skills and knowledge they need for employment. As Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM said:

> *The purpose of universities in Tanzania is to enhance the development of the country. The university trains people in different professions, so that after graduation, students could participate in various economic activities. It can be through employment or even self-employment.*

Similar to Michael's comment above, Benjamin (BSc. Edu) from KIUT also gave insightful feedback that:

> *This is a wealthy country (Tanzania), one of the richness that we have is our land and minerals. However, we need to be educated first to cultivate the wealth and materials that we have. This simply means that without education, there is no development. We export our resources to other countries; they make products that they sell to us at higher prices. However, education is one way towards our*

> *development, and for a country to move from point A to point B, it needs citizens who are educated.*

The assertion above emphasises the contribution HE can make to economic development by training more human resources to nurture the resources in the country. From these comments, we note that the purpose of HE in Tanzania is to produce graduates for employment in different professions to enhance the economic development of the country.

The graduates also indicated the link between HE and job creation (employment), or creating economic opportunities that go beyond producing graduates for employment. Refer to Michael's (BSc. Comp) comment above when he said the role of universities is to prepare different professionals, and he specified that '*it can be through employment or even self-employment'.* His comment does not only point to the role of universities in preparing students for jobs, but also other economic opportunities such as self-employment. Gabriel (BSc. Comp) made a similar account from UDSM when he claimed that:

> *I did computer science, so if today I decided to start a company, I will employ other people, which means developing the economic status of other people and the economic development of the country.*

From this perspective, the role of HE is to equip students with knowledge and skills for different economic opportunities, employment, or self-employment. In Gabriel's experience, it is the knowledge that he acquired from computer science that allows him to enhance the economic growth of an individual and the country by employing himself. Additionally, Yohana (BSc. Edu) from KIUT said:

> *The purpose of universities is to enhance different economic opportunities, especially to the community around campus. For example, the issue of student residences, one might build a hostel for students in which he or she can benefit or create profit from the rent that students will pay. Also, there are other business opportunities[28], which many people benefit from, especially those people around campus. Therefore, these business opportunities do contribute to the economic development of an individual and the nation in general.*

[28] By other business opportunities, he meant different shops like restaurants, stationery stores, clothing stores, etc., which operate around different campuses. Normally these are small businesses owned by locals.

The comment above explains the economic opportunities that align with the presence of universities. Different from the opportunities made by universities as the key employer, Yohana's statement spoke about the opportunities to the community around campus, where people get chances to start different businesses that increase their income and that of the nation. In this way, HE can make a significant contribution to economic development, as the comments above have indicated.

As I indicated earlier, not all graduates defined the role of HE as an engine of economic development; some described the role of universities as providing knowledge and awareness. The main argument among the six graduates with this view is the claim that universities exist to provide education to people and make them aware of different issues. Beatrice (BSc. Comp) represented such comments from graduates when she said:

> *I think the primary purpose of universities in Tanzania is to enhance awareness by developing the mindsets of people in order for them to improve their thinking, be positive, and to become creative.*

In the same way, Patrick (BSc. Edu) from UDSM asserted:

> *The role of HE is to provide knowledge. This is important because the education that is offered by universities helps to develop an individual intellectually; it raises awareness of different issues and two, universities provide a space where different people from different places meet. Therefore, this helps one to learn from another person because we all have different perspectives on life.*

The responses above explain the potential of university education and the university environment to inform people of different concerns through providing information, skills, and awareness. In other words, as Sam (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained, '*The role of universities is to inform and teach students about different issues in the world and the country, to create smart people'.* It is, therefore, clear that universities have the potential to provide students with knowledge and understanding of different facets of life, and do not only prepare them for jobs or other economic opportunities.

Moreover, five graduates defined the role of HE as development. Clarifications of this view explained the potential of HE to provide students with the right knowledge for the development of society economically, socially, and politically. For example, Hezron (BSc. Law) from UDSM spoke about the contribution of universities in Tanzania to development by producing educated citizens:

> *I think for every country to grow, there is a need to have more educated people. Therefore, we need to reduce ignorance and advance our economic, social, and political development. However, we cannot achieve these goals without education. We are in a competitive world. We need to catch up with other developed countries; education is the first means of development.*

The comment above is similar to the following one by Sebastian (BSc. Comp) from UDSM that *'the main purpose of universities is to enhance the economic, social development of the country, by giving citizens the right knowledge'.* Susan (BSc. Law) from KIUT gave a more detailed opinion on Tanzanian universities and development:

> *By having universities in this country, it promotes independence for people to work for their economic and even political benefits, because now we are educated, and we can lead and handle our own country without depending on anybody.*

In Susan's understanding, education provides people with the right knowledge and skills for them to work independently. This is the same as Leah's comment (BSc. Edu) from UDSM, *'I think the purpose is to increase the number of educated people in the country so that we can assist the country in different aspects, economical and more'*. Similarly, Dennis (BSc. Comp) from KIUT gave a response on the political contribution of HE:

> *I think we can also see the contribution HE has made politically; so many political leaders started their journey from the university level. Therefore, people have built their confidence and influence in people through their university education, being leaders in different students' organization, and now they are active participants of political issues in the country. Apart from the environment that allows people to participate in those political issues, HE also provides people with the knowledge that gives them the confidence to act and participate in governmental issues. Therefore, I think universities have a massive impact on contributing to development in general, either economically, socially, or politically.*

One graduate, Carlos (BSc. Comp) from KIUT, had a different viewpoint on the value of universities. For Carlos, universities help the government to save more money by reducing expenses. First, he claimed that having universities in Tanzania helps the government to save the money that was once used to send students to foreign universities:

> *The purpose of universities is to help the government reduce expenses. This comes to play when we did not have enough universities, forcing the government to send students to go and study abroad. Therefore, having our universities helps the government to save costs, which also reduces costs to families, which could have sent their children overseas.*

He went further and added that:

> *Having universities also helps to create human resources, this means if we do not have educated or skilled people, we will be forced to get qualified people from other countries to come and work for us.*

Therefore, for Carlos, universities in Tanzania assist the government and citizens in utilizing the available resources without depending only on the resources from other countries. It is important to note that these comments from graduates do not necessarily mean that universities are actually doing that; instead, this is what graduates perceive the purpose of universities to be.

In summary, what emerged from the interviews with graduates on defining the role of HE in Tanzania includes that HE seeks to:

- Enhance economic development through knowledge and skills for employment and other economic opportunities, and create an environment for other economic activities around campus;
- Equip students with knowledge and awareness of different matters globally and locally;
- Contribute to the development of the country (economic, socially, and politically);
- Reduce government expenses by facilitating the production and use of local human resources who were locally educated.

From this perspective, we see that graduates did not only define the role of HE for its potential to stimulate economic development, but more broadly to enhance the development (economically, socially, and politically) of the country. This should not suggest that HE in Tanzania has achieved human development, rather it is a sign that the possibility exists for HE to contribute to human development.

7.3. Experiences at university

The next section presents the general experience that interviewees had before graduating. The discussion in this section includes their aspirations and motivation to join university, their teaching and learning experiences, and the challenges they faced at university. Because the responses about students' experience at university align with

their explanations in the previous chapter, this section points out only a few responses to add or confirm what students had already indicated.

7.3.1. Aspirations and motivations for joining university

The most extensive response among graduates from both universities involved the aspiration to gain more knowledge and skills for career development that would allow them to get good jobs. The answers included phrases like *knowledge*, *employment*, *financial independence,* and a *good life.* For example, Joel (BSc. Comp) from KIUT stated that *'the main reason for me to join university was to gain my professional knowledge, which will allow me to get a job'*. This comment represents graduates who explained that the education that they have received in secondary and advanced secondary schools was for basics, but university education allowed them to become professionals. For instance, Steward (BSc. Law) from KIUT, was very candid about his decision to enter university and study Law:

> *I joined university because it has always been my dream to reach the university level and specifically, study law. I think if other levels of education like secondary schools were also teaching law, I would have studied it then. Therefore, I joined university because I believed that it is the only education level that will give me more knowledge and awareness on different issues that I want to do to become a Lawyer.*

Steward's comment on his dedication to join university line up with that of Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM. For Michael, joining university was a lever to achieve three things, i.e. gain knowledge, get a job, and have a good life:

> *Like most students, I joined the university to have a good life. To learn new things, get a job, and have a good life. This is a significant aim, and it does not matter if people have other goals or have the intention to change the world because you cannot change the world in bare feet. You would not want to change the world while other people are buying cars. You also need to buy a car, get a beautiful house. Therefore, the education that we get from our university helps us to develop our lives and the lives of others. I just wanted to learn about computers, get a job, and build my life.*

Unlike Michael, Martha (BSc. Edu) from KIUT stated that she wanted to attain financial independence not only for herself but also to take care of her family (parents and siblings). In this way, Martha's response suggests that some graduates attended university to develop their professional goals and find employment.

On the other hand, seven graduates indicated that they joined university to gain knowledge of different facets of life, not primarily employment. For example, Omari (BSc. Comp) from UDSM replied:

> *I joined the university to get knowledge; I believe it is more of what you know that matters nowadays, so I wanted to gain more knowledge on different issues, which is my reason.*

Jane (BSc. Law) from KIUT similarly reflected on her decision to join the university:

> *I was so thankful to have a chance to join the university. Because to me, this was an opportunity that university education would help me to gain more understanding and grow intellectually.*

Correspondingly, Paul (BSc. Edu) from KIUT responded:

> *The main aim of joining university was to get knowledge or awareness of different facets of life that would allow me to survive in life, not necessarily my career development.*

Apart from graduates' aspirations for general understanding or familiarity with different facets of life, five other graduates explained that they had gone to university in order to help their society. Consider the response below from Abraham (BSc. Law) UDSM:

> *I would say I joined university because I just wanted to be useful to my society, or help my community mostly in different problems. Because for one to help the community, different means are used. For example, doctors will give help by treating people and share knowledge and information about various diseases. The same as pilots, his contribution or help will involve transporting people from one place to another. So I wanted to make a contribution from a law perspective.*

Likewise, Khadija (BSc. Edu) from UDSM responded:

> *I joined university because I believed that it was the way for me to gain more knowledge. The knowledge that I would get from university would then assist me in helping my society in different problems. For example, the issue of early marriage for girls. I believed that being educated would help me convince my community on such cultural beliefs and make a better change*.

The assertions above indicate graduates' belief that their education would help them to address problems in their communities by providing solutions through their knowledge. In the next section on graduates' valued beings and doings, I will able to see if HE helped these graduates to achieve this goal. In addition, two graduates stated that they had joined university simply because it is a systematic arrangement that after

advanced secondary school, the next step is university. They felt obligated to attend university because it is part of the education system. For these graduates, after secondary school, one has to join the university in order to get a job. In short, from these graduates' perspectives, one's educational life has four stages, i.e. primary education, secondary education, university-level education, and employment. For example, Leah (BSc. Edu) from UDSM claimed:

> *This is more like a system that, after high school, you need to go to university because you cannot pursue your dream job or career without a university education. Therefore, I joined university because it is part of the system that people need to go to university.*

In the same way, Ibrahim (BSc. Law) from UDSM responded that:

> *I joined university because it is a procedure that, after secondary school, then the next step is a university. So automatically, after I finished high school, I was shaped with the belief that the next step is the university. This is because there is no career options or professional knowledge from our secondary school education.*

In most graduates' responses on why they joined university, the phrase *'getting knowledge'* was involved, either for career development and employment, awareness, or to help society. In summary, the reason why graduates decided to join university were:

- Gaining more knowledge for professional development (financial independence);
- Attaining general knowledge and awareness on different aspects of life;
- Gaining knowledge to help their society;
- Progressing through the education system.

7.3.2. Teaching and Learning

Similar to students, graduates also indicated that their learning in class was mainly to prepare them for jobs, clarifying that what they learned in class was merely the theory part of what they needed to know about their professions. For example, Joyce (BSc. Law) from UDSM explained what she had experienced in class:

> *What I can say is that what I learned in class is quite different from what I am doing now. Simply because in class, the emphasis was mostly on the theories, which is not really helpful to make you a good lawyer. I think there is a need to teach more practical aspects of law, than only focusing on the theories.*

In the same line of thinking, Carlos (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained:

> *The focus of the training that we had at the university was mostly to prepare us for jobs, so all the time that we spent at the university, we had one goal that is employment. It is actually surprising that after graduation, you hear comments like graduates in Tanzania need to employ themselves without even paying attention to how they prepared us when we were at university.*

However, apart from the focus of university education, graduates also spoke about other courses that taught them about different aspects of life. For example, Paul (BSc. Edu) from KIUT said that:

> *We had courses like entrepreneurship; this is something that fits everywhere no matter what profession, but people never paid attention to such courses because they were regarded as additional to the main courses.*

In explaining why he thought people paid less attention to subjects like entrepreneurship, Paul clarified that:

> *Some of the courses, especially the main or core subjects, usually had higher score marks than courses that are optional and do not align with our professions. Automatically, because we want higher marks and to perform well, people would pay more attention to the subjects with higher scores*.

Elizabeth (BSc. Comp) from UDSM elaborated on the lessons that taught her about issues outside of her professional development for employment:

> *We also had courses like development studies that showed us about other matters different from computers. So we were exposed to various problems related to our societies and the world that we are living in, either economically, socially, and politically.*

What emerged from graduates' responses is similar to what students indicated in the last chapter – that the focus of university education is to prepare students for employment in different professions. Confirming students' concerns, graduates also criticised how they were prepared for these jobs by claiming that the focus was only on theory. Additionally, they indicated that apart from universities' emphasis on career development for jobs, they had other courses such as entrepreneurship and general studies or development studies, which taught them about different aspects of life other than employment. Conversely, similar to students, graduates indicated that they had paid less attention to these subjects, because they were more concerned about their

career development and had lower scores in these subjects compared to their professional core subjects.

While there is a realisation on the importance of training students in other facets of life, graduates indicated that the focus had only been on career development for employment. With regard to the role of HE in human development and the public good, universities need to cultivate and emphasise both economic and social values in students to enrich their well-being as individuals as well as that of the broader society.

7.3.3. University conversion factors

Similar to the discussion with students and university officials, graduates explained the challenges they had at the university, including financial difficulties, insufficient university facilities (student accommodation), and the relationship that existed between students and university officials. For example, with students' accommodation, graduates raised their concern about the availability and accessibility of university accommodation for students. Graduates from both universities indicated insufficient student accommodation and the complexity of getting the available accommodation. Take an example of Joyce's (BSc. Law) comment from UDSM:

> *I think the issue of accommodation was a big challenge for me. The fact that there was not enough accommodation made it even harder to get into the existing ones because everybody wanted to get into the available ones. Hence, it was more of who do you know to get accommodation. If you do not have connections, your loss.*

Similarly, Khadija (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained:

> *Honestly, the issue of accommodation was really a challenge; getting accommodation on campus was some sort of a miracle. I think for me that was the main challenge that I had at university*.

The graduates also pointed out the relationship between students and university officials and lecturers. The graduates indicated that there was a communication gap between students and the university, including the lecturers and the university administrators. Graduates from the private university discussed both the complicated relationships between students and some lecturers, and students and university administrators. Graduates from the public university only spoke about how hard it was for them to interact with some of their lecturers. Take the case of Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM:

> *The first thing was the issue of the lecturers' attitude. You meet a lecturer who is always angry to the point that it becomes hard to face or approach them when you have some problems or ask questions. I think this was the biggest challenge. Sometimes I did not understand in class, but you are scared to go and ask, or sometimes when you gain the confidence to go and ask, the lecturer will be, I am busy now, come later, it becomes a habit of being told come later, to the point that you give up.*

Jonas (BSc. Law) from UDSM clarified:

> *Some of the lecturers were not supportive at all. I remember some of them would come in class and say that they are not teachers but instructors, so it was all up to us to find the materials. Yet, when you want some clarifications, they were never available, claiming that they are busy, and even when they are available, it was hard to get in touch with them because there were millions of rules you need to follow to see them.*

Likewise, graduates from KIUT indicated misunderstandings that they once had with the university administration, which led to student protests. From the comments of these graduates, it can be gathered that the misunderstandings were mostly due to the communication gap between students and the university administration, in which the university failed to meet some of the students' demands. For instance, Rehema (BSc. Law) from KIUT said that:

> *The main issue that we had and caused protests was because we had an administration that did not know what students want; they only focused on their agreement and their written rules, without considering the position of students.*

Martha (BSc. Edu) from KIUT elaborated on the demands from KIUT students:

> *The main challenge during my experience at KIUT is that of student protests. Imagine I had to experience protests in my first year; it really disturbed me. The main reason for those protests was that some of the courses offered by the university were not registered under Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU), and students wanted to get clarification and try to communicate to the university, to what is going on.*

Therefore, according to graduates, their spaces at the university were compromised when they felt the university was no longer paying attention to them. This created a gap between students and the university and made students' experiences uncomfortable. Moreover, graduates explained the financial difficulties that they had to endure during their education. Graduates' comments included, among other things, their struggle to handle expenses such as food. For example, Susan (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained how difficult it was for her to live without a student loan:

> *Life was hard because I had some challenges economically; this was a struggle. Sometimes it was hard to concentrate in class because most of the time, I would think about what I am going to eat or how I am going to get food because I had no money.*

Similarly, Yohana (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained that:

> *Mostly, I struggled with the regular expenses like food and stationeries, but I have seen some of the friends who dropped out and others postponed their semester because they could not afford to pay tuition fees and other costs.*

From these perspectives, Beatrice (BSc. Comp) from KIUT gave an example of graduates' responses on how family/ friends assisted them in financial challenges:

> *I don't know what I would have done if it were not for my friends. I remember we would buy each other food and sometimes help each other with some expenses like bus fare.*

Following on the graduates' broad experience at university, the next section presents what graduates experienced after graduation.

7.4. Experience after the university

This section indicates the challenges that graduates had after graduation and the values they have developed.

7.4.1. Post-university conversion factors.

After graduating from university, the first challenge that graduates pointed out was the issue of unemployment. The explanations from graduates point to expectations that they had prior to graduation, specifically the belief that opportunities (jobs) would fall into their laps, mainly if they perform well in class. Instead, due to the high unemployment rate, it was hard for graduates to get their 'dream' jobs. This challenge was mentioned by graduates from both universities, UDSM and KIUT. For instance, consider the comment below by Rehema (BSc. Law) from KIUT on her belief of easily finding employment due to getting good grades:

> *After graduation, our performance does not matter as much as we thought when we were still at the university. Even if you show an employer about your A's that you have performed, it still does not matter. I think right now, in this high unemployment rate times, what matters is how one presents him/herself, confidence, and new ideas even before you show your certificates.*

Steward (BSc. Law) from KIUT also gave this explanation:

> *I used to believe that if you perform well, high GPA, then you would quickly get a job and become a boss. Then the lower the GPA, the lower position at work. We used to believe that whoever performs well in class, then that person is the best. However, things have changed; in reality, we have met people who are doing well in life, but they had other stories to get where they are, not necessarily the higher GPA. There are people who performed well in class but still struggling to secure jobs. It is not as easy as we thought.*

The comments above signpost the graduates' realisation that good grades are essential, but not the only thing that one needs to survive or get a job. As Rehema specified, one might also need to be confident and innovative. These comments also elaborate on graduates' expectations that opportunities would be available and accessible for all. For example, Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM explained that:

> *When we were at university, we all thought that shortly after graduation, we would get jobs, which is not the case. I was confident that after my degree, it would be easy for me to be employed, but it is not easy. I am now planning to study a particular course, which I feel like it is so important for a person like me to have, to get a good job.*

Similarly, Donald (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained:

> *The experience after graduation is the opposite of what we expected as students. That after graduation, life would be easy; after I get my certificate, then immediately, I will get a job. However, after graduation, yes, there are jobs, and people are getting employment, but things are not as we expected. Our expectations were very high compared to the reality on the ground.*

In this way, it is worth arguing that one of the challenges that graduates face after graduation is the high unemployment rate, wherein graduates struggled to get jobs compared to how they had imagined. In addition to this, there was a change in public policy whereby the government no longer automatically employs or allocates student loans to the students enrolled for a Bachelor of Education. For that reason, education graduates are forced to look for jobs in private schools or other economic opportunities. Jeremia (BSc. Edu) from UDSM shared his experience in this regard:

> *Because the government no longer employs teachers, especially us who did art subjects, I decided to open a tuition centre with a few of my friends, where we teach secondary school students. It is not doing that well at the moment, but it is better than staying at home.*

Thus, Jeremia gives an example of how public policy constrained graduates from getting jobs, but he also indicates graduates' determination to find solutions to the challenges they face in order to achieve their goals and aspirations. Therefore, as I noted in Section 7.1, it is evident that, despite these challenges, graduates succeeded to secure jobs by being employed or self-employed.

Equally, graduates also mentioned teaching and learning from their university as another challenge. They claimed that their teaching and learning focused more on theory and ignored other essential skills (see also section 7.3.2). Consider the following example from Jonas (BSc. Law) from UDSM, who runs a Law firm:

> *Once during the interview, we asked someone where she sees herself in five years, she replied that she could see herself shopping a lot of clothes. Who gives such answers in a job interview? What I have learned from this is that in as much as the A's can be useful but I think the most important lesson that we need to get out of our education is how to live in a harsh and demanding world. We should all learn to grab opportunities.*

Similarly, Donald (BSc. Comp) from KIUT added:

> *If I have an interview tomorrow and decide to reflect on what I learned in class, I will not get anything. Because what employers need is interpersonal skills, how to deal with people, how to solve problems, this is the primary and significant thing. But what we learned in class only prepared us to work and not to work with others.*

The assertions above note the need for interpersonal skills, especially confidence, as Hezron (BSc. Law) from UDSM indicated:

> *I was talking to one of the big employers in the country; he was saying that sometimes he meets graduates during interviews, but they cannot even express themselves in a sentence using English, they lack confidence.*

Hezron added his concern that *'I don't think universities pay attention to such issues unless a student has a mentor that trains or teaches him/her about the importance of other skills rather than what we learn in class'.* The comment about graduates' interview skills, which suggests a lack of or poor interpersonal skills, paves the way to a broader problem of not only interviews, but also the absence of work skills and ethics. Steward (BSc. Law) from KIUT elaborated on this from his experience in terms of legal knowledge/skills:

> *Everybody knows that theft is a crime, but it remains individual accountability and arguments when you go to court. One might defend their client and get a sentence*

> *of seven years, while another one gets freedom. The variation in penalties is due to the power of negotiation between the lawyer and the other side and not the performance that a lawyer had in class. This proves that practice is different from the theoretical aspects we learned in class.*

In the same way, Susan (BSc. Law) from KIUT gave an example of handling a child at court. She explained that it is up to the lawyer to make a minor comfortable to give responses comfortably and willingly. She concluded by saying *'I have seen people struggling with this because all they do is work like a machine and do not consider the feelings of others'.*

Similarly, Jonas (BSc. Law) from UDSM also elaborated that:

> *We also work with people here, and you are surprised by their behaviours, the kind of language they speak at work. For example, we have a principle that if you have any personal issue, you must leave it at the gate but do not bring your problems at work. You only come in to add value to the company. Now the university does not teach that; people come to work with an attitude. That is not how it operates.*

Correspondingly, Gabriel (BSc. Comp) from UDSM gave an example from his workplace:

> *We have people who worked hard, passed exams very well, but when it comes to spaces like these, they operate like machines or robots and makes it very difficult to work with them. This is an indicator of how people have been trained at the university. There is no what we call career development or moral principles because some people do not cooperate with others.*

Therefore, it is clear that some of the challenges that graduates faced after graduation were a result of the nature of teaching and learning, which primarily focused on theory. For instance, graduates thought that it would be easy to get jobs, but the realisation was that as much as good grades are essential, one needs to develop interpersonal skills. Likewise, the need for interpersonal skills was also mentioned as a necessity for succeeding in an interview and to create moral ethics and work skills (practically). However, this does not generally ignore the contributions of teaching and learning. As Jeremiah's comment above, which indicates that it is the knowledge (teaching and learning) he got from the university that allowed him to open a tuition centre. Using the same example of Jeremiah, his decision to open a tuition centre suggests that he was determined to create a livelihood for himself, even when he could not get a job. Also, in Section 7.3.3. Beatrice mentioned another factor that allowed her to flourish by mentioning the assistance she got from her friends in resolving her financial challenges.

In summary, the table below provides an outline of the challenges that graduates faced at university and after graduation, which constrained and in some cases enabled development.

Table 10: Graduates' conversion factors

	Constraints	Enablers
University conversion factors	Finance	Family and friends
	Teaching and learning	Teaching and learning
	University facilities	Individual resilience and determination
	Lecturers' attitudes	
Post-university conversion factors	Insufficient job opportunities	Individual resilience and determination
	Teaching and learning	Teaching and learning
	Public policy	

The table above indicates the challenges or the conversion factors that constrained graduates' opportunities as well as the enabling factors. For students to flourish at and after university, universities have a responsibility to expand students' freedom by removing the conversion factors that have constraining effects. This means promoting human development and the public good.

7.4.2. Graduates' valued beings and doings

The discussion in this section presents the valued beings and doings graduates developed after graduation. The range of capabilities and functionings discussed in this section reflect what graduates have gained from their university education, including the contributions they have made to society and what they think the benefits of their degrees have been to themselves and their families.

Table 2 indicates the number of times graduates identified each capability. It is useful to note that the graduates mentioned all the capabilities and some more often than others.

As a start, all the graduates operationalised the capability to graduate from university despite the challenges that they had faced. This was then already an achieved functioning after their university education. The graduates first indicated how they had to apply their professional expertise to different economic opportunities, either through employment or through self-employment. For instance, Hezron (BSc. Law) from UDSM indicated that *'my education has helped me so much because what I am doing now, this job that gives me an income-earning right now, is the result of my education'.* Similarly, Sam (BSc. Edu) from UDSM elaborated on his excitement at being a teacher:

> *There is no lie that we joined the university so that we could get different jobs afterwards. Therefore, I count my job as the greatest achievement of my education because I have been able to achieve my dream. I wouldn't be here if it were not for my university education.*

In the same way, Beatrice (BSc. Comp) from KIUT who works in a different field[29] from her professional education explained:

> *I got this job because I have a degree. My job has nothing to do with what I specialized at the university. But I still think it wasn't wastage of those years because it's why I am here in the first place.*

Likewise, Martha (BSc. Edu) from KIUT added:

> *After graduation, I was also exposed to different economic opportunities; probably if I did not go to university I would not have been exposed to such opportunities, I had a chance to teach and work in this research company.*

These comments illustrate the benefits of university education to graduates, which has given them opportunities to be employed. This speaks to both kinds of graduates who are employed in line with their professions, and those who are employed in fields different from their expertise, such as Beatrice (BSc. Comp) above. In addition, other graduates acknowledged their university education in opportunities to be self-employed. Take the example of Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM, who explained that he had started earning since his second year by charging for services that he was providing to other students, especially computer maintenance:

> *In my second year, I already had many ideas, especially with computer maintenance. I used to advertise myself by distributing posters in classes and notice boards, and students would contact me to get help. This helped me to generate a little income while I was still at the university. It is the same thing I am doing now,*

[29] Beatrice works in marketing and sales in a construction and home decor company.

> *services like web design and development, system development, CCTV camera, and network installation, and electric fence installation. I did not get a job, but what matters is that I still make a living.*

However, Michael went further to explain that although he did not learn everything in class, it was mostly his own efforts to learn from other technicians and watching videos on YouTube. However, he added that '*without forgetting the importance of the knowledge that I got from my university education because without it, I wouldn't be aware of what to search or look for out there'*. In the same way, the comment from Jeremia (BSc. Edu) (refer to the section 7.3) indicated that since the government no longer employs teachers, his education allowed him to open a tuition centre, thus becoming self-employed.

In the same way, Jonas (BSc. Law) from UDSM spoke about his law firm, in which, despite him coming from a well-off family, a law firm would not have been possible without him having studied law. Susan (BSc. Law) from KIUT, who decided to start a chicken farm business, had an interesting response when I asked about the value of her university education in her business:

> *I handle my business differently in the market strategy that I use and how I communicate with my customers. I think knowing that I am educated, and I have a degree gives me the motivation to do things differently and search for more information to make my business better.*

These comments illustrate graduates' economic opportunities through self-employment or employment. It is worth noting that these economic opportunities have helped graduates to generate income and develop financial independence. The main comment from graduates was the idea that they now do not have to depend on their parents for financial assistance, or even if they do, then the rate is lower compared to when they were still students. For example, Joel (BSc. Comp) from KIUT described that *'another thing is that I am now independent. I don't have to make a call home and ask for money, maybe. I take care of myself right now without depending on anybody else'.* In the same way, Yohana (BSc. Edu) from KIUT said:

> *Universities have also allowed people to be independent, we do not depend on or families or parents anymore, because our education helped us to be here, so some people have employed themselves while others are employed.*

In this way, university education has helped these graduates to have an income or means of supporting themselves without depending on anybody. As shown above, graduates' comments on how they have generated an income included phrases like '*independent'* and *'do not depend'* just like Carlos (BSc. Comp) from KIUT, who said, *'I am independent. I do not depend on anyone to run my life; I pay my bills and all the expenses'.* Graduates also talked about how they have been able to take care of or support their families (parents and siblings). They explained that because most of them are from a poor background and their families sacrificed a lot for their education, it is now their time to assist their families. In this way, most of the support that graduates have been giving to their families include financial assistance, and one graduate helps his family with medical insurance. For instance, Martha (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained her experience:

> *I am the firstborn child in my family. So whatever I am doing, I think about my parents and siblings. My parents have paid my tuition fees, and now they expect me to help them and take care of my siblings. So it has been my responsibility that way, to help my family*.

Correspondingly, Steward (BSc. Law) from KIUT explained:

> *I now help my family after all the years they have spent money on me. Although I can't say that I am doing a lot, one thing I know is that it wouldn't be the same if I didn't go to school.*

These comments express the financial support that graduates have been providing to their families; in other words, the ability of graduates to care and support others' well-being. As Michael (BSc. Comp) from KIUT explained that, although he has not been entirely in a position to help his family, he sends money to his siblings occasionally. Likewise, Paul (BSc. Comp) said that apart from helping his parents financially, his parents are also the medical beneficiaries under his name at work. For Paul, this has been the most important thing he could do for his parents.

Graduates also noted how university education had helped them to gain more knowledge and awareness on multiple perspectives of life. For instance, Sarah (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained:

> *Going to university gave me an opportunity to shift from a primitive mindset to being educated. For example, there are some beliefs that we used to have prior going to university, but after going to university, you then become an ambassador of what you have learned and educate people. Therefore, going to university, I have*

learned not only issues to do with my profession but also other questions concerning how to live with people. Therefore, I have learned a lot, not only professionally.

Similarly, Dennis (BSc. Comp) from KIUT stated that *'my education has helped me to gain more awareness, not only regarding my career but also life in general, including how to interact and live with other people'.* In explaining how she has gained awareness from her university education, Joyce (BSc. Law) from UDSM shared what she learned from one of the seminars she had attended at university:

For example, our society has some misconceptions like pregnant women are not supposed to eat eggs….our education has helped to bring awareness because I also used to have such misconceptions, but education takes you to another world, teaches and corrects you in beliefs that are not valid. But after getting the education, I did not only learn that it is not true that pregnant women are not supposed to eat eggs, but I also learn the necessary foods that a pregnant woman needs to eat. This is an indicator of different mistakes.

These comments on how the graduates have gained more knowledge and awareness in different facets of life, how they are independent, handle their expenses and take care of their families add to what graduates expressed as being responsible. The graduates gave examples of different activities to elaborate on how responsible they are in life. For example, law graduates who explained that their university education gave them awareness of right and wrong indicated that they are now responsible citizens who act according to the law, because they understand the implications of their actions. As Ibrahim (BSc. Law) from UDSM said:

For example, in studying law, we were able to learn how a lawyer should behave, and this includes everything, dressing codes, hairstyles, and ethical issues that you need to pay attention to as a lawyer. This has helped us that even after graduation, you have a sense of who you are and what you should do and how to behave. We are now taking responsibility for our lives to make the world a better place.

Similarly, Jane (BSc. Law) from UDSM also explained:

I am aware, even on the road when the traffic police stop me; I know my rights. This also speaks to how responsible I am because I am aware of the rules that I am not supposed to drink and drive, and then I will behave according to the rules. Different from other people who would say rules are meant to be broken, I would say I am more responsible.

In the same way, Benjamin (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained how he has been responsible for spending his salary by arguing that *'it doesn't make sense if one gets a job and then uses all the money to get drunk and be irresponsible'.* Other graduates explained their responsibilities in terms of paying taxes to the government. Consider Carlos's claim that *'I consider myself a responsible citizen because I pay tax to my government, which helps the economic development of this country'*.

Moreover, graduates spoke about the application of their knowledge in being active citizens who are committed to the interests of society. For instance, Martha (BSc. Edu) from KIUT explained the contribution of her job in a research company of informing people about dengue fever:

> *I am making a massive contribution to my society through this job, making sure that people stay healthy and well. We have been going to the community for research and awareness on different issues. For example, now that there is a spread of this disease called dengue fever, we usually go to places that are most affected and educate them on the essential alerts to minimize the spread of the fever.*

In the same way, Michael (BSc. Comp) from UDSM clarified his contribution:

> *I think I have made an enormous contribution to my society because, until now, I have helped many people. I have done some marketing for some people. They are happy about it, their sales grew, which I think is a good thing for me, that I was able to help people make a profit in their work.*

Correspondingly, law graduates spoke about their devotion to providing legal assistance to the poor. As Joyce (BSc. Law) from UDSM elaborated:

> *Normally, the government hands out different cases to those who cannot afford a lawyer. Therefore, you handle a case of someone who cannot afford to pay and commit yourself as if you are being paid. I do not get anything out of it, but it is just my contribution to my community.*

Similar to doing *pro bono* work, graduates also explained that they have been giving legal advice to people in the community, family, and friends, which they also count as their contribution to society. In the same way, the Law graduates also explained that they had been part of different cases that aim to bring about positive change in society. For instance, Asifiwe (BSc. Law) from KIUT gave the example of the case on early childhood marriages in Tanzania:

> *I have been part of different cases that are called strategic litigation; these are cases that bring positive results to society. I participate in the case of early*

> *childhood marriage by pushing the new age to move from 15 years to at least 18 years, considering the impacts of early childhood marriage. So, participating, in that case, made a significant impact on our society by helping and saving the lives of young girls who were forced to get married at a young age.*

Although not all graduates felt that they contributed directly to their communities, as I will specify in the table at the end of this section, these comments show the possibilities for the role of Tanzanian HE in the public good.

Additionally, graduates spoke about the friendships and social networks they had created at university. In this regard, graduates indicated that they have been able to get assistance from their friends and learn about different issues from the friendships and networks they have from university. For example, Joel (BSc. Comp) from KIUT made a comment that:

> *I had a chance to create different connections with people from different nationalities, such as Uganda, Zambia, and other countries, which allowed me to learn from them and built myself even stronger. I still make contact with them even today, and we exchange ideas and talk about different issues about our professions and life in general.*

In the same way, Leah (BSc. Edu) from UDSM added:

> *Another important thing that I got from university is my friends. Most of them have become like family, we have been helping each other in many problems, and we can count on each other on anything.*

It is therefore clear that graduates have created friendships, which help and are necessary for support and exchanging ideas on different matters of life. As Khadija (BSc. Edu) from UDSM said, '*even if I need money today or I am in any kind of trouble, I can always count on my friends'.*

Therefore, from the comments above, the graduates' achieved outcomes or functionings included:

- To graduate from university;
- To work after university;
- To care and support others well-being;
- To have knowledge and awareness on different facets of life in general;
- To be a responsible citizen;
- To develop and be involved in positive social relations and networks, and;

- To be resilient and determined.

From the above functionings, the table below indicates the corresponding capabilities derived from each functioning and the number of instances that the graduates mentioned it. These capabilities were all made possible or influenced by the graduates' university education.

Table 11: Graduates' valued beings and doings

Capability	Definition	Number of instances
To be able to graduate from university.	Having the grades to pass and funding to be able to stay at a university.	30
To be able to work after university (Being employable, being able to generate self-employment).	Being able to gain knowledge and skills for career and economic opportunities; to have an income/livelihood.	30
To be able to care for and support others' well-being.	Being able to gain education or knowledge to become not only concerned with their welfare but also having an interest in social and public affairs.	19
To be able to have knowledge and awareness.	Being able to gain an understanding of various issues. Awareness in critical and complex questions about society. Being able to debate complex issues, being able to acquire knowledge for pleasure and personal development.	15
To be able to be a responsible citizen.	Being able to manage and take control of different facets of life.	12

To be able to develop and be involved in positive social relations and networks.	Being able to form networks of friendship and a sense of belonging and collaboration in solving problems.	9
To be able to have resilience and determination.	Being able to persevere in life and adapt to constraints. Having aspirations and hopes for a good future.	30

From the table above, we see that, through HE, graduates were able to develop different capabilities that speak to how HE benefited them. The fact that these graduates did not only develop a capability to work after university, but also other capabilities such as being able to care for and support others' well-being, suggests that there is more to the benefits of HE than economic gain only. However, the number of instances attached to each capability indicate (which is not surprising) that graduates most valued HE for its economic opportunities. In essence, we can only argue that HE in Tanzania has achieved human development if the social benefits of HE are valued as much as the economic benefits.

7.5. Summative discussion

The results in this chapter dealt with graduates' understanding of the value of HE and the experiences that they had at university and after graduating. This included the reasons why they joined university, what they learned in class, the challenges they faced at university and after university, together with the valuable beings and doings that they have developed after their university education.

The responses from 18 graduates defined the role of universities as an engine for economic development. Similar to the main argument of this study that HE's contribution to economic development is not its only benefit, graduates also indicated other definitions of the role of universities in Tanzania. For example, six graduates reported that the role of the university is to provide students with knowledge and awareness about different aspects of life. In the same way, five graduates argued about the potential of universities to broadly enhance development – socially, economically,

and politically. At the same time, one graduate defined the role of HE as a tool to reduce the cost to the government and their families.

Similar to graduates' understanding of the value of HE, most graduates (16) indicated that they joined the university to gain more knowledge and skills for professional development. On the other hand, seven graduates stated that they had joined the university to gain knowledge and awareness of life in general, while five graduates said they joined the university in order to help society. Two graduates argued that they joined university simply because it is expected that one moves on to university after secondary school.

From the graduates' aspirations and motivations to join university, the chapter looked at the experience that graduates had in class, specifically the focus of their university education. Responses in this chapter indicated that the focus of their teaching and learning was mainly to prepare students for jobs. However, graduates critically added that the focus of their education was only on theory and not practice.

Similar to students' comments in the last chapter, graduates also indicated the challenges that they faced at the university, including financial problems, insufficient student accommodation, and the gap between students and university officials. This chapter also presented the challenges that graduates faced after graduating from university, where graduates explained the unrealistic expectations they had about life after graduation, as well as poor interview skills and work ethic. Moreover, graduates indicated the valuable outcomes that they achieved after their university education, including graduating from university, getting jobs and self-employment, hence generating income and a livelihood. Graduates also indicated their resilience and determination to persevere in life; they have been able to care for and support others' well-being in different ways, especially financially. Additionally, graduates specified that they were able to gain awareness and understanding of various facets of life and became responsible and concerned citizens who are dedicated to the interests of society. Lastly, graduates spoke about the friendships and social relations they have gained from attending university.

Chapter 8

Theorising higher education, human development and the public good in Tanzania

8.0. Introduction

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 presented the varied and common views of university officials, lecturers, students, and graduates with respect to the value of HE in Tanzania. These chapters thus address my research questions: 'How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE?; What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education?; How has HE expanded their agency?'

The focus of this chapter is on synthesising and theorising key findings, with the aim of responding to my central research question and sub-questions 2, 3, and 4, which ask:

- What are Tanzanian students' and graduates' perspectives on how HE can promote human development, and what does that mean for the role of HE in the public good?
- What do students' and graduates' experiences and understanding of the value of HE suggest about the conditions of possibility of HE from a human development perspective?
- Based on students' and graduates' perspectives, how can HE promote human development and reduce inequality?
- What does the understanding of the value of HE from a human development perspective add to debates on the role of HE in Tanzania and more widely?

As explained in Chapters 2 and 3, the dominant understanding of the value of HE is in terms of human capital and/or economic development. This mainly focuses on the instrumental value of HE, which aims at advancing an individual and nation's economic competitiveness. I also indicated that HE has the potential to enhance human development for the public good. However, despite the potential of HE to contribute to the public good, relatively little has been explored in the Tanzanian context. By answering the research questions of this study, this chapter attempts to fill the gap. I apply human development and the capabilities approach to understanding the broader

value of HE, particularly concerning human development and the public good. This includes the perspectives of various participants. The objective of the chapter is twofold. First, to identify a dynamic set of capabilities that are important for the public-good university, and thus provide a basis for assessing the factors that fostered or constrained these capabilities. Second, to present alternative ways through which HE can reduce the negative impact of conversion factors and enhance capability formation.

8.1. Capabilities for the public good in and through higher education

In Chapter 3, I indicated my understanding of development in this study, which falls under Ul Haq's (2003) explanation that the fundamental purpose of development is to expand people's choices. In other words, development is defined as a process of expanding the real freedoms (capabilities) that people enjoy (Sen, 1999a:36). In this section, I reiterate the perspectives of university officials, students, and graduates on valued capabilities. I employ Walker's (2006:128) observation that the notion of capabilities includes both 'opportunities but also skills and capacities that can be fostered'. This is important because engaging in the skills and capacities that can be fostered in HE is critical in promoting and advancing human development for the public good (Walker, 2018, 2006, 2005; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Nussbaum, 2010). The key questions are then what capabilities are most important to support the role of HE in the public good, and once these have been identified, how can universities work towards fostering the development of these capabilities in all students? Therefore, I aim to return to what human capabilities are valued by my participants and how HE can enhance them to promote the well-being of individuals and broader society.

Table 12 below summarises the capabilities mentioned by my participants, and the number after each capability indicates the number of times it was mentioned. These numbers should be seen as a rough guide to our understanding of the importance attached to each capability by the participants. It should also be noted that in some instances capabilities were mentioned because they had been achieved, mainly by the graduates, or they were valued but had not been achieved. It is, therefore, helpful to use the quantification method to understand or rank their importance to these participants. Moreover, it is useful to show that the participants mentioned all the capabilities, some more often than others. The point to note here is that even if a capability is mentioned fewer times, or even once, it should not be discounted as unimportant if it matters to at

least one person. Note that the university officials are commenting not on desirable capabilities for themselves, but those which are desirable for students and graduates of the university. On the other hand, the students and graduates identify capabilities which they value for themselves.

Table 12: A summary of the valued capabilities in Tanzanian higher education

University officials	Students	Graduates
To be able to work after university. (8)	To be able to work after university / have a livelihood. (33)	To be able to work after university / have a livelihood (30)
To be able to be public-minded. (8)	To be able to be a concerned citizen. (22)	To be able to care for and support others' well-being. (19)
To be able to be a critical thinker. (8)	To be able to have knowledge and awareness. (19)	To be able to have knowledge and awareness. (15)
To be able to have a learning disposition. (8)	To be able to have a resilience and determination. (38)	To be able to have resilience and determination. (30)
To be able to be confident. (6)	To be able to be confident. (13)	
	To be able to be a responsible person. (29)	To be able to be a responsible citizen. (12)
	To be able to develop and to be involved in positive social relations and networks. (11)	To be able to develop and to be involved in positive social relations and networks. (9)
	To be able to have and give respect and recognition. (14)	
	To be able to access university. (38)	To be able to graduate from university. (30)

8.1.0. Dynamic nature of capabilities

As noted in previous chapters, the number of times each capability was mentioned suggests the significance of each capability to the respective group of participants. From the table, the first pattern (colour red) represents the common capabilities that appeared in all three groups of participants – *to be able to work after university*, *to be able to have a learning disposition*, *to be able to have resilience and determination, to be able to be a critical thinker* or what students and graduates explained as *to be able to have knowledge and awareness.* Also, as described by university officials, a *capability of being public-minded* or what was shown by students and graduates as a *capability to be a concerned citizen* and *to be able to care and support others' well-being*. The second pattern (colour black) represents the group of capabilities that were mentioned in two groups of the participants. This includes capabilities such as *to be able to be confident*, *to be able to be a responsible person/citizen*, and *to be able to develop or be involved in positive social relations and networks.* The final pattern (colour blue) represents the capabilities that appear in only one group of participants, either students or graduates. The capabilities that belong to this pattern include one's *capability to be able to join the university*, *to be able to have and give respect and recognition* as well as *to be able to graduate from university*. This sub-section highlights these dynamics.

Firstly, students and graduates indicated their valued capabilities, including *to be able to access university* and *to be able to graduate from university*; the former enables the latter. These capabilities build a foundation for the achievement of well-being through HE, because all the aspirations and hopes students and graduates had for university would not have been achieved without having to access university and then graduating. Following on analysis of the capabilities, the table above indicates four capabilities that were mentioned by all participants, including (1) *to be able to work after university and generate income*; (2) *to be able to have resilience and determination (learning disposition)* – I have grouped these capabilities together because they all speak to students' and graduates' desire and aspirations for learning and a good life; (3) *to be able to be public-minded* or *to be able to care (being concerned) about the well-being of others,* and (4) *to be able to have knowledge and awareness* or what university officials explained as *to be able to be a critical thinker*. Further examination of the numbers attached to each capability suggests that the capability *to be able to work after university* is most significant to all the participants. This could be due to at least four reasons. One,

is the definition of the role of HE, as most participants defined HE as an engine for economic development, equipping students with the right knowledge and skills for employment. Two, this capability could be developed due to the students' and graduates' aspiration to attend university for their career development. Three, is the fact that most students indicated that they come from low-income backgrounds, and the economic climate of the country is such that the majority of the population lives in poverty. As such, employment and generation of income would help them towards a better life in the future. Four, is the focus of teaching and learning in class that is based on preparing students for their professions. Together, these reasons could be why this capability was most highly valued among the participants.

However, appreciating the capability to work after university does not remove the importance of other capabilities. For instance, upon analysis of these capabilities, it is clear that after the capability to work and generate income, the most valued capability is *to be able to have a learning disposition* or *resilience and determination*. The university officials valued this capability by indicating that for students to pass and benefit from their university education, they need to develop a desire for their learning and become active participants in their learning process. Similarly, students and graduates developed this capability because of their hope and aspirations for the future, in which being able to have resilience and determination would have helped them to work hard, realise the value in learning, and persevere in their lives at and after university in order to achieve their goals.

Furthermore, the university officials showed their understanding of the broader value of HE by pointing out other capabilities such as *to be able to be public-minded*, *to be able to have knowledge and awareness*, and *to be able to be confident*. Indeed, these capabilities speak to the broader understanding of the value of HE and arguably pave the way for a human-development university. This includes equipping students with not only the knowledge and skills for economic benefits, but also training students to become confident individuals who think about their welfare and that of society and being aware of the critical and complex questions and solutions regarding their community.

These capabilities were not unique as they were also valued by students and graduates, along with other capabilities, such as; to be able to be *a responsible citizen*, to be able to

develop and be involved in positive social relations and networks, and *to be able* to *give respect and recognise other people*. However, the perspectives of students and graduates indicated in Chapters 6 and 7 suggest that they developed these capabilities from their experience and interaction outside of class, since the focus of their teaching was mainly on expanding students' ability to work and less on other values. In as much as the university officials were keen about the importance of these additional capabilities, it is clear that the development of different skills remains the outcomes of one's efforts and talents. The curriculum and pedagogical practices used in class mainly aimed to expand students' capability to work.

It is therefore clear that although my participants mostly value HE for its economic benefits, their realisation and awareness of other advantages of HE suggests the possibility of HE in Tanzania to enhance human development and the public good. This is drawn from the main argument of my study that, as much as the economic focus is important, there is a need to appreciate other social benefits to enhancing the lives that people value (see also, Sen, 1999a). In the next section, I discuss the factors that constrained the formation of these capabilities and ways through which HE can reduce the conversion factors to enhance human development.

Broadly, these capabilities signpost to students/graduates the broad capabilities of attending/accessing university, and their experience at and after university. Thus, the next section presents the discussion on how these capabilities were expanded and constrained by the university.

8.2. Higher education and the public good: Conversion factors

In this section, I employ the capabilities identified from my data to highlight the conversion factors that impacted on students' and graduates' abilities to access, choose and convert educational resources and opportunities into valuable educational and life outcomes. The aim is to examine the extent to which students were able to choose and realise these capabilities as achieved functionings for their well-being and employ their effective power (their capabilities and functionings) to contribute to the broader society (including family and community).

All the participants had achieved the functioning to access university, which in turn enabled them to pursue their goals and objectives in life. However, analysis of their

experiences into, in, and after university reveals that their freedoms were both constrained and expanded, pointing to the dynamics and social embeddedness of capabilities. Discussion of capabilities formation cannot be separated from the social context and social arrangements of possibility, as Sen (1999a) makes clear (see Chapter 4). Evidence presented in Chapter 6 showed the demographics of the students who participated in this study; most of the students were male. While this might only represent the type of students who volunteered to participate in my research, the national data on the Tanzanian enrolment and admission of university students also indicates more male than female students (Tanzania Commission for University (TCU), 2018). It is, therefore, clear that there are gender inequalities regarding university access (Kilango et al., 2017; Morley et al., 2010; Lihamba et al., 2006), and this compromises human development. Also, my findings indicate that most of the students are from a low-income background. As I mentioned earlier, this is one of the reasons why the students aspired to and instrumentally defined the value of HE in terms of its economic benefits.

Generally, in joining university, students indicated that it was not a comfortable experience due to various reasons. First, was their socio-economic background (financial challenges), wherein they grappled with handling university expenses for them to register for admission and select the programmes of their choice. Conversely, students were forced to choose courses that were not their preference in order to get financial assistance. For instance, in Chapter 5, Peter (BSc. Edu) from UDSM said that *'Student loan was another reason why I joined this field'.* Although students and graduates indicated how they were able to get financial assistance from family and friends, findings also revealed family influence as another factor which constrained students' decisions on the courses of study. This was mostly because parents suggested courses different from students' first choices, mainly for financial reasons. This way, most parents motivated students to pursue courses that guaranteed a student loan to save some costs. This constrains students' freedom to choose the course they value and it compromises the contribution of HE to human development.

The third issue concerns public policy, specifically the application process using the centralised system and government funding allocations to specific fields in HE. The centralised system in students' enrolment and admission limited the freedom of the

students and their agency (the government decided for them) to study at the university and select the courses they wanted to. Because the Tanzanian Commission for Universities (TCU) did not select them to the university and programmes of their choice, which constrained their freedom and well-being, students were forced to choose what was available rather than what they wanted. Likewise, government policy of providing a full scholarship to students in a Bachelor of Education influenced students to select this course in order to overcome financial challenges. On the other hand, participants in this study were able to join university because of their resilience and determination for a university education. For instance, when the TCU did not select them, the students did not give up, but applied again and got in, even though it was not for their programmes of choice. In some cases, financial assistance from friends and family helped to cover expenses that they could not manage, highlighting the importance of relationships both as conversion factor and as a capability with enabling effects. Moreover, an example of students' responses in Chapter 6 indicates the contribution of public policy (national service), where some students were able to learn about TCU application processes.

Once at university, factors that affected students' freedom to achieve well-being included teaching and learning, university facilities, lecturers' attitudes, and finance. Evidence demonstrated that the limitation of university facilities, such as students' accommodation, constrained students' experience at university, especially for students from rural areas who were not familiar with the city (Dar es Salaam). This meant that, while these students had to familiarise themselves with the city, they also had the challenge of finding places to live. Despite having limited accommodation, findings also indicate that the available accommodation was difficult to access and of poor quality. Students were then forced to find alternative accommodation (e.g. staying with friends), despite their preference for staying on campus, which assured their safety and easy access to university facilities like laboratories and the library.

In the same way, problems with equipment, like microphones used in lecture rooms, and poor quality of visual presentations slowed down students' participation in class, mainly in classes with a large number of students. The university officials in Chapter 5 also noted the poor resources (in classrooms), and insufficient staff for a large number of students. Another factor that affected students' capabilities was teaching and learning. The findings indicate that students were not satisfied with teaching and

learning in class for various reasons, including the insufficient facilities mentioned earlier. Secondly, students noted the limitation of their curriculum, arguing that it only focused on theoretical learning and less effort was directed towards practical education. However, this does not negate the positive contribution of teaching and learning, such as the fact that students and graduates were able to learn about their professions (even if theoretically only), and those in classes with few students were able to actively participate in their learning process.

Moreover, the results indicated less effort in teaching students about different issues other than their professional development. This also aligns with the claim from participants that the curriculum does not meet the needs of the society. Furthermore, economic difficulties remained a challenge for students, even after joining university. For instance, students indicated the difficulty in keeping up with expenses such as tuition fees and other costs such as food and stationery. Students gave examples of their colleagues who had had to drop out after they failed to pay fees. In the same vein, university officials argued for more funding to the education sector (secondary and tertiary) to cover expenses and motivate lecturers and teachers, including higher salaries and a conducive working environment.

Another factor that affected the students' experiences at the university were some lecturers' negative attitudes. The findings indicate that some lecturers exhibited negative attitudes towards students, which in turn discouraged some students from approaching them (see Chapter 7). This constrained the formation and flourishing of healthy pedagogical relationships between lecturers and students. Nevertheless, the findings indicate that individual resilience and determination of graduates and students acted as the critical factors that enabled them to pursue their educational goals and achieve well-being by continuing to look for solutions to their problems. Moreover, my findings indicate that, on the other hand, the teaching and learning in class influenced students' capability to work, because it had a strong emphasis on developing professional/employment competences. Also, students benefited from a few other courses, which, despite less attention on these, helped them learn about different facets of life. Furthermore, students indicated how their social life and experiences helped them to learn from each other, assist each other and create a sense of belonging. These relationships were crucial for them to achieve their well-being, because they had

support for education matters and life in general. At a personal level, students indicated that they knew what they wanted and were determined to achieve it no matter what. In this way, they worked hard to find solutions to different problems.

Analysis of the graduates' experiences after university demonstrates that one of the factors that affected their freedom to achieve what they valued was the lack of employment opportunities in the country. They left university with high expectations of getting jobs as soon as possible. However, the unemployment rate on the ground shattered their expectations and made them realise that getting a job was not as easy as they had imagined. In the same vein of employment, graduates presented the change in government policy as another factor that constrained their freedom. This lies in the fact that the government stopped employing graduates (BSc. Edu) after years of free education and guaranteed employment for students of this programme. In this way, some graduates found themselves struggling to get jobs after their unmet expectation of getting a job from the government. Additionally, graduates indicated the implication of their narrowed teaching and learning at university, which only focused on training them for jobs, causing them to lack other values and skills.

On the other hand, being assertive and focused enabled graduates to find ways through these limitations. For instance, with issues of employment, graduates indicated that they kept exploring the job market. While some decided to find other economic opportunities like employing themselves, others had to take jobs that were different from the professions they studied towards. In this regard, it is worth arguing that the teaching and learning was still helpful since it equipped them with the knowledge that allowed them to employ themselves.

The following table maps all conversion factors that enabled or constrained students' and graduates' choices and opportunities to, in and through university. These factors should be understood as intersecting; for example, finance intersects with policy and family influence. In this way, the factors have constraining effects for students and graduates with regard to access and experience at and after university. Moreover, the conversion factors should be understood as operating in a specific context of HE in Tanzania and specifically in Dar es Salaam.

Table 13: Conversion factors, to, in and through higher education

Broad capabilities	Intersecting conversion factors	
	Constraints	**Enablers**
Access university	• Finance • Family influence on degree choice • Public policy • Gender	• Individual resilience and determination • Family and friends • Public policy
Participate in HE	• Finance • Teaching and learning • Lecturers' attitudes • University facilities • Geographical background (rural areas)	• Teaching and learning • Social support and networks • Individual resilience and determination
Achieve after HE	• The high rate of unemployment • Teaching and learning • Public policy	• Individual resilience and determination

In summary, I have used a capability lens to examine the students' and graduates' perspectives and experience and highlighted various conversion factors that affected the way students and graduates were able to utilise available opportunities and freedoms to achieve their well-being. In categorising these conversion factors, it appears that there are social, personal, and environmental conversion factors. The social conversion factors include family influence, public policy, teaching and learning, the unemployment rate, social support and networks, family and friends, and lecturers' attitudes. Personal conversion factors involve individual resilience and determination, while the environmental conversion factors include students' geographical background (coming from rural areas) and university facilities (students' accommodation). From the table above, it is clear that the social conversion factors are the main constraints, cutting through all the phases of joining university, being at university and life after university.

They are only offset by the agency and determination of students and graduates to make something of their lives and work towards their goals.

Evidence in this section demonstrates that students' and graduates' freedoms and achievements are connected and affect each other. For example, the lack of genuine access to university or unfulfilled opportunities at university generates disadvantages, which affect educational outcomes in achieving goals. Similarly, this is the way students felt about how teaching and learning affected their opportunities to work after graduation. Thus, we can argue that without the expansion of students' opportunities, we might not be able to actively and successfully achieve human development and the 'public good' university that aims to expand and develop students' capabilities to meet their own well-being and that of the broader society. In this respect, we need intentional points of intervention that address the various conversion factors so that these work to expand students' real opportunities and freedoms.

8.3. Higher education as space of capability formation

This section draws on the empirical and theoretical evidence to make a case for the ability of HE to enhance valued capabilities for human development and the role of universities in Tanzania, and Sub-Saharan Africa, in the public good. Drawing from the mentioned human capabilities and the conversion factors that influenced participants of this study, I argue for human development and the public good in relation to the broad capabilities of access to university, experience at university, and impact on the broader society. This is important because countries in the developing world, including Tanzania, cannot improve the living conditions of their populations and promote inclusive and sustainable development without quality education, including a well-functioning HE system (Heleta & Bagus, 2020; Tanzania Human Development Report (THDR), 2017; UNESCO, 2015; Walker, 2012a, Naidoo, 2011). In this case, a well-functioning HE system would mean a 'public good' university, which provides more than just economic benefits, since sustainable development in this context does not only focus on economic development but also on environmental sustainability and social inclusion (Sachs 2012:2206; African Union, 2015). Enhancing capabilities would, therefore, mean expanding freedom and opportunities for all and reducing inequality.

The next section presents the discussion on how HE can enhance students' capabilities for human development.

8.3.0. Equity of access in higher education

The student profile in Chapter 6 provides a summary of gender inequality in Tanzanian HE, as there are more male than female students. Similar to the argument I presented in Section 8.2 above, the concern for gender inequality runs compatibly with the popular observation that male children are given greater priority by their parents when investing in education, given the scarce financial resources available at the household level (Ishengoma, 2018). Therefore, from a gender and public-good point of view, access has not been equitable, thereby making HE-based public contributions by women challenging, because they are underrepresented compared to male students. Similarly, the students raised a concern on the issue of socio-economic background as another factor affecting their access to school and university finance. In the same way, findings indicate how public policy on university selection and admission constrained students' choices. Overall, from a capability perspective, my data suggests that students' opportunities to access universities were restricted by gender, income, and lack of information, and the government's aim of expanding access and improving equity in HE has not been achieved. In this regard, I support Walker's (2019:52) argument that without equal access, social mobility cannot follow, nor can the broader public good of HE be well served if only better-off and male students get into university.

Access to HE is not only about opening doors to more people, but also striving for greater inclusivity, equity and quality, especially in a low-income country like Tanzania (see MacGregor, 2020). In achieving this, I reflect on the constrained access factors mentioned earlier, starting with public policy. For HE in Tanzania to enhance human development, students' freedom would have to be enhanced for them to choose a university and programme of study of their choice. This is not to say, however, that there might not also have to be policy trade-off with regard to expounding some professions. Nonetheless, I have argued for students' freedoms to be cultivated. Fortunately, in 2017, the government of Tanzania revoked the admission process through TCU. It now allows students to lodge their applications directly through respective institutions (Fujo & Dida, 2019; TCU, 2017, 2018). This way, students get to exercise their freedom and choose universities and programmes they value. Even though gender, income and quality of school might still hold them back.

Therefore, in Tanzania, like many other developing countries, there would not be equity of access if aspirations are not developed among students from a low-income background. The data of this study sheds light on how students struggled to pay university expenses. At the same time, some students decided to study specific programmes (BSc. Education) only for the financial assistance (see example in 8.1 above). Efforts have been made by the government, through the Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB), given the need for equal access. The National Policy of Higher Education (NPHE) by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE) states that:

> Taking into account the prevailing socio-economic conditions, not all students may have immediate ability to meet the cost of higher education. The Government shall provide financial assistance to students who require it on loan basis. (MSTHE, 1999:19).

However, my data and the results from other research done in Tanzania suggests that the implementation of such efforts have been lackadaisical, in other words, the desired results have not been achieved (Ishengoma, 2018, 2006, 2004; Johnstone, 2004). Specifically, Ishengoma (2018) argues that the current loans procedures lack transparency, are open to abuse and actually exacerbate inequalities. In this way, Unterhalter et al. (2018) in their research on the perspectives of public good from four African countries suggest that equitable access would require a realistic loan scheme that can cater to students' fees and subsistence. While this is important, it would also be essential to ask who benefits from these loan schemes. Where in this context, is the student from a low-income background who is unable to pay for university expenses? The capability approach enables us to think about expanding students' capabilities (also called freedoms), to access a university and programme of their choice. Therefore, getting the green light for students' genuine choices will need: First, available resources, including universities and loan schemes as the means for students to achieve their valuable outcome. Second, each students' set of enabling conditions that shape their freedom to realise access; for example, gender, socio-economic background, government policy. Third, a government and university culture that does not only aspire to equity and social justice but also implements and dedicates all the efforts to meet the students' conditions and reduce inequality (see also Walker, 2019, 2018; Robeyns, 2017; McCowan, 2016; Wilson-Strydom, 2015a, 2012).

In sum, it is worth arguing that, to address inequality, there is a need to ensure gender equality and equitable access to affordable and quality tertiary education to develop the well-being of an individual and that of the broader society.

8.3.1. Experiences at university

This section discusses the ways through which HE can expand students' capabilities at university. My aim is to explore what and how university processes could enhance the public good by aiming towards human development. To illustrate this more concretely, I argue for a HE system free from reliance only on western epistemological domination and committed to delivering relevant and quality education. This is in line with the discussion of decolonisation. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Mbembe (2015:2–3) defines decolonisation as a project of 're-centring' or 'seeing ourselves clearly'. He further writes that decolonisation is a struggle over what is to be taught, and about the terms under which we should be teaching (Ibid). Therefore, I use this kind of thinking to argue for the curriculum and pedagogical practices which are relevant to the needs and challenges of our contexts. Even though decolonisation was not specifically mentioned by participants, they mentioned concerns about the need to update the curriculum according to the needs of the society, which speaks to the elements of decolonisation. This is similar to Heleta's (2016:5) comment that low-income and developing countries need curriculums at universities that place their histories, realities, challenges, needs and hopes at the centre of teaching and research. This can be achieved by focusing on human development at universities for the public good.

8.3.1.0. Teaching and learning for economic opportunities

Teaching and learning has appeared to be both a constraining and expanding factor for students' capabilities in my study. In this section, I make a case for the potential ways through which teaching and learning can enhance human capabilities for the public good. I will start with what students/graduates indicated as the main focus of their university education, i.e. training or preparing them for jobs. My data also suggests that the focus of university education could be one of the reasons why students/graduates valued the capability for work (employment), because they were mainly trained for jobs (which is important, especially in a developing country). Conversely, the perspectives and experiences of students presented the comments on how teaching and learning

actually constrained the students' and graduates' ability to work in some respects (Chapter 6 and 7).

Similarly, Ndyali's (2016) research on the *higher education system and jobless graduates in Tanzania* also indicates that HE in Tanzania constrains graduates' prospects, because they lack the skills required by the labour market. Broadly, Nganga (2014) suggests that at least 50% of the graduates produced by East African universities are 'half baked' for the job market. The findings by the Inter-University Council for East Africa revealed that in Uganda at least 63% of graduates were found to lack marketable skills, followed by Tanzania (61%), Burundi (55%), Rwanda (52%) and Kenya (51%) (Ibid). It is therefore worth noting that the present dominant discourse in Tanzanian HE emphasises the different ways in which HE can enhance graduate employability in order to increase the economic development of the country (see Kessy, 2020; Mwita, 2018; Ngalomba, 2018, 2018a; Munishi, 2016; Istoroyekti, 2016; Ndyali, 2016; Mbise, 2014; Kimenyi, 2011). Contrary to these studies, my research makes a contribution to the discussion of universities and employment from a human development and capability approach. First, I apply the definition of work from the 2015 Human Development Report (HDR) to incorporate what a capability for work would look like from a human development perspective:

> Work is any activity that not only leads to the production and consumption of goods or services but also goes beyond production for economic value. Work thus includes activities that may result in broader human well-being, both for the present and for the future. Work, from a human development perspective, is about the degree of freedom individuals have in making choices about the work they do (UNDP, 2015:30).

The definition of work from a human development perspective provides a broader understanding of jobs or employment. It is estimated that each year in Tanzania 700,000 graduates enter the labour market; only 40,000 (5.7%) find jobs in the formal sector that everyone aspires to (Ngalomba, 2018). Instead, the definition of work will also include other activities such as self-employment and voluntary work (see UNDP, 2015:31).

In this manner, work and human development become synergistic. As my data shows, when graduates achieved the capability for work, they were also able to generate income, achieve financial independence, create a livelihood for themselves, and help

their families (see Chapter 7). As such, what is important is the degree of freedom individuals have in making choices – where possible and to the extent possible – about the work they do (UNDP, 2015). While this might be problematic in a developing country, we can still strive towards this by recognising the challenges. It is, therefore, incumbent upon universities to make a contribution by expanding students' freedom to choose the job or activity a person has reason to value (Walker & Fongwa, 2017; Mukwambo, 2016; Ndyali, 2016; McGrath & Powell, 2016; Bonvin, 2012). I follow the same line of argument that universities should enhance the capabilities of students to choose the activity that they want (to the extent possible), as my data suggests that universities do the opposite. Consider the following statement from Carlos (BSc. Comp) from Kampala International University (KIUT):

> *The focus of the training that we had at the university was mostly to prepare us for jobs, so all the time that we spent at the university, we had one goal that is employment. It is actually surprising that after graduation, you hear comments like graduates in Tanzania need to employ themselves without even paying attention to how they prepared us when we were at university.*

The example presented in Chapter 5 of the University of Dar es Salaam's efforts to provide entrepreneurship courses to graduates illustrates the need to expand students' economic opportunities by not only depending on employment by others. Moreover, students and graduates indicated that they were not satisfied with the training, even for employment by others, that they received from university. This way, I agree with Ligami's (2018) suggestion that instead of universities putting more emphasis on certificates, they should provide entrepreneurship courses or transform their education curricula to give graduates flexible skills for the job market. Consequently, students will gain appropriate skills and competencies for self-reliance and, where possible, employment (Association for Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), 2015). Because economic benefits are essential to an individual and a low-income country like Tanzania, a 'public good' university would contribute by improving students' capability for work and generating a decent livelihood. Also, it would work to expand students' economic opportunities (to the extent possible) for them to choose and explore the economic activities that they value. This is also in line with Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8: *Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.* In this goal, target 8.6 calls for substantially reducing the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training

(United Nations, 2015). This could be facilitated by a university informed by human development and the capability approach.

8.3.2. Beyond employment

The results of this study correspond to the main argument in the literature about the dominant understanding of the value of HE from economic perspectives. The last section presented the significance of economic benefits of HE to an individual and a low-income country like Tanzania. Remarkable is the fact that students/graduates developed other social values, which in this case tell us about the additional benefits of HE rather than the economic gains only. Students indicated that they mostly developed these values from their experiences and interaction outside of class. Therefore, in this section, I discuss different ways through which HE can also enhance these values through the curriculum.

8.3.2.0. Educating professionals

The literature and results of my study indicate that preparing students for different professions has been and continues to be fundamental to the functions of universities. While this is important, as I mentioned earlier, I argue that this trend can produce generations of useful machines, but not necessarily professionals who are socially responsible (see Nussbaum, 2010:2, Liundi, 2012:43). This is a broader concern and specifically in Tanzania, considering that graduates indicated some gaps in work and professional ethics (Chapter 7). In this way, rather than one only asking self-centred questions like what will I get out of this work, McLean and Walker (2015:63) provide useful questions that public-good and socially oriented professions would ask, for example, what are the clients or communities I work with actually able to do and be? What opportunities do they have to be and do what they value? In summary, a professional oriented towards the public good would ask and reflect on the questions of how they can create capabilities for others and improve the lives of others.

In the same way, Walker et al. (2009) provide an excellent start to think about HE and professionals in Tanzania. Although their professional capabilities were developed in alignment with the South African context, their target of reducing poverty and inequality applies to many developing countries, including Tanzania. In this way, I use their categorisation of professional capabilities to link with the capabilities from my

results and make a case for professional capabilities in Tanzania as well. Therefore, from my findings, the capability to be a change agent would include capabilities like being confident, being a problem-solver, and having resilience and determination. The capability for affiliation would consist of respect and recognition and the ability to develop and be involved in positive (professional) social relations (Walker et al., 2009:570-571). Nyerere once said:

> The objective of teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills and attitude which will serve the students when she or he lives and works in a developing and changing state (Liundi, 2012:62).

In other words, universities need to ensure that the curriculum, pedagogical practices and assessments foster the appropriate knowledge, understanding and orientation to society. In this manner, professional graduates would be transformative agents, who are able to work and expand the capabilities of others, especially the poor (see Mukwambo, 2019, 2016; Mtawa, 2019: Mathebula, 2018; Walker & McLean, 2015; McLean & Walker, 2012). Nurturing professionals who are oriented towards the public good is also an indicator of the kind of general citizens universities could produce. Therefore, the next section discusses the notion of citizenship.

8.3.2.1. Citizenship formation

I argue for citizenship, because it is a notion that relates so much to some of the historical ideas in Tanzania. The late Julius Nyerere encouraged people to live and work on a communal basis or *ujamaa* (Chachage & Cassam, 2010; Liundi, 2012; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009; Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003; Nyerere, 1968). This also applied to the kind of education he envisioned. For instance, Nyerere said:

> The education provided must, therefore, encourage the development in each citizen of three things; an enquiry mind; and ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains (Nyerere, cited in Liundi, 2012:60).

This aligns with the definition of citizenship by Nussbaum (2002). I adopt this definition because it provides a nuanced understanding of the type of citizens universities need to produce. In Nussbaum's words, citizenship means:

> …being active and open-minded to make a personal decision; being able to recognise and care about the needs and capacities that link to other citizens

> living in a far distance; and understand with sympathy the conditions of other human experiences (Nussbaum, 2002:209).

Therefore, taking into account Nyerere's priorities in communitarian values and practices alongside Nussbaum's approach to nurturing individuals who are committed to justice, and have an interest in social and public affairs, paves the way for the type of citizens universities need to produce. However, the question remains, how do we achieve citizenship formation? In my findings, we can see some elements of citizenship among students and graduates in Tanzania; for instance, Doreen, a final-year student in (BSc. Edu) from UDSM explained that she will be an example to her community by influencing and teaching them (see Chapter 6). In the same way, Martha (BSc. Law) from KIUT indicated what Nussbaum (1997) explains as the ability to think what it might be like in the shoes of others:

> *University has helped me to be not too judgemental on people and to understand why people do certain things and not just judge them as to why they are doing whatever they are doing.*

The formation of these capabilities among students and graduates should not suggest that HE in Tanzania has achieved citizenship formation, but should tell us that there is hope for universities in Tanzania to achieve what Nyerere started. The reason why I argue that Tanzanian universities have not achieved this notion is that little weight is placed on such capabilities, while everybody aspires mostly to achieve economic benefits. It is also clear from the university officers that they acknowledged the importance of citizenship formation when they explained the importance of encouraging students to become public-minded. However, it is worth arguing that there is almost zero implementation of these ideas as students indicated that most of the social values were developed from their own experiences outside of class. Therefore, a curriculum update and attentive implementation is an example of what universities could do to produce graduates who are committed to justice. Bear in mind a comment from Cuthbert, a student of (BSc. Comp) from UDSM who said that:

> *Although most of the lessons that we have in class are only based on our career goals, most of the other exposure that we get is through our own experience and few courses, like general studies.*

This statement calls for curriculum and pedagogical practices that push students towards understanding their society, developing a sense of belonging, and

understanding the circumstances of others. This is not only significant in Tanzania but also Africa as a whole, as long as the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*[30] stands. As such, universities would produce graduates who are socially responsible by critically reflecting on the past and being able to imagine a possible future shaped by social justice to prepare people to live together in harmony in diverse societies (Waghid, 2020, 2014; Mtawa, 2017; Marovah, 2016; Costadius et al., 2015; Robins et al., 2008).

Therefore, human development for the 'public good' university would not only focus on economic benefits but also producing graduates who are dedicated to the interests of their society.

8.3.3. Beyond the curriculum

Findings of this study indicate how the capabilities of students were enhanced and constrained by other factors different from what they had learned in class. For that reason, this section presents the contribution of HE towards expanding students' freedoms and opportunities beyond the use of the curriculum. My aim in this section is to argue for an equitable and inclusive educational environment for students to participate in and attain their goals. To achieve that, I draw on the notion of public deliberation that involves an exercise in which people have space and freedom to choose and decide what they value and how to go about achieving their goals (Croker, 2008; Sen, 2003, 1999, 1999a; Dreze & Sen, 2002). It is comments like Michael's (BSc. Comp), who is a graduate from UDSM, that makes us question the kind of environment and freedom within which students are expected to flourish. In Chapter 7, Michael indicated that his university experience included unfriendly lecturers who did not support his learning.

What students and graduates indicated is the need to reduce the disruptive effects of power relations between students and lecturers (see Deneulin, 2009). University officials in Chapter 5 indicated the need for students to become active participants in class and other university activities. However, Michael's example demonstrates the opposite by indicating that one factor that constrained students' participation was unapproachable staff. Therefore, it is problematic to talk about participation if the

[30] Shanyanana and Waghid (2016) elaborate on Ubuntu as a philosophical concept that is associated with the being of a person, which is determined by his or her association with other people in an intersubjective community (see also Chapter 3).

relationship between students and lecturers is built on fear. Because, it is evident that the lecturers' attitudes and comments may lead to students' negative self-evaluation and lower confidence, which in turn may lead to their disengagement or withdrawal from active participation in academic environments. Compare Nyerere who characterised a teacher[31] as:

> The man who treats everyone with respect, who discusses his position clearly, rationally, and courteously with everyone…that teacher is inculcating a spirit of equality, of friendship, and mutual respect (Nyerere, 1966 cited in Liundi, 2012:62).

Therefore, lecturers' attitudes are important for uplifting students' confidence and empowering them to become active agents of their lives, and more importantly, better citizens. This would not only mean in class, but also developing spaces for students to make decisions outside of their classrooms. It should be noted that one of the reasons why my study decided to focus on students' perspective is the realisation that they are key stakeholders of HE. As such, their freedom and space for participation matters in achieving their well-being. Insightfully, Shaffer (2014) indicates why we should pay attention to deliberation:

> Deliberation has the ability to change how those in higher education teach and engage students and communities, but also how we operate as organisations. It has the ability to alter how higher education functions. This is done by cultivating space for diverse ideas and marginalised voices to be heard and valued in the classroom, on campus, or in the community (Shaffer, 2014:3).

Thus, deliberation enhances the environment for students to communicate freely with no fear. This is important, considering the event at the University of Dar es Salaam in December 2019 when the university administration suspended six student organisation leaders, including the president, pending disciplinary proceedings, over what it described as a breach of university law[32]. However, in their defence, the suspended students indicated that they were suspended from studies *'for shouting against problems facing students; that's all and nothing else*' (Namkwahe, 2019). From this statement, it is clear that the students felt that they had lost their space and freedom of speech, where they can no longer raise their voices about their problems. This can also

[31] I am using Nyerere's characterisation of a teacher for a university lecturer.
[32] They were suspended for planning and organising a press conference and giving the HESLB 72 hours to issue stipends to students who were granted student loans. The students threatened to go on strike to pressurise the HESLB to disburse the funds.

be related to the current critcism Tanzania has been receiving on attacks of freedom of speech by arresting journalists who criticise the government (see Westcott, 2016).

In this way, a 'public good' university would enable social arrangements, including democratic processes, in which HE stakeholders (students, faculty, staff, administrators, or community partners) are able to express their agency, shape their destiny, and be in charge of their well-being (see Croker, 2008, Sen, 1999a) as part of a responsible collective.

8.4. Higher education well-being and agency

According to Sen (1985), agency has two dimensions, namely, *agency freedom* and *agency achievement*. The former is defined as freedom to achieve whatever the person, as a responsible agent, decides that he or she should achieve (Sen, 1985:204). As such, Crocker and Robeyns (2009) argue that the assessment of agency freedom would consist of well-being freedom since the pursuit of well-being depends on whether the person has well-being freedom. Agency achievement focuses on the attained goals of people individually and collectively. If we map these in the HE context, agency freedom would be the choices or opportunities that students have to pursue the educational and life goals that they value. While agency achievement is the successfully achieved educational and life goals and aspirations. Therefore, in defining the public good through human development, we need a HE system that expands students' agency to enhance their well-being. However, before we argue for HE to expand the agency of students, we first need to consider if students have agency or if students have these goals and aspirations for their education and life in general.

In Chapter 6, I discussed some examples of students' agency and how hard students worked to find solutions to their problems. We have also witnessed this with graduates in Chapter 7, where they indicated their resilience and determination towards the challenges that they faced at and after university. This points us to an understanding that students and graduates had aspirations in their lives that they were working hard to achieve. This aligns with Deneulin and Shahani's (2009:37) argument that agency is related to other approaches that stress self-determination, authentic self-direction, self-reliance, empowerment, voice, and so on. Thus, it is important to emphasise here that students' and graduates' agency (both freedom and achievement) is affected by various

conversion factors, as indicated earlier. From this perspective, enhancing HE as a space of capability formation, as I have discussed in this chapter, would contribute to the expansion of students' and graduates' agency, their well-being and human development in general. This aligns with Sen's (2008) argument that having capabilities is a kind of power and this power obligates us to contribute to our society as agents.

Drawing on the promises and pitfalls of HE illustrated in this chapter, I present a proposed 'public good' university in the following section that is informed by human development and the capability approach, which aligns with Nyerere's historical ideas.

8.5. A Tanzanian and African 'public good' university

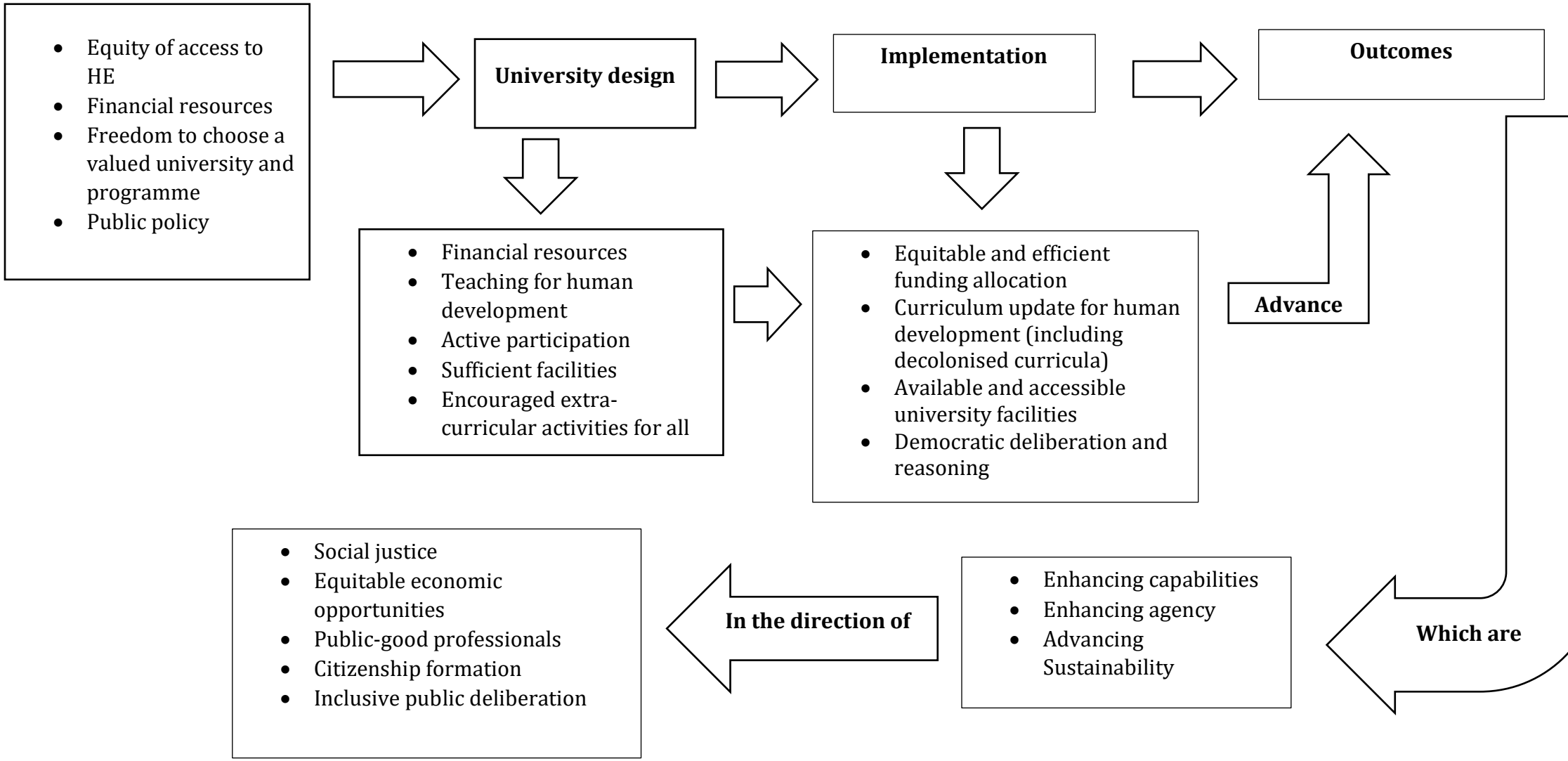
Considering the potential of HE and the conundrums that it faces, I adopt the industrial frame proposed by Unterhalter et al. (2018) to define a Tanzanian and African public-good university. Similar to the broad capabilities in my study, this frame defines the relationship between HE and the public good in relation to inputs (equity access), process (experience at university) and outputs (impact on the broader society). Therefore, this frame is necessary, because it provides us with a broad framework that could guide HE policy, design and implementation. The ideas used in developing a 'public good' university are generated from the data chapters (Chapters 5 to 7) and the theorisation chapter (Chapter 8) and relate to the conceptual application of human development and capability approach. This calls for a more expansive and inclusive definition of the value of HE that recognises the multifaceted nature of HE. Currently, the description of HE in Tanzania draws heavily on economic and private benefit terms. However, the data of this study suggests that there is more to what HE can achieve than just the financial benefits. In this way, a broader definition of the role of HE is that it serves to provide ideas, human resources, and services for the furtherance of human development (Liundi, 2012). In this way, the understanding of the role of HE from a human development perspective leads to the realization that HE is more than the development of capacity for the marketplace. It is also about critical engagement and understanding of the world and all its complexities (Unterhalter 2010:94). Therefore, we need an inclusive and participatory HE design and implementation that adheres to the principles of human development (putting people at the centre of development policy and actions) to enhance sustainability (see Chapter 3). A public-good university underpinned by the human development and the capability approach is not a Western

framework or new in the Tanzanian context, but well supported by Nyerere's ideas (see Chapter 1). Hence, there is a need to revitalise these ideas, the kind of curriculum we have or the kind of graduates we produce. For instance, Nyerere once said:

> It is necessary that we should realise that our young people out of school (university) are not disqualified from being farmers. They are qualified to be better farmers, and better citizens (Liundi, 2012:58).

Different from Boni and Walker (2016), who also characterise a human development friendly university, their categorisation of a university is significant, but can imply to a human development university anywhere. The proposed public-good university in this study is specifically for Tanzania and Africa, because it speaks to the aspirations and goals of a specific context. In a way, a public-good university in Tanzania will be regenerating what Nyerere started. The figure below attempts to bring together all the strands discussed in this chapter to indicate what a public-good university would look like.

Figure 13: A 'public good' university



The figure above sketches a 'public good' university that is underpinned by human development in expanding students' and graduates' opportunities towards addressing the problems the world faces today. Through inputs, process and outputs, human development allows universities to cultivate in students values like empowerment, participation, equity, sustainability, and efficiency. This implies a public good university that is dedicated to developing social justice and providing an equitable and inclusive educational environment for students to participate and achieve their goals. Moreover, a public good university will be committed to producing citizens who are not only focused on their own well-being but also that of the broader society. However, it is important to note that this kind of university is an ideal, but it provides a yardstick against which progress in foregrounding human development will be measured. The public good, therefore, can at least be assessed even if the realisation is always imperfect. The aim is for Sen's (2009) non-ideal justice, but striving nonetheless towards the idea of human development and public good.

8.6. Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on the human development and capabilities approach to theorise the perspectives of university officials, students and graduates on the value of HE in Tanzania. My intention was to show how HE can potentially enhance valued human capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and the broader society. This framework reveals that although HE in Tanzania is mainly valued for its economic benefits, there are some possibilities to advance other benefits beyond the economic perspectives. It underscores the importance of paying attention to other social and political benefits of HE, which in turn extends the analysis of the value of HE in relation to personal development as well as that of the broader society.

I identified a set of shared capabilities that were valued by the participants and highlighted how they were either constrained or expanded through HE. This suggested that the capability formation and expansion is complex and dynamic as capabilities were enhanced and also diminished. Nonetheless, the analysis explained that all capabilities in my set are essential for making an argument for what capabilities need to be expanded for the role of HE in the public good. The identification of valued capabilities is crucial and informs what constraining conversion factors (social, personal and environmental) need to be eliminated and what enabling factors need to be

expanded for HE to enhance human development and the public good. The capability set can be used to encourage discussion about Tanzanian HE.

Thus, the chapter has shown how we can use a capabilities-informed framework to make a case for students to be able to have equitable access to HE. Then, once in university, students need to successfully and confidently engage in an inclusive educational learning environment which expands their capabilities, functionings and agency. Here they also acquire the knowledge that develops their capability sets to function and contributes towards their well-being, as well as the values for transforming existing social inequalities in the context of a low-income country like Tanzania.

Chapter 9

Concluding chapter

9.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study. It begins by reflecting on the aim and the research questions of the study and highlights key aspects of the research. The chapter outlines the main argument of the thesis and the original contribution to the existing scholarship. Furthermore, the chapter concludes by considering what the study has not been able to do and suggests recommendations and areas for further research.

9.1. Revisiting the research aim and questions

When conceptualising this study, my concern was that most research on the value of HE in Tanzania is dominated by economic thinking and the private benefits which accrue to individuals. Additionally, in the existing research, the views/perspectives of students and graduates on the value of HE are ignored whether or not they confirm or support the economic and human capital argument, and the focus is on the number and diversity of the student population. My case is that the economic benefits of HE provide a narrow and limited account of the value of HE, which is also suggested in the data and Nyerere's vision of education for Tanzania. Thus, there is a need to consider the broader contribution of HE that goes beyond the economic dimensions only, to include human development values of well-being (capabilities and functionings), participation, equity and empowerment and human development outcomes which include but go beyond the economic. Because students and graduates are also key stakeholders of HE, my study drew on their perspectives to show how universities can impact lives and enable people to contribute meaningfully to the broader society and how they could do more. Using human development and the capability approach as an analytical framework and a case study of two Tanzanian universities, my research thus sought to investigate how HE can enhance valued human capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and the broader society.

The following questions guided me:

1. What are Tanzanian students' and graduates' perspectives on how HE can promote human development, and what does that mean for the role of HE in the public good? (This question was addressed analytically in Chapter 8.)

2. How do students and graduates in Tanzania understand the value of HE? What valued capabilities and functionings have they developed through their university education? How has HE expanded their agency? (Addressed empirically in Chapter 6, and 7, and analytically in Chapter 8.)

3. What do students' and graduates' experiences of and understanding of the value of HE suggest about the conditions of possibility of HE from a human development perspective? (Addressed analytically in Chapter 8.)

4. Based on students' and graduates' perspectives, how can HE promote human development? (Addressed analytically in Chapter 8.)

5. What does understanding of the value of HE from a human development perspective add to debates on the role of HE in Tanzania and more widely? (Addressed analytically in Chapters 8 and 9.)

The next section summarises the key findings related to each question.

9.2. Higher education, human development and the public good

The aim of Questions 1, 3, and 4 was to investigate different ways through which HE can enhance human development by drawing on student and graduate perspectives on the value of HE and their experiences at university. However, in illustrating the definition/ understanding of the value of HE, results revealed that HE is mostly understood from an economic perspective. For instance, findings in Chapter 7 indicated that out of 30 graduates, 18 defined the role of HE in Tanzania as a tool for economic development. Nonetheless, my findings also revealed other aspects of the value of HE in Tanzania, including: its potential to impart knowledge and awareness of matters global and local; contribute to the development of the country (economically, socially, and politically); and, to reduce government expenses by facilitating the development and use of local human resources who are locally educated. While the latter might have an economic dimension, it nonetheless encourages local capacity-building rather than reliance on expatriates.

The university experience of students and graduates involved reflections on why they joined university (inputs: access for the public good), experiences in/out of class (processes towards the public good), and the benefits of HE to themselves and society as a whole (outputs: contribution to society). Results indicated that most students and graduates aspired to enter university in order to acquire skills and knowledge for employment. However, the freedom of students/graduates to access HE and pursue their desires was constrained by financial challenge. In this regard, financial support was critical in students' freedom to join university, which shows clearly that adequate financial resources matter. Also, their parents had to approve their programme, mostly for economic reasons. As we saw in Chapter 6, some students explained how their parents influenced them to study specific programmes to qualify for student loans. Students and graduates further indicated the need for freedom to select the university and programme of their choice without the interference of the Tanzania Commission for University (TCU). Lastly, findings indicated gender inequalities wherein there are more male than female students accessing university. Inputs therefore were constrained and not equitable for all in choosing HE.

Furthermore, evidence explored the process aspects through experience of students once at the university, starting with the focus on teaching and learning in class. Students and graduates noted that teaching and learning mainly focused on training them for jobs/employment. In their responses, as I indicated in Chapters 6 and 7, students and graduates noted that they were not satisfied with how they were trained. Thus, even in terms of the narrow aim of preparation for economic life, and as stated on their websites, the universities were not doing well. Students and graduates commented on the curriculum, saying that it only focused on theoretical learning, and less efforts were made towards practical learning. They further commented on the need to update the curriculum in order to meet the developmental needs of society. Findings further indicated that students did other courses (general studies or entrepreneurship) that taught them (to a limited extent) about other facets of life outside of their professions. Moreover, student perspectives in Chapter 6 added that the interactions and experiences they had outside of class also helped them to understand different aspects of life and to encounter a diversity of people.

My findings also show the need for better university facilities to create a conducive study environment for students and working environment for staff, including student accommodation, improved facilities such as classrooms and other resources to accommodate a large number of students. Lastly, both students and graduates mentioned the negative attitude they experienced from some of their lecturers; this constrained the flourishing of a healthy pedagogical relationship between lecturers and students. Findings indicated ways in which students and graduates nonetheless found ways to handle these challenges. Most importantly, we see individual resilience and determination that motivated students and graduates to find solutions to challenges. For instance, some decided to start small businesses to cover their living expenses at university, while others decided to employ themselves, when being employed seemed impossible. Findings also indicated the positive contribution of family and friends, either financially or by providing accommodation when they could not get access to the accommodation facilities on campus. Moreover, while the teaching and learning might have had a negative effect on students and graduates, it is also clear that it still provided them with knowledge on their professions (we should not ignore that). The process (experiences) of students and graduates was therefore not linear, as the factors above indicate positive and negative effects.

The output (contribution to society) is indicated in capabilities (presented in the next section) and agency that students and graduates developed through their university education. These capabilities suggest the contribution of HE to students and graduates by enabling them through different capabilities, such as to be able to work after university, to be able to be confident, and to be able to give respect and recognition. From this perspective, the capabilities prove that there are more benefits of HE beyond the economic. On the other hand, student and graduate resilience and determination show that they are not passive in their educational and life goals. Therefore, to enrich the well-being of an individual and the broader society, HE needs to expand student capabilities or opportunities and agency to enable them to choose what they value.

Based on the research, I indicated that for HE in Tanzania to enrich human development, there is a need to expand the real freedoms of students to achieve their plural goals. This means that universities need to address conversion factors, which have constraining effects and cultivate those factors that enhance students' capabilities.

As I indicated in Chapters 4 and 8, the ways in which HE could promote human development include: (1) Equitable access to university, which provides for students the freedom to select the university/programme of their choice (decentralised system), and financial assistance for students from a poor background. This would allow students to cover all university fees and register for a preferred programme rather than selecting a particular programme that provides financial assistance. Lastly, for equal access, universities would also need to enhance gender equality by increasing the number of female students enrolled. Financial assistance could also enrich gender equality, as parents will no longer have to decide to only send their male children to school; instead, financial assistance will give opportunities to both male and female students. (2) Curriculum update from a curriculum that only focuses on preparing students for jobs to a curriculum that aims to expand students' economic opportunities (employment and/or self-employment). In this way, because economic benefits are essential to an individual and a developing country like Tanzania, expanding students' economic opportunities would mean improving students' opportunities to work and generate a decent livelihood. Other important aspects of curriculum aim to foster the appropriate knowledge, understanding and identity to the society, preparing students who would be transformative agents, who are able to work and expand the capabilities of others. This calls for a curriculum and pedagogical practices that push students towards understanding their community, developing a sense of belonging, and understanding the circumstances of others. (3) Creating an equitable and inclusive educational environment for students to participate and achieve their goals. This was extrapolated from student and graduate views on lecturers' attitudes and other university facilities that constrained their freedom to become active agents of their lives.

Therefore, referring to Chapter 8, enhancing human development in HE means having a 'public good' university, which aims to promote economic and social justice. In other words, a university that provides an inclusive environment for students to participate freely, and aims to produce citizens who are not only focused on their own well-being but also that of the broader society.

9.3. Valued capabilities in and through higher education

The aim of the second research question was to explore how graduates and students define the role of HE, as I indicated in the last section, and identify which capabilities were valued and aspired to in and through Tanzanian HE. Referring to Sen (1999a), this is important because education is a fertile capability, fostering the development of other capabilities that are important for individual and social well-being. These results were presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

In summary, the analysis of my findings shows that the following capabilities were valued in and through HE.

1. *To be able to access university.* The ability to have grades, information and funding to be able to gain admission to a university.
2. *To be able to work after university*. Being able to gain knowledge and skills for career and economic opportunities (being employable, being able to generate self-employment); to have an income/livelihood.
3. *To be able to be a responsible person*. Being able to manage or take control of one's different facets of life.
4. *To be able to have knowledge and awareness (to be able to be a critical thinker)*. Being able to gain an understanding of various issues. Awareness in critical and complex questions about society. Being able to debate complex matters and being able to acquire knowledge for pleasure and personal development.
5. *To be able to have and give respect and recognition*. Being able to recognise and respect other people and groups different from yours.
6. *To be able to be confident*. Being able to visualise and care for yourself as you want to be. Believe in your ability, skills, and experience.
7. *To be able to develop and be involved in positive social relations and social networks*. Being able to form networks of friendship and a sense of belonging for learning and collaborations in solving problems.
8. *To be able to have resilience and determination (to be able to have a learning disposition)*. Being able to persevere academically, to be responsive to educational opportunities and adaptive constraints and having aspirations and hopes for a good future.

9. *To be able to be a concerned citizen (to be able to care for and support others' well-being, being public-minded*). Being able to gain education or knowledge to become citizens who are not only concerned with their welfare but also have a sense of identity and interest in social and public affairs.
10. *To be able to graduate from university.* Having the grades to pass and funding to be able to stay at a university.

It is important to note that participants mentioned all capabilities, regardless of the nature of the university – some more often than others (see Chapter 8). While conversion factors influenced capabilities development, it is evident that the formation of human capabilities was not linear as they were both enhanced and constrained. This also suggests that students' and graduates' agency was both limited and increased as their freedoms also fluctuated. This capability set is not intended to be fixed, but is offered as the basis for encouraging debate in Tanzanian HE about its inputs, process, and outputs, and how equitable and focused on the public good these are.

9.4. Original contribution to knowledge

Similar to other scholars, such as, Mtawa (2019), Mukwambo (2019), Mathebula (2018), and Boni and Walker (2013, 2016), this thesis assesses the value of HE from a human development perspective as a different approach from the dominant conceptualisation based on the human capital approach, which foregrounds the importance of HE in economic development. My argument is that HE ought to contribute to the public good that aims to foster both economic and human development in broad ways. Since universities are social institutions, they should not only be seen as commodities for profit generation, but also as tools to contribute to the needs of society. The human development perspective is therefore important, because it includes critical aspects such as equity, participation and, most importantly, the freedom to choose what one values beyond economic development. This locates HE as an institution that provides more than just technical training for jobs, but also accountability to the community.

Therefore, while other scholars have made this case, my study uses human development and the capability approach to analyse the role of HE specifically in Tanzania. It is the first of its kind to examine the perspectives of university officials, policy, students and graduates and brings all four sources together. It is original in that it examines how students and graduates think about the value of HE in relation to their personal

development, as well as that of their families and communities. This research revealed conversion factors that enable and constrain the contribution of HE to human development. Based on the findings, the study has recommended different actions that could be put in place to enrich human development. In this regard, this is a unique study informed by the human development and capability approach to the value of HE in Tanzania. It further proposes an original evidence-informed capability set for debates about Tanzanian HE.

The following subsection indicates the contributions of my study:

1. This study offers a new language for thinking about the value of HE in Tanzania. As I highlighted throughout the thesis, the value of HE in Tanzania is primarily informed by the human capital approach. This approach is dominated by economic thinking and on private benefits accruing to individuals. Evidence emerging from my study shows that economic benefits are indeed essential, especially in a developing country like Tanzania. Still, HE should also be valued for its potential to advance non-economic elements that are essential for individual and national flourishing. Human development and the capability approach as used in this study offered me a normative framework for assessing the role of HE beyond economic perspectives to examine the contribution of HE to human development and the public good. This was done by interrogating the opportunities or freedoms students and graduates had to participate and progress through HE, and the underlying conversion factors that enhance or limit their freedom to achieve their well-being. Analysis of these factors directed my attention to different elements in students' and graduates' lives and their contextual conditions and how these affected their capabilities. From this perspective, the human development and capability approach frames HE as expanding opportunities (freedoms) to all students and considers which conversion factors need to be addressed so that all students are able to choose and lead their valued lives reflexively.
2. My study contributes to the literature on the role of HE. On the one hand, like many studies (Mukwambo, 2019; Mtawa, 2017; Boni & Walker, 2016, 2013; Walker & McLean, 2013; Boni & Gasper, 2012), my study has shown that HE has the potential to enhance human development and the public good in Tanzania

specifically. From the perspectives of both students and graduates, HE enhanced their capabilities to choose and live their desired lives. For instance, my findings indicated that from the focus of teaching and learning in class aimed at training students for their career development, they gained knowledge about their professions and developed the capability to work. Although HE created opportunities for students to achieve well-being in economic terms, it also failed to address practices that constrained freedoms. Based on these findings, I suggested various interventions that could be put in place so that the processes and conditions under which formal education occurs are friendly and foster the promotion and achievement of human development.

3. Within the discussion on the role of HE, this study also makes a contribution to the discussion on the conceptualisation of the role of HE in Africa in the public good, by drawing from the Tanzanian context. Foregrounding human development and having an inclusive and participatory HE system that sticks to putting people first in Tanzania (as I have suggested), this study shows what a public-good university would look like. Thus, adding to the discussion of HE and public good in Africa.
4. The final contribution of this study is an original operationalisation of the human development and capability approach in Tanzanian HE. First, I identified the capabilities that were valued by students and graduates to provide answers to the question 'what is this person able to do?' (Nussbaum, 2011:20). In the process, I was able to identify intersecting conversion factors that reinforce or constrain the formation of these capabilities in and through HE. This is important in informing policy and education practices on specific interventions. In expanding these specific capabilities, I suggested: (i) The operationalisation of equitable access to university (gender equity and students from disadvantaged backgrounds); (ii) Update of the curriculum to reinforce economic opportunities to students and produce whole persons for a flourishing economy and meaningful life for all (public good professionals and citizenship formation); and (iii) Equitable and inclusive educational environment for students to actively participate and achieve their goals. In this respect, my set of capabilities lays a foundation for informing HE policymakers and planners about what the public good university would look like if oriented to human development, and offers

them a platform to commence debates and discussions on how to expand capabilities. I hope that through these discussions more research will be carried out to identify if the significance of these capabilities to students or graduates changes over time and in the direction of an equitable society, in other words how HE contributes to both personal development and the public good.

9.5. The limitations of the study and suggested areas for further research

Although the study provides a new lens to interpret the role of HE in Tanzania, it cannot make claims about the role of HE in general, given that an in-depth analysis was only done at two universities out of 58 in the country. Further, graduates and university officials' perspectives presented in this study cannot be generalisable to other graduates or university officials from other disciplines who might have different experiences from my participants. In this regard, there is a need to carry out similar research to include other disciplines, so as to capture the voices and experiences of graduates or university officials in these disciplines, and other universities. There is a further limitation in the small number of women's voices; research is needed more specifically on women in HE in Tanzania and their access and participation challenges.

I also acknowledge the contribution of the review of HE policy for aspects pertaining to the value of HE in the promotion of human development. However, future research will also have to consider the voices of the HE policymakers that might provide deeper insights into issues of the role of HE. This can or should include the views of policymakers from the ministry of education and TCU. These voices, therefore, would provide not only the in-depth articulation of the role of HE in Tanzania, but also the rationale and expected implementations of the policies they formulate. In this study, I have noted some conversions that constrained student and graduate freedoms; however, there is not enough evidence to support how my participants adapted (if at all) to these challenges. Therefore, there is a need for further research to explore how students cope or adjust to the challenges in their education and life in general.

9.6. Lessons and recommendations

In doing this research, I have learned much on the role of HE in Tanzania. I have also learned much of what I did not expect to learn about issues unrelated to my specific

area of study; for example, issues of gender inequality in Tanzania. I also realised that human development is not a new concept in the Tanzanian context, as it was used by the first president, Julius Nyerere. Nyerere's idea linked development and freedom intimately and intricately, putting people at the centre of the developmental agendas in Tanzania, long before Ul Haq conceptualised a similar approach. However, it is clear that, currently, development is defined from economic perspectives. As I indicated in this study, my participants mainly acknowledged the economic contributions of HE in their lives. In other words, my participants reported that they all want the financial or instrumental gains of HE, which I do not think is wrong, nor is it surprising.

Interestingly, what I have learned is that neither a public nor private university matters massively in defining the role of HE in Tanzania. My analysis indicates similar values and experiences of participants from both universities, with slight differences as I have indicated. For instance, some students choose their university because they believe that it will help them secure jobs (because it is a public university with notable alumnae or because it is an international university), but graduates from both universities confirmed that it was hard to secure jobs regardless of the university. Additionally, what I have learned from my participants is that, while their focus has been on the economic benefits of HE, they were still aware of other contributions of HE towards human development. As such, HE in Tanzania is only defined for its potential contribution to economic growth, while the social values of universities (which are known) are ignored, and its operationalisation is narrow. Yet, there are also seem important to diverse HE stakeholders. Therefore, the most critical lesson from doing this research is the art of asking the right questions, which gave me answers to my research questions and questions for further studies.

For that reason, to enhance human development in Tanzania, the following is suggested:

- Improve the efficient and equitable allocation of funding (student loans) to students from disadvantaged (low-income) families. The significance of this would allow equitable access to university, because students from a poor background will be able to pay tuition fees and other expenses. Similarly, availability of funding will also promote gender equality, as parents might no longer have to opt for only a boy child's education to avoid additional costs. Preferably, both male and female students will

have a chance for schooling with funding available. However, because Tanzania is still a developing country, it is essential to note that my suggestion for the allocation of funding prioritises students from a poor background, and women from a poor background.

- Update the curriculum and pedagogical practices for human development to include preparation of students for economic opportunities (employment and self-employment), and produce whole graduates who do not only think of themselves, but also are concerned about the well-being of others, which means cultivating professionals oriented towards the public good and citizenship values. This way, when we say funding should be allocated to students from disadvantaged backgrounds, those who are able to pay will respect and understand that others need funding more than they do.
- Ensure that there is equitable space for students to participate in decision making and allow them to speak up and be heard on matters that concern their well-being.

9.7. Conclusion

This marks the conclusion of what has been a challenging yet exciting and very meaningful personal research journey. Even though the findings have enabled me to achieve the objective of my research, they have also raised some questions that need further investigation. These include conducting similar research in other disciplines of HE, expanding research to include the voices of the policymakers, and looking at the voices of women to promote gender equality in Tanzania. In conclusion, and as a guide for thinking of the value of HE, I end with the following quotation:

> The role of a university in a developing country is to contribute; to give ideas, manpower, and service for furtherance of human equality, human dignity, and human development (Nyerere, cited in Liundi, 2012:115).

It is my hope that the findings of this study will influence policy measures taken by various stakeholders so that HE in Tanzania can be equitable and inclusive and meet the needs of the community.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Clearance Letter issued by the University of the Free State

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA

UFS UV

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

11-Apr-2019

Dear Ms Kibona, Bertha BA

Application Approved

Research Project Title:
Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities

Ethical Clearance number:
UFS-HSD2019/0067

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr. Petrus Nel
Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

206 Nelson Mandela Drive/Nelson Park/Wes/Noord
Bloemfontein 9301
South Africa/Suid-Afrika
P.O. Box/Posbus 339
Bloemfontein 9300
South Africa/Suid-Afrika
www.ufs.ac.za

Appendix B: Research Permit issued by COSTECH

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY P.O. BOX 4302 DAR-ES-SALAAM

RESEARCH PERMIT

Permit No.	2019–371 - NA- 2019 - 289
Date	28th June 2019
Researcher's Name	Bertha Kibona
Nationality	Tanzanian
Research Title	Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities
Research Area(s)/Region(s)	Dar es Salaam
Validity	From:28th June 2019 to 27th June 2020
Local contact/collaborator ***(with affiliated institution)***	Dr. Oswald Masebo, Senior Lecturer in History, Department of History, College of Humanities, University of Dar es Salaam. Email: omasebo@udsm.ac.tz/omasebo@gmail.com

PROGRAMM OFFICER

For: DIRECTOR GENERAL

IMPORTANT REQUIREMENTS

- *Research permit that involve collecting human, plant or animal materials / data that will be exported outside Tanzania must submit a signed Material Transfer Agreement (MTA), Data Transfer Agreement (DTA) between Tanzania host institution and the foreign counterpart. The MTA/DTA will indicate terms for collecting, storing/managing, transferring, disposal or returning of the materials/DATA to Tanzania after the closure of the research project.*
- *Any patent or intellectual property and royalty emanating from any research approved by the National Research Registration Committee (NRRC) shall be owned as stipulated in the research proposals and in accordance with the IP policy of the respective research institutions.*
- *All researchers are required to report to a Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) of the study area and present the introduction letter and activity schedule(plan) prior starting any research activity.*
- *All researchers are required to submit quarterly progress reports and all relevant publications made after completion of the research.*
- *All communications should be addressed to COSTECH Director General through researchinfo@costech.or.tz; dg@costech.or.tz or +255222700745; +255 (022) 2771358. Terms and conditions of the permit are found at www.costech.or.tz*

Appendix C: Research permit issued by Kampala International University in Tanzania

KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN TANZANIA

Gongo La Mboto, Pugu Road
P.O Box 9790, Dar es Salaam-Tanzania
Tel: +255-689 510 920
Fax: +255-222 843 252
E mail: vc@kiut.ac.tz
Website: www.kiut.ac.tz

OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR

Our Ref. No. **VC/PGSR/050/02/19** *Date:* 21st February, 2019

Ms. Bertha Kibona
Doctoral Research Fellow
SARHI Chair in Higher Education and Human
Development Research Group
University of the Free State
Room 214 Benito Khotseng Building
Bloemfontein (9300)
SOUTH AFRICA

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMISSION

I am pleased to inform you that you have been given permission in respect to your research request at Kampala International University in Tanzania (KIUT) on the condition that you provide ethical clearance from your host University and meet all requirements from our Institute. You shall liase with Dean of Students Office for further guidance.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Abanis Tumwesigye
ACTING VICE CHANCELLOR

c.c.: Dean of Students
c.c.: Director, Postgraduate Studies and Research

Appendix D: Information sheet and consent form (Interview and focus group)

RESEARCH STUDY INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

DATE

Date of research project: March 2019 to June 2019

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities

PRINCIPLE INVESTIGATOR / RESEARCHER(S) NAME(S) AND CONTACT NUMBER(S):

Bertha Kibona *2017451267* *+27629284187*

FACULTY AND DEPARTMENT:

Economic and Management Science (EMS)

Centre for Development Support (CDS)

STUDYLEADER(S) NAME AND CONTACT NUMBER:

Prof. Melanie Walker

+27 (0)764348820

WHAT IS THE AIM / PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The study aims to explore Tanzanian students and graduates' perspectives on the value of higher education to human development, with a particular focus on how higher education can enhance valued capabilities and promote the well-being of individuals and broader society. The study is guided by the question: What are Tanzanian students and graduates' perspectives on how higher education can promote human development and what does that mean for the public good role of HE? The study has the potential to contribute to the debate, policy and practices regarding the broader value of university and encourage

universities in the direction of educating and producing whole persons (graduates) for a flourishing economy and meaningful life for all.

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

The primary researcher for this study is Bertha Kibona, a Tanzanian doctoral research fellow with the Higher education and Human Development Research Group headed by the SARChI Chair at the University of the Free State, South Africa. I am doing this project so as to make contribution, through the study's findings, to how higher education in Tanzania can contribute to human development. Given that, the country aspires to become a middle-income country by 2025 by having a wealthy, peace and educated society.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICAL APPROVAL?

This study has received approval from the Research Ethics Committee of UFS. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher.

Approval number: *UFS-HCH2019/0067*

WHY ARE YOU INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

You are invited to take part in this study as a university administrator/ final year student/ graduate. You have been chosen to participate in the study as to share your perspectives on how higher education can contribute to human development from your standpoint. Your respective institutions, provided contact details for your participation in the study depending on your portfolio within the institutions/ organization. The study is targeting Eight (8) university administrators from two universities (University of Dar es Salaam and Kampala International University). From each of the targeted university includes one Director of Undergraduate Studies and three Dean of Faculties from targeted faculties- Faculty of Law, Faculty of Information and Communication Technology and Faculty of Arts and Sciences. These will reflect policies governing higher education and how they train students towards human development. Thirty (30) graduates from two universities, fifteen from each university where five from each targeted faculties (Faculty of Law, Faculty of Information and Communication Technology and Faculty of Arts and Sciences), and these will give their perspectives and reflections on the experience of their past university education. All final year students will participate in online survey questionnaire and 30 final year students from both universities, 15 from each university where, each five from selected faculties (Faculty of Law, Faculty of Information and Communication Technology and Faculty of Arts and Sciences), will be involved in focus group discussions and each focus discussion will have five students. Students will provide their views, interpretation and experiences on the value of higher education and human development.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves document analysis, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Documents will accessed online and some from the target institutions. For example, National policy on higher education, University policy, Programme aims and vision and University websites. Thirty eight (38) Semi-Structured Interviews: All the target participants expect for final year students will be involved in the study through semi-structured interviews. A specific interview guide for each category of participants has been developed (See drafts attached). All questions are asked in relation to the nature of the category group and the information specifically sought from such a group. Six (6) Focus Group Discussions with final year students will be involved in so they can deliberate contribute on the specific questions that ask for their views. It is expected that the interviews and focus group discussions will last within 45 to 60 minutes. The maximum time expected depends on the participants' engagement and how much probes are required from such each respondent.

CAN THE PARTICIPANT WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY?

Participation in the study is voluntary and that there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation. Being in this study is voluntary and participants are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time of the interview and without giving a reason. It will only be difficult to withdraw after we have finished conducting the interviews.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

Participation in the study gives one an opportunity to contribute to what kind of students and graduates higher education ought to produce towards human development, who can effectively contribute to the low income and low human development index country like Tanzania. There are no direct benefits to the individuals, apart from self-learning that may take place in the course of the interviews and discussions. Participation is voluntary and the information provided will be kept confidential and is for academic purposes. Participation does not pose any potential risks to the participants, in terms of character defamation or professional jeopardy.

WHAT IS THE ANTICIPATED INCONVENIENCE OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

The nature of the study does not pose high risks to participants. However, the following have been identified as potential inconveniences and they are discussed here with their mitigation measures. The study may result into time inconveniences/ loss of work time for participants. Awareness of this, the researcher will ensure that interviews and focus group discussions are conducted at the most convenient time and place for the participants. Participants will be requested to indicate the times for the interviews that do not

inconvenience their daily schedules. The researcher will fit into the convenient times and spaces of the participants. There is the possible risk for low response in online questionnaires, and understanding of this, the researcher will print out the questionnaires and distribute them in classes for responses. There is also the risk of emotional distress, with highly emotional participants, who may blame universities from the reflection that may be they are not doing well in human development. Clarity will be made that the study is not an evaluation for higher education's performance; it is merely seeking for perceptions in terms of universities' contribution to human development in Tanzania and make recommendation for implementation. There is the possible risk of not fulfilling some participants' expectations, especially those who may think that in sharing their experiences the study will address their challenges/problems. For these and other expectations that can only emerge at the point of interview, the researcher will make it clear from the start that the study has no immediate solutions to some of the issues that may emerge, but it will make recommendations upon analyzing the findings, which relevant authorities may or may not adopt for implementation.

WILL WHAT I SAY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

All information provided will be kept confidential. Participants' names will not be recorded anywhere, so that no one will be able to connect the participants answers to the individual's names. Fictitious and pseudonyms will be used in writing the thesis. The data will only be accessible to the researcher, transcribers and the study moderator, and the ethics' committee, who will maintain confidentiality as per the research ethics guidelines. Apart from fulfilling the PHD requirements, the collected data, may be used for journal articles, conference presentations, and other publications, but anonymity of the individual participants will be maintained all through. I can only not guarantee that participants in focus group discussions will treat the shared information confidentially; however, I can only encourage participants to do so. For this reason, participants are encouraged not to disclose personally sensitive information during the focus group discussions. May I also indicate that participation in the study is voluntary and participants are encouraged not to disclose Explain the extent; if any, to which confidentiality of information will free to stop being in the study at any time, or decide not to respond to any question they feel uncomfortable with, without getting into any trouble. The researcher will maintain high level of confidentiality with the information provided.

HOW WILL THE INFORMATION BE STORED AND ULTIMATELY DESTROYED?

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet at the University for future research or academic purposes. All electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer or related devices. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval, as it may be applicable. After some years, the hard copies will be destroyed by burning them and electronic data deleted. As discussed above, there are no major risks

involved in participating in the study; the possible inconveniences have been discussed above with mitigation measures.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

Participation in the study is voluntary, there will not be any payment arranged for participants. In cases where the interview session is long, and depending on the meeting venues, the researcher may provide snacks or refreshments to participants; not as an incentive but as need may demand. Participation in the study may not cause any physical harm. As for cases of emotional distress, these will be avoided by clearly mentioning that participants ought not to treat the exercise as an evaluation of their positions; the study merely seeks views so as to find ways in which higher education in Tanzania can contribute to human development

HOW WILL THE PARTICIPANT BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS / RESULTS OF THE STUDY?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, or you require further information or you want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study please contact Bertha Kibona on +27629284187 or through berthakibona18@gmail.com. If you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Prof. Melanie Walker and Dr. Patience Mukwambo from Higher Education and Human Development Research Group, under SARChI Chair, who are the study's moderators. They can be contacted on walkermj@ufs.ac.za and MukwamboP@ufs.ac.za, respectively.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable). I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the *insert specific data collection method*.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Full Name(s) of Researcher(s): _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix E: Survey questionnaire - Final year students

Draft Survey questionnaire

Study: Higher education and human development: Student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities.

Researcher: Bertha Kibona

This questionnaire asks about your views on the value of higher education, by looking on the values that you have developed through your university education and how university education has shaped you to be the person that you are today for your own benefit and the broader society. The usefulness of this or any survey depends on the thoughtful responses of those who are asked to complete it. Your participation is very important and greatly appreciated.

The information obtained from you and other students will contribute to the debate, policy and practices regarding the broader value of university and encourage universities in the direction of educating and producing graduates for a flourishing economy and meaningful life for all.

At first look, you may think it will take a long time to compete this questionnaire, but it can be answered in about 20 minutes or less. In addition, you will learn some valuable things about yourself, as your answers provide kind of self-portrait of what you have been doing and how you are benefiting from your university experience.

You do not have to write your name on the questionnaire. Nevertheless, as you will see on the next page I would like to know some things about you so that I can learn how perspectives vary if any, depending on students' gender, age, economic background and so forth.

Thank you for your cooperation and participation!

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Your age
    A. 18-25 years
    B. 26-35 years
    C. 35 years and above
2. Gender
    A. Male
    B. Female
3. Are you under government scholarship (student loan)
    A. Yes
    B. No
4. Your Family income status

A. Low income

B. Middle income

C. High income

5. Why did you choose this field?

    A. Because I enjoy it

    B. Because it fits my career aims

    C. Because of student loan

    D. To contribute to my society

6. Who decided on that choice

    A. I decided

    B. My parents

    C. My friends

Can you tell me about your opinions when you first joined university?

7. Do you think it was easy for you to join university?

    A. Yes
    B. No

8. If no, what factors delayed you?

    A. Economic factors
    B. Gender
    C. Academic qualifications
    D. Others

9. Can you briefly tell me how you overcame these factors

    ……..

EXPERIENCE

Student experiences differ from one another depending on the extent to which institutional/ university emphasis or focus on various aspects. Thinking of your own experiences at this institution to what extent do you think that each of the following is emphasised

1. Emphasis on developing academic, and intellectual qualities (good grades)
    A. Strong emphasis
    B. Moderately
    C. Weak emphasis

2. Emphasis on developing expressive and creative qualities

    A. Strong emphasis
    B. Moderately
    C. Weak emphasis

3. Emphasis on developing critical, evaluate and analytical qualities

    A. Strong emphasis
    B. Moderately
    C. Weak emphasis

4. Emphasis on developing occupational/ employment competence

    A. Strong emphasis
    B. Moderately
    C. Weak emphasis

Again, in your experience at this university, about how often have you done each of the following?

5. Discussed you academic program/ course selection with a faculty member

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

6. Discussed your career plans and ambitions with a faculty member

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

7. Participated with other students in a discussion with one or more faculty member outside of class

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

8. Took detailed notes during class

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

9. Contributed to class discussions

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

10. Worked on a class assignment, presentation with other students

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

11. Applied materials learned in a class to other areas (job, other courses, family, family, the broader society)

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

12. Became familiar with students whose interests were different from yours

    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally

C. Never

13. Became familiar with students whose family background (economic) was different from your
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never
14. Had discussions with other students whose religious beliefs and political opinions were very different from yours
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

Discussions outside classroom

Outside the classroom in the conversations with others how often, have you talked about the following?

1. Current events in the news
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never
2. Social issues such as peace, human rights, justice etc.
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never
3. Computers and technologies
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never
4. The economy (employment, poverty, trade, etc.)
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never
5. Solutions to the current societal problems
    A. Very often
    B. Occasionally
    C. Never

The next three refer to the relations with people at the university. Thinking of your own experience, please rate the quality of these relationships

1. Relationship with other students
    A. Supportive
    B. Sense of belonging
    C. Uninvolved
    D. Sense of alienation
2. Relationship with administrative personnel
    A. Approachable
    B. Considerate
    C. Flexible
    D. Bound by regulations
3. Relationships with faculty members (lectures)

A. Approachable
B. Considerate
C. Discouraging
D. Bound by regulations

STUDENTS OUTCOMES

Thinking about your university experiences up to now, to what extent do you feel like you have made progress in the following areas.

1. Acquiring knowledge and skills applicable to a specific job (vocational preparation)
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
2. Acquiring background and specialization for future education in a professional
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
3. Gaining a range of information that may be relevant to a career/ job
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
4. Seeing the importance of history for understanding the past, present as well as the future
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
5. Gaining knowledge about other parts of the world and other people
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
6. Developing your own values and ethical standards
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
7. Analysing societal problems (understanding probability and proportions of events in your society)
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little
8. Learning on your own, pursuing ideas and find information you need
    A. Very much
    B. Quite a bit
    C. Very little

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix F: Interview guide- University officials

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA
UFS UV

Draft Interview Guide

Key Informant Guide

Study: Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities.

Researcher: Bertha Kibona

Before we proceed with the interview, your signed consent to participate in this process is required. The consent form is included with an information sheet so that you can review the details of the study and then decide whether you would like to participate in the study or not. You may keep this consent form for future reference.

Sample questions

- What are the purposes of HE in Tanzania? And your university?
- How do you think HE can contribute to development? What kind of development?
- In the light of this, how do you train students in the direction of development?
- What conditions might get in the way of HE to development?
- Would you please tell me if you think this university enhance equal access for students to university and university services? If it does, how?
- Do you think it is important to train these students towards public mindedness? Why?
- Please tell me about students participation in class, are they active? Does gender influence their participation? What other factors influence their participation?
- What do you do to ensure full participation of students?
- What has been the engagement between students from this university with communities outside the university?
- Do you think it is important to train students to become critical students? Why? Does this university do that?
- What are the key challenges face HE at the moment?
- What do you think should be done to address these challenges?
- Is there anything that we haven't discussed that you think is very important and critical for my project?

205 Nelson Mandela Drive/Rylaan, Park West/Parkwes, Bloemfontein 9301, South Africa/Suid-Afrika
P.O. Box/Posbus 339, Bloemfontein 9300, South Africa/Suid-Afrika, T: +27(0)51 401 9111, www.ufs.ac.za

Appendix G: Focus group guide- Final year students

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA
UFS UV

Draft focus group Guide

Study: Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities.

Researcher: Bertha Kibona

Before we proceed with the interview, your signed consent to participate in this process is required. The consent form is included with an information sheet so that you can review the details of the study and then decide whether you would like to participate in the study or not. You may keep this consent form for future reference.

Sample questions;

- Why did you join university? Why this university?
- Why did you choose this field? Who made the decision?
- What is easy for you join university? How?
- Would you like telling me about your own participation experience in class?
- How do you participate formally and informally on and off campus activities?
- Tell me about your relationship with other students and university staffs.
- Has university education helped you to understand yourself, others students and community members? Please explain and provide examples
- How has higher education (If it has) made you more informed and responsible citizens?
- Do you think you have been equipped/ trained enough to contribute to your society? Please explain.
- What are the social contributions you think you will make?
- Do you think your universities education gives you a wide choice of economic opportunities? How?
- Do you think you will get a job that fits with what you are studying? Why?
- What do you consider to be the valuable achievement after completing your university education?
- How do you think your education will benefit yourself, your family and your community?
- What are important things that you think you have learned through your education that have changed you as a human being? Please name few.
- What do you think is the purpose of HE in Tanzanian development?
- How would you change universities in Tanzania if you could?
- Is there anything that we haven't discussed that you think is very important and critical for my project?

205 Nelson Mandela Drive/Rylaan, Park West/Parkwes, Bloemfontein 9301, South Africa/Suid-Afrika
P.O. Box/Posbus 339, Bloemfontein 9300, South Africa/Suid-Afrika, T: +27(0)51 401 9111, www.ufs.ac.za

Appendix H: Interview guide- Graduates

Draft Interview Guide

Key Informant Guide

Study: Higher education and human development: student and graduate perspectives from two Tanzanian universities.

Researcher: Bertha Kibona

Before we proceed with the interview, your signed consent to participate in this process is required. The consent form is included with an information sheet so that you can review the details of the study and then decide whether you would like to participate in the study or not. You may keep this consent form for future reference.

Sample questions

- Would you please tell me about yourself?
- Why did you choose to join university?
- What do you think is the purpose of universities in Tanzania? And the university you studied?
- In what ways do you think HE can contribute to development? What kind of development?
- In general, what was your experience at the university you studied?
- Has anything changed on what you valued when you were a student and after you graduated? If yes, how?
- In what way has your university education made you an informed and responsible citizen?
- How is your degree benefiting you, your family and your community?
- Do you think you have contributed anything to your society? Please explain.
- How would you change universities in Tanzania if you could?
- Is there anything that we haven't discussed that you think is very important and critical for my project?