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By

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ABSTRACT

NATIONAL AND GLOBAL: A HISTORY OF SCHOLARS' EXPERIENCES WITH RESEARCH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM, TANZANIA (1961-present)

By

Amy J. Jamison

In this dissertation, I draw on research carried out at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Tanzania in 2008 to examine Tanzanian academics' experience with research throughout the history of this institution. This dissertation is designed as an historical case study and investigates how economic and political changes in Tanzania's post-independence history have affected Tanzanian intellectuals and their ability to produce both nationally and globally relevant knowledge. African intellectuals, while a part of a larger academic community, have also expressed a specific and keen responsibility to the development of their post-independence societies. The objective of this research is to understand how Tanzanian scholars at UDSM have situated themselves in terms of broader ideas about the role of African intellectuals in their own societies as well as in the global community of academe.

Due to the unique course that the country followed after achieving independence, as well as the role its charismatic first president, Julius K. Nyerere, took in implementing a highly ideological framework for national development, Tanzanian academics and the University of Dar es Salaam make a particularly interesting case to examine. This study addresses the question: What happens when a distinctly national university formed within a clearly articulated post-colonial socialist vision intersects with liberal market reforms? It traces the tension that academics at the University of Dar es Salaam have felt between a

commitment to national development and a commitment to participation in a global community of scholars. During the early years of the university, I contend, global ideologies and a commitment to national development converged, meaning that UDSM scholars were able to simultaneously contribute significantly to the global debates on socialism and to national development in Tanzania. However, with structural adjustment and drastic changes to the country's political and economic situation, as well as other shifts on a global level, the ideologies that Tanzanian scholars had supported were marginalized in some cases and the University's ability to determine research priorities was significantly impacted. In the end, this is the story of one research institution's continued battle for social, political, and economic relevance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One:

Introduction

> In our situation, given the nature of the problems facing the mass of the people in our society, an intellectual must have a social and historical context. He or she cannot be just a free floating individual when the call is for an African Renaissance. (Chachage, 2002, p. 109)

Professor Chachage Seithy Loth Chachage was one of the pre-eminent scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Tanzania. He was there to witness the birth of the university as well as many of its subsequent phases. Before his death in 2006, he wrote several articles examining the university's development over time and the ideal role of Tanzanian intellectuals not only in shaping the university, but the wider Tanzanian society as well. He argues that Tanzanian academics and the work that they produce must be rooted in their history and in their obligations to society. This point of view is echoed throughout writings concerning intellectuals at UDSM as well as publications that discuss African intellectuals across the continent. There seems to be a consensus that African intellectuals, while a part of a larger global academic community, also have a specific and keen responsibility to the development of their post-independence societies.

This dissertation will investigate this duality in the work lives of African academics in the context of the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. It will address the question of how Tanzanian academics have experienced and negotiated shifting global and local influences in their research lives over the course of the history of UDSM. It will also examine how economic and political changes in Tanzania's post-independence history have affected Tanzanian intellectuals and their ability to produce both nationally and internationally relevant knowledge. Finally, it will investigate how

Tanzanian scholars at UDSM situate themselves in terms of broader ideas about the role of African intellectuals in their own societies as well as in the global community of academe.

Due to the unique course that the country took after achieving independence, as well as the role its charismatic first president took in implementing a highly ideological framework for national development, Tanzanian academics and the University of Dar es Salaam make a particularly interesting case to examine. Like many institutions of its kind in the "developing world," the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) in Tanzania has historically been both national and international in character. UDSM was built on a European model of education, incorporating foreign curricula and organizational structures; scholars from all over the world came to teach and conduct research, giving the university an international atmosphere. These scholars came to UDSM because of the university's connection with Tanzania's post-colonial, socialist agenda, which focused on Pan-Africanism, "self-reliance" and Tanzanian nationalism. Julius K. Nyerere, the first president and so-called father of the Tanzanian nation, articulated a clear vision of Tanzania's educational system as a nation-building instrument. As Tanzania's main national university and its only public research university, UDSM—and by extension its scholars—played a key role in advancing this agenda. The tide turned, however, with the financial crisis of the late 1970s and Tanzania's subsequent adoption of neo-liberal market reforms in the 1980s. The state and the university suffered severe financial decline, and while the university had to turn increasingly outward for financial support, scholars – especially those supporting socialist and Marxist scholarship – became more and more intellectually marginalized and isolated within the international academic

community. Indeed, the university's relationship to the nation and to the wider international academic community appeared to have changed (Ajayi et al., 1996; Kimambo, 1993; Luhanga et al., 2003; Shivji, 1993).

At the time of its inception, UDSM was part of an international network of universities. It had to balance the national political agenda of TANU[1]--Tanganyika's ruling party after independence – with its relationship to the European system on which it was based as well as its relationships with its partner nations (Kenya and Uganda until 1970). In 1961, UDSM opened its doors as a constituent college of the University of London. Originally, the British colonial government had planned to establish a university in Tanganyika in 1964; however, members of TANU saw an immediate need for a national institution of higher education and established the university three years earlier than planned. In 1963, UDSM became part of the University of East Africa along with Makerere University in Uganda and the University of Nairobi in Kenya. The University of East Africa system was dissolved in 1970 largely because of nationalistic pressures within the member nations, and UDSM became an autonomous institution.

President Nyerere played a very active role in shaping the educational sector as a whole in post-colonial Tanzania. In his *Education for Self-Reliance* (1967b), published in conjunction with the seminal *Arusha Declaration* that outlined his political philosophy of African socialism, Nyerere laid out his views on education, which included a focus on the relevance of education to Tanzanian society and the promotion of African socialist values. Nyerere especially emphasized the role of the university in training all of the future government leaders and employees. The country was in the process of Africanizing its civil workforce, and the University of Dar es Salaam was to play a key

[1] Tanganyikan African National Union

role in producing the necessary manpower to replace colonial officials in both government and industry. For those in the university—faculty, staff, and students—Nyerere stressed the concept of service to Tanzanian society and the nation. He stated that furthering the education of a select few was justified only if they served the masses (Nyerere, 1999). He went so far as to require the completion of two years of community service for all those entering the university (Omari, 1991) in order to solidify the commitment of students to the national development project and to ensure that students would not lose touch with the realities faced by the rest of Tanzanian society.

With the establishment of Tanzania's own autonomous university, Nyerere's unique social philosophy and his commitment to Pan-Africanism attracted the attention of scholars from around the world, many of whom traveled to UDSM to teach, conduct research and collaborate with Tanzanian and other scholars. For example, the Department of History, which was one of the major centers of worldwide intellectual debates on socialism and development in Africa, hosted many notable scholars, including Walter Rodney, Terence Ranger, John Saul, among others (Kimambo, 1969, 1993). These intellectuals worked with Tanzanian scholars to produce a new kind of African nationalist history from an African perspective that was distinct from colonial histories.

In the 1980s, African socialism declined, and Tanzania, reeling from financial crisis, adopted the neo-liberal reforms of the IMF and the World Bank. The presence of leftist academics faded, and while the priority of the university was still the education of Tanzanian citizens, "self-reliance" was replaced with an emphasis on integrating Tanzania into the world economy. With the transition from a socialist to a neo-liberal economic system, Tanzania began to develop a new set of global relationships. New

capital markets emerged, coupled with the integration and exchange of new technologies and information. In keeping with structural adjustment conditions, the government cut university funding and UDSM increasingly had to look for external funding sources to fulfill their budgetary requirements. At the same time, the administration instituted a hiring slowdown, and scholars had to curtail travel to foreign conferences because of logistical and financial constraints. Recently, the financial situation at the university has become a little less strained, and through partnerships with donors like the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), research activity has expanded. Scholars have increasingly been able to take advantage of new communication technologies to connect to the global academic community. Economic growth in Tanzania, however, has been slow. Also, in keeping with the tradition of Nyerere's vision, there continues to be a call for social responsibility among Tanzania intellectuals.

Critical to understanding how larger national and global political and economic forces affected UDSM's intellectual development is the examination of how they have influenced the Tanzanian research community—which has been highly concentrated at UDSM. This community has been central to the evolving identity of the Tanzanian nation state as well as a critical engine for social and economic development. However, Tanzanian intellectuals are navigating in the space between their commitment to the Tanzanian society at large and their sense of belonging to a wider international scholarly community. It has been their responsibility to bridge these two worlds in their research and work lives, but this negotiation between these two spaces often involves reconciling competing demands.

Research Questions

From interviews conducted during my pre-dissertation research at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, it became evident that faculty members, staff and students increasingly felt a tension between global and local forces. Two key questions emerged: 1) What happens when a distinctly *national* university formed within a clearly articulated post-colonial socialist vision intersects with liberal market reforms and other global forces? and 2) How have the economic and political changes that Tanzania has faced throughout the course of its post-independence history affected how intellectuals in Tanzania contribute to both national and international knowledge production? These questions led me to the central question of this dissertation: How have Tanzanian academics experienced and negotiated shifting local and global demands in their research lives over the course of the history of UDSM? Using an analysis of the practice of research's historical development at UDSM as a way to examine these questions, this dissertation investigates how Tanzanian academics' research agendas have reflected shifting global/local tensions over the course of UDSM's history (1961-present). This dissertation looks at what has influenced the research agenda at UDSM and that of individual scholars. It also examines how researchers have balanced local demands and global influences when conducting research in this context. The goal of the dissertation is to write a history of UDSM as both a local and global institution and Tanzanian academics as members of both local and global communities.

In order to address the broader central question raised above, the study focuses on three main research questions. First, **what have been the key factors influencing faculty research agendas (both globally and locally) at UDSM?** To answer this

question, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a sample of faculty members who have worked within the university. I relied on participants' definition of the factors to determine if they were local, global, or somewhere in between. Identifying clearly the factors that have influenced faculty at UDSM provided me with a better picture of whether and how UDSM (and, by extension, its academic staff) has interpreted the dual forces of local needs (or demands for "self-reliance") and membership in the global academic (and economic) community at various points in UDSM's history.

Second, **how has the balance between local and global influences shifted over time as reflected in the research work lives of UDSM faculty members?** As with the previous question, answers to this question stem from analysis of the data collected in the interviews with UDSM faculty members. In the interviews I collected a kind of oral history of the research experiences that faculty members have had throughout their tenures at UDSM. I then mapped how the influences and their significance have shifted over time.

Third, **what types of knowledge have been valued at UDSM, both within local research agendas and within the agendas of external agencies and collaborators?** This question focused on how Tanzanian intellectuals have perceived the ways that various entities outside of the University have valued knowledge as well as how academics themselves have determined what types of research to prioritize in their own work. I drew on primarily on data collected in interviews, but also analyzed the products (publications or research reports) of faculty members' research projects. In the interviews, I asked participants what they considered to be the purpose of research for themselves as academics based at UDSM as well as how they perceived their interactions

with external agencies. Moreover, the categories of valued research that I applied in my final analysis stem from definitions given in faculty interviews as well as literature on research production. Categories of knowledge included applied, basic or theoretical, locally-focused, and internationally-oriented. I also traced thematic ideas within the research to see if the prevalence of particular themes has shifted over time as well as analyzed the ways in which epistemological and methodological questions were addressed. I paid close attention to the intended outcomes of this research. The information that I gleaned from interviews and text analysis allowed me to better understand who the main actors in setting research priorities have been and what types of knowledge or approaches to research have been valued over the course of UDSM's history.

Research and Knowledge Production

It is universally held that faculty work lives are divided into three main categories of responsibilities: teaching, service, and research. While these three branches are equally important to academic life and are inextricably tied together, for this dissertation I have chosen to focus on the research aspect of scholarly work. I made this decision for two reasons. First, research is the activity that sets the "research university" apart from other post-secondary institutions. Historian Nestor Luanda (2008) argues, "Universities without research activities run the risk of becoming glorified secondary schools" (p. 133) Indeed, the research university, as is made obvious by the name, sets research activities at the core of its definition. It is an institution whose central purpose is the creation and dissemination of knowledge (Altbach & Balan, 2007). Teaching and service may be

found at other tertiary institutions, but research is at the very core of the definition of a university.

Second, it became apparent through reviewing literature and from earlier interview data that research is the site where the local and the global most starkly collide. Although teaching is affected by influences which filter in from the larger global academic community, it is largely a local endeavor. Service, too, is situated within the local environment, being most often defined as service to the institution, local community or nation. Research is tied to the local agenda of an institution or, in the case of Tanzania, a nation, *and* is necessarily a part of a wider intellectual community. As anthropologist Arujun Appadurai (1997) argued, "Research is virtually synonymous with our sense of what it means to be scholars and members of the academy" (p. 55). Moreover, the act of academic research is not an individual endeavor. Indeed, Appadurai asserted, "Research in the modern, Western sense, is through and through a collective activity" (p. 57). Shils (1971) aptly contended that,

> Intellectual performances...lay claim to a measure of universal validity. They automatically translate into an arena broader than his locality...The intellectual's realm, by his very engagement in intellectual activities, is oceanic. (p. 363)

As the modern research ethic is currently defined, "new knowledge emerges from a professionally defined field of prior knowledge and is directed towards evaluation by a specialized, usually technical, body of readers and judges" (Appadurai, 1997, p. 57). These readers and judges, these producers and consumers of research make up the "academy" which by definition extends beyond national/local borders.

Scholarly research can also be clearly tied to local or national interests. Gramsci defined intellectuals by the role they play in interpreting the world from the position they

occupy, thereby rooting them in a local context (Suttner, 2005). In their discussion of "situated knowledges", Maynes et al. (2008) argued that "knowledge is always produced from a specific social location and always aimed toward a specific audience or audiences" (p. 98).

Ayindoho (2006) took this argument further by pointing out that these locations are "mobile because each person inhabits multiple locations within and across time" (p. 163). It is important to understand that while there are local and global forces interacting in scholars' research work lives, these categories are not static. They can shift, they are often fluid, and they certainly impact one another and become intertwined. The social context of African intellectuals is complex and will be discussed in more detail in chapter two of this dissertation. However, it remains that the local or national context plays a strong role in shaping African academics' experiences with research, and, as mentioned above, the audience for research outputs can be the academy in general and/or stakeholders located in the national/local contexts in which intellectuals are situated

African intellectuals in particular have defined themselves in ways that connect to local interests, values, and needs. Many African scholars have articulated a responsibility to be relevant to the needs of their nations and communities (Ajayi, 1973; Anyidoho, 2006; Falola, 2001; Mkandawire, 1997, 2005; Shivji, 1993). Research, as conducted by scholars at African universities, has been a main engine for generating knowledge that has the potential of contributing to national development. Research does not happen in isolation, however, and the very act of conducting research connects academics to a wider community of scholarship. Research is an activity, therefore, that has the potential of spanning across local and global arenas.

Conceptions of Global and Local

In considering conceptions of local and global in the construction of this study, it is essential to examine how these ideas have played out in the history of university systems in Africa and in definitions of African intellectuals, then to consider how these definitions were described in UDSM scholars' narratives. Much literature exists regarding how university systems have developed in Africa. Scholars have debated the ideal purpose of African universities as well as the ideal role of African academics. Universities in any context face multiple demands, but given their particular histories and the social, political, and economic contexts in which they are situated, African universities walk a tightrope between the need to be relevant to the societies that support them and the desire to maintain international standards of scholarship and to connect with international systems of higher education. African intellectuals walk the same line between serving their societies and participating in global knowledge production. By understanding how these tensions emerged from the adaptation of external models of higher education to local African contexts and how the literature has defined them subsequently, we can look at how they have affected the individual work lives of intellectuals at the University of Dar es Salaam.

The history of current African systems of higher education began with colonialism. After African countries achieved independence, the subsequent quest for national identity reshaped these systems. There were models of African higher education that predated Western colonization, but most scholars agree that these did not form the foundation for the present university model used in most African countries (Ajayi et al., 1996; Ashby, 1964, 1966; Lulat, 2005; Yesufu, 1973). Current higher education

institutions throughout Africa can be traced back to models developed in Europe. Certainly this model has been significantly modified at different times and in different contexts, however, its basic elements have endured. A major theme that emerges from the literature on this topic is the dilemma between external or so-called global models and relevance to the local societies which support (financially and otherwise) Africa's national universities.

This tension between the external (which is closely linked to broader, "global" conceptions of university systems and the "academy") and local relevance, which emerges directly from the history of the African experience with higher education, is at the core of this study and manifests itself in several ways. First, Sawyerr (2004) argued that there has been a conflict in African universities between global standards of quality and ideas of local relevance. Philip Altbach (1998) and Edward Shils (1971) addressed the issues facing intellectuals in the "developing" world. Both scholars defined this global/local dynamic as a tension between scholars at the center and those at the periphery of the academy. This contention is supported by others who point to "the glaring and debilitating Western domination of intellectual production about Africa" (Beckman & Adeoti, 2006, p. 8). Shivji (1993) argued that this is part of the "international division of labour" (p. 119) in academia in which Western scholars produce knowledge and African scholars are meant to consume or apply that knowledge. Furthermore, Ashby (1964) described African intellectuals as having a "dual loyalty" to the academy and to the societies in which they are situated. Others have defined African universities and their scholars as the bridge between global knowledge systems and their local contexts (Mkandawire, 1997; Suttner, 2005). All of these authors are describing the

same struggle to negotiate a global/local tension in African intellectuals' work lives. In chapter two, I will address in more detail how this tension emerged from the history of university systems in Africa as well as how these scholars have traced its progression subsequently.

I use the terms "local" and "global" in this study, but I acknowledge that each has embedded within it multiple layers and that these are not discreet categories. Global processes can and do have a significant impact on shaping local conditions, and local conditions are a piece of what constitutes the global. Furthermore, the meaning of these terms has many levels. The literature described above provided a foundation to understanding the meanings of "global" and "local" in Tanzanian scholars work lives, but the definitions that drove the final analysis emerged from the narratives that I collected. For instance, local can mean the individual, local sites of research, the institution, and the nation. In terms of research and scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam, the most basic level is the individual. For the most part, the individuals choose the general field and themes that interest them in their own research. Of course these personal interests are not formed in isolation from larger influences, such as interaction with colleagues both locally and globally, experiences in graduate education largely completed in Western universities, and observations and awareness of needs for improving conditions in their societies.

The national context is certainly a layer within the idea of what is "local" for academics at UDSM. In fact, in this study the national often took center stage in scholars' discussions about their local environment. For this reason, the national context's connection to what participants defined as local is a key piece of this

dissertation. This conflation of local and national is understandable given scholars' position at a national university and their proximity to national structures of power, specifically the national government. Moreover, the idea of national unity was much stronger and has persisted longer in post-independence Tanzania than in many other African states. This is largely due to Nyerere and TANU's (mostly successful) efforts to build a sense of Tanzanian-ness among citizens and to downplay ethnic divisions in the country. Contributing to a sense of *national* identify, solving *national* problems, and building the *nation* were all major themes in Tanzanian academics' approach to scholarly work.

Global ideas of scholarship, theory, and methodology however, are without a doubt intertwined in scholars' research, and because of their position at the crossroads of international academia and local settings, these academics often serve as a bridge between local communities and wider global processes. Socialist theory and its application to the local Tanzanian setting is a prime example. Tanzanian and expatriate scholars used socialist and progressive ideologies to understand local problems as well as to design potential solutions for these issues. Moreover, the data gathered from Tanzania's local context as well as the new approaches to theory that came out of the Dar es Salaam School of Thought fed back into global dialogues. In this way the local played its part in shaping global ideas about development and socialism. Of course, the ability of Tanzanian academics to be heard on the international scene has fluctuated with changing national and global circumstances, as will be discussed in later chapters.

The influences on research outputs at the University of Dar es Salaam, and in higher education institutions in general, are in all likelihood more complex than a simple

global/local dichotomy. The current processes of globalization have complicated this tension and the relationship between the national and the global is likely growing significantly more complex. While this study does not deal specifically with issues of globalization, it can lend some insight to how these processes have evolved from shifting national and global relationships and, more particularly, how intellectuals in developing countries have experienced them. The analysis that this work provides will hopefully lay the foundation on which further research to make sense of these dynamics and their complications can build.

Summary

This study traces the tension that academics at the University of Dar es Salaam have felt between a commitment to national development and a commitment to participation in a global community of scholars. Tanzanian scholars have negotiated the dual identity of being Tanzanian and being an intellectual. Of course, the two realms are not mutually exclusive, and the balance between these components has shifted over time. Chapter two engages with literature on the history of the development of African higher education systems, Tanzania's specific approach to university development, and the experiences of African intellectuals in order to show how previous scholars have addressed these central concepts. In chapter three I present the data collection and analysis methods employed in this study. Chapter four provides a narrative of the early years at the University of Dar es Salaam. Chapter five chronicles the transition years at UDSM and the post-socialist period. Finally, chapter six analyzes the current situation and places the historical narrative of chapters four and five in the context of the core research questions of this study.

As Professor Chachage stated, in order to achieve an African Renaissance, African scholars, and, in this particular case, Tanzanian scholars must understand the historical and social contexts from which they emerge. This study seeks to understand the history of a particular academic community and how it has interacted with the broader global scholarly community in terms of research and knowledge production. In the end, it is the story of one research institution's continued battle for social, political, and economic relevance. A better understanding of the challenges Tanzanian scholars have faced may lead to ways of both recognizing the contributions they have made to Tanzania's national project and increasing the chances of genuine intellectual exchange between African intellectuals at African universities like UDSM and the wider global academic community.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

The University of Dar es Salaam, like many other universities across Africa, emerged from a tension between external models of higher education and a call for local relevance to national development. This tension, as it has evolved through changing national and international landscapes, is at the center of the history of faculty members' experiences at UDSM. Chapter two will situate the history of the University of Dar es Salaam within the context of African higher education development across the continent as well as the post-colonial history of Tanzania. It will also address the literature concerning the academic profession in developing countries in general, but will give special treatment to the literature on African intellectuals in order to place the experiences of UDSM scholars within this broader framework. These literatures place African universities and academics within relationships between center and periphery, internal and external, local and global, a tension which is also evident in the experiences of intellectuals at the University of Dar es Salaam.

African University Systems: External Models and National Relevance

The subject of African higher education is broad, and its history is complex. When taking on a topic of this scale, there is always the danger of overgeneralization. Treating African higher education as a whole masks the complexities that exist and the very real differences in the various national contexts that have shaped university development. Due to the limitations in space and scope of this dissertation, however, it is impossible to examine in detail the nuances of higher education across the continent, so

some generalization is necessary. In this chapter I examine the themes and debates that have emerged from the literature on higher education development in Africa, and try to give specific examples where possible. Moreover, I limit my discussion of African higher education to the university in Africa. I do not address the many different forms of post-secondary technical education that exist. Finally, I am bound by the structure of the literature itself, which tends to treat African higher education as a common experience for many countries. It is certainly true that in the immediate pre- and post-colonial years (the late 1950s to the early 1970s), there were extensive discussions and debates among African intellectuals about developing the ideal mission and structure of an "African university" that could then be adapted to local national contexts. The general consensus was that most post-colonial African nations had similar needs and goals for development and capacity building and, therefore, developing a general African university model would be useful. Throughout this section, I will refer to specific examples when available, but will speak about African universities generally when necessary and appropriate. The following section will then integrate this general history of African university development with Tanzania's post-colonial history and the particular experience of university development at the University of Dar es Salaam.

The history of current systems of higher education in Africa began with European colonialism. After African countries achieved independence the subsequent quest for national identity, development, and relevance then reshaped these systems. Models of African higher education that pre-date Western colonization such as ancient Timbuktu's Sankore—an institution of Islamic higher learning – existed , but most scholars agree that these did not form the foundation for the present university model used in most African

countries (Ajayi et al., 1996; Ashby, 1964, 1966; Lulat, 2005; Yesufu, 1973). Current higher education institutions throughout Africa (and almost all higher education institutions throughout the world) can be traced back to the basic European university model first established in France in the thirteenth century (Altbach, 1998). Certainly this model has been significantly modified at different times and in different contexts, however, its basic elements as an organization of masters and students concerned with "a post-general education" (Lawi, 2008, p. 3) have endured.

This section will address the persistence of a Western model of higher education in Africa and examine issues surrounding its adaptation to serve local needs. A major theme that emerges from the literature on this topic is the dilemma between external models and demands for relevance to local societies that support (financially and otherwise) Africa's national universities. Understanding the shifting relationship between external influences and the demand for local relevance in the history of African universities will help to better define the evolving context in which academics at UDSM have been conducting research.

Several scholars have described the relationship between universities in Africa and their local settings in organic terms. Eric Ashby (1974) referred to universities as biological organisms which came about as a result of heredity and environment. He saw modern African universities as transplants from Europe, and asserted that the problems of African universities were due to the fact that the strains transplanted to African soil were not the most suitable. T.M. Yesufu also used this analogy to discuss African universities. He states,

> The truly African university must be one that draws its inspiration from its environment, not a transplanted tree, but growing from a seed that is planted and nurtured in African soil. (Yesufu, 1973)

These two descriptions of universities using biological terms illustrate well the tension between external models of higher education and local needs that runs throughout the literature on African higher education. These scholars argue that universities in Africa did not grow organically from the African soil. They were transplanted institutions that were originally planted to meet goals defined by the external agents that controlled them rather than by the local communities in which they were located.

Other authors have used similar devices to talk about the ways that African universities have been caught in an external/internal tension throughout their histories. Many pointed to the sometimes conflicting needs to both engage with an international academic community and to build local capacity. Eicher (1973) conceded that there are obvious advantages to participating in the world academic community, but worried that, at that time in the early 1970s, African scholars had not yet sufficiently built a foundation in local research skills or data. African academics would therefore enter the international scholarly arena at a severe disadvantage that would lead to an imbalanced power dynamic. Wandira (1977) talked about this dichotomy in terms of the conflict between national and international obligations. He described the African university's obligation to look beyond its national constituency and seek international acceptance, but conceded that limited resources may force a university to choose internationalism over concern for national issues. "Thus a university seeking new roles dictated by national circumstances may sometimes be forced to abandon these roles in favour of its more prestigious international programmes" (p. 8). All of these descriptions show how the transplantation

of external models continued to play out in African universities beyond the initial phase of establishing the institutions.

In his article, "Challenges Facing African Universities," Akilagpa Sawyerr (2004) contended that the underlying assumption of the internal/external dilemma is a tension between quality and social relevance. According to his argument, quality has been most often associated with external or international standards and models. Social relevance, on the other hand, is the concern with addressing local needs and development. These two concepts are essentially subjective and thus pose problems of definition. Of course they are not mutually exclusive, and Sawyerr was quick to point out instances where African universities have achieved both quality (on an international standard) and social relevance.

In his contribution to debates on African university development in the early 1970s, J. Ki-Zerbo (1973) asserted that if the quality of teaching is comparable to universities in the West, African universities could adopt socially relevant curriculum without sacrificing quality. However, while these two concepts can co-exist, several scholars at various times in the history of the literature have brought to light the potential conflicts between the two. A few of these scholars have addressed the power relations involved when Western universities determine the definition of quality research and teaching (Altbach, 1998, 2007; Eicher, 1973). Others have contended that the lack of resources in African universities inhibits them from pursuing both quality and social relevance equally (Altbach, 2007; Sawyerr, 2004; Wandira, 1977), and still others have shown how the pursuit of international standards of quality have encouraged African

universities to remain separate and alien from their societies (Ajayi, 1973; Crossman, 2004; Yesufu, 1973).

Scholars' descriptions of the external/local tension have gone a long way in contributing to the understanding of this dynamic in African higher education. Yet, the situation is far more complex. In the following paragraphs I describe how the development of the wider social and economic context has affected the balance between external influences and local demands on African universities.

During the late colonial period, as some Africans were able to achieve higher levels of education through overseas training or education in missionary colleges, they began to demand higher education. The British were not willing to give in to these demands until after World War I when their colonial policies began to change and they realized that the African colonies would one day become independent. Then, after independence, new African governments sought to assert their national identities though their universities and to redefine the university as a tool of nation building. Finally, the economic situation of the 1980s and structural adjustment policies led to another stage in the adaptation of external models to local needs.

Beginning in the mid-1800s and continuing throughout the remainder of the colonial period, several Africans voiced their desire for higher education, although they offered differing views of how higher education should be structured and what its mission should be. For example, James Africanus Beale Horton's vision was to introduce "undiluted Western education" into Africa (Ashby, 1964, p. 12). His contention was that Western education could help Africa socially advance, and if Africans could prove that they could perform as well as their European counterparts, they

would be seen as equals (Nwauwa, 1997). Edward Blyden, on the other hand, envisioned an African university system which could restore to Africans their cultural self-respect and rid them of the "despotic Europeanising influences which had warped and crushed the negro mind." (as quoted in Ashby, 1964, p. 13) Blyden's university would have included study of the classics and of African languages and cultures, but would largely have left out study of modern Western civilization. For him, the classics were "uncontaminated" and could offer Africans "nourishment" while still allowing them to explore fully an African intellectual heritage (Ashby, 1964, p. 13). Casely Hayford offered still another alternative. He advocated a wholly indigenous model of African higher education, but one which worked closely in correspondence with the best institutions throughout the world. In this way, he sought a compromise between a quality institution and a socially relevant one.

While the British government considered each of these options, none were adopted (Ashby, 1964). The ideas were deemed by a few British officials to be positive in principle, but, due to lack of resources, little happened to establish higher education in the colonies until the 1920s (Hargreaves, 1973). After World War I, the British began to change their "indirect rule" colonial policy, in which education was largely the responsibility of local communities, to a policy of "trusteeship." Under this policy, education was provided for the purposes of bringing educated Africans into the mainstream of governance (Nwauwa, 1997). This would allow Britain to simultaneously have greater control over their colonies by taking a more proactive approach to policy and to socialize Africans for the eventual end of colonialism (and, as colonial officials designed it, the beginning of dependency). As outlined in the previous section the British

established universities in Africa that were copies of the British system and were dependent on British universities.

After many countries gained their independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the tension between these inherited external models and the needs of new African nations gained greater voice among African leaders and some African academics. In a speech introducing the 1963 University of East Africa Act, the Secretary-General of the East African Common Services Organization emphasized the need for UEA to be an "African university".

> Above all the University should be relevant to our situation, should be African in a true sense. It should not be a pale reflection of alien universities but a living concrete symbol of all that is African and make a peculiar African contribution to the world of scholarship, achievement and research and the advancement of knowledge. (as quoted in Court, 1975, p. 196)

Government and university leaders across the continent took up the call for authentically African institutions which would focus on the provision of knowledge relevant to the African context and could give voice to African issues in wider global dialogues. They sought ways of breaking free from their affiliations with metropolitan universities and of increasing the number of African staff in academic and decision-making administrative positions (Ajayi et al., 1996). Several conferences were called to bring representatives of the newly formed nations together to define for themselves the goals of education in Africa and to debate how universities should balance external influences with support for national development. UNESCO's 1962 conference in Tananarive, Madagascar was the first of these conferences to be devoted entirely to higher education in Africa. It described universities as the main instruments of national progress. Participants called for solutions to the problems of adapting curricula and

administrative structures to the specific conditions of African life and the needs of national policy (Yesufu, 1973). This was among the first international forums after independence to call for adaptation of European models to African realities and to advocate for a clear shift in the balance between inherited ideas of higher education and local relevance to emphasize the latter.

After Tananarive, African higher education entered the phase of national universities. For the newly formed nations, a university became a symbol of sovereignty. In each of these nations, governments and intellectuals continued to push for universities to support national development. With African takeover of universities and increasing interest in higher education by governments, national universities had to decide whether a high level of autonomy was part of the colonial legacy to be done away with or a core element of universal academic traditions. In most cases inherited levels of academic freedom and autonomy became secondary to the agendas of national governments. The rationale for government involvement was to make universities more responsive to local development needs (Ajayi et al., 1996) and further shift the balance away from international obligations and Western influences. In a speech concerning Ghana's national university, the nation's first president, Kwame Nkrumah, asserted this same argument for state involvement in the university and a shift away from "traditional" ideas of academic freedom in favor of accountability.

> We want the university college to cease being an alien institution and to take on the character of a Ghanaian University, loyally serving the interest of the nation and the well-being of our people. If reforms do not come from within, we intend to impose them from outside, and no resort to academic freedom (for academic freedom does not mean irresponsibility) is going to restrain us from seeing that our university is a healthy university devoted to Ghanaian interest. (as quoted in Mkandawire, 2005, p. 22)

As Mkandawire stated in contextualizing this quote, Nkrumah raised an issue here that is relevant to the state-university relationship—the issue of "reconciling utilitarian views about universities and the maintenance of standards and the autonomy of universities" (p. 22). Indeed, this tension has persisted throughout the history of universities in Africa. In the view of many intellectuals – but not all, as will be discussed below – as well as government leaders at the time, it was necessary to foster a close relationship between African universities and the state so that the state could assure that the university remained relevant to national development needs. In this way, the government would provide oversight for the universities and hold them accountable to the public who financed the institutions. Adopting a close government-university relationship is one clear way that African policymakers and academics were responding to the demand to adapt old models to an independent African context.

At this time, intellectuals were engaged in rigorous debates over the level of autonomy a university should have. Some expatriate and African scholars expressed a fair amount of resistance to this new close relationship with the government. They argued that diminishing autonomy would have a serious effect on the standards and quality of research and teaching. The universities would no longer be able to serve one of their essential functions—critiquing the state. They feared that research agendas and curricula would be dictated to scholars by non-academic politicians and would therefore be attached to a particular political agenda. In the worst cases this type of relationship between government and higher education could turn the university into an instrument for perpetuating repressive and technocratic regimes. Ajayi et al. (1996) argued that this tension between what European and European-trained scholars had previously seen to be

"universal" standards of academic freedom and increased government involvement was illustrative of a "destructive conflict" between academics. The authors asserted that while the expatriate staff and those Africans who were deeply indoctrinated into European ways of thinking defended autonomy, other African staff felt alienated by this approach and discriminated against by the larger international academic community. It was these scholars who sought political intervention to give the university a national character (Ajayi et al., 1996). Here again the tension between external models of universities' roles in society and adaptation to an independent Africa played out, this time in a conflict of academic and political agendas.

The experiences of the 1960s and early 1970s reinforced the idea that universities were too removed from the realities in their local settings. The economic and social situation in many African countries was growing worse, and universities had not yet been able to provide quality responses to "accumulating national problems of unemployment, malnutrition, income inequality, and so forth" (Court, 1975, p. 193). Policymakers and leaders sought to develop a new model of a university that would be more appropriate to national development than the university models they had inherited from the colonizers. In 1972, the Association of African Universities held a workshop entitled *Creating the African University* in Accra, Ghana to discuss how to infuse national universities with an "African identity." Participants focused on issues such as building an African academic community, Africanizing university staff, adapting new curricula and defining the role of the university in continuing or adult education.

Participants also proposed a new type of "truly African" university which would have a fundamentally different mission than inherited institutions (Yesufu, 1973). It

would be focused unambiguously on local issues and public concerns. The mission of this new institution would stress the importance of applied research, in-service training, and the increased role of the professoriate in public policy and contract research. The "developmental university," as it was called, combined influences from America's land-grant tradition, Japan's model of connecting the modern university to the state's needs, and the Soviet model, which emphasized the fit between university products and manpower, righting social inequalities, and socialization of students into the ideology of the regime (Coleman, 1984). Thus, the ideas behind the developmental university came from external models, but were adopted with the clear intention of immediately adapting them to fit the societal needs in developing African countries. President Nyerere was one of the biggest proponents of the developmental model, and this model was used to reshape the University of Dar es Salaam to fit his larger agenda of promoting the ideals of African socialism.

The 1980s and 1990s brought economic and political crises to many African countries, including Tanzania. Governments' incomes declined due to a fall in prices for export commodities, coupled with a sharp increase in the cost of imported goods. Several countries faced political strife as well, many from violent regime changes. Political issues spilled onto university campuses. For example, in 1992 in Zaire, the military invaded and raped and killed several students (Ajayi et al., 1996) which obviously had a severe impact on the development of higher education within Zaire.

In all countries, governments at this time were faced with tough decisions about how to distribute ever-decreasing resources to meet increasing public demands. In the case of higher education, the number of students attending universities expanded

significantly as more people completed secondary education and demanded access to universities. In some cases, this expansion was also due also to the changing purposes of the university from being an elite institution, catering to only a few students with a particular and narrow focus, to one that was integrated with society and open to a broader range of students.

Moreover, appraisal of the economic, social, and political situation of the 1980s and 1990s in many countries led some critics to conclude that the university's potential role in national development had been exaggerated. The governments who declared their intention was to make universities more responsive to public needs were themselves far from responsive to these needs (Ajayi et al., 1996). Mkandawire (1995) contended that this was an era of "identity crisis" for African universities. "Having achieved their mission—'meeting the high level of manpower needs in the nation'—African universities lost their original *raison d'etre* in the eyes of the state and sometimes the public" (p. 79).

At this time, the World Bank was an outspoken critic of African higher education. As one of the most influential agencies in setting foreign aid policy, the World Bank's view of African education had a large impact on financial support for African universities. Structural adjustment policies adopted by many countries pushed governments to divest from their higher education sectors and focus their attention on expanding basic education. Many foreign aid policymakers now saw higher education as an investment which satisfied the needs of the individual rather than the common good and, therefore, strongly advised governments to shift the burden of financing these institutions from the public to the individual. Governments were caught in a difficult position between accountability to external constituents like the World Bank and internal

constituents in their societies and within their universities. The involvement of foreign aid agencies and economic decline in most African countries caused the balance between external and local to shift yet again, largely toward external influences.

The University of Dar es Salaam followed some of the wider trends in the development of higher education in Africa outlined in the above section, though in many ways Tanzania took a different approach to implementing ideas of local relevancy than many of its neighboring countries. The next section will address how UDSM negotiated between national needs and a wider international context, thereby setting the stage for a deeper understanding of the evolving factors affecting academic research at the University. The brief history of the University of Dar es Salaam outlined below will set the stage for further exploration of the University's history in chapters four and five of this dissertation. These chapters will give a more detailed account of the abbreviated narrative and themes presented in the following section from the personal narratives and the perspectives of scholars from UDSM.

The University of Dar es Salaam in National and International Contexts

As mentioned previously, the University College, Dar es Salaam was established in 1961, the same year that Tanzania (then Tanganyika)[2] gained its independence. The college was directly linked to the University of London for its beginning years. In 1963, it joined together with Makerere College (Uganda) and University College, Nairobi (Kenya) to form the University of East Africa (UEA). This university was meant to bring together resources from the constituent countries of the East African region to provide wider curricular options for East African students. Each of the colleges focused on a

[2] In 1964, the mainland territory which had achieved independence under the name Tanganyika joined with the islands of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

particular field: law in Dar es Salaam, engineering in Nairobi, and medicine and agriculture in Makerere. According to historian Isaria Kimambo (1984), the outlook of UEA "remained very much in line with similar institutions in Western Europe." The majority of the academic staff were expatriates, and research activities were largely conducted in line with both expatriate research agendas and those of their permanent institutions abroad. The curriculum was also similar to Western European universities.

Between 1967 and 1970 Tanzania and the University College, Dar es Salaam began to change its approach to higher education. In 1967, the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, issued *The Arusha Declaration* which outlined his philosophy of African socialism – or *Ujamaa* – and his plan for implementing this political vision in Tanzania. He further detailed his approach to educational policy in a pamphlet called "Education for Self-Reliance" (Nyerere, 1967b). Being a former teacher himself, it stands to reason that Nyerere was one of the most outspoken African leaders on the subject of education. With these policy documents, Tanzania's approach to higher education began to diverge from the other colleges within UEA. Moreover, each of the constituents of UEA felt the pressing need to make their universities national institutions—symbols of their newly independent nations with expanded curricula that were able to serve the needs of their particular countries.

In 1970, the University College, Dar es Salaam became the University of Dar es Salaam. It remained nominally attached to Makerere and Nairobi through the Inter-University Committee of East Africa (Nhonoli, 1973), but policymakers in Tanzania would now have autonomy to determine UDSM's structures, curricula, and mission.

Tanzania and Nyerere's government, therefore, used the university as one of the main tools for defining a distinctive Tanzanian national identity.

In many ways Tanzania took a different approach to higher education than its neighbors. Primarily, in its new vision of the university, Tanzania stressed self-reliance and the search for locally applicable standards. Nyerere emphasized first and foremost the university's service to the nation and the need for all activities conducted by the university to be socially relevant. Kenya, on the other hand, remained focused on the preservation of internationally defined curricula and standards. David Court argued that the University of Dar es Salaam "has been one of the most self-conscious of the three East African universities in trying to reorder itself for a new developmental role" (Court, 1975, p. 194).

Through the University of Dar es Salaam, Nyerere and other members of his TANU political party sought to shake off the colonial model of higher education and create a particularly Tanzanian model to take its place. Nyerere was one of the first proponents of the "developmental university" model described earlier in this chapter. In a keynote speech at UDSM, he stated:

> 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 the 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. (as quoted in Coleman, 1984, p. 86)

From this quote it is clear that Nyerere's vision was not in line with UDSM's inherited colonial model and that he sought to shift the emphasis of the university toward a very locally focused mission. He contended that the university could maintain both the

standards of Western education in the objective "search for truth" and also a commitment to society in equal proportions (Court, 1975). In 1974, Tanzania's government adopted the *Musoma Resolution* to officially tie the university to this developmental path and the ideology of the Tanzanian state or more specifically African socialism (Mkude et al., 2003).

Coleman (1984) argues that UDSM offered the closest example to a true developmental university. The principle mission of the university was the economic and social development of Tanzanian society, and the Tanzanian state adopted university structures to reflect this mission. An emphasis was placed on applied research. Students were expected to complete a year of national service before admission to the university. Development Studies was a required course for all students. Policymakers proposed changing examinations to not only reflect theoretical knowledge but also the practical aspect of a student's education—(although this only came to partial fruition) (Kimambo, 1984). The transition from the British model to a developmental model, infused with local influence, however, was not an easy one, nor was the transformation complete.

One of the key structural adaptations that Tanzania made in adopting the developmental model was nurturing a close relationship between the state and the university. In fact, President Nyerere served as the chancellor of the university and several non-academic politicians sat on its governing council. In his description of UDSM's model to the AAU's 1972 Accra Workshop, A.M. Nhonoli (1973) extolled this as a positive development toward a more locally responsive African university:

> In whatever situation the African university finds itself, intimate relations with the government should be fostered....The traditional concept of university autonomy developed in Western Europe, in the middle ages, when universities were being founded for a select privileged class, which was conservative and a powerful

> force against social change. But universities in Africa must be an agent of socio-economic change and the traditional concept should be modified in a number of ways. (p. 177)

He also advocated limiting academic freedom:

> The traditional concept of academic freedom postulates that there shall be no censorship of teaching and research on whatever subject and in whatever manner that the university might wish...In present day Africa, such wide freedom can neither be afforded nor granted. (*ibid.*)

In Tanzania's case the government was to serve as the voice of the people, representing society's needs and holding the university accountable for using societies' resources to fill these needs. According to Nyerere and TANU, UDSM was to be formed around and limited by the needs and capacity of the local economy as dictated by the state.

While the close government-university relationship was supported by scholars like Nhonoli, problems did arise on UDSM's campus around this issue. Specifically in November 1970 a student group was banned from campus. They had published a provocative theoretical journal called *Cheche* that promoted the ideals of scientific international socialism and criticized African socialism. Reactions on campus were divided with some scholars believing that this was a political suppression of the type of atmosphere that should exist in a vibrant university community. For them the balance had shifted too far away from Western ideas of academic freedom to outright intolerance. Moreover, this move by the government took away the traditional role of a university (in a Western sense) as a critic of the state (Luhanga et al., 2003).

Another manifestation of the interplay between national and international contexts unfolded among academics, although not in predictable ways. One might expect that expatriate faculty members, of which there were many at UDSM, would bring with them

strong influences supporting external models and that the African faculty members would support pushing the niversity toward increased social relevance. This was not necessarily the case in many African universities, and it was not the case at UDSM. Several expatriate scholars at UDSM supported Nyerere's philosophy and promoted its integration into the university. For instance, in 1967 nine expatriate Marxist staff members aided in organizing a conference at UDSM which recommended the university be the responsible party in socializing students to Tanzanian socialism (Coleman, 1984). In fact, Nyerere supported this dynamic on campus by seeking to recruit expatriate staff whose philosophies aligned with his own. The presence of expatriate staff with clear Marxist ideas, who also supported an African socialist agenda, likely had a significant influence on research and international collaborations both within UDSM and with other institutions outside of Tanzania.

There were African staff members, on the other hand, who resisted the transition away from Western models of higher education. Due to the fact that there were no advanced training programs for scholars in most African countries, those seeking advanced degrees had to go overseas, most often to Europe or the United States, for their training. In this way, they were indoctrinated into Western assumptions and expectations about research and teaching. Oftentimes, these scholars were not trained in a way that prepared them to work in a "developmental university" (this of course was also true of the European staff at UDSM). For example, to earn an economic Ph.D. in Europe or the U.S., scholars were often expected to make abstruse theories the core of their program. These theories were frequently irrelevant to a developing world context or simply not useful for the more applied methods promoted at developmentally focused universities.

The result was that many African scholars who were educated in the West were some of the most fervent defenders of inherited practices. This was certainly true among the first generation of East African academics (Court, 1975). Again, the influence of overseas training combined with the realities of working in a "developmental" university likely impacted strongly the decisions that Tanzanians made (or were able to make) about their research agendas and their roles in collaborative projects.

As in many other African countries, the 1980s and 1990s brought economic strife to Tanzania. A war with Idi Amin in Uganda, a sharp rise in the price of oil, a steep decrease in the prices of export commodities, and economic support of resistance movements in Rhodesia and South Africa had all drained Tanzania financially. The nation was forced to accept the World Bank and IMF's prescriptions for structural adjustment in order to begin economic recovery. This signaled the end of Nyerere's policy of African socialism and in 1985 Nyerere stepped down from the presidency.

These economic factors had a strong impact at UDSM as well. By the late 1970s both students and staff had become resentful about the tight control that the state had over decision-making at the university. This resentment was further compounded by the decrease in state financial support to the university. Morale was low on campus. The academic focus of the university also changed as the focus of debates shifted from development issues to power politics (Mkude et al., 2003). No longer was the university solely focused on local development. Additionally, due to the decline in government resources to the university, UDSM increasingly had to look outward for financial support. In this way the World Bank and other external agencies gained more influence over developments at UDSM, thereby contributing to the tension Tanzanian academics felt

between externally generated agendas for research and a continued commitment to national development.

Chapters four and five will pick up this discussion concerning Tanzanian intellectuals' experiences with research at UDSM and the shifting tensions between global and national influences in more detail. The next section will review the literature on intellectuals in developing countries with an emphasis on the idea of the African intellectual. Understanding how authors have discussed the particular challenges faced by scholars in the developing world, as well as how the definition of the African intellectual as a particular social category has evolved will better illuminate how Tanzanian scholars at UDSM have situated themselves in terms of broader ideas about the role of African intellectuals in their own societies as well as in the global community of academe.

Scholarship in the Developing World and African Intellectuals

Currently, there exists a somewhat robust literature on faculty issues in general, including literatures on both faculty incentives/motivations and academic collaborations. These literatures are key to understanding faculty experiences in the United States and to some extent in Europe, but they become largely irrelevant when one seeks to apply them to the experiences of faculty in many African universities. The variables that impact faculty members' work lives in universities like the University of Dar es Salaam are quite distinct from those found in the "typical" American university. Although some scholars identify a few commonalities across the academic profession such as a general commitment to teaching, service and research, in many ways these similarities are becoming less and less evident with the changing nature of the university around the

world and the continuing marginalization of academics in developing countries. This section will identify how scholars have addressed the subject of intellectuals in the developing world, with a particular focus on African intellectuals, both in terms of these academics' relationship to a wider intellectual community and of the realities they have faced within their home institutions.

In the previous section, I have discussed a few of the issues faced at various points in time specifically by academics in many African nations. These include negotiating demands made by national governments through the close government-university relationships that were formed after independence, interpreting the shifting missions of African universities (whether they should be "developmental" or continue on a European model), responding to the pressures of public opinion as well as the agendas of foreign development agencies, and adapting overseas training to their home university context. Edward Shils and Philip Altbach are two scholars who have written extensively on intellectuals in the developing world, and they have outlined other factors which may influence faculty work lives in African universities. Altbach, for example, has outlined in detail the increasing resource problems faced by faculty in the developing world (1998, 2003) and has linked the significant decline in resources to a steep decline in research output from developing countries' research universities (2007). Altbach has also written widely on the influence of the wider academic publishing industry on determining what scholarly research is published and distributed (1975, 1987, 1998, 2007). He contended that lack of access to publishers and distributors has been a major factor in an increasing marginalization of scholars from developing nations. Finally, Altbach (2007) also described general organization structures which have had an influence on scholars in

developing world research universities such as the reward/incentive structure of the university.

Writing more generally about the intellectual and his role in society, Edward Shils (1971), describes the tradition of individual or personal inquiry among academic scholars. Shils was writing from a time soon after independence of many countries in the developing world, so it is important to contextualize him in this era; however, I would argue that his observations hold true not only for the first generation of scholars in developing countries, but also for subsequent generations. While the tradition of personal inquiry may be an inherited characteristic from the European intellectual tradition, and the individual, self-disciplined nature of academics may not be as strong as it once was in African universities, one could reasonably assume that individual interests still play a role in determining the trajectory of scholars' work. To what extent this has changed over time, however, has yet to be determined.

When discussing academics in what he calls "the new states," Shils also acknowledged the large role that externally defined norms of research have played in faculty work lives in the developing world. He saw these standards emanating from the "center" or "metropolis" to the "province." He went so far as to state that,

> The rest of the intellectual world lives in their [the metropolis'] reflected light, drawing what inspiration and self-esteem they can from their efforts to conform with the model and to come thereby closer to the center. (1971, p. 361)

Indeed, this type of center/periphery framework, which both Shils and Altbach used to structure their arguments about faculty in the "province" or "periphery," pervades much of the literature on faculty in developing countries. For Altbach, even though universities in the "Third World" often play key roles in their own societies, they find themselves at a

disadvantage in the "international knowledge network" (Altbach, 1998). Both of these scholars described the same kind of hierarchical system of academics which would seem to indicate that the "international academic order" (Altbach, 1998) had not changed much from the early 1970s to the late 1990s when each of these scholars was writing. While it may be reasonable to accept a center/periphery argument in the make up of the global academy, the static picture implied by a consistency with Shils and later Altbach does not capture the full story of academics in some developing nations. Given the experiences of academics at UDSM, I would argue that during the early stages of the university's development when this institution was considered "one of the most well-known universities in Africa and the world" (Shivji, 1993, p. 66), Tanzanian scholars were in a much better position to contribute to global intellectual dialogues than has been possible in more recent years (post-1985). This shift in the ability for Tanzanian intellectuals to participate on a fuller level in the global academic community was largely due to changes in economic and political circumstances both internal to Tanzania and worldwide. Chapter four and five will take up this argument in more detail.

There are a few sources in the literature concerning academics in developing countries that have addressed collaborative academic relationships in these contexts. These relationships are another significant influencing factor on the work lives of faculty members in developing countries and have certainly played a role in the career trajectories of scholars at the University of Dar es Salaam. The related topic of intellectual communities appears in both Shils (1971) and Ajayi's (1973) work, however resources on this topic after the early 1970s are scarce. In their writing, Shils and Ajayi both advocate for bringing together scholars into local or regional academic communities

into order to promote creativity and break dependence on the West (i.e., the "center"). Whether this has happened and to what extent requires further inquiry. American Africanist scholars (i.e., Coleman, 1977; Zeleza, 2002) also addressed an issue related to African faculty members' experiences with collaboration, namely ethical standards of Western scholars working in Africa. However, this only presented one side of the picture by focusing solely on how Western academics should ethically conduct research in Africa and not addressing the role that African academics play in these partnerships. Samoff & Carrol (2004), on the other hand, looked at higher education partnerships from the African perspective, but they did so only at the institutional level. They did not analyze partnerships from the perspective of individual faculty members who so often form the foundation for and have served as the engines of these relationships. As Samoff & Carrol indicated, more work needs to be done to understand at a deeper level these partnerships. Part of that deeper understanding involves exploring these collaborative relationships from the perspective of faculty members in developing countries' research universities and uncovering what role they play in setting research agendas as well as in the personal careers of these academics.

Currently, there is a small but growing literature that has dealt specifically with the experiences of African intellectuals. Several authors have examined the unique challenges faced by African scholars and have analyzed the particular tensions which have emerged as these scholars struggled to define themselves in the African post-independence era. One of the major themes within this literature is the tension between retaining an African identity while also engaging with and contributing to a wider body of knowledge. This tension is closely tied with the insistence by states as well as by the

African intellectual community themselves that the work of African intellectuals be relevant to the societies in which they are situated while simultaneously determining how to apply what have largely been Western ideologies to improving local conditions.

Nationalism has played a significant role in the scholarship of African intellectuals and, at least for the first generation of scholars, it was central to their definition of themselves as a cohesive intellectual community. Mkandawire (1997) asserted that most African academics have shared a devotion "to the basic ideological tents of nationalism, developmentalism, and egalitarianism" (p. 21). Toyin Falola (2001) argued that "nationalism created the academic institutions for much of Africa and suggested themes for the first generation of scholars to pursue" (p. xix). Falola also pointed out however, that with the economic and political strife of the 1980s and 1990s, the optimism and scholarship associated with the nationalist era ended and there was a shift to "decadence and despair" (p. xx) among African intellectuals.

This shift between eras of African scholarship is also reflected in Mkandawire's (1995) categorization of indigenous African researchers into three generations of academics. The first generation, he contended, were those who went abroad to do their studies close to the time of independence and then returned home to be the first indigenous scholars at African universities. Having established connections with universities, colleagues, scholarly journals, and publishers while completing their studies in the West, their academic standing was quite high in the wider academic community. "Members of this generation enjoyed international recognition and even to this day those still academically active continue to have access to the international academic community" (Mkandawire, 1995, p. 76). Most also shared the state's developmental

ideology, were staunchly anti-neocolonial, and "were profoundly pre-occupied with problems of nation-building" (ibid.). According to Mkandawire, the second generation were also trained abroad in the mid to late 1970s, but tended to stay abroad and those that returned often did not stay. This is likely due to the deteriorating economic and political situations in many African countries in the late 1970s and the 1980s, Falola's era of "decadence and despair." This generation "constituted the first wave of the 'brain drain'" (p. 77). The third generation of scholars was largely produced wholly or partly within African universities. Mkandawire argued that third generation is now assuming the reins of African universities from the first generation scholars who are retiring and from the few second generation scholars who returned home but are still looking to leave African universities to go abroad or accept consultancies. This generation of scholars, he contended, were trained under severely difficult conditions materially, and politically. Moreover, these younger scholars "lack international exposure, having not acquired a sure footing in the international research world and are less 'marketable' internationally than their predecessors" (p. 79). For this reason they have less familiarity with wider theoretical debates and their work tends to focus more on description rather than interpretation.

Nana Akua Anyidoho (2006) built on Mkandawire's categorization of African intellectual generations by arguing that now a fourth generation is emerging. She claimed that the fourth generation will (or should) focus on what she calls "insider scholarship" or a re-focusing of African scholarship to reflect a concern with "what contributions [African academics] can make not just to 'knowledge' but to the development of the continent and its people" (Beckman & Adeoti, 2006, p. 8). More

specifically, Anyidoho advocated that the focus of African academics should focus their scholarship on the local as "its audience, its primary beneficiaries, and its agenda" (Anyidoho, 2006, p. 163) as opposed to dominant orientation of most African scholars to their relationship to Western academic communities. Indeed, this relationship between the local relevance of African scholarship and its engagement with the wider scholarly debates which often emanate from the West has been a recurring theme in the literature concerning African intellectuals.

In Toyin Falola's (2001) study examining the relationship between nationalism and African intellectuals indicated that one of the central and persisting issues for African scholars is "how to retain an African identity and an Africa for Africans while re-appropriating the West for the goal of progress" (p. xviii). The debate for these academics was where to draw intellectual models and concepts to use for their research. Should they come from the external world, from indigenous practices or both? A preoccupation with the West has "created grave concerns, some bordering on alienation and others on excessive imitation....All have been forced to address the impact of the West on Africa" (p. 16). Mazrui (2005) argued for an ideal balance for African intellectuals between being culturally close to society and also intellectually linked to the "wider scholarly and scientific values in the world of learning" (p. 62) which would allow African intellectuals to be better able to help develop their societies. In this way, the African scholar would serve as a bridge between academe and local communities (see also Mkandawire, 2005; Suttner, 2005). Mazrui noted, however, a contradiction between being culturally close to society and also connected to the wider world of scholarship because of what he called "the nature of Westernization in Africa" which has focused on

Western influences on African culture rather than emphasizing "Western productive technologies" (p. 62-63). Still, what Mazui missed in this analysis is that Africa and African intellectuals are not necessarily separate from the wider academic community. They are a part of it, albeit an often marginalized part. There has been intellectual exchange between these scholars and scholars in the West. African scholars are often portrayed as consumers of knowledge rather than producers. While there is significant evidence of this and, as will be argued in the following chapters the structure of the global academic and donor communities, have been skewed in this direction, this is not exclusively the case. African scholars have added their voices to global academic dialogues. To what extent this has happened has shifted in different national and international economic and political climates. In the end, however, all scholars who have addressed the challenges faced by African intellectuals and many of the scholars at UDSM have identified this tension between local relevance and their relationship to the global academy.

Conclusion

Much of the literature examined to this point has depicted the African university as caught in dichotomous relationships between center and periphery, internal and external, local and global. African universities were formed from external models, however African leaders and academics have worked to adapt them to local conditions and to make them relevant to local development. These institutions walk a line between ideas of global standards associated with international prestige and an emphasis on national service. African intellectuals are also caught in this tension. They want to contribute to a wider body of scholarship, but they also have a commitment to the

societies in which they are situated. Other factors have impacted this tension at various points in the history of the University of Dar es Salaam. The following chapters will build on this literature by fleshing out how this tension has evolved over the institution's history. They will show how the relationships between center/periphery, external/internal, local/global have shifted and changed in the course of one research university's history and how this has impacted the work lives of intellectuals who are located there.

Chapter Three:

Methods

This dissertation is designed as an historical case study and therefore applies qualitative methodological approaches to examine a single phenomenon in detail (Borg & Gall, 1989). A case study, especially one that employs a historical frame, allows an investigator to analyze and interpret events or themes over time (Yin, 1994). This research seeks to describe and explain UDSM faculty members' experiences with research within the contexts of the University, Tanzanian national development, the wider global academic community, and the larger global political economy. All of these contexts, both local and global, have influenced to varying degrees the Tanzanian academy and what knowledge its members have produced and valued. This case study also aims to examine how academics' experiences, situated as they are in the above contexts, have changed over time. It addresses the central question of how Tanzanian academics have experienced and negotiated shifting local and global influences in their research lives over the course of UDSM's history. This chapter will provide a detailed review of the data sources as well as the methods of data collection and analysis used for this study.

Research Design

Over the course of the eleven months that I spent conducting field research in Tanzania at the University of Dar es Salaam, I collected data on knowledge formation and Tanzanian academics' research experiences from multiple sources. Conducting this research over this extended period allowed me adequate time to gain some level of

cultural understanding of the Tanzanian and UDSM contexts and to collect a significant amount of data for analysis.

In this study, I focused on faculty within four academic units at UDSM. Comparing multiple units, each within different fields of scholarship allowed me partially to account for the effects of departmental and disciplinary environments on determining both local and international research trends. First, I selected UDSM's Department of History, which was situated within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. This department played a key part in the promotion of Nyerere's socialist, nationalist agenda through its role as one of the main "meaning-making" institutions for the post-colonial nation (Kimambo, 1993). Additionally, the department has a long history of international relationships and scholarship. From the time of the university's founding, the Department of History has had an international reputation for scholarship in African history, even leading to the establishment of the "Dar es Salaam School" of historiography which focused specifically on African socialism, nationalism, and imperialism. Several leftist academics came to the department to conduct research which contributed to the creation of a specifically Tanzanian historiography. By including this department as one of the main sites of this study, I investigated how academics' research production, so vibrant during the socialist period, changed with the advent of neo-liberal market reforms, the subsequent decrease in the University's resources, and the shift away from the previous focus on nationalistic "meaning-making" and socialism.

Second, as a comparison, I examined scholarship within UDSM's Institute of Development Studies (IDS). This unit played a significant role in shaping the general mission of the university. During the 1970's Nyerere saw contributing to the economic

and social development of the country as one of a university's main goals. The Institute of Development Studies was founded to support this effort and attracted scholars from multiple disciplines to conduct applied research which would have a direct impact on Tanzania's economic conditions. Academics were also charged with defining what exactly development meant within Tanzania's post-colonial socialist environment. IDS was originally founded to play a prominent role in local development and increase Tanzanian "self-reliance," but with the fall of socialism in Tanzania and with the country's adoption of World Bank and IMF approaches to development, the Institute has gone through a process of self-examination and re-evaluation. Examining IDS faculty members' research in this environment over time offers another clear example of changing local/global dynamics. Additionally, because IDS is not tied to a distinct disciplinary approach and is not organized in the same way as the Department of History, it provides an alternative story of interacting with the wider international academy.

Third, the Department of Fine and Performing Arts served as another academic unit for comparison. I chose this unit for several reasons. First, this department does not have the same level of international prestige and interaction as the previous two units. Second, many of the collaborations within this department have been within Africa and, therefore, looking at Fine Arts added a regional component to this study that might not be evident otherwise. Third, while this department does not have the international prestige of the other two, it has recently taken on significant engagement with Tanzanian communities through the promotion of educational theatrical performances that discuss HIV/AIDS and through the creation of a program to support gender sensitivity in public schools. Finally, the literature on higher education in Africa has shown a trend,

emanating from donor agencies, that increasingly supports vocational or applied education and research. By including Fine Arts (and the Department of History) in my study, I was able to see how this and other influences have affected academic departments which are not traditionally categorized within an "applied" discipline and compare them to the more "applied" focus of the Institute for Development Studies.

Finally, the Department of Zoology represented the natural sciences. The department is one of the oldest at the University of Dar es Salaam and has a strong history of regional cooperation and collaboration. Given the natural environment in Tanzania and its diversity of flora and fauna, Tanzania has long been a fertile site for zoological research, much of it spearheaded either by Tanzanian academics at UDSM or visiting scholars housed in UDSM's Department of Zoology. By including a department within the natural sciences, which has a strong history of both locally situated research and international collaboration, I was able to compare the experiences of scholars within this department and field/discipline with those in the other fields under study to gain a fuller picture of the history of research at UDSM.

I used the data that I compiled throughout the course of the study to construct the history of scholarly work and to chart the impact of changing influences on faculty members' research agendas. This history is both a kind of intellectual history, interrogating and interpreting the shifting themes and ideas in the research produced at the university, as well as an oral history of the scholars themselves as they describe the evolving influences on their scholarly work. It is not, however, meant to be an authoritative institutional history. The recently released *In Search of Relevance* book (Kimambo et al., 2008), written and edited by members of UDSM's history department,

takes on this task. This dissertation builds on that work by emphasizing the experience of faculty members themselves rather than the history of the university as an institution. It uses UDSM and Tanzania as a context in which to situate the personal experiences and recollections of Tanzanian academics to reconstruct a narrative of their research work lives . As an intellectual history, this dissertation seeks to identify and critically investigate dynamic influences from within the institution, and externally from the nascent nation-state of Tanzania with its shifting agenda and from forces in the broader global arena which determine, among other things, funding and ultimately academic legitimacy. It traces the changing effects of these influences on the epistemological and ideological frameworks used by researchers at UDSM at various points in the institutions history.

For this study, I used multiple sources of evidence. Primary sources of data included in-depth interviews with faculty members, administrators, and a representative of the Ministry of Education (formerly the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology), historical records, policy documents, and selected samples of scholarship produced within the units under study. I also gleaned data from my participation in events and classes at the University, my reflections on informal interactions with UDSM students and staff, and my observations from spending a significant amount of time immersed in the University environment. I based the data collection and analysis for this study on the qualitative and historical methods described below.

Oral Histories

The collection of faculty members' personal narratives or, more specifically, oral histories formed a significant part of this study's foundation. Oral history, as defined by

Ronald Grele (1996) is "the interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction" (p. 62) While Grele used this definition of oral history within the context of US history, it is applicable within the African context as well, as long as the researcher is cognizant of the larger cultural framework in which the research is situated. Moreover, oral history has played a significant role in shaping the field of African history in general. As Maynes et al. point out, "No field has been more creative in its use of personal narratives than African history" (p. 7). In many cases it has been used to construct knowledge about non-literate societies, but it can also be a tool for understanding the lived experiences of literate populations, even of university scholars who base their profession around written productions of knowledge. Oral data can "provide opportunities to explore aspects of the historical experience that are rarely recorded, such as personal relationships....[It] offers rich evidence about the subjective or personal meanings of past events" (Thomson, 1998, p. 584). Maynes et al. (2008) argue, "The value of personal narratives is related precisely to their tendency to go beyond the simple facts: They tap into the realm of meaning, subjectivity, imagination, and emotion" (p. 148). In the case of this study, the emphasis is placed on the history of the faculty members themselves and their interpretations of larger historical trends. The oral histories that were produced within this study will provide data that scholars have not included in their written academic publications and give a fuller picture of how faculty members themselves have experienced and interpreted shifting influences on their research.

Although the term oral history is often used interchangeably with the term life history, David Henige (1982) recommends making a distinction between these two

methodologies. According to Henige, a life history is essentially a spoken autobiography, and in conducting life history research, the researcher learns more about the informant than the larger world in which he or she lived. In the case of oral history research, however, the historian is still interested in the informant's personal experiences, but seeks to place them within the larger problem on which she is working. The benefit of using personal narratives like oral histories as evidence is that "they provide unique insights into the connections between individual life trajectories and collective forces and institutions beyond the individual" (Maynes et al., 2008, p. 3).

Oral history as it is applied within this research project is also not to be confused with the concept of "oral tradition," a term often used in the field of African history (Miller, 1980; Vansina, 1985). Although, scholars have also used these two terms interchangeably, they are quite distinct. Oral history refers to the study of the recent past by means of personal recollections (Henige, 1982), whereas an oral tradition refers largely to a historical source, handed down over at least a few generations, that is composed of the collected and commonly known recollections of a particular society (Vansina, 1985). Because this study deals with the recent past (1961-present), relies on personal recollections as sources rather than collective memory, and is concerned with situating these personal experiences into the wider context of both the Tanzania's national history and a global academic community to reconstruct the history of research at UDSM, it uses an oral history methodology.

Selection of Participants

I included within my interview sample faculty members who have had experiences as researchers at UDSM—i.e., those who have been active as academic staff

members of the University within the departments under study. Upon arrival at the University of Dar es Salaam, I obtained departmental rosters from the Directorate of Planning, which helped me better determine the number of participants to be included in the study. During my eleven months at UDSM, I interviewed fifty participants. One participant was a representative of the Ministry of the Education. Three were members of the University's central administration, and one was a former Professor and Vice-Chancellor of the University. I interviewed ten staff members in History, seventeen in the Institute for Development Studies, ten in Zoology, and eight in Fine and Performing Arts. These numbers were roughly based on the size of the academic units included in the study.

Because my study was oriented toward uncovering historical trends in faculty research at UDSM, I made an effort to include in my interviewee sample participants with a longevity of experience, however I also included researchers who had been at the University for shorter periods of time in order to get an idea of where historical trends may be headed in the future. I started by using snowball sampling techniques in which I contacted faculty members within the academic units under study with whom I had worked in the past (during my pre-dissertation research at UDSM). Through recommendations from these faculty members I then recruited additional informants. Finally, I used information gathered from policy documents and the Directorate of Planning's departmental rosters, to contact additional interviewees within these academic units. I made no attempt to obtain a random sample of participants.

Interview Structure

Over the course of this study, I collected faculty members' oral histories through one to two in-depth qualitative interviews with each participant. I asked the participant about their past experiences with research at the university and although the interviews were semi-structured in nature, in keeping with an oral history methodology, I organized the interview protocol in such a way as to allow the participant to reconstruct a loose chronology of their experiences at UDSM. Although, we discussed current issues and events at the University of Dar es Salaam, the interviews focused on the participant's recollections of past events both in their personal career trajectories and more generally at UDSM, in Tanzania, and internationally. These interviews were conducted mainly in English, the official language of UDSM, however, small portions were in Kiswahili, the official language of Tanzania. They tended to average about an hour and a half in length, although some extended up to two hours or more. Additionally, the anonymity of participants was maintained to the fullest extent possible following the ethical standards of internal review of both Michigan State University and Tanzania. I obtained research clearance from MSU, the University of Dar es Salaam Directorate of Research and Publications, and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I had preliminary meetings with the majority of the participants in order to explain to them the general topic and goals of the research study. Once they agreed to participate, we organized a time for the longer interview to take place. At the time of the interview, I explained the consent process and participants signed a consent form prior to answering any questions. Participants were encouraged to keep a copy of this signed form. The majority of interviews were audio-recorded, and I then transcribed them. I reconstructed

the narrative of those that were not recorded from notes taken during the interview session.

I designed my interview protocol to ask open-ended questions which invited participants to freely construct their own narrative around the topics of their training, experiences at the University, the trajectories of their research agendas, and influences on their academic work lives (Morrissey, 2006). The construction of an oral history is not, however, a one-sided narrative process. Historians and social scientists not only collect oral data, they help create it and shape it through all phases of the research study (Henige, 2005). Personal narratives such as oral history "come into being specifically through a research process that involve two or more interested parties;...the narrator or subject and the interviewer and/or analyst" (Maynes et al., 2008, p. 99). First, the researcher must take into account their role in constructing the narratives produced. Most obviously the questions I asked during the interview process guided participants to recount events and experiences related to the topics listed above, but my influence on the products of the interviews was not limited to this small piece of my interactions with participants. At all points in the process, the researcher must be aware of the role that she plays in shaping the data. Evaluation of my part in shaping the research and subsequent narratives played a key role in my research as it developed as well as in the final product. What's more, in analyzing oral data, it is important to not only understand the historical, institutional, cultural, etc. contexts in which the narrator and the interviewer are situated, but also to understand the relationship between the two.

My positionality in terms of my identity played a significant part in shaping both how I structured, interpreted and analyzed the oral data that I collected and how

participants perceived and subsequently interacted with me. Some parts of my identity such as my race, gender, and to a large extent my nationality and age were obvious to participants when they met me. Others such as my background, my experiences in other cultures, my opinions (religious, political, etc.), my awareness (or even ignorance) of Tanzanian cultural norms, and so on remained hidden or in some cases were revealed over time. One of the most salient aspects of my identity shaping interactions with Tanzanian academics was my being an American student. This affected not only how I viewed my research, but also how my participants and others at the university viewed and responded to me. In some cases, the scholars that I spoke with were very excited and proud that an American graduate student had taken an interest in them as a subject of research. Several participants told me that they were grateful that someone was taking on the study because they not only viewed it as important research, but also as something that many of them did not have time to pursue due to the enormous demands of their jobs. In the context of the interviews, my positionality (and perceptions of my positionality) certainly played a role in how participants responded to me, what they chose to reveal to me, etc. Some scholars emphasized the hegemony of the West in setting research standards, determining research agendas, and controlling dissemination of research results. One academic went so far as to call this "academic colonialism". While he may have made this argument in any environment, it is likely that his awareness of the fact that I came from a university clearly situated in the West may have influenced him to emphasize even more strongly this viewpoint. Another scholar teased that I might be a CIA agent and claimed that as an American I could not help being steeped in a hegemonic neo-liberal worldview. While I would certainly not qualify myself as having

a neo-liberal perspective or approach, I must acknowledge that I brought with me a worldview that has been influenced by my own culture as well as my exposure to other cultures.

My age and status as a doctoral student also contributed to the dynamics of the interpersonal relationships that I had with academic staff members. In several cases, I noticed a marked difference in the tone and level of formality when interacting with senior versus junior staff members. Additionally, knowing that I was a doctoral student, when discussing the subject and goals of my research, many senior scholars freely offered advice on the design of the study and on reworking the research questions. In our initial meeting, one professor gave me a reading assignment that he felt would help me frame my study, and instructed me to complete it before my in-depth interview with him. Initially, I became frustrated with these types of interactions, but then realized after a few similar incidents that, given what I knew about the general nature of graduate student-professor relationships from my own experiences in graduate school, the academic staff members were reacting to me as they would any other doctoral student who had come to them to discuss a research study. In this way (but not in all ways), this academic setting was very similar to the one that I had come from in the US. Moreover, the advice they gave often steered me toward understanding norms of research in their own disciplines. This advice then became another source that I analyzed to gain insight into scholars' various approaches to research and their ideas of research standards and norms.

As oral historian Alistair Thomson (1998) argues "The interview is a relationship embedded within particular cultural practices and informed by culturally specific systems and relations of communication" (p. 582) A core piece of the study was to situate the

oral data that I collected within larger cultural, social, political and economic contexts. This context includes, but is not limited to, the Tanzanian national culture, the institutional culture of UDSM, the departmental dynamics within each academic unit, and a wider (global) intellectual culture. Although there are obvious limitations to my understanding of these various cultural contexts due to my own cultural identity, my immersion into the culture during data collection, my previous experiences in Tanzania, and input from my Tanzanian informants and colleagues as well as my previous experiences in various academic environments gave me insight into the culture in which my research was embedded. I will expand on my exposure to these relevant cultural contexts further in the following section concerning the participant observation piece of data collection.

Participant-Observation

While not all historical studies have the advantage of incorporating data using participant-observation, because this study concerns contemporary history (within the last forty-five years) and traces that history into the present, I determined that it was appropriate to incorporate this method into the design of the study. In this way I would be able to gain a better understanding of the culture in which the study and my participants were embedded. Dewalt & Dewalt (2002) define participant-observation as "a way to collect data in naturalistic settings by [researchers] who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied" (p. 2). During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to spend a significant amount of time immersed in UDSM's environment. I applied for and received affiliation with the university as a foreign researcher; therefore, I had access to most resources on campus. I was able to

attend classes and meetings as well as access materials located in the various offices of the central administration. The Department of History served as my host at UDSM, and I spent much of my time in the department's resource room interacting with academic staff and graduate students. I also spent time in the main library where I was able to engage with a broad range of students and staff. After being on campus for approximately a month, I figured out that if I sat in the café in front of the administration building at tea time, 10 o'clock a.m., I would run into several members of the academic and administrative staff, many of whom recognized me from seeing me around campus or from my pre-dissertation research at UDSM. Consequently, I was able to strike up conversations over a cup of tea which turned out to be some of the most interesting and enlightening interactions I had while at the University. Because I was on campus almost daily, I had a number of opportunities to interact with faculty members, administrators, and students informally. My goal was immersion into the campus environment.

While at the University of Dar es Salaam, I also attended several events that were relevant to this study. First, the University created a new post entitled the Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere Chair in African Studies to which Professor Issa Shivji was appointed. Professor Shivji is a distinguished professor at UDSM and was integral in the development of the university. The events surrounding the inauguration of the Chair brought in several scholars who had participated in the early development years of the University, and many gave special speeches addressing and recounting the history of UDSM. I was able to attend these speeches and discussions and even audio-recorded a few of them. Second, the Chair established a lecture series, which focused on topics relevant to the history of UDSM and intellectual developments on campus including the

Dar es Salaam School of Thought. I attended these events and through them I was able to interact with scholars who had played a significant role in shaping the trajectory of the University. Third, the University administration and select academic staff had several meetings with potential research donors while I was at UDSM. I sat in on a few of these and was able to audio-record some of the discussions. Finally, I attended meetings of UDASA, UDSM's professional organization for academic staff. These meetings discussed issues pertinent to the experiences of faculty members at the University. I was able to incorporate many of the observations I made while attending these events into my findings of the study.

Written Sources

Because this study is centered on how academic staff have negotiated local and global influences on their research which requires understanding their perceptions of the these influences and the decisions they have made in their academic work lives, the main focus of this study's analysis was on the data collected in oral history interviews. However, as Maynes et al. (2008) contend, "[E]ffective analysis means not taking personal narrative evidence at face value, but rather providing context and even alternative evidence as needed for interpreting its meaning and significance" (p. 14). In order to complement the historical data collected in interviews and for earlier periods in UDSM's history that may have been underrepresented in my sample, I examined samples of the scholarship produced within the four units under study (i.e., scholarly publications and research proposals). This included both published and unpublished manuscripts from each academic unit. Much of this scholarship was located in UDSM's central library as well as libraries maintained by each academic unit. I acquired access to any unpublished

scholarship through my contact with faculty members from each unit. I then analyzed this scholarship for its thematic content in order to investigate how the prevalence of particular methodological or conceptual themes changed over time. I also attempted to categorize this scholarship according to the definitions of research given in faculty member interviews as well as literature on research production. Categories of knowledge included applied, basic or theoretical, locally-focused, and internationally-oriented. To supplement my analysis of this scholarship, I also examined the few literature reviews produced by UDSM scholars about the development of research within various disciplines at the University. Isaria Kimambo (1969, 1993) produced two historiographies of the Dar es Salaam School of History, and Issa Shivji (1993) published a collection of essays reflecting on the history UDSM's intellectual community.

Finally, I utilized within this study policy documents and university and departmental records that were pertinent to research production and to the development of the departments under study. I conducted archival research at UDSM's main library as well as in the UDSM central administrative units that housed policy and other documents pertaining to research and the history of the University. I collected Research Reports from several years as well as Annual Reports from 1964 through 1995 (I was limited by what was available in the UDSM library's East Africana collection). I was also able to access UDSM Senate meeting minutes from 1970 through 1987 which included minutes of the University's Research and Publications committee, the Institute for Development Studies committee, and the faculty boards of Arts and Social Science and Science. Additionally, I found secondary sources for Senate minutes and minutes of University College Dar es Salaam's Research and Publications committee prior to 1970.

Analysis

In analyzing the data generated during my fieldwork at UDSM, I sought to identify key patterns and themes within my data sources and then trace them over time. The goals of historical analysis are "concerned with temporality, with the ways in which separate and individual pathways and intersections occur over time, in which events lead to other events in a sequence" (Maynes et al., 2008, p. 130) In order to connect the various sources and to understand how they intersected over time, it was necessary to construct a historical narrative from the collected data and to identify key events around which to organize findings. Coffey & Atkinson (1996) give an example of constructing such a narrative, in this case of anthropologists' career paths, in their *Making Sense of Qualitative Data*. They examine anthropologists personal narratives in order to "pick out key characters and events and ways in which the story is constructed, told, and framed" (p. 71). This process of periodization was essential to understanding how events that have impacted personal lives connect to each other over time and therefore both to social processes in a specific context and also more broadly to global trends. I analyzed the oral and written sources to identify events that were common across the data and seemed to significantly impact the lives of academics at UDSM. The time period of the study begins in 1961 when the University College, Dar es Salaam was established and continues to the present. For the purposes of this analysis and for organizing the presentation of my findings, I have identified three key periods in the history of the University of Dar es Salaam—the early era (1961-1979), the transition period (1979-1994), and the contemporary era (1994-present). This periodization is based on events in the development of UDSM and of the Tanzanian nation as a whole.

Once I identified these periods, I was able to look for patterns in the data, both continuities and differences, for the themes that emerged from my research questions and trace these over time. One theme focused on the key factors that have influenced faculty members' research agendas. After identifying these factors throughout the interview, observation-participation and written source data, I observed how they had shifted within a given time period and then from one time period to the next. A coherent historical narrative began to emerge. I also examined the data for points of difference from the dominant narrative story, and instances of differentiation as well as explanations for these counterpoints were an integral part of the final analysis.

To continue with this example of analyzing the factors influencing Tanzanian scholars' research, after identifying and following this theme in the data I attempted to classify the factors as to whether they were local or global in nature. It is true however, that local/global distinctions were not always clear-cut. Indeed, as Maynes et al. (2008) contend, in real life "categories are fluid and negotiable" (p. 144). The authors argue that, "Personal narrative analyses are certainly appropriately informed by theories and conceptualization derived from the analyst's interests and categories. But the analytic categories must also be responsive to the terms in which narrators make sense of their world" (p. 11). In keeping with this principle, while I did apply a conceptual frame in data collection and analysis, much of the classification I conducted was based on how the participants themselves talked about the influencing factors in their own research work lives. In this way, an analysis of how scholars interpreted and understood the sources of influence on their research lives was essential in shaping this studies findings and conclusions.

As discussed in chapter two of this dissertation, universities in Africa—and UDSM was no exception—were overwhelmingly influenced by Western models of higher education development, and the global academic community continues to exert much influence over Tanzanian scholars. Moreover, the agendas of the wider development community including multi- and bilateral donors have had a significant impact on establishing what research is considered important in African universities by exerting their own funding priorities. Additionally, Tanzanian scholars have, at different points in history, had clear demands placed on them by the Tanzanian state. They have also expressed a commitment to being relevant to Tanzanian society. In these cases the divide between global and local appears evident. In many ways, however, the global and the local are also inextricably intertwined in scholars' lives, and it becomes complicated to see where one ends and the other begins. For example, many Tanzanian intellectuals were trained in Western universities, and it is reasonable to expect that the socialization they received in these graduate programs has had a strong influence on their views of research and what they choose to study. Therefore, while what they choose to study and how they choose to study it can be of their own choosing situated in a local setting, to meet local goals, there are without doubt subtle external influences emanating from their socialization into the academy. As will be discussed in chapter six of this dissertation, due to their position in society and exposure to international experiences, academics are themselves in a position to be a bridge between global influences and local communities. Another example of the blurred line between the global and the local is that often the state, which would be considered a local influence has at different points in time trumpeted the agendas of external agencies like the World Bank. In this case, demands

on academics from the state are the same demands that might be placed on them by these donors. Therefore, the international and the state are often inextricably connected. Frequently, the differentiation between local and global was most evident when scholars made a distinction as to whether a factor was relevant to Tanzanian national development (local), whether it fit into the framework of contributing to scholarship in general or was related to external donor agendas (global). I was largely interested in how participants discussed the concepts of global and local and how their characterizations changed depending on what was occurring in the particular historical time period that they were describing. I use this conceptual framework, outlined more extensively in chapter one, as a central piece of my data analysis.

The second piece of this thematic analysis involved examining the data in terms of how the balance between global and national factors has shifted over time and then organizing the findings within the time periods outlined above. These shifts were then situated in the context of larger shifts within the university community, within the political and economic development of Tanzania, within a wider global academic community, and finally within broader global political and economic trends. The "public narratives", as Maynes et al. refer to them, associated with these shifts in wider historical contexts are intimately connected with individual's personal narratives or oral histories. "Narrators may incorporate broader public or historical narratives into their life stories...In any case alertness to the presence or absence of such narrative frameworks can produce provocative analytic results" (p. 60). I analyzed the oral data for the presence of this type of contextualization (or in some cases, the absence of contextualization) and then used other sources "external to the narrative" in order to

situate scholars' perceptions of themselves into the wider public narratives (Maynes et al., 2008, p. 60). In this way, it is possible to interrogate how Tanzanian intellectuals have impacted and been impacted by both local and global forces.

Finally, I analyzed the data to uncover what types of knowledge have been valued both within local research agendas and within the global academic and international donor communities. Like the analytical categories relating to global and local influences on research, categories of knowledge as defined in this dissertation stem from definitions of research that emerged from interviews with participants as well as from the literature on research production. They include applied, basic, or theoretical, locally-focused and internationally-oriented. Additionally, I followed thematic ideas within faculty research agendas and research productions to see how the occurrence of particular themes has shifted in different time periods and examined ways in which scholars addressed epistemological and methodological questions at different points in time. Again, findings from this analysis were then contextualized within a wider historical framework.

Conclusion

These combined data sources—oral histories, participant observation, and written documents—have allowed me to create a narrative of how faculty experiences with research have been described over time and how the economic and political context of Tanzania and interaction with the wider academic community as well as global economic and political trends have influenced the work lives of Tanzanian academics. By identifying patterns (as well as discontinuities) within and between historical eras, this dissertation addresses the question of how Tanzanian academics have experienced and negotiated shifting local and global dynamics in their research lives over the course of

UDSM's history. These collected sources are the basis for reconstructing a narrative around this central question. The subsequent two findings chapters will provide a chronological presentation of this narrative.

Chapter Four:

The Early Years at UDSM (1961-1979)

According to personal recollections of Tanzanian scholars who were either academic staff or students during the first phase of the university's history, the early years at the University College, Dar es Salaam and later the University of Dar es Salaam were characterized by fervent intellectual debate, a commitment to building the Tanzanian nation, and substantive interactions with international colleagues. It was a time of institution-building at UDSM as the newly established university sought to define itself in terms of its relationships with the Tanzanian society and state, with other higher education institutions throughout Africa, and with the wider international academic community. This chapter will present an historical narrative of the early years (1961-1979) at the University of Dar es Salaam which include its affiliation with the University of East Africa, the introduction of the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 and the beginnings of political and economic crisis in the late 1970s. The chapter will examine this time period in terms of the academic environment of the university and the major influences on intellectual production and research. The following sections will show how UDSM developed alongside or, more specifically, in conjunction with the political development of Tanzania as a nation as it sought to define itself, eventually adopting a clearly articulated post-colonial socialist vision. Many academics saw these early years as the "golden era" of the university, when scholars were able to both engage in significant ways with global intellectual dialogues and profoundly shape the development of their nascent country.

It is important at this juncture to make a note regarding the participants I spoke with at UDSM and hiring practices at the university. While many of the current academic staff members at UDSM were not on the academic staff during the early years of the university, a significant number were students –either undergraduate or graduate – at UDSM during this time period. The vast majority of current senior faculty members were recruited from the student body during these years. The hiring and recruitment practices and policies of UDSM, which continue today, involved senior academic staff members identifying promising undergraduate students, then recruiting them as teaching assistants. The university then provided the resources for these teaching assistants to pursue graduate education, either by funding them to go abroad for masters and Ph.D. degrees or facilitating their enrollment in graduate programs at UDSM. If the new staff member pursued education abroad, he or she was then on contract to return to UDSM and take up their academic post once they had completed their advanced degree. If they conducted their graduate studies at UDSM, they continued to teach while working on their own studies. Originally, this practice was part of UDSM's effort to East Africanize, or "Tanzanianize," the academic staff of the institution. The result is that although many of the current academics were not on staff during the early development of the university, a large number of them experienced these early years of fervent intellectual debate and institution-building as students. According to their own accounts, their exposure to UDSM's atmosphere at this time had a significant impact on their academic careers at the university and contributed to shaping their approaches to research and intellectual work. The following sections will investigate the perspectives and experiences of these

Tanzanian intellectuals concerning the development of UDSM during these early eras in the University's history.

Establishing the University College, Dar es Salaam: 1961-1967

The University of Dar es Salaam, or as it was previously known, the University College, Dar es Salaam, was established in 1961 as part of the University of London system. Before independence, the British colonial government had already planned to establish a University College in Tanganyika by 1964, but as Tanzania's independence drew near and the newly elected ruling party, TANU, recognized the urgent need to train local personnel for an independent government and economy, the plans for the university were put into motion much sooner than previously proposed. The University College, located in a newly constructed TANU building in downtown Dar es Salaam, opened its doors in October 1961, three years earlier than initially planned. It consisted of only one faculty, the Faculty of Law, and began with an enrollment of 14 students (Mapunda, 2008a). The university campus then moved from downtown to an area that was known as Observation Hill, approximately 12 kilometers from the city center, in 1964. The university expanded to include a Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in 1964, and then a Faculty of Science in 1965.

In January 1963, with the enactment of the University of East Africa Act, University College, Dar es Salaam joined with Makerere University in Uganda and University College, Nairobi in Kenya to form the University of East Africa (UEA). The constituent colleges of UEA operated along much the same lines in terms of goals and objectives as the University of London system from which it was derived. In the case of Dar es Salaam, however, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere added another conceptual

component to the college's mission—the necessity of being relevant to African and specifically Tanzanian needs (Kimambo, 2008c). Then Prime Minster Nyerere's speech at UCD's inauguration asserted this mission. He stated, "Our young men and women must have an African-oriented education. That is, not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the needs of Africa... our present plans must be directed at reaching the village" (as quoted in Omari, 1991, p. 182). In the early stages of the college's history, this focus was evident in the emergence of nationalistic scholarship, including a shift toward research into history from an African/Tanzanian perspective, emerging problem-oriented research programs, and research which could contribute to a new African-oriented curriculum.

Even though the movement toward a more nationally-oriented or "developmental" university had already begun, Isaria Kimambo, a prominent Tanzanian historian and one of the most senior members of UDSM who joined the academic staff in 1965, described the focus and structure of the University of East Africa as being "very much in line with similar institutions in Western Europe" (1984). Issa Shivji, who was a student at UCD during the 60s, confirmed this observation. "The pre-1966 University was not very different from any Western University. The ideological level at the Campus was extremely low" (Shivji, 1993, p. 33). The structural design of departments and faculties as well as the curriculum were all based directly on the University of London system. The primary goal of the university was to train Tanzanians to take over the running of industry and government from departing colonial administrators. Court (1975) argued, "As the essence of this task was viewed as the furnishing of qualifications with which these intellectuals could 'legitimately' replace incumbent expatriates, it did

not seem to require much change in the inherited and imported pattern of university organization" (p. 194).

The majority of academic staff were expatriates, many of whom were attracted to UCD because of Nyerere's vision and rhetoric, and there was a nationalistic push to focus on African-oriented topics especially in History and the social sciences. Research activities, however, were very often extensions of the types of research being conducted in their home universities in Europe, the United States, or Canada. One senior history professor described the atmosphere at UCD in terms of the meaning of relevance at that time: "In the period of development until 1967... the question of relevance was defined in strictly speaking the liberal political philosophy which was really dependent very much on liberal philosophy of the West" (personal communication, April 17, 2008).

For the initial recruitment of faculty members, UCD and UEA relied on the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas (IUC). This council internationally advertised open positions at UCD and interviewed the candidates. UCD got the final word in the hiring process. Most of the academic staff members during these early years were from British universities, with a few coming from North America and other places. Top administrators at UCD and UEA placed an emphasis on recruiting specialists with international recognition so that the university would be seen as having the highest standards. In this way, British institutions were significantly involved in the academic hiring process since the UEA depended heavily on its connection with the University of London as well as with the IUC, an extension of the British government, for recruitment of top candidates (Kimambo, 2008a).

Like many universities in Europe and North America, as well as many of the newly established African universities, UEA (and, by extension, UCD) was first conceived as a largely apolitical institution based around "universal" ideas of knowledge. As mentioned previously, a major goal of the university was to train high-level indigenous manpower in much the same manner as universities in the West trained elite cadres for industry and government leadership in their respective countries. The institution itself was designed in what UCD scholars later referred to as the "western academic tradition". Using this academic model, UCD was, for the most part, autonomous from direct government influence. Although some of the staff supported a progressive political agenda for the college, the central administration emphasized objectivity and neutrality with regard to Nyerere's, and by extension Tanzania's, budding socialist-leanings. Shivji pointed out in his previously mentioned quote that "the ideological level at the Campus was low." From his own decidedly Marxist perspective, Shivji went on to argue that "reactionary ideas held sway and what bourgeois lecturers taught in the classrooms was taken as gospel truth. Straight bourgeois theories went unchallenged" (1993, p. 33). According to a history professor, "In the early '60s up to maybe '65, yes, we are an independent country, a postcolonial country, but within the country ideology and even political set up is still generally what used to be in colonial times" (personal communication, May 29, 2008). Yoweri Museveni, the current president of Uganda, who was one of a small group of radical students at UCD in the late 1960s, observed "Lecturers and professors were particularly hopeless in as far as the interests of our people went" (Museveni, 1970). Neither the political philosophies of Nyerere and TANU nor the strong ideological influence of Marxist-socialist thought had

yet taken hold at UCD. It is true, however, that UCD was more politically and academically progressive than the other constituent colleges of UEA. For instance, Makerere was known to be quite conservative in its approach to university development, and stuck closely to the model of a higher education institution offered by the University of London (Kimambo, 2008b). It is also true that most of the incoming expatriate scholars at the end of this early time period were increasingly sympathetic to issues of Tanganyikan nationalism.

During these early years on campus, as noted above, socialism had not yet become the major influential ideology that it would become after the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967; however, the academics at the university had, in the course of the years immediately after independence, taken on a largely nationalistic approach to scholarship. Also, as the previously mentioned history professor pointed out, intellectual debates largely centered on "liberal philosophy of the West" (personal communication, April 17, 2008). According to Tanzanian scholars, while there was movement toward establishing an African or, more specifically, Tanzanian voice in academia, scholars at UCD were still relying on Western ideologies that, in hindsight, many considered incompatible with the goals of national development. In an essay examining the trajectory of academic debate at UDSM, senior Tanzanian scholar Issa Shivji (1993) described the early 1960s at UCD as being dominated by modernization theories. He stated,

> Both the continuity and the change that was political independence found a theoretical expression in modernization theories. This school ruled the discussions and the debates of the early sixties. As is known, the modernization school was not of local origin. It derived its inspiration and articulation from western and in particular North American scholars such as Rostow and Lewis in Economics, Parsons in Sociology and Morgenthau and Apter in politics. (p. 130)

According to Shivji, modernization theories applied in scholarship and academic discussions at UCD depicted a dichotomous relationship between the "modern" economy (equated with the colonial economy) and the "traditional" (or pre-colonial) economy. Shivji argued that, for many intellectuals at the University at that time, adopting the basic tenets of a western or colonial economy was considered the way to economic progress and national development for the newly independent Tanzanian nation. However, it is important to point out that Shivji was (and is) a dedicated Marxist scholar, and it was through this lens that he viewed the history of intellectual debate at UDSM. Shivji argued that the "most consistent and articulate expression [of the theory of modernization] on the Dar Campus was in the Department of History" (p.130). The Department of History was one of the places at UCD in which modernization theory and early nationalist scholarship most obviously collided. The development of this academic department, which became one of UCD's most influential, as well as Shivji's and others' critique of its early approach to scholarship, is described in more detail below.

UCD's Department of History was established in 1964 as one of the first departments in the newly formed Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Professor Terence Ranger was the first head of the department. Ranger, a British scholar, came to Dar es Salaam from the University of Rhodesia. He had been forced to leave Rhodesia because of the critical position he took toward the minority regime in that county. He was considered an activist scholar, and played a major role in shaping the development of UCD's (and later UDSM's) Department of History, as well as wider research activities on campus. Although Ranger left the university in 1969, his legacy had a lasting impact. The expatriate scholars that he recruited to work in the Department of History, the

Tanzanian scholars that he trained, and his contribution to what was later called the Dar es Salaam School of historiography were evidence of this legacy.

In its first phase, the Department of History took on what has been described as a nationalist approach to history and scholarship (Denoon & Kuper, 1970; Kimambo, 1993). The main thrust of its research agenda in these early days was what Ranger termed "the recovery of the African initiative in Tanzanian history" (1969). This approach was a reaction against colonial historiography that had dominated the still young field of African history up to this point. The argument was that previous scholars had presented the history of Africa and Tanzania from a Eurocentric, colonial perspective and represented African people as having been acted upon by outsiders rather than having agency in their own history. In his inaugural speech, Ranger gave the example that previous writings on Tanzanian history assumed state-building ideas diffused from outside sources. Several scholars in UCD's Department of History offered a counter-argument to this diffusionist theory. They contended that while certainly there were ideas moving in from the outside, one cannot discount local initiatives in transforming and adapting them to a particular society (Ranger, 1969). This approach to history formed the foundation of what was later known internationally as its own school of historiography—the Dar es Salaam School.

> Later on of course it came to gain a name as Dar es Salaam School. It came from the history department, because even the new publications which came out tended to be to be a bit nationalistic and therefore, people felt that there was a special school being developed here. (History professor, personal communication, April 17, 2008)

Kimambo (1993) argued that the political environment in the country at that time did affect the work of scholars at UCD. He stated, "The political climate in Dar es

Salaam from the 1960s had contributed to [this] single dynamic school of historiography, able to adjust its production of knowledge to meet the needs of the masses" (p. 6). Again, the nationalist approach fell within the post-independence framework of creating a national identity, but that identity had yet to be defined in terms of the African socialist agenda that it would later pursue. The nationalist initiative of the history department did continue until after the *Arusha Declaration,* when it shifted under the influence of socialist discourse and the input of other scholars who arrived after 1967.

A major component of the Dar es Salaam School was its effort to connect with the masses of Tanzanian society, foreshadowing the path of "relevance" that it would follow post-*Arusha Declaration*. A primary goal of the department was to uncover and subsequently disseminate knowledge about the pre-colonial history of societies in Tanzania by documenting their oral histories. According to Kimambo, this is what separated Dar es Salaam from the rest of the nationalist historiography on the continent at that time. The Historical Association of Tanzania, founded in 1966, played a significant role in this connection with Tanzanian local communities. The association was made up of scholars from the college, students, secondary school teachers, and members of society who had an interest in history. Members undertook large collective projects to document the oral histories of various ethnic groups in Tanzania, and out of these projects came some of the first publications of UCD's Department of History, as well as many curricular innovations. The first publications were put out in 1969, two years after the *Arusha Declaration*, however, due to the time lag in publishing, they are the products of research conducted within the first three to four years of the department's history and fall within the nationalist ideological framework.

It is important to note that these first research initiatives and publications were collective in nature. While individuals continued to work on their own foci, the research outputs from this time period were collaborative, collective efforts shaped by the vision of the departmental chair, Professor Terrance Ranger, and senior staff in the department. This type of research program would continue throughout the socialist period, but would change to a more individualistic approach in the post-socialist era.

The history produced in UCD's Department of History during this era, which ultimately led to the "Dar es Salaam School", had its critics from across the intellectual spectrum. Shivji and others have critiqued this nationalistic historiography as a "bourgeois" approach to history because it searched for African initiatives "in the direction of modernization" (p. 132) and did not question underlying social and economic structures. Others critiqued it for its "romantic emphasis upon the role of African initiatives," its idealism, and its rejection of theory (Kimambo, 1993, p. 10). Still others argued that it overemphasized the role of nationalism and nationalist movements in Tanzania's history to the exclusion of other historical factors. This argument contended that historians working in Tanzania, where "they were surrounded by the activity of a highly articulate national political party building a nation out of ex-dependency", were exposed "to stronger ideological currents than scholars in other independent countries where national movements were less pervasive and dominant" (Denoon & Kuper, 1970, p. 330), thereby making their focus overly political and ideological rather than historical. While Shivji, a scholar located within Tanzania, argued that the Dar School was not ideological enough, external scholars like Denoon and Kuper argued that it was too ideological. In any case, it was clear that while class analysis and socialism were not yet

the main influences, as Shivji may have argued for and as they would later become post-1967, the political situation in Tanzania and the influence of TANU's nationalist ideology did play a role in these intellectuals' scholarly work. It is also clear that these historians, while focused on the Tanzanian national context, were also trying to speak against what was then the dominant colonial historiography by innovating new approaches, themes, and epistemologies that could be of interest in wider scholarly debates in the international field of African history.

During this time period, the college also began to formulate its own research policy. In the very beginning of UCD's development, there was no coherent strategy in the institution's philosophy and vision for research (Luanda, 2008). Part of this process of fleshing out a clearer and more consistent approach involved the establishment of the Research and Publications Committee in 1964. Although this committee began to operate more fully later on in the history of UCD and UDSM, this was the beginning stage of articulating a coherent research agenda and policy for the college. As Luanda (2008) pointed out in his chapter on the history of research and publications at UDSM, "The Committee was founded on the premise that good research enriched the whole life of the College" (p. 134). Its central mission was to initiate and support research on East African, and more specifically Tanzanian topics. Other responsibilities included arranging for the publication of research outputs and recommending grants from UCD sources to academic staff for funding research initiatives (*UCD academic board*, 1964). This committee did not emphasize a particular approach to scholarship; however, it did have as central to its research agenda an emphasis on African-related or, more specifically, Tanzanian-related topics.

In 1965, the University College expanded again with the addition of the Faculty of Science. Along with botany, chemistry, mathematics and physics, the Zoology Department was among the originating departments in the faculty. The department was comprised of one professor, one lecturer, and a senior technician, all of whom were expatriates. As Tanzanian scientists began returning from abroad, they took up positions alongside these expatriate scholars, but recruitment and training of Tanzanians was slow, especially during the first years. While this department did not have the same obvious connection to defining Tanzanian nationalism as the history department, there was a stated intent to conduct research and teach on scientific topics relevant to Tanzania. Given the nature of their subject and Tanzania's biodiversity, it was not difficult for zoologists to focus their research locally: "much of the zoological interest centres on the wealth of biological material immediately available on the local shores and in the coastal waters" (as quoted in Luanda, 2008, p. 136). According to Luanda, the goals of these early research agendas in the natural sciences at UCD were both to build knowledge about the country and "to locate the College and hence Tanganyika on the world map of scientific research" (p. 135). The only problems with research production lay with a lack of up-to-date equipment for the fledgling faculty. This paucity of resources forced the department into narrower research capabilities and lines of enquiry. A zoology professor described how one of his colleagues handled the constraints of equipment on research during the department's early years:

> The way we did back then was you looked to the department and look at the equipment that is available, and then you tuned your research that way. We had one professor... he had a very flexible philosophy. He said, well look, in a place like Tanzania, if it's a biological specimen, if it's a *dudu* [insect], you take it and describe it, you cut it and so on. Probably whatever it is, it is new. Nobody has described it before. (personal communication, April 29, 2008)

Being that studying African contexts was relatively new in the natural sciences, describing and analyzing local species was a way that scholars at UCD could simultaneously adapt to equipment constraints, contribute to knowledge about local environments, and make a name for themselves in the wider scientific community.

Not only were researchers at UCD trying to develop scholarship related to the Tanzanian context and speak to a wider academic audience, they were involved in initial debates about the appropriate structure and mission of an African university. As mentioned in chapter two, the debate concerning the optimal balance between African universities' academic autonomy and government involvement was prevalent throughout Africa at this time (Yesufu, 1973). As UCD staff later argued, the UCD administration's (which was almost completely composed of expatriate men) over-riding concern was "to establish in Dar es Salaam a university of international standing within the Western educational system" (*Role of UCD in socialist Tanzania*, 1967, p. 125). To achieve this goal, UCD and UEA were meant to emulate established internationally prestigious institutions in the West, specifically those in the UK. In this way, UCD and UEA would fit into what were then considered "universal" academic standards including autonomy and political neutrality. Some of the original administrators offered the argument that infusing the university with a political agenda would interfere with scientific objectivity and associated notions of rigorous scholarship and teaching. This was also the argument of scholars like Denoon and Kuper (1970) in their critique of UCD's nationalist approach to history. They contended that:

> African history is too important to be left to politicians. The African scholar should be committed to writing the truth rather than the politic half-truth. Further

> generations in Africa will be better served if the highest standards of scholarship are maintained... (p. 348)

The counter-argument later put forth by academics at the college was that this approach created "architecturally, academically, socially and organizationally a pattern... for the university which is based on hierarchy and privilege" (*Role of UCD in socialist Tanzania*, 1967, p. 125). Academics who supported this line of thinking argued that while wholly adopting the "Western" model of education may have heightened UEA's initial international prestige and given some assurance of international standards, it caused the university, its staff, and its graduates to be far removed from the rest of East African society.

The separation of UCD scholars and students from Tanzanian society as well as the potential for elitism instilled by the curricular structure and general mission of the university was evidenced by a 1966 student protest. This incident would eventually play a large role in Nyerere's 1967 *Arusha Declaration* and the subsequent reshaping of UCD's goals and structures. In September of 1966, the Tanzanian parliament passed a policy that all post-primary students, including university students, would be required to complete at least six months of national service. This service could include military training, infrastructure construction, farming, teaching adult education, and other forms of civil service. The goals of the policy were to give tax payers a return on their investment in the education of university students and to connect university students with the wider Tanzanian society thereby stifling any burgeoning elitist attitudes (Mapunda, 2008b). The students, however, did not react well to this directive. In October 1966 more than three hundred UCD students demonstrated against the policy, which they felt was demeaning to their status as intellectuals and scholars. A UDSM history professor

who participated in the protest as a student contended that they were protesting the low pay they were to receive for mandated national service (personal communication, June 27, 2008). The government subsequently ordered that these students be expelled. When the government broadcast news of the incident to the public, it became clear that the wider population supported the decision to expel the students. Public opinion landed firmly on the side of constructing a university that was more closely tied to the needs of the society rather than one which trained an educated elite. Eventually most of the students were allowed to re-enter the university after sending apology letters to President Nyerere. This incident, however, was a major turning point in terms of UCD's involvement in Tanzania's nation-building project.

The first era of UCD/UDSM focused primarily on replicating and sustaining westernized institutional structures, curricula, and research. The goal was to emulate Western universities in order to maintain Western standards of teaching and research. However, within this period, a shift toward a more "nationalistic" approach to scholarship began to emerge. Faculty members and administrators began to shape research agendas around African-oriented or Tanzanian-oriented scholarship. Researchers pursued topics that contributed to international scholarly dialogues and, at the same time, were also able to produce knowledge relevant to establishing Tanzania's new nationalistic identity. Leading up to 1967 and the issuing of the *Arusha Declaration*, Tanzania had already begun slowly moving in a direction different than its East African neighbors in terms of higher education toward what would later be called a "developmental" university. The *Arusha Declaration,* which laid out the country's new political and ideological trajectory, solidified Tanzania and UCD/UDSM on the path to this model. As the next section will

examine, the adoption of African Socialism by Nyerere's government significantly impacted both the structure and the intellectual atmosphere of the university.

The Arusha Declaration and the Socialist Period: 1967-1979

The year 1967 was a turning point for Tanzania and for the University College, Dar es Salaam. It was in February of that year that President Nyerere issued the *Arusha Declaration,* which laid out the principles of his Socialism and Self-Reliance doctrine or *Ujamaa* in Kiswahili. In the *Declaration* Nyerere states,

> Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice, the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialist – that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system – are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions. (Nyerere, 1967a)

With his pamphlet, *Education for Self-Reliance* (Nyerere, 1967b), which was issued shortly thereafter, Nyerere tied education to his goal for developing a socialist Tanzania. He included within this framework not only basic education, but also the university system. This marked a definitive shift in the mission and structures of the University College, Dar es Salaam. Not only was the college moving toward integrating nationally-oriented curriculum and research, it was also moving away from the Western ideal of a "neutral" academic environment. The University College, Dar es Salaam, its administrative staff, intellectuals, and students whole-heartedly took up the challenge to build a socialist society put forth in the *Arusha Declaration.* Several scholars who were either students or staff members at this time noted the shift in the atmosphere of the college. "[A]s I said, I didn't see any radical students before 1967 but suddenly there was

a very good crop of very radical students active in the TANU Youth League....[A] lot of radical literature began to appear, and we had a very interesting group of radical scholars at that time who were quite effective, quite influential" (history professor, personal communication, June 27, 2008). A history senior lecturer commented, "From '67 towards the '70s, that's a major shift, major debates and quite aggressive debates" (personal communication, May 29, 2008). Another IDS professor observed, "It was intellectually quite stimulating. There was a lot of discussion, a lot of debates. And I joined one year after the *Arusha Declaration* so this was really quite exciting" (personal communication, October 13, 2008). In the Annual Report for 1967, Principal Chagula refers to this as a period of self-examination after the 1966 student uprising as one that "helped a great deal to influence (for the better) the College's attitude as an instrument of service and national development" (*University college, Dar es Salaam report for the year, 1967-1968*, 1968, p. vii).

One of the major actions that the University College undertook just a month after the *Arusha Declaration* was to host a conference on the role of the University College, Dar es Salaam in a socialist Tanzania. Attendees included faculty and staff members of UCD, representatives from UEA and other African universities, prominent members of TANU, and other members of the community. The goal of this conference, as UCD's Principal W.K. Chagula put it in his opening address, was to "discuss the various ways in which Colleges...can be fully incorporated into the social and political fabric of the nation so that their contribution to the countries in which they are situated could justify the large amounts of money that have been invested in them by the people" (*Role of UCD in socialist Tanzania*, 1967, p. 6). This discussion included strategies for inculcating

students with the fundamentals of socialist ideology, ways for UCD to work more closely with TANU and to integrate TANU into the operations of the university, the need to recruit scholars from and train Tanzanian scholars in socialist countries so that UCD could achieve a high concentration of people "with real socialist attitudes" (p. 9), and finally, the importance of relating academic work to the concept of service to the nation. In his address, A.M. Babu, the Minister of Health, connected these issues to a shift in the very nature of the UCD. "[O]ne of the tasks of this Conference will be to consider how to transform a hitherto neutral institution into a committed socialist institution" (p. 43).

In his speech before the assembly at the conference, Vice President R.M. Kawawa argued that when UCD was first established, it needed "to demonstrate to people both inside and outside Tanzania that the College would be as good as Colleges elsewhere...if not better," but he argued that this could also lead to the dangerous temptation of elitism (p. 9). Many of the participants made reference to the 1966 student uprising and linked this to a need to socialize students into socialist values to make sure that while they are at the college, but definitely once they graduate, they use their knowledge and skills to serve the rest of the nation. It was at this meeting that a common course for all students was recommended. The course would teach students the fundamentals of socialist ideology. The college subsequently implemented this course, and it laid the foundation for the Institute of Development Studies, which will be discussed in more detail below.

The relationship between the government's ruling TANU party and the college was another major topic of discussion. Participants encouraged TANU to set up a branch office on campus to facilitate the political education of UCD students and staff. They also recommended that government representatives become more involved in the

governing of the college by taking up seats on the Council of the University College, Dar es Salaam and its various committees. A plan to establish a branch of the TANU Youth League (TYL) on campus was set into motion, and a TYL office was opened by the end of March 1967, later joined by UWT (*Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania*[3]) and NUTA (National Union of Tanganyika Workers). The general consensus of conference participant was that UCD and TANU should be more closely linked so that the college could better align its activities to the goals of the party, i.e., to build a socialist Tanzania.

Participants at the conference expressed a concern that most of the current expatriate academic staff members came from strongly capitalist countries and that the majority of Tanzanian or East African staff members were trained in these same countries. To achieve a concentration of academics with socialist values, all of the committees at the conference recommended that the recruitment process be modified to give UCD more control over interviewing and hiring decisions. Moreover, they asserted that the administration make a greater effort to recruit scholars from socialist countries as well as to give African scholars opportunities to study or conduct research in socialist countries.

> It is clear that the University College must have a larger percentage of its staff committed to the same outlook as the nation itself. It needs to draw teachers and research scholars from the socialist countries and from other developing nations. Equally important, some of the growing number of East African staff must be recruited from those with educational qualifications from socialist countries, and others should be given the opportunity for education and training in such countries. (*Role of UCD in socialist Tanzania*, 1967, p. 122)

Finally, conference participants discussed the need for research projects to be formulated with the concept of service to the nation in mind. The College should, they argued, place an emphasis on research directed toward local problems. In fact,

[3] Union of Tanzanian Women

participants mentioned this recommendation repeatedly throughout the course of the conference. The research outputs could then be used practically in the work of "building the nation" or could be infused into the newly designed curriculum whose purpose was to integrate development and socialist ideology.

Overall, the *Arusha Declaration* and the subsequent conference on UCD's role in a socialist Tanzania sparked an era that was, as many described it, rich and vibrant with political and intellectual debates. "[A] lot of debates and discussion were on Marxism and socialism and the development initiative in Tanzania" (development studies associate professor, personal communication, July 15, 2008). An art professor observed,

> In the 60s and 70s, the University of Dar es Salaam, or the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences where I belong was known all over the world because of its political activism. That was the time when the lecturers here were part of the socialist system, almost all of the lecturers in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences....That was another exciting time and you can see from my paintings and from my writings...such things reflecting the mood of that time. (personal communication, April 11, 2008)

Several scholars recounted stories of forums that were held every weekend to discuss pressing political issues of the day.

> Every Sunday, 9 o'clock to 1 o'clock, ideological classes... they were inviting people to come and talk on issues or the research findings or on books published, on manuscripts. You know it was very, very lively academically. (Development studies professor, personal communication, July 18, 2008)

> So, people used to go to classes on Saturday, but students had their own, they started... Sunday class, what they called ideological class. And the hall was full. You see, on Sunday morning instead of going to church most of them came to that class there.... Both the students and teachers sat down on the floor together. (Development studies professor, personal communication, October 13, 2008)

Both students and staff contributed to this intellectual atmosphere on campus. As was noted earlier, radical student groups began to appear, including the University Student African Revolutionary Front (USARF). The TANU Youth League also became

very active at the university. These groups published forums such as *Cheche* and later *Maji Maji* where students and staff could disseminate their work and where intellectuals could debate in print the ideal role of socialism at the University College and in Tanzanian society.

In keeping with Nyerere's self-reliance philosophy, Africanization – or more specifically, East Africanization – of the academic staff was a major initiative at UCD at this time. Expatriate scholars, however, played a significant role in shaping the intellectual debates that were occurring. Many of these scholars were attracted to UCD because of Nyerere's philosophies and his reputation as a leader. As a Zoology Professor put it,

> The political situation was very fervent. There [were] so many expatriates who had come in whether e was a scientist, a hard scientist, a social scientist, they really came here to serve, and they identified themselves with the political ideology of that time which was Socialism and Self-Reliance... So that was quite, it was a melting pot. There were people from all over the world. So, in that way, it was quite a good experience. (personal communication, April 29, 2008)

B.C. Honeybone, a British professor of education, pointed to one of Nyerere's post-independence speeches as a major influence on his decision to take up employment at UCD.

> [Nyerere] said, 'Our job now is to convert the land we have won into a good place for all citizens to live in, to build a society based on equality in which no on suffers without medical attention, no one is ignorant without means to improve himself, and no one loses his freedom to live his own life in harmony with his neighbors.' Certainly Tanganyika, with a leader such as this, seemed to be a country where I could work happily and hopefully have something to contribute towards the achievement of these ideals. (*Role of UCD in socialist Tanzania*, 1967, p. 30)

Not only were socialist scholars attracted to UCD, the administration of the college began to make a concerted effort to hire academics with intellectual orientations

that were in line with the socialist intellectual atmosphere that was emerging at UCD. This led to a concentration of Marxist/socialist-leaning scholars in Dar es Salaam and contributed to UCD's international reputation as a center for political debate and progressive scholarship. "Everybody wanted to be here. Some of the great names were here today in academia. They were baptized here" (development studies professor, personal communication, October 13, 2008). The Dar es Salaam School that had emerged from the history department in the 1960s shifted and became synonymous with the progressive scholarship that was taking place in all of the departments of the university, but especially in the social sciences.

> I don't know whether you have heard about the Dar es Salaam School. You know, Dar es Salaam, because of the influence of Mwalimu [Nyerere] on, particularly on liberation and ideas about what dependency is all about. I mean the world really respected this place. But there were certain issues, there were certain issues particularly liberation where people from outside, if they wrote papers, they came to test the opinion with the Dar es Salaam School. (Former vice-chancellor, personal communication, November 14, 2008)

> Remember I told you there are quite a number of outstanding professors from all over the world who were coming here to try to, you know, demonstrate the success of *Ujamaa*, to try to shape and demonstrate the success of *Ujamaa*. (Development studies assistant professor, personal communication, August 12, 2008)

It was clear that UCD and then UDSM had developed and promoted their international reputation as a place where radical progressive scholars could thrive intellectually.

Walter Rodney is one such radical scholar who arrived at UCD during this phase of the college's history. Rodney, originally from Guyana, was hired by the Department of History and contributed significantly to the direction of research within this department as well as to research and scholarship across campus. His most famous and influential work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,* was published jointly by British

and Tanzanian publishing houses while he was at UCD. Senior scholars at UDSM remember the impact that Rodney and his ideas had on the UCD community.

> That's the period of Walter Rodney if you have heard about him. Walter Rodney was here, he was our bishop, high priest. (Development studies professor, personal communication, July 18, 2008)

> In this department we had Walter Rodney, who came in right at that time when the *Arusha Declaration* had just been declared, and he was, I must say, he had a tremendous influence. In fact, I remember talking to Ranger and other lecturers after the exams, and they were saying, you know Rodney has influenced every course, you know. And the students had adopted his Marxist perspective in their thinking. This was reflected in almost every course. You would see a critique of bourgeois thinking, bourgeois scholars almost in every writing of students, that includes myself I must say. (Former history professor, personal communication, November 20, 2008)

> Tanzania was welcoming, was, you know, very friendly to progressive thinkers around the world. So, a lot of them came here actually, from Europe, from Latin America, from various countries in Africa, and some of them found themselves at this university. You have heard of Walter Rodney. He's one of those that came here. I think he started in the '60s, late '60s, continued up until early '70s, but the impact came out after, you know, these people started publishing books. Now, those people who were being taught here at this university, they all absorbed this, the ideological and political current that was growing and spreading from here. (History senior lecturer, personal communication, May 29, 2008)

For many of the academic staff who were at UCD/UDSM during the late 1960s and 1970s, either as students or as academics, Rodney and like-minded progressive colleagues had a significant influence on their scholarly careers and intellectual outlooks.

According to several scholars, the atmosphere at UCD was so overwhelmingly socialist in nature that non-progressive scholars faced serious criticism and even in some cases ostracism. This pressure on conservative intellectuals, they claimed, did not emanate from the government, however, but from the radical students and scholars on campus. One former head of the Department of History related a story of a conservative scholar whom they had hired to work in the department. Once he arrived and it was

obvious that his ideology did not match with the culture of the department or the institution, his contract was not renewed. Students, however, were often not so civilized in their opposition to scholars who did not support socialism.

> One student in the TANU study group, *Maji Maji* study groups, decided that they will arrest one political scientist who was opposing socialism, openly, and deport him... So, they arrested him and took him to the airport... and then Nyerere called and said, look, these students have gone too far, we haven't, we have nothing against this person. Um, so the immigration said, well the students can't do that... The students did identify conservative lecturers and they dealt with them. They said, 'We'll deal with them!'... He, [the conservative lecturer], came back, but later decided to go because he didn't have a very favorable environment to work in. (Former history professor, personal communication, November 20, 2008)

Another professor described opposition to an economics professor that occurred while he was a student,

> The Marxist discourse here was quite strong. Heavy, heavy discourse on Marxism, and that was the general vibe. So, even if you were an economist, I remember one professor who came to class in economics, I was a third year at that time, he was, the name was Muslim or something, and he was teaching now the typical neoclassical economics which we never had for the last, for the three years, and this was in conflict with the economics... being taught which was about, it was inward looking economics... And so, I remember that fellow, the students protested that this man is not teaching the proper material, and I think... either he ran away or his job was terminated. (personal communication, August 12, 2008)

The increased progressivism and support of a socialist agenda on campus post-*Arusha Declaration* created an environment which deterred expatriate conservative or capitalist-oriented scholars from coming to or staying at UCD, and most Tanzanian scholars who had been trained in "capitalist" countries were quickly socialized into socialist ways of thinking by the overwhelming progressivism that existed at that time. As one history professor confirmed,

> [P]eople who had alternative views to Marxist modes of analysis had a very hard time in the social sciences. You know, in a way, it had its positive and negative

> consequences. It encouraged critical thinking, there's no doubt about that. But, it also encouraged some kind of intellectual intolerance... The people who didn't subscribe to that sort of scholarship you know tended to sort of keep their views to themselves and they would kind of toe the line because you have to sound, you know, trendy. (personal communication, June 27, 2008)

From the evidence, it appeared that during this era Marxism and Socialism were the dominant ideological positions at the university to the exclusion of other theoretical frameworks.

It is important to note, however, that while scholars at the university overwhelmingly supported leftist ideologies, they were not necessarily unified in their approaches to socialism. Moreover, Nyerere and TANU had taken an approach to socialism that adapted universal socialist values to the Tanzanian context in order to create a new and unique form of the doctrine specific to Tanzania. They referred to this ideology as African socialism or more specifically *Ujamaa,* which literally meant 'family-hood' in Kiswahili.

> By the use of the word '*ujamaa*'... we state that for us socialism involves building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own design. We are not importing a foreign ideology into Tanzania and trying to smother our distinct social patterns with it... This emphasis on growth from traditional patterns of social living means that we shall be trying to create something which is uniquely ours, and by methods which may be unique to Tanzania. This does not invalidate our claim to be building socialism. (Nyerere, 1969, p. 28)

Many scholars at the university supported Nyerere's goal of constructing Tanzania's own brand of socialism that would adapt socialist values to the history, traditions, and cultures of Tanzania. Others felt that deviating from models based on scientific socialism and Marxist thought would dilute the founding principles of socialism. This difference in approach led to some tension among academics on campus, and, more notably, between scholars and the Tanzanian state. Nyerere's regime was for

the most part tolerant of Marxist scholarship, although, as we shall see, toward the end of Tanzania's socialist period this tolerance may have waned. At the height of the socialist period, however, Nyerere himself often engaged with Marxist intellectuals at the university. "Nyerere was a leader who was, he was an intellectual himself and he liked ideas. He used to come here sometimes uninvited and he used to engage the students and staff in discussions and debates" (Development studies professor, personal communication, October 13, 2008). A history senior lecturer observed that Nyerere supported Marxist thinking but was resistant to more extreme leftist ideologies.

> The political regime itself was not Marxist. It wasn't. It was not communist. And it was not socialist in the strict sense. They were talking of, you know, something called African Socialism, but it wasn't socialism per se. But the political system here was tolerant to Marxist thinking, and it wasn't tolerant to communist politics, no...They were a little bit uncomfortable when they saw people talking and thinking and trying to organize things along communist lines. They were not happy with that but they tolerated all the discourse, academic discourse on communism, on socialism of all kinds, on all kinds of radicalism. They invited it, and the president used to come at the university to entertain questions from the academic members of staff, even on broader political, ideological issues... and he would, you know, exchange fire. OK, he would challenge the academicians to go to the village and get to know the reality on the ground, rather than stay in the ivory tower, just sit here generating ideas. (personal communication, May 29, 2008)

Nyerere's argument against a strict adherence to socialist models adopted in other places like the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, or even China, is that while these systems offered examples for Tanzania to learn from, it was necessary to adopt socialist values in such a way that they meshed with the particular strengths and needs of Tanzania. In the introduction to his *Socialism and Freedom*, he clearly articulated his view on the tension between his *Ujamaa* policies and the opinions of strict socialist scholars at UCD.

> Unfortunately some of our people—often the ones who were most insistent that we should copy the democracy of the West—are now judging our socialist policies and progress by what Moscow or Peking have done, and are demanding

> that we do something because it has proved useful in one of those places... because they believe that the model for socialism already exists there... Once again they are saying that Africa has nothing to contribute to the world and all good things must come from elsewhere. (Nyerere, 1969, p. 46-47)

The essence of the debate between Marxists and those who supported African socialism was the idea of applying external ideologies directly to the Tanzanian context or adapting this ideology to post-colonial Tanzania (in the way designed by Nyerere and TANU). The majority of scholars, no matter what their opinion, were concerned with Tanzania's national development. Furthermore, this debate among scholars and between the state and intellectuals did produce theories and knowledge that gained the interest of the wider global scholarly community and contributed directly to broader discussions in this era's international intellectual debates on socialism. The state's tolerance of alternative progressive approaches, however, began to decrease in the later years of the university's socialist period as will be demonstrated later in this section.

In the post-1967 era, the university began new expansions and among the departments added was the Theater Arts Department. (It would later grow to become the Fine and Performing Arts Department and would also include music and visual arts.) The *Arusha Declaration*'s call for relevance to Tanzania also affected the research and teaching priorities of this department. One of the founding members of the department noted the challenge the academic staff in the theater faced to infuse their curriculum and research with Tanzanian elements. Up to that point, theater as a field had been dominated by European theater, American theater, and Western theater in general. Not much work had been done to develop African theater as a legitimate field of study. She recounted,

> We were in a movement of proving to the world that there was African theater... So, we went through a fantastic debate trying to define what is African theater and we had interesting arguments... having pursued that area, so we introduced a course on African theater, but we also had to do a lot of research in terms of what is African theater theoretically... So, that is another contribution which I think that, all that whole process of trying to research for African identity which started in 1967, it has brought out those kinds of developments. (Former theater arts professor, personal communication, July 3, 2008)

This exploration of theory and practice in African theater arts had a significant impact on international academic discussions in the Arts as a whole. The research done by UDSM academics helped to lay the foundation for African theater as an area of scholarly enquiry, and it also contributed to goals of nation building that had been laid out by the government and the University staff in the immediate post-*Arusha* era.

In 1970, the University College, Dar es Salaam officially became the University of Dar es Salaam. The dissolution of the University of East Africa was due largely to nationalistic pressures within the member nations. Across the continent, a national university became one of the major symbols African nations used to project to the world that they were fully independent. By this time, all of the constituent colleges had expanded their curriculum. They were able to each serve as an autonomous university for their own citizens rather than specializing in particular subject areas, as had been the original vision under the University of East Africa. The University of Dar es Salaam remained nominally attached to Makerere and Nairobi through the Inter-University Committee of East Africa (Nhonoli, 1973), but policymakers in Tanzania now had autonomy to determine fully UDSM's structures, curricula, and mission.

With the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967, Tanzania and the University College, Dar es Salaam had already begun to diverge from the other constituent colleges in terms of their approach to higher education. Nyerere's government, the administrators, the

academic staff and the students had committed themselves to creating a university that could serve as a tool for defining and supporting a distinctive Tanzanian national identity based on a socialist agenda. UDSM had also already begun the transition to what Nyerere and other scholars have defined as a "developmental university". With the break up of UEA and the transition from UCD to the autonomous University of Dar es Salaam, these stakeholders were able to assert this approach more fully. As Nyerere stated in his UDSM inaugural speech on August 29, 1970,

> We believe that through having our own higher educational institution in this country, we shall obtain the kind of high-level manpower we need to build a socialist society, and we shall get the emphasis we need on investigating the particular problems which face us. In other words, we expect that our University will be of such a nature that all who pass through it will be prepared both in knowledge and attitude for giving maximum service to the community. (Nyerere, 1970, p. 4-5)

The new developmental model that UDSM innovated included a change in course structure as well as a greater emphasis on teaching and research that connected with service to the Tanzanian nation and the principles of African socialism.

The common interdisciplinary course on socialist principles that was recommended in the 1967 conference on UCD's role in a socialist Tanzania was part of UDSM's new teaching program and would eventually lead to the founding of the Institute of Development Studies (IDS). The changes in the teaching program were meant to align the curriculum with the newly articulated mission of the University as expressed in *Education for Self-Reliance* and then later in the 1970 *University of Dar es Salaam Act.* Initially, from 1967 to 1970, the course was ad hoc. It fell under the purview of each department or faculty separately and was therefore largely incoherent in design and approach (Kimambo, 2008b). For example, the Faculty of Arts and Social

Sciences developed a course called East African Society and Environment (EASE), and the Faculty of Law had its own separate common course on development. In 1970, when the Department of Development Studies was established, it designed its own common course for students. The Institute of Development Studies then emerged from the Department of Development Studies in 1973 and was founded in part to add coherency to the common teaching program. The goal of the new course was to refocus the curriculum to center on TANU's approach to socialism and the specificities of Tanzania's chosen path to development.

The Department of Development Studies and later the Institute of Development Studies had its critics among those who had designed the precursor common courses on development. Specifically, a tension arose between the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), which had designed the EASE course, and Development Studies. The argument stemmed from differing philosophies on the role of party politics at the university. While many members of the academic staff supported TANU's deep involvement at the university, others felt that they needed to defend against the domination of party politics on campus as a way to preserve academic freedom. To be sure, those who were critical of TANU's influence were themselves progressive scholars. Most supported a socialist agenda, although not all agreed with the particular approach taken by TANU and Nyerere. The EASE course focused on the East African context and its content was more general than Development Studies with regards to the history of the region and its treatment of development in terms of the progressive principles behind East African development.

Until 1973, the EASE and the Department of Development Studies courses were both offered. In 1973, when the Department of Development Studies became the Institute of Development Studies, it took over full responsibility for the common course. Nyerere and Vice-Chancellor Msekwa appointed Ibrahim Kaduma (who had been a civil service employee) to head the new Institute of Development Studies. Kaduma was a staunch supporter of TANU and made it his mission to promote TANU's philosophies at the university. In talking about the differences between Development Studies and EASE and the need to institute a common course in IDS to replace the EASE course, he said,

> There's a big difference because Development Studies was teaching the political philosophy of this country, the *political philosophy of this country*... the party line of this country. So, EASE, you can talk about East African society, but what have Kenyans to do with Tanzania. This is the truth. We were trying to mold a society of Tanzania. (personal communication, November 14, 2008)

Furthermore, he addressed the criticism of academic staff who had opposed the implementation of IDS' course and IDS' approach to teaching development.

> These were the guys who had been to school... they thought government or the party was interfering with the freedom of thinking, with the freedom of thought... Because when we went to Makerere... the principle of Makerere was that you have come here to seek the truth, so to them, teaching development studies did not appear to be allowing academic freedom. It's not true! Because Mwalimu never, never, *never*, never interfered with the thinking of anybody. (personal communication, November 14, 2008).

There is some disagreement, however, over the role that Nyerere and party politics played at UDSM during this time period and their influence on teaching and research. As put forward earlier in this chapter and in chapter two, UDSM was a site of fervent intellectual exchange concerning socialism and Tanzania's ideal path to development. While many staff members believed that to achieve goals of national development it was necessary to foster a close relationship between the government and

the university, others felt that this would have a detrimental impact on academic freedom and intellectual autonomy. It was a continuation of the same debates that happened around the founding of the university and then again with the 1966 student uprising. This tension between academic autonomy and government involvement became all the more stark in a 1977 incident, to be discussed in more detail below, in which staff members were dismissed from the university.

IDS, at the time it was established, fell solidly on the side of supporting TANU and *Ujamaa*. The "Aims and Objectives" section of IDS' constitution stated, "It [IDS] shall especially involve itself in the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania and in this it shall base its programme on the principles and policies of TANU" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 8). Not only was teaching directed toward socializing students into the principles of TANU, but also research in the institute was to focus on "the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 3). Indeed, the social sciences were a priority at UDSM during this era. Developing research capacity in the *applied* social sciences was a particular priority for the state. The scholarship produced by a unit like the institute, with a focus on applied research and development, would provide data that was immediately useful to solving some of the most urgent economic and social problems in Tanzania (Court, 1975). The relevance of this kind of research was obvious to government leaders and to the Tanzanian public at large. An IDS professor who was a graduate student in the institute during the early to mid-1970s described the role of the party in IDS' teaching and research.

> That was the heyday for socialism and self-reliance and single party democracy, and that was when they were also talking about the supremacy of the party. So,

> most of the things were actually controlled by the political party, both in terms of programs on the ground, the party trying to influence the content so that it's oriented towards enlightening students on socialism and self-reliance, but also, uh, the whole issue of socialism, democracy under socialism... Even research, a lot of research was focusing on the development initiatives, look at how it is implemented, what are the results, how is the reaction from the people. So, for Development Studies for instance, we were supposed to research on these issues, look at the policy frameworks, and also looking at the implementation of it on the ground. We even had been assigned some villages to sort of influence in terms of implementation of socialism and self-reliance. (personal communication, July 15, 2008)

She went on to describe her participation in research at a particular *Ujamaa* village close to the city of Dodoma.

> 1972 was the time when this massive shift of people from their traditional villages to new villages was done. So, for development studies, the staff members were supposed to research on this, the process, and were engaged.... [I]t was really exciting. It's like you have the theory and you want to see it in practice, and you get an opportunity to see it in practice, and then you just can't keep quiet. *(ibid.)*

IDS played a role in researching, documenting, and to some extent trying to shape the *Ujamaa* villagization policy issued by TANU in the 1970s. Another development studies professor mentioned this involvement with *Ujamaa*: "The students and some of the members of staff were encouraged to go in the surrounding villages, both in the menial work and also in teaching" (personal communication, October 13, 2008). The link between the government, its policies and this particular academic unit was very strong throughout this decade.

In 1974, several TANU leaders met in Musoma town to review the success (or failure) of the implementation of the educational policies expressed in the *Arusha Declaration* and *Education for Self-Reliance*. From this meeting emerged the *Agizo la Utekelazaji wa Elimu ya Kujitegemea* [Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance] or as it was more commonly known, the *Musoma Resolution.* Party

leaders felt that educational polices were not being effectively enacted and this directive was meant to address that issue. In terms of higher education, they were concerned with the failure on the part of students, scholars, and administrators at UDSM to integrate theory and practice (Itandala, 2008). The *Musoma Resolution* included a policy which postponed students' admission to the university until they had completed one year of national service and at least two years of practical work experience. In this way, students entering the university would have both academic and practical experiences to draw upon in their studies, making it more likely that they would be able to effectively integrate theory and practice. UDSM had already started making efforts to merge theory and practice based on recommendations from the 1967 conference held in the wake of the *Arusha Declaration* as well as from portions of the 1970 *University of Dar es Salaam Act*. The policies in the *Musoma Resolution,* such as the admissions work requirement, were intended to speed up this integration process.

Another part of the rational for this policy was that students would be more mature when entering the university (since they had to wait an additional two years) and therefore more likely to be prepared to serve the nation upon graduating. Itandala (2008) argues that party leaders wanted to admit mature students because, they reasoned, these students would be less susceptible to the kinds of radicalism that had been growing on campus in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While TANU wanted to encourage students' indoctrination into socialist ways of thinking, they had a very particular idea of what socialism meant in Tanzania. Some of the popular radical leftist ideologies at UDSM during this time questioned TANU's brand of socialism and challenged the authority of the party. TANU's strategy failed in the end, however, as it did not reduce radicalism

among students. A 1978 student demonstration against parliament's "un-socialist" vote to substantially raise its own salaries is clear evidence of sustained student activism (Itandala, 2008, p. 202). Instead, the policy led to a decline in academic quality among students on campus, as the increased requirements made it harder for qualified students to enter. It was overturned in 1984.

TANU's desire to reduce radical inclinations among students and staff at the university, hinted at in the rationale for the *Musoma Resolution*, is indicative of a growing tension between UDSM and Nyerere's government. In former Vice-Chancellor Kaduma's quote above, he defends Nyerere's relationship to academia in Tanzania by claiming that the president encouraged open, unfettered academic debate on campus. There is, however, some disagreement among those who were at the university at this time about Nyerere's tolerance of dissenting opinions. One history professor contended that Nyerere thought of himself as a "scholar king". He told a story of listening to Nyerere speak in a seminar and present ideas as his own that had come from a book by another historian with whom the professor was very familiar. He claimed that even though others were aware of such incidents, many were afraid to point out discrepancies for fear of being transferred away from the university.

> Nyerere brought this whole idea of self-reliance, which was not a bad idea at all, it was very good, but this was an idea that had been written in a paper by some British fellow and Nyerere picked that, and this fellow who was a mathematician wrote a paper to show that Nyerere picked this idea here. He was thrown from this university and taken to the regional headquarters of my region, which in those days was seen as a faraway Siberia of Tanzania because he had sort of said the king was naked, or he was plagiarizing ideas as it were. So, you know, there was that time when this person was seeing himself as a scholar king, and was a tendency therefore to see scholars at the university like, oh, those fellows out there with their impractical ideas. (personal communication, September 3, 2008)

While many at the university revered Nyerere and were inspired by his philosophies on development and nation-building, there remained an undercurrent of tension between a perceived intolerance of dissenting opinions.

A 1977 incident in which five academic staff members, including a prominent historian who was dean of the Faculty Arts and Social Sciences, were dismissed from UDSM was a culminating point in this state-university tension. Ibrahim Kaduma had taken over the vice-chancellorship in 1977 and was advocating for the dismissal of these staff members. He argued that,

> They had something called the Kimara Club. They used to meet there and drink and therefore if you touched any one of them, you want to demote him or you want to punish him or discipline him, it would be an argument.... Their quality of their work, I mean, they were living by experience, but not publishing, researching. (personal communication, November 14, 2008)

When speaking about the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, he said that he was a good academic at one time, but his academic production had waned, and he was spending time partaking in the so-called "Kimara Club." Kaduma recounted that he went to Nyerere to ask what to do with these academics who, he said, were not doing their jobs. Nyerere gave him free rein in his capacity as the vice-chancellor to recommend transfers of staff members without democratic review. Kaduma then compiled a list of academic and administrative staff to transfer away from the university to other governmental positions, and submitted these to Nyerere. These staff members were subsequently dismissed from the university and offered transfers within the civil service.

Many, including the dismissed dean, argued that there were political reasons behind these dismissals.

> Every year that I was Dean, none of these people had ever been reported of being... unproductive... Just because you don't agree with them or if you fear their power, because, you see, Msekwa [previous vice-chancellor] admits I was very powerful. I was powerful because of the base I had in the faculty, because of the policies we were following there. It was a left-wing kind of thing and this is why they were so worried about it. (personal communication, November 20, 2008)

Even Kaduma said that these people were "practicing politics rather than academic work," however he denied any role that differing political philosophies may have played in his decision.

> People think that oh, because these people were Marxist, I tried to remove [them]. No! I didn't, I had no quarrel with Marxists. I had arguments with Marxists, like Mwalimu had arguments with Marxists. You see, there's no book about socialism. We can't go by the book. We have to think about what socialism we are trying to build. That was Mwalimu's philosophy and that was my philosophy too...There was no politics whatsoever. (personal communication, November 14)

Despite this assertion, the fact that this decision was made in such a top-down manner caused many to fear that disagreeing with Nyerere and TANU would lead them to a similar fate. Rumors continued to circulate about the reasoning behind the dismissals, and the fear stirred up by this incident led to both a growing rift between the academic staff and the administrative leadership at UDSM and a decline in academic productivity, especially in the social sciences. Academics saw the head administrators at UDSM as largely disconnected from the concerns of intellectual life at the university. The administrative leaders were mostly political appointees, such as Vice-Chancellor Kaduma and his predecessor Msekwa. The issue of democracy on campus came to the forefront of academics' concerns. However, it wasn't until 1980 that the academic staff was able to form its own organization (UDASA) that could advocate on behalf of its members.

Also, fear of being censored or transferred caused intellectuals to be more hesitant to publish controversial ideas or research. The Department of History, as well as social science departments, was most affected by this decline in scholarship. One history professor described this fear and its impact in his department,

> [I]t seems there has been some timidity in writing, and this came specifically from the debates on socialism. Historians continued to debate for a *long time*, without daring to write. They were very strong attackers of other writers, but they themselves didn't... Especially because the removal of Professor Temu, people thought that was because of his opinion, his socialist opinion, but I don't think, I don't believe that is true. So, I think people have been timid because they thought other people would be molested by having a strong socialist opinion, and especially if they thought that their socialist opinion would differ from that of Nyerere. I think this was the fear. Nyerere understood this and told people not to be afraid, write anything you want to write, I will give you the foreword, but the fear continued. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

This fear would continue into the 1980s, and is one of the multiple reasons for the decrease in research and publications during the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The intellectual atmosphere of fervent academic debate described earlier in this section persisted for much of the 1970s, albeit hampered at times by strain (or perceived strain) between government philosophies and the ideological approach of UDSM intellectuals. In the late 1970's, however, several local and external factors combined to lead Tanzania into a period of economic crisis. Locally, economists argued that government policies of state expansion without subsequent increased economic production contributed significantly to Tanzania's financial decline (Tambila, 2008). Additionally, the external factors leading to Tanzania's economic collapse included the breakup of the East African Community, the global oil crisis, Tanzania's financial support of liberation movements throughout East and Southern Africa, and a costly war with Uganda's Idi Amin. The country's economic crisis had a severe impact on UDSM,

which had heretofore been supported mainly by state funding. Funding shortages at the university led to a stagnation of institutional development, staff recruitment, research, and other intellectual activities.

Conclusion

From 1961 to 1979, the University of Dar es Salaam shifted from its roots as a neutral, regional academic institution based wholly on the British university model to a highly political, national university which had been reshaped along a "developmental" model. These changes had a significant impact on intellectuals working, teaching, and researching at UDSM. While research was conducted largely by expatriates and followed the trajectory of international research trends, albeit with a "nationalist" approach in the beginning, after 1967 the emphasis turned toward research which would serve the needs of a socialist Tanzanian nation. The role of government and the influence of political philosophies increased significantly as did the number of Tanzanians in academic positions.

Many academics saw this as a "golden age" for the university. The level of academic debate was extremely high and the institution had made a name for itself in international academia. This was the era of the Dar es Salaam School of Thought which focused on nationalism in the beginning, but later expanded to include progressive scholarship linked to socialism, specifically to Tanzania's particular brand of African socialism. As a whole, scholars from UDSM supported the developmentalist model the state had adopted for education after the *Arusha Declaration*. Even those in less obviously socially-oriented fields, such as the natural sciences, were strongly tied to the goals and philosophy of Nyereres' *Ujamaa*. "He [Nyerere] made us feel that we have an

obligation, and we are not here just to serve our own interests, but to serve the nation" (Zoology professor, personal communication, April 29, 2008).

These Tanzanian scholars were also able to contribute ideas generated under this model to broader global debates on development and socialism. The political, economic and social developments in Tanzania had captured the attention of scholars across the globe, many of whom were attracted to teach and conduct research at UDSM. As a development studies professor put it, "This was like a new experiment. This is the government that was dreaming far-sighted to look at socialism and construction" (personal communication, July 18, 2008). International interest in Tanzania's experiment contributed to the ability of the first generation of Tanzanian intellectuals at the university to publish in international journals, and their work was subsidized by the state and by international donor agencies alike. They strove to do work which served the nation, and interacted significantly with international colleagues. In short, they were able to fulfill a dual role in contributing to national development *and* engaging with global scholarship. In his essay, *Freedom and Socialism,* Nyerere captured the sentiment and the goal of Tanzanian intellectuals during this era:

> For too long we in Africa—and Tanzania as part of Africa—have slept, and allowed the rest of the world to walk round and over us. Now we are beginning to wake up and to join with our fellow human beings in deciding the destiny of the human race. By thinking out our own problems on the basis of those principles which have universal validity, Tanzania will make its contribution to development of mankind. That is our opportunity and our responsibility. (Nyerere, 1969, p. 58)

This idea that Tanzanian scholars could simultaneously focus on the development of their own nation and contribute useful knowledge "to the development of mankind" defined their experiences during the socialist period at the University of Dar es Salaam.

As the 1970s progressed, however, signs of strain between academics and the state began to appear. The end of the 1970s through the 1980s was a difficult time at UDSM in many ways. A rift was growing between academic staff and administrative staff who were allied with the national government. Unease was increasing among academics, and many began to leave for work in other countries or the private sector. And, most importantly, the financial situation in Tanzania was deteriorating. The next chapter will examine this later transitional time period and trace how academic life at the university changed with the onset of a financial depression and the subsequent isolation of Tanzania intellectuals.

Chapter Five:

Transition at UDSM (1979-1994)

The late 1970s to the early 1990s was a time period marked by severe financial strain and political and economic transition in Tanzania. The lingering effects of the financial downturn are still evident at the University of Dar es Salaam today. They play a large role in scholars' narratives about their own careers as well as the university atmosphere in which they worked. This era saw the transition from socialism to an open market economy. It also saw the advent of multi-party politics, a movement away from socialist ideologies, and the shrinking role of the central government in the educational realm. Finally, it saw a severe decline in research production at UDSM which led to diminishing levels of prestige for the university and its scholars. Recruitment of academic staff waned and, at various points, was frozen completely. The fervent debates over socialism and development were no longer a staple of life at UDSM. Indeed, with the end of the Cold War, Marxist and socialist scholarship moved to the margins of the academy. Many Tanzanian scholars, most of whom maintained their leftist leanings, became isolated because of their inability to attain funding for research and because their theoretical frames were no longer the mode among mainstream academics. On the other hand, scholars who had felt hemmed in by the socialist overtones of the university and perceived government pressure in the '60s and early '70s expressed a sense of relief and increased freedom in their work in terms of their choice of subject matter and theoretical frame. This chapter will examine how the academic environment and influences on

academic life at the university changed during this time of severe financial hardship and then again during the period of subsequent rebuilding and rejuvenation at UDSM.

The Beginnings of Financial Decline: 1979-1985

All scholars who were at the university in the late 1970s and 1980s pointed to this time period as having a severe impact on the University of Dar es Salaam and the scholarship produced there. While researchers have offered multiple and varied explanations concerning the roots of Tanzania's economic crisis (see Boesen et al., 1986; Havnevik, 1993; Hyden & Karlstrom, 1993; Samoff, 1981), many UDSM academics provided their own impressions of the causes and contributing factors. It is interesting to note that these scholars focused primarily on the external shocks that hit the country from 1978 onwards and few critiqued directly the economic policies of *Ujamaa* or African socialism. For instance, most academics at UDSM during this time identified the 1978-1979 war with Idi Amin of Uganda as the beginning of this era of financial strain and economic strife. When Idi Amin seized power in Uganda through a 1971 military coup, President Nyerere offered sanctuary to Uganda's ousted leader, Milton Obote and his supporters. The relationship between Tanzania and Amin became even more contentious in 1972 when a group of exiled Ugandans based in Tanzania unsuccessfully tried to invade Uganda and overthrow Amin. In 1978, there was another failed attempt by Ugandan rebels to overthrow Amin. The rebels fled Uganda across the border into Tanzania. Amin sent troops into Tanzania in pursuit. When the fighting escalated, Amin declared war on Tanzania, invaded an area of northern Tanzania called Kagera, and declared his intentions to annex this region. Nyerere mobilized the Tanzanian army for a counterattack. The Tanzanians defeated Amin's troops in Kagera and then took the fight

all the way to Kampala, the Ugandan capital, arriving there on April 10, 1979. Amin fled, and Tanzanian troops helped return the country to civilian rule. Unfortunately, other countries in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) did not support Tanzania's invasion of Uganda. Nyerere, who was known for his support of liberation movements throughout East and Southern Africa, had controversially backed a 1977 coup in Seychelles, and the OAU was reticent to support the perpetuation of such contentious tactics. Many Tanzanians had thought that the international community would, as one IDS associate professor put it, "congratulate them for ousting this dictator, but nobody did and nobody helped Tanzania" (personal communication, August 29, 2008). The other OAU countries saw Nyerere's invasion of Uganda as another breach of national sovereignty and did not provide any financial support to Tanzania. Consequently, Tanzania had to cover the entire cost of the war and the peacekeeping efforts of the war's aftermath, which amounted to an estimated $500 million USD (Tambila, 2008, p. 230), from its own finances. This cost was devastating to the country's already struggling economy and subsequently compounded the other economic problems that were to come in the early 1980s.

The worldwide oil crisis in 1979 also had a severe impact on Tanzania's economy. With the sharp rise in oil prices, the Tanzanian state was forced to divert earned foreign exchange to emergency use. Foreign exchange, however, was in extremely short supply because of decreases in agricultural and industrial production and other economic factors. To illustrate this crisis Boesen et al. (1986) used the apt image of a "tanker anchored in the harbour of Dar es Salaam, waiting for days, even weeks to discharge its badly needed cargo of oil" (p. 19). Because oil had to be paid for up front,

the cargo of oil was delayed because the Bank of Tanzania did not have the funds for payment. Fuel shortages led to fuel rationing, which led to a further decline in agricultural and industrial production. Stores were unable to keep everyday products stocked on their shelves and shortages of basic necessities were widespread. At the university it became extremely difficult to buy books and other materials.

> Most of the things had to be ordered from outside using foreign exchange, and foreign exchange was difficult to get. You had to request foreign exchange from the government, from the Bank of Tanzania, and if you got allocated foreign exchange to buy a book, that was very unlikely. (personal communication, history professor, April 17, 2008).

Even with their level of elevated prestige in Tanzanian society, as government employees, scholars at UDSM faced the same economic challenges as others in Dar es Salaam. The professor quoted above went on to describe his experience with commodity shortages.

> I think in the 1980s... things were tight that way. If you wanted to buy anything, including sugar or anything, you had to go and queue in a shop and that's a shop which had provided things by the government, would have been a very special shop, perhaps a cooperative shop or something, and you would stay there the whole day and get nothing. That's how things were bad in that period. (personal communication, April 17, 2008).

Another professor expressed how shortages, economic constraints and familial obligations impacted his ability to carry out his academic responsibilities.

> In all my 40 years of teaching here, there was only one day I missed a class, and that day my sister had come to visit with her small baby, and all night that baby was crying because my sister didn't have the milk to feed her, we tried to give the baby tea, and so on. The baby wouldn't touch it, and there was a milk factory here at Ubungo, which was selling milk in the afternoon, and I went there to the long queue. So I had to be on the queue, and I had a class at two o'clock... Now I had to decide whether to stand on the queue and wait for the milk or to go to the class. Ok. And I decided to stay on the queue and waited for the milk, and I got the milk and sent it home. The next day of course I had to apologize to my students. They understood. (Development studies professor, personal communication, October 13, 2008)

Scholars who were abroad also felt the effects of the financial crisis, and in some ways they were in an advantaged position to help their families who remained in Tanzania. A development studies associate professor who was in Canada pursuing his Ph.D. studies during the worst part of the crisis (1982-1985) said there was a high demand for used clothes from abroad. He sent clothes home from Canada, and his family survived the crisis by selling them (personal communication, August 29, 2008). On campus, the resentment by some of the state's involvement in the university's affairs was compounded by decreases in government funding. This was the beginning of an era of low morale among academic staff at UDSM.

Despite the extremity of the economic situation in Tanzania in the early 1980s and the need for increased economic resources, Nyerere's government refused to accept the IMF's conditions for foreign loan assistance. Giving into the IMF's conditionalities, top officials argued, would severely compromise Tanzania's model of development (Boesen et al., 1986). Between 1974 and 1980, Tanzania had wide support in the foreign aid community, largely due to Nyerere's ability to articulate his vision for development on an international stage (Hyden & Karlstrom, 1993). In 1978 and 1979, Tanzania began negotiations with the IMF and the World Bank with the goal of securing much needed foreign loan income. Even after the strife in the late 1970s and early 1980s Nyerere rejected the approaches and conditions put forth by these agencies on ideological grounds. By the mid-1980s many of the donors who had previously supported Tanzania, including strong supporters like Sweden, began to align themselves with IMF and World Bank thinking. Donors subsequently refused to commit long-term financial support to the country until the IMF-Tanzania negotiations were resolved (Boesen et al., 1986). It

wasn't until after Nyerere stepped down from the presidency in 1985 that Tanzania finally accepted IMF/World Bank conditions (in August 1986) and embarked on the path of structural adjustment and liberalization, the effects of which will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

As a governmental institution, the University of Dar es Salaam felt the full effects of the financial crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Not only were academics affected in their everyday lives as discussed above, but the effects reverberated throughout the institution, impacting the structures and capacity of the university as well as the research work lives of its academic staff. The budget for the university was almost wholly state funded, and money that UDSM received from donors was most often funneled through the government, then redistributed to the university which gave them less control over this financial allocation. Moreover, as indicated previously, the stand off between the IMF and Nyerere's government meant that the availability of donor funding was on the decline at this time. As one history professor and former chief academic officer of the university explained,

> [T]he university got money directly from the government or by soliciting from donors, but the problem came into being, such funds became very meager, very small, in the difficult periods of the late 1970s and most of the first half of the 1980s. There were no funds which could be contributed by the state and...you will discover that the university proposed a reasonable budget but they got perhaps half or even less than half of what they wanted. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

Again, the budgetary shortfalls caused an even larger rift between UDSM's academic staff and the Tanzanian state. A theater professor referred to this time as one of "economic disillusionment" (personal communication, June 21, 2008) on the part of faculty members across campus, and former Vice Chancellor Matthew Luhanga (2009)

argued that financial strain caused the rise of "an atmosphere inconducive to academic activities" (p. 7).

The lack of funds had a particularly negative impact on research at the university. Academic staff from all four departments under study in this dissertation asserted that during this era research output was at an all-time low. A history professor noted that with the budget shortfalls, the area "which would have to be sacrificed was research because teaching had to go on" (personal communication, April 17, 2008). Another history professor observed that the little money set aside for research activities often went into funding doctoral candidates in their research activities, leaving very little for academics doing postdoctoral research (personal communication, September 3, 2008). A zoology lecturer expressed some of the disillusionment he felt when he returned from his Ph.D. work in Nairobi in the mid-1980s to find a fairly dire situation within the department in terms of lack of funds and laboratory equipment for research. He went on to emphasize that research output in zoology and in the sciences in general was very low (personal communication, September 1, 2008). A theatre professor commented on the fact that the type of research carried out earlier at the university was increasingly difficult to maintain.

> I think things we could have done in the late '70s and early '80s were not possible to be done by the middle of the '80s because the resources at the university were very limited, and even the kind of work that we began earlier that had been supported by the university, it would not have been possible to be done then. (personal communication, June 21, 2008)

As noted earlier, not only were day-to-day commodities scarce, but also access to necessary resources to conduct research was extremely limited. The central library did not have the funds or the foreign exchange necessary to keep up with academic journal subscriptions. Books were difficult to purchase, and having limited correspondence with

colleagues outside of Tanzania made it hard for Tanzanian scholars to keep up-to-date with the most current research in their fields.

> In the earlier period resources were available for research, were much more readily accessible to many people and you didn't propose something and you missed and you had to give up because you couldn't finance it. But in the '80s, it became very difficult to get even publications, even some of the subscriptions to journals were not available as most of the journals and new books were not available and so a lot of things were difficult. (History professor, personal communication, April 17, 2008)

> Yes of course [there were] limited resources, and you couldn't purchase the books you want and maybe you would not even know which [book it] would be...So, it was a world where people were not really informed much. (Development studies assistant professor, personal communication, August 12, 2008)

In fact, as this development studies assistant professor pointed out, the books that were available in his field of research were mostly donated by Eastern European countries and were therefore largely written from a Marxist perspective. Books that drew on other ideological or theoretical frameworks were much more difficult to find. He argued that this limited access to materials hindered his ability to gain a wider perspective in his area of study.

In order to aid both academic staff members and graduate students in gaining access to much needed resources for research, a former chief academic officer recounted that the administration encouraged departments to make connections with their counterparts at other universities.

> I remember when I was in the administration... we saw this... lack of resources and we were afraid that there would be even declining some of our programs including post-graduate training, so we encouraged links with other departments in other universities, and such links helped not only to share materials, but also to help people in the department to... visit some other departments well-equipped in order to update their scientific knowledge, including our graduate students. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

While some departments began to forge these types of relationships, others such as the Department of History with its strong socialist leanings followed a policy of "disengagement" with departments in the capitalist West. Before liberalization in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the history department was very staunch in its Marxist approach, and, as noted earlier, many scholars within the department were resistant to scholarship from other theoretical perspectives. As the former vice chancellor and history professor quoted above argued, departments in Western institutions were seen as "imperialist," and UDSM historians issued strong criticisms of scholarship produced within these institutions.

> I remember at the time when Professor Sherriff was head of department—*disengagement.* Now it means then disengagement, we must not make those connections with imperialist departments. They wanted to remain alone. To remain alone meant missing a lot of resources which other departments were getting. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

Although Marxist and socialist thought were beginning to wane in their popularity with scholars during this era of financial strain, departments (especially the history department and those in the social sciences) maintained their commitment to this framework. This stance, however, meant further limiting of resources available for conducting scholarly activities.

Additionally, the lack of funds for research compounded the more general problem of low staff salaries. Inflation in Tanzania at this time was out of control. Commodities were difficult to purchase and those that were available were extremely expensive. Salaries of government employees including the academic staff of UDSM could not keep up with the rising costs. Since they could not supplement their incomes with research grants, many scholars instead sought out paid consultancies with NGOs,

donor agencies, or businesses. While consultancies (mainly for the government) were a regular part of the duties of scholars at UDSM to fulfill their obligation for service, during this era consultancies began to take the place of pure scholarly research.

> I think at the university, quite a bit, some research was done, but quite a lot of people went into consultancies because there were, I mean you could sort of personally assist the individual pocket a little bit, and so there was a time that research, yes, was going on, but not, I think, as actively as it had been in the [60s and 70s]. (Theatre professor, personal communication, June 21, 2008).

Without a doubt, this rise in consultancies impacted the academic environment at UDSM. Many held the perception that fellow scholars were not engaged in rigorous scholarly work and that the donors funding consultancy work heavily influenced the choice of research topics, especially within the social sciences. A Development Studies associate professor contended that, for about ten years (from the late 1970s through the 1980s), scholars were forced to take on consultancies due to low wages. Because these scholars were focused on the work that they were doing for consultancies, they lost interest in the political and economic debates that they had once participated in so fiercely. According to him, academics at UDSM "just wanted to sell their work to a donor" (personal communication, August 29, 2008). They pursued topics in vogue with external agencies and largely abandoned other academic interests.

Another development studies associate professor noted that the research agendas that were pursued for the Institute of Development Studies and for UDSM in general were heavily influenced by consultancy work at this time.

> If you look at the budgeting for research... there was a big cut in terms of funds allocated for research... and you could also see that by then what was done was basically consultancy, not research as such. Consultancy, because the money for consultancy was there from outside, so even in terms of choice of issues to research on, I think there was a lot of influence from outside. We had some research agenda, for the institute, for the university, for the different departments

> and faculties, but that was not fully implemented because of lack of funding, so we relied on support from outside in terms of consultancies. (personal communication, July 15, 2008)

Contention concerning the influence of outside funders, which began during this era, was later echoed by UDSM academics when donor funding for scholarly research increased after Tanzania's liberalization. Indeed, it continues to the present day, as will be discussed in a later section.

Not only were consultancies affecting scholarly research, but researchers were also engaged in other money-making activities outside the university that limited their time for academic work. Many Tanzanian academics were involved in subsistence activities such as cultivating crops or raising livestock. Others ran small businesses, importing and selling items like second-hand clothing. Several scholars discussed the impact that these activities had on research activities at UDSM.

> They [research activities] started sort of fragmenting in the late 80s and mainly because of economic problems... People have no time to write papers because they are chasing maize or because they are chasing this and that to make ends meet. Academic work also suffers and it suffered, so from around '83, '84, things became even worse. (History professor, personal communication, September 3, 2008)

Again, even after structural adjustment this practice of academics participating in other money-making activities did not disappear and, as a later section will note, is still an issue at the university.

Finally, due to financial constraints, low salaries, lack of access to research funding and resources, and the associated strain on daily life in Tanzania, scholars began to leave the university for "greener pastures," as one theatre professor put it. In an autobiographical book of his experiences at UDSM, former Vice-Chancellor Matthew Luhanga (2009) pointed to staff attrition as one of the main consequences of this era's

economic crisis. Some of these academics left for other universities in Africa, Europe or the US. Others moved into the private sector, working for donor agencies and NGOs where salaries were higher than in the public sector. Later, after liberalization, staff continued to leave the university; however, some argued that the financial strain of being an academic at UDSM was not the only reason for their departure. The following section will address more fully the contention that shifts in the dominant ideology and associated changes in the intellectual atmosphere at UDSM caused some socialist-leaning scholars – expatriate and Tanzanian – to leave the university. In any case, this migration of academic staff away from UDSM put even more strain on the institution's capacity for teaching and research, and had a lasting impact on scholarly life at the university.

Economic Transition: 1985-1992

In 1985, Nyerere voluntarily stepped down as president of Tanzania, and Ali Hassan Mwinyi took over the position. Nyerere did, however, remain the chairman of the CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi)[4] political party and served as an advisor to President Mwinyi in that capacity. Mwinyi ended the standoff between Tanzania and the IMF in 1986 when he signed the agreement to accept the IMF/World Bank conditionalities for structural adjustment (SAPs). In that way, Mwinyi's government took the first steps away from African socialism and *Ujamaa* toward economic (and eventually political) liberalization.

Structural adjustment's effects on higher education in Africa have been well documented (Ajayi et al., 1996; see Ilon, 2003; Johnstone, 2004; Lulat, 2005). African universities like the University of Dar es Salaam, which had previously relied almost

[4] CCM was formed from the merger of the TANU political party of Tanganyika and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar in 1977

completely on funding from the state, saw their government budget allocations shrink and were expected to increasingly seek funding from private sources or external funding agencies. The predominant socialist ideology of the Nyerere era had emphasized the government's obligation to provide the necessary resources for educating its citizens. Schultz's human capital theory, to which governments and donors had largely subscribed in the 1960s and 1970s, had further cemented Tanzania's commitment to state-sponsored higher education. This theory stated that education was an investment in human capital and would therefore lead to a marked increase in productivity and economic outputs (Ilon, 2003).

After structural adjustment, Tanzania's commitment to public higher education shifted in light of IMF and World Bank conditions for privatizing certain aspects of the economic sector and recommendations from their cost-benefit analysis of higher education's rate of return to society. In short, the rate-of-return argument contended that the state's investment in elementary and secondary education had much higher rates of return to society than higher education. Economists argued that the benefits of higher education were largely to the individual rather than to society in general. Based on findings from economic rate-of-return studies, foreign donors – including the World Bank and the IMF – encouraged countries like Tanzania with limited financial resources to decrease the state's support of higher education in favor of elementary and secondary education. Johnstone (2004) argued that such policies had the effect of plunging tertiary institutions and ministries of higher education across the continent into serious and steadily deteriorating financial austerity. The financial situation at the University of Dar

es Salaam during the 1980s provides a clear example of this kind of economic deterioration due to an increasingly sharp decline in government funding.

With the standoff between the IMF and Tanzania resolved, donor aid to the country began to increase once again. Under structural adjustment, the severe budget cuts at the University of Dar es Salaam which had caused academics to increasingly seek out consultancies became even more severe. Because donor investment was again on the upswing, however, scholars began to not only seek consultancies from external agencies (which they continued to do in large numbers), but they were also able to access funds for academic research activities. "You see, with accepting the World Bank and IMF, bilateral donors have also opened up, so the research funds are more readily available than before" (History professor, personal communication, April 17, 2008).

This increase in external donor funding of research activities led to various reactions among UDSM academic staff. Most scholars expressed grave concerns over what they perceived as the dominance of foreign agendas in research activities at UDSM, which one scholar went so far as to call "academic colonialism" (personal communication, September 11, 2008). Mkandawire (2005) has also referred to reliance on foreign donors for research as the "compradorization of the intellectual exercise" (p. 42). It is important to note that these reactions mainly emanated from the social sciences and from history – areas which examine political, economic, and social interactions and are often associated with more ideologically-laden analyses. Many in these fields said that, with these changes in funding during this transition era, they observed that local and national interests were losing ground as a factor in determining individuals' research agendas.

> There was a time when the university had money available for research. You would ask the Research and Publications Committee for money for research, and you would receive it, but now there is a dependency on donor funding, and in this way the donors set the priorities. This has been a complaint for a long time, that the university has changed from having its own priorities to taking on the priorities of donors in order to get funding for research. (Development studies professor, personal communication, August 14, 2008)

> Research is more individualistic now. People get funding from abroad. They apply. They get money... More and more money is going into the so-called developmental areas, the kind of research that would have an immediate impact, if you say today that you want to do a history of politicians in African, chances are you know no one is very keen on it... but if you want to do something on the environment...then you know, chances are they'll look at it... That's where the money is. (History professor, personal communication, April 8, 2008)

As another development studies professor stated, "[He] who pays the piper, calls the tune" (personal communication, July 18, 2008).

This sentiment is echoed in Issa Shivji's 1988 essay *Reflections on Intellectuals in Africa*. He asserted that "imperialism," – in this case referring to Western donor agencies – was not interested in sponsoring the production of social theory in Africa.

> As with industries so [it is] with the academia. If Western monopoly capital invests, at best, in assembly and processing plants so western funding agencies, at best, fund consultancies and policy-research under the guise of relevant research. That these consultancies and policy-research take for granted the theoretical premises manufactured in the west is part of the international division of labour. After all, African scholars are neither "fit" nor do they have the comparative advantage of pursuing the vocation of intellectuals—that of contributing to knowledge. That is reserved for the universities and scholars of the north. (in Shivji, 1993 p. 119)

In Shivji's argument, African intellectuals are kept in an inferior position in the world academic community by foreign donors who refuse to support their work on theoretical issues, and choose instead to fund research that applies knowledge rather than produces it. The development agencies and bilateral donors in the "aid establishment" emphasized the need for "feasibility studies, evaluations and 'rapid assessment' results"

(Mkandawire, 2005, p. 42). Because this research did not contribute directly to basic knowledge production, it was not as highly valued in wider academic circles, thus African scholars were marginalized in this community because of their over-reliance on external agencies for funding their scholarly work.

This argument was also expressed by a development studies professor, who said,

> There are instances where people lack resources to do research. So whoever comes along with money and looking for partners will pick you, and you end up with that division of labor. That in participating in data collection, you'll not participate in analysis. So then you become the growers of data, not participating in the knowledge production process fully. They will ask you, collect this data, do this research, and send us your findings, but those findings will undergo further processing into the type of knowledge that they need to have, so that division of labor... is a hierarchical knowledge production process whereas the north determines what types of knowledge you produce, how that knowledge will be packaged and how that knowledge should be distributed. (personal communication, July 18, 2008)

In this way, UDSM scholars perceived that their hands were often tied by their dependence on external funding in determining the framework and parameters of their own research agendas.

In the fine arts, however, one former professor expressed that by this time local African art, theater, dance, and music were just beginning to be recognized as a legitimate field of study in the wider academic community and by their colleagues in other disciplines at UDSM. Grants from external agencies were beginning to become more available for research in this area. "There was a lot of emphasis now of putting African art, African theater, African music at the center" (personal communication, July 3, 2008). So in this discipline, more locally-focused research was beginning to gain legitimacy for a wider audience than it had enjoyed during the socialist era.

During the '70s and '80s the Fine and Performing Arts Department had developed a concept and later a practice known as "theatre for development," which became very popular with development agencies in the late '80s and '90s. These agencies increasingly directed money towards sponsoring research in this area. In this way the department gained somewhat of an international reputation as the innovators of "theatre for development" within the development community: "By the time we were in the '90s, the development agencies realized that that's a very powerful process for community development processes. So, in actual fact, the students that we trained into this theater for development process became quite marketable" (former Theatre Professor, personal communication, July 3, 2008). It is not clear, however, if this work was valued beyond the development community in wider fine arts academic circles.

While the impact of donor funding on the Zoology Department was not as stark as in other areas, it did have certain influences on the trajectory of research within the department. Although most scholars in the department expressed concerns about their dependence on donor funds, one zoologist was particularly outspoken about the topic.

> You have no funds, what can you do? You can't do anything. I mean, you just sit there and wait to be dictated upon by people who are bringing funds that we want to do this and then do it. And somebody else comes, says stop that one, do this one. Here's the money, then you stop... I think that's the problem. (personal communication, October 29, 2008)

Like all departments at UDSM, zoology suffered from a severe lack of funds, and consequently, they did not have the equipment to conduct many of the experiments necessary for basic scientific research. The department, therefore, began moving toward a more fieldwork-oriented wildlife conservation approach that did not require the same kind of laboratory equipment as basic research. The shift away from basic to applied

zoology was reinforced by donor funding that specifically targeted these types of wildlife and biodiversity studies. A few scientists, however, pointed out that donor funded projects did allow them to collaborate with colleagues abroad and to gain access to laboratories in Europe or the US, helping them to move forward on laboratory-based research projects.

Some UDSM academics saw the new funding structure as a way to make a break with the Tanzanian government's agenda, which they perceived as dominating the university during the socialist era.

> So, if you look at the history of the University of Dar es Salaam from the 60s until today, it has changed a lot, it has changed from that socialist university which was leaning on socialism... influencing students on socialist development and so forth into a university that is now open-minded and trying really to discover what's the best way for development so it's no longer a dogmatic system. It's a system that is more open. (Development studies assistant professor, personal communication, August 12, 2008)

They also argued that competition for external grants would improve research quality, and that working more closely with foreign donors was a way to gain exposure to external venues for research dissemination. Indeed, Tanzania's economic liberalization and the increase in foreign donor funding had also opened up more links with Western academic institutions. After structural adjustment, scholars had more opportunities to travel to Europe, the U.S. or Canada to complete their postgraduate training or conduct research with equipment or library resources that were not available in Tanzania at that time. With the influx of donor funding, research activities at UDSM did begin to increase relative to the research production at the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, but scholars overall continued to be frustrated about the influence of donors' interests on research agendas at the university.

These changes in external funding and their impact on research at UDSM during this time period touches on another issue raised by scholars at the university: the transition brought about by structural adjustment in Tanzania was not only economic in nature, but ideological as well. This is certainly true on the level of state ideology, but academics said that they also observed clear shifts in the predominant ideology at the university. As far as the ideological direction of the government was concerned, adopting structural adjustment policies was a clear and decisive move away from Nyerere's African socialist and *Ujamaa* framework toward liberalization. In his book concerning Tanzania's transition to neo-liberalism, Shivji (2006) wrote about the beginnings of the state's ideological shift just before Nyerere stepped down in 1985. "The political situation was going through a transition in which the former legitimizing ideology, *Ujamaa*, was no longer hegemonic, and the new legitimizing ideology, liberalism, had not yet become so" (p. 8). Mwinyi's acceptance of the conditionalities of SAPs was a straightforward step towards making liberalism a dominant ideology in Tanzania's government.

Moreover, the ideological shifts in Tanzania and the rise of structural adjustment programs as a prescription for economic and political change were also situated within a changing global environment. The World Bank and IMF were at the forefront of a paradigmatic shift in development theories and policies that affected nations throughout the "developing" world. Their support of market-oriented approaches to economic development spread to the donor community, which in turn led to the resurgence of neo-classical economics theories. In this way, what came to be known as "neo-liberalism" gained intellectual hegemony (Young, 2004) not only among donors, but also in global

social scientific academic circles. This ideological shift was further reinforced by the continuing decline of socialism worldwide. The year1985 signaled the beginning of the decline of the Soviet Union, and by 1991 it had collapsed completely. The Berlin Wall fell in 1989, opening up Eastern Europe to economic and political liberalization. All of these events radically altered the international environment, and impacted not only economic, social and political development, but also how intellectuals worldwide framed these issues in their research and in resulting scholarly publications. These intellectual trends had an indelible impact on academics at UDSM.

At the university, many scholars noted a rather sudden shift away from the dominance of leftist leaning ideologies toward the acceptance of neo-liberal theoretical perspectives. Issa Shivji (2006) argued that, "the intellectual elite embraced liberal ideology uncritically as it joined the IFIs[5] in demonizing the state and debunking nationalism and socialism" (p. 9). While Shivji may be overstating the case, as will be discussed later, academic staff in several departments on campus did exhibit changes towards neo-liberalism in their espoused theoretical perspectives. This shift was especially noticeable in the social sciences and in history largely due to the fact that these areas are concerned directly with social theory. During the socialist period, as described in the previous chapter, leftist scholarship dominated the intellectual atmosphere at UDSM. The story of the political scientist who was driven to the airport after he dared to speak out against socialism illustrates this fact. In certain social science fields, the dominance of socialist ideology lasted up to the early 1980s, just before Nyerere stepped down and Tanzania started down the path of structural adjustment. In *The Courage for Change* (2009), former Vice-Chancellor Matthew Luhanga related an incident that

[5] International Financial Institutes

occurred when he was a member of the Senate Higher Degrees Committee in the early 1980s. A doctoral student in economics had passed review by both the External and Internal Examiners, but had failed in his *viva voce* (oral) examination. Upon review of the decision, it came to light that the student had failed on ideological grounds. He had presented the first thesis in economics at UDSM to be written from a market-friendly perspective. At this time, Tanzania was still constitutionally a one-party socialist republic, and the chairman of his oral examination committee had strong leftist ideas; therefore he failed because his capitalist approach was not in keeping with the socialist-dominated atmosphere on campus.

After 1985, however, the environment at UDSM shifted. Many academics who were at the university during the transition from socialism to liberalization stated that the intellectual atmosphere on campus changed very quickly.

> From 1985 there was another big shift now. It's like the socialist, African Socialist project was kind of put aside, not officially put aside, and a new orientation begins and now you see at the university...there are discussions, not quite on ideological things, but what you see is also the beginning of a major ideological shift. (History senior lecturer, personal communication, May 29, 2008)

One development studies associate professor gave the example of two of his colleagues who were at one time outspoken Marxist economists but dramatically changed their ideological approach.

> They were extremely vocal because they were party, they belonged to the youth wing of the CCM and they were very, very staunch Marxists in the economics department, but then somehow, I think they changed their line of philosophy and thinking. They became hardcore conservative economists. (personal communication, October 3, 2008)

Another development studies professor also mentioned the economics department's rapid shift. "You can see, for instance, the Department of Economics coming very quickly and embracing neo-liberalism root and branch" (personal communication, July 18, 2008).

The Tanzanian state's movement away from socialist policies and the subsequent decline in socialist thought as the dominant ideology at UDSM particularly affected the Institute of Development Studies. As noted in the previous chapter, IDS was created to socialize students into the principles of TANU and to address "the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 8). During the socialist period, scholarship produced in the institute focused on socialist development initiatives, and academic staff and graduate students did a significant amount of research on the process of implementing *Ujamaa* policies. Now that the Tanzanian state was no longer following this path to development, the Institute of Development Studies at UDSM had to search for new ways to define itself.

Moreover, due to the influence of structural adjustment and the wider intellectual movement towards neo-liberalism, discourse in the field of development studies had changed significantly. The worldwide decline of socialism cemented this ideological shift in academe.

> [There was] a lot of change, because you see after the collapse of the Soviet block, of the USSR and the Berlin Wall and all that... we had quite a difficulty, we as IDS, in legitimizing what we were teaching. We had this strong socialist orientation and suddenly socialism had like collapsed, and so people were saying that Development Studies is no longer relevant... Even in the States and Canada, International Development Studies is not one of the popular programs in those countries... It's on the margins. It's on the periphery. So, here too, we were on the periphery but now we became even more marginalized because of what happened... in the global political system. (Development studies assistant professor, personal communication, August 12, 2008)

While some scholars did begin to adopt a different approach to development studies, others remained staunchly leftist in their perspectives. As the professor quoted above noted, "We had people who were *strongly* socialist, until today. My neighbor here is strongly socialist" (personal communication, July 2008). One such scholar expressed his frustration with the movement toward neo-liberalism in the academy.

> With the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, collapse of Soviet Union, the hegemonic rise of the United States as the only super power and the new neo-liberalism became the world ideological framework, we are now made to think, forced to think one way, a Washington consensus...It's either you are with us or against us, and this is a way of looking at things. You either join us, or you lose out, either globalize or perish... It's hegemonic. It's economics, it's politics, it's sociology, it's culture, it's movement of people, you know it's everything. That is hegemonic ideology, hegemonic politics, economics, you see? (Development studies professor, July 18, 2008)

While this professor stated that he had no problems securing funding due to his status as a senior scholar with established professional connections, he did talk about his concerns with the academic publishing industry, which he said subscribed wholly to a neo-liberal framework. Anyone who wanted to express alternative views, he contended, was not able to do so in mainstream journals, but had to seek out other, less well-circulated publications for their work.

Furthermore, the leftist scholars who remained during this time were concerned that the ideological coherence of the socialist era had faded away. In a 1987 essay, Issa Shivji qualified the debates of the 1980s as "uncoordinated, incoherent, inconsistent, and mostly spontaneous" (in, 1993 p. 150). Elsewhere he argued, "Unlike the debates in the '60s and '70s, the debates of the '80s were not always situated firmly within an anti-imperialist ideology nor guided by a grand theory of society" (as quoted in Mkude et al., 2003p. 7). In UDSM's early years, a commitment to socialist ideologies had given

scholars in the social sciences and the humanities a particular focus in their teaching and their approach to research. With socialism's decline in Tanzania, and with neo-liberal ideology beginning to make inroads with academic staff, especially in economics—the field from which this theoretical framework stems—there was indeed an ideological shift; however, the new framework was not as coherent an ideology in other departments as socialism had been in the 1960s and 1970s. Leftist scholars remained and very few scholars adopted neo-liberalism completely. A historian argued that post-modernism had taken the place of socialist ideologies, and that "there [was] no longer any commitment to ideology, any commitment to pre-established principles or theories" (personal communication, May 29, 2008). He went on to argue that with the end of the Cold War and the end of the liberation struggles in Eastern and Southern Africa, intellectuals were struggling to find a way to move forward in their thinking. "How does Africa become something other than what it is in terms of its economic status? So there's confusion there...The old ideology was no longer helpful" (personal communication, May 29, 2008).

As another history professor pointed out, throughout the whole university, struggles for liberation and against imperialism were no longer the rallying points that they once were amongst Tanzanian intellectuals. "By the time we come to the '90s, we have a new situation where in the whole university, people who were very strong against cooperation against imperialism changed their minds" (personal communication, April 17, 2008).

Another historian observed that after the 80s there was not the same coherent and coordinated approach to research as there had been in the socialist, nationalist period.

> Previously...before the 80s, they had a research agenda, like *Maji Maji* War. They did that research, *Maji Maji*, and then they had *Pangani*. I don't know how it collapsed, but they had those agendas. When we came in the 80s, no common research theme [was] going on, and each one for himself. And you go hunting and gathering and collecting whatever you get out there. (personal communication, May 5, 2008)

In his review of research at the University, N.M. Lema wrote, " UDSM lacks an articulated vision and philosophy for research" (quoted in Luanda, 2008, p. 146). A zoology senior lecturer observed,

> Nyerere, he had his own problems, but he had vision. You see it is better for someone who tells you this is, we are going this way, than someone who says just, let's just move, we'll get there. Where? Nobody knows, you see? Nyerere was very clear where we came from, where we are, where we should go.... He knew what the education system should do to the country. So, he had all these things, and once he left it appears now that we are hanging around. The education system, nobody really knows what it will serve. People change curriculum every fortnight. So, I think we have problems. We have problems. (personal communication, October 29, 2008)

While the legacy of Nyerere remained to a certain extent, the coherence in purpose and commitment to a particular ideology among academics at UDSM had waned in the face of a changing domestic and international economic and political landscape.

Democratization and Institutional Transformation: 1992-1994

Tanzania's shift from a single-party to a multi-party political system in 1992 further distanced the university from its connection with the socialist era. This was the second term of Ali Hassan Mwinyi, and it was a period of rapid political change in the country. The IMF and the World Bank began to assert political conditionalities to accompany their economic ones. These organizations were pushing countries to "democratize" their systems by legalizing opposition political parties. Moreover, economic liberalization had brought more stakeholders to the national political table including economic business groups, grassroots associations, and new religious groups

(Kimambo, 2008a). Nyerere, as the chairman of CCM, advised Mwinyi's administration to initiate debates on the subject. In fact, Tanzania had a relatively smooth transition to multi-party politics and the country officially instituted the policy in 1992.

The multiparty act forbade politics in the workplace and the offices that had once housed branches of TANU and then CCM on campus were closed. As a result, the ruling party, CCM, was no longer the only political influence on campus, and its direct role in debates at the University about ideology or scholarship was significantly diminished. The role of national politics however, did not disappear. Isaria Kimambo (2008a) described "[the] appearance of new political parties seeking debating avenues and opportunities for recruitment of intellectual members" (p. 250). One theater senior lecturer pointed to the tension that the proliferation of opposition parties on campus created between the university and the ruling party. "The university was seen as pro the opposition... So, during that time there was that kind of negativity. Any criticism, constructive or whatever, that was coming up from the university was taken negatively by the government because of that" (personal communication, April 4, 2008).

In general, the university was seen as supporting opposition political parties, and some have argued that this has led to the development of new schools of thought. Kimambo (2008a) contended, however, that this assertion was a bit premature. Academics at that time, he argued, had not yet developed full-fledged schools of thought to provide ideological support for new political parties. Political pluralism did, however, move the university further away from the coherent Dar es Salaam School of Thought that had existed during the socialist period.

Political liberalization on the national level also contributed to the democratization of UDSM governance structures. In fact, the state's role in the governance of UDSM began to decline after Nyerere stepped down from office. The chancellorship of the university, which had been held by Nyerere from 1961 to 1985, was transferred to President Mwinyi upon his taking office. Mwinyi, however, did not consider himself an intellectual in the same way that Nyerere had, and although he still maintained a certain amount of authority over university governance and policy while he served as chancellor, he did not involve himself in the intellectual and ideological debates among scholars on campus. President Mwinyi served as the chancellor until 1993, just after the state's adoption of multi-party politics. At this point, the chancellorship of UDSM became a civilian position. Overall, President Mwinyi and President Mkapa, who would become Tanzania's third president, were not as interested in activities at the University in the same way that Nyerere had been. They relied on scholars for some input on policy matters, but did not seek to shape the terms of academic debate as Nyerere had. With the introduction of a civilian chancellorship, the state further divested itself from UDSM.

Mkandawire (2005) argued that the movement for democratization in African countries during the early 1990s also marked "a growing self-consciousness of [African] intellectuals as a social group, with rights and responsibilities. Academics themselves began to clamour for academic freedom" (p. 43). I would argue that intellectuals at UDSM came from a strong tradition of seeing themselves as a distinct social group, although one that overlapped at times with the political elite. In some ways Tanzanian intellectuals were a less coherent group during the early 1990s than they had been in the

past. Nevertheless, it was evident that with the ideological shift after socialism and the state's decreased role on campus, both in terms of its ideological contributions and its involvement in administrative governance, UDSM academics were searching for new ways to define themselves in terms of their roles, rights, and responsibilities. With the changing national and international context outlined above, the role that African universities in general, and UDSM specifically, had established for the state during its formative years was no longer feasible or relevant.

Moreover, many academics expressed concern that with the changes adopted through structural adjustment, the state was now an extension of the donor community, pursuing a "foreign" agenda in the guise of national development. Some also pointed to what they saw as increased corruption in the new regimes. A development studies associate professor contended that during the socialist era Tanzania was not very corrupt but then starting around from 1985 onwards "with the introduction of the second phase government, *Ujamaa* was over and everyone wanted to get rich" (personal communication, August 29, 2008). In fact, with evidence across the continent that the African nationalist projects had failed, distrust of African governments was rife among academics. African intellectuals, therefore, sought to define themselves and their institutions as autonomous from the state in ways that were not possible or perhaps even desirable in previous eras. The "Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility", adopted at the 1990 *Symposium on Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of Intellectuals* in Kampala, Uganda, is an example on a continental scale of this effort at redefining African intellectuals' roles, rights, and responsibilities.

Earlier that same year the academic staff at UDSM, along with academic staff at other Tanzanian higher education institutions, issued their own declaration on academic freedom, "The Dar es Salaam Declaration on Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of Academics" (1990). The first line of this declaration expressed frustration with structural adjustment and its impact on higher education institutions in Tanzania; "The stringent conditions of the international Shylocks have begun to put a squeeze on education in a dramatic fashion." The second paragraph went on to also criticize the state; "The state has become increasingly authoritarian. Authoritarianism is being further reinforced as the crisis-ridden government fails to offer palpable solutions." The resulting document defined more clearly than ever before the autonomy of scholars from state control, but it also reasserted their responsibility to the nation and to Tanzanian society.

First, in terms of research, the declaration stated,

> All members of the academic community with research functions have the right to carry out research work without interference, subject to the universal principles and methods of scientific enquiry. In particular, researchers shall not be denied information or permission to do, or hindered in any way from doing, research on any ground except for reasons of public health and morality...

With this statement, Tanzanian scholars recommitted themselves to what were seen to be universal standards for academic freedom for carrying out research activities. The declaration also addressed, however, the responsibilities of academics to address issues pertinent to the development of local society.

> All institutions of higher education shall address themselves to the contemporary problems facing our society. To this end, curricula and academic programmes as well as other activities of the institutions shall respond to the needs of the society at large without prejudice to the needs of scientific enquiry and production of knowledge.

Furthermore, the declaration acknowledged issues of intellectual dependence that had been debated at UDSM since its founding and were still a major concern for scholars at the institution.

> All institutions of higher education should strive to prevent scientific, technological and other forms of dependence of our society and promote equal partnership of all academic communities of the world in pursuit and use of knowledge.

With this declaration, Tanzanian academics sought to address intentionally and concretely their roles both in their distinct local context as well as in relationship to the wider academic community in a way that freed them from control of both the state and the "Shylocks" of international financial institutions.

As Mkandawire (2005) has argued, although African scholars were again "adopting a self-consciously public position on national issues... They are probably much less 'organic' to the current project of reintegrating African economies through structural adjustment, dependent as it is on global technocrats" (p. 43). While Tanzanian intellectuals were seeking to re-orient themselves not only in terms of autonomy in purely scholarly pursuits but also with regards to their role in national development, the terms of national development had shifted and were now aligned with foreign agencies rather than being driven by state ideology. In fact, even though some scholars embraced the new development agenda, many resisted its theoretical underpinnings. Their hands were tied however because although they were relatively freer from the influence of the Tanzanian state, they now saw themselves in many ways as dependent on foreign institutions financially, but also in terms of their approach to national development.

The 1980s and 1990s, as outlined earlier, were difficult times for Tanzania and the University of Dar es Salaam. By the early 1990s, scholars were beginning to emerge

from this crisis and were able to begin the process of redefining themselves. In 1994, the university itself began a process of redefinition with the Institutional Transformation Programme or ITP. The goal of the ITP was to assess the state of the university and then to put into place strategic plans of University development so that UDSM would be able to take a leadership role in participating in the "globalised, knowledge-based economy of the twenty-first century" (Luhanga, 2009, p. 45).

Basically, the ITP was an effort to be more intentional in planning the direction of the university on all levels, financial and academic, and to evolve a long-term vision for the institution. It was adapted from a successful strategic planning exercise conducted by the Faculty of Engineering in the late 1980s. The initiative was widely accepted among academic staff as a positive endeavor.

> Obviously quite a number of changes started emerging with the Institutional Transformation Programme that was instituted in 1994. Now that brought on board quite a number of areas of assessing what is going on at UDSM. Do we want to do this? Do we want to change this? And that has been healthy in a sense, in assessing our own work. (theater professor, personal communication, June 21, 2008)

Some academics, however, continued to express concerns about external donor influence during the process of designing the program. Vice-Chancellor Luhanga, who was instrumental in constructing the ITP, wrote about a political science professor who "made a claim that the Mission Statement was donor-driven, drafted in Washington, DC by the World Bank or International Monetary Fund" (Luhanga, 2009, p. 40). Though the program was implemented with significant support from the academic staff in the end, this comment demonstrates the sensitivity that many scholars had regarding the influence of external international agencies.

Part of the ITP involved the process of mapping out research priorities on departmental, faculty, and institutional levels. The Directorate of Research and Publications was established in 1996 to lead this effort as well as to be in charge of receiving and distributing funds for research activities at UDSM. In fact, the ITP was successful at bringing in new revenue sources. The Director of Research and Publications asserted that, "[UDSM] became very attractive to donors, the fact that the University had a very clear vision of where it wanted to go, of what it wanted to do and what programs it wanted to institute" (personal communication, July 21, 2008). These donors, most notably the Carnegie Foundation and SIDA/SAREC[6], saw UDSM's proactive approach to institutional development as a positive thing and believed that the university could serve as an example to similar institutions throughout Africa.

The research agenda was formulated largely in response to an influx of research funds from SIDA/SAREC. The administrative and academic staff saw this as an opportunity to document their research priorities so that they would be able to assert their own research goals rather than having them defined by outside agencies. It is important to note at this juncture that not all foreign agencies that contributed research funds to UDSM asserted a strong ideological perspective or placed demands on the types of research that scholars could conduct. Beginning from around 1994 SIDA/SAREC was (and continues to be) a major donor to research activities at the University of Dar es Salaam. SIDA gave funds directly to the Directorate of Research and Publications who then distributed them through an internal grant competition based on UDSM's outlined research agenda. It is also important to acknowledge however, that the agenda, while generated by the staff of UDSM also likely reflected their understanding of the priorities

[6] The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency—Department for Research Cooperation

of external agencies. Indeed, this document was intended to be used in raising funds from the government as well as other external donors.

While the agenda was now more geared toward UDSM-generated research goals, SIDA/SAREC did have a hand in the process of formulating UDSM's priorities and has in the past asserted requests for the University to focus on specific areas.

> I think they did that they wanted us to focus on certain areas like science and technology, IT and so on. For instance, for many of the phases in the past, there was very little funding for the social sciences and even less for the humanities, but for this coming phase, we've established that it is going, we set the priorities and we invite proposals or we choose select proposals in relation to those priorities that they have set. Of course, the priorities themselves, I mean the concept paper that we prepared was also sort of looked at by SIDA/SAREC, discussed and so on. They suggested some amendments, but nothing major in relation to the areas that we set up. (director of Research and Publications, personal communication, July 21, 2008)

Overall, however, the ITP did allow the University of Dar es Salaam to gain a sense of control over the development of their institution. With less direct government involvement and the increasing presence of international donor agencies in the operations and research activities at the university, this was seen as an opportunity for the staff of UDSM to assert its own agenda. The ITP continues to the current day, and academic staff members have perceived it to be largely responsible for the slow but steady rebuilding that the university has accomplished over the last decade.

Conclusion

In the context of the Institutional Transformation Programme, the long-term vision of UDSM became "to become a reputable world-class university that is responsive to national, regional, and global development needs through engagement in dynamic knowledge production" (Luhanga, 2009, p. 53). With this the University of Dar es Salaam was once again situating itself at the crossroads to influence (and be influenced

by) national, regional and global developments. The financial crises of the late 1970s and 1980s and the fall of socialism in Tanzania had severely and negatively impacted the "world-class" reputation that UDSM and its scholars had attained in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The ITP was the university's effort to re-gain some of the prestige in the international academic community that they had experienced in the post-independence nationalist, socialist period but that had been all but lost in the immediate post-socialist era.

The lingering effects of the financial devastation and the political and social changes of this period remain at UDSM and are evident today. They played a significant role in Tanzanian intellectuals' narratives about their research careers and the evolution of UDSM as an institution. Scholars who were at the university during the socialist era recalled the lively intellectual exchanges that had occurred at that time and their substantial interactions with colleagues around the world. This vibrant atmosphere disappeared however in the early 1980s, and the university experienced a protracted period of downturn and degeneration. Resources became scarce. The government no longer provided the majority of research funding to the university and scholars had to increasingly turn to external agencies for research funds, consultancies, and contract research. Many saw this shift as a drain on the university's capacity to produce relevant and rigorous research outputs. Donors often funded research application rather than basic research. As Shivji (1993) argued, African scholars were often charged with applying knowledge rather than producing it. Tanzanian academics became concerned about falling behind both in terms of their relevance to the national development project,

which was shaky at best during this time, and of their prestige in the international academic community.

Moreover, the adoption of structural adjustment programs in 1985 and the fall of socialism in Tanzania and worldwide caused a shift in the dominant ideological frameworks both in Tanzania and in the broader scholarly community. Leftist and Marxist scholarship based on class analysis was no longer in mode. A neo-liberal oriented approach began to gain a foothold among academics globally and in certain departments at UDSM. Those Tanzanian intellectuals who maintained their commitment to leftist scholarship expressed frustration with this ideological shift and some experienced marginalization and even isolation. However, others who had felt constrained under the heavy hand of Nyerere's government and what they saw as a nearly single-minded commitment to socialist ideologies at UDSM commented that this ideological shift allowed them some freedom in their research in terms their choices of subject matter and theoretical framework.

Overall the transition period was a time of decline in research at UDSM and Tanzanian scholars became isolated both by material conditions and ideological and epistemological shifts in the world order and in academia. This is the time of what Mkandawire (1995) called the second generation of African intellectuals, many of whom left African academic institutions for consultancies or for "greener pastures" in the private sector or abroad. Those who stayed saw a decline in their interactions with colleagues abroad and in their voices in global scholarly dialogues.

In the mid-1990s the UDSM academic community began to take a proactive approach to rectifying their situation with the ITP program whose success has yet to be

determined. The historical narrative laid out in chapters four and five of this dissertation have used the experiences of Tanzanian academics to address the central question of what happens when a university formed within a clearly articulated post-colonial, nationally-oriented, socialist agenda collides with significant economic and political changes both on a national and global level. The next chapter will touch on the contemporary situation at UDSM and will analyze the question outlined above further in terms of this study's specific research questions that deal with how local, with an emphasis on national, influences and broader global processes have interacted to impact scholarly life at the University of Dar es Salaam.

Chapter Six:

National Engagement and Global Scholarship

> In more recent years, with the decline in "national planning", the triumph of the market, the preponderance of foreign institutions in policy-making (through so-called "policy dialogues") any pretension to national priorities providing guidelines to research has simply vanished. (Mkandawire as quoted in Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 211)

Mkandawire's quote captures much of the sentiment currently felt by many Tanzanian intellectuals at the University of Dar es Salaam. Some of these academics were fortunate enough to have experienced what they describe as the institution's golden era during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and remember fondly the intellectual interactions and debates they had with colleagues within the university and internationally. They are also extremely proud of the contributions they made to Tanzania's national development and the role their work played in shaping Tanzania's national identity and in addressing the nation's pressing social and economic problems. As the last chapter laid out, financial devastation and shifts in national and global political landscapes ended this golden age and led to a severe decline in research output at UDSM. Currently, the university is undertaking a new proactive approach to rebuilding itself with the Institutional Transformation Programme, implemented in 1994. While this effort has reaped some benefits for the university, a sense of frustration still remains among academics in terms of their ability to address research priorities of their own choosing and to participate fully in the global academic community. Many continue to feel the same obligation to national development that was so prevalent in the university's socialist period, but feel as if the tools for that development are now out of

their hands. Those who experienced the socialist years would like to reinvigorate the kinds of intellectual debates that occurred then. Even the younger generation, who did not have personal experience with that era, expressed a desire to return to that level of intellectual engagement. Nyerere's legacy lingers; yet, scholars feel constrained by factors both internal and external to their environment at the University of Dar es Salaam. The tension between a commitment to serving their national society and larger global processes – which they see as largely beyond their control – is evident in their narratives. This chapter complements the previous two chapters by presenting a more thematic analysis of the data based on this dissertation's research questions. It builds on the historical narratives offered in chapters four and five in order to make the story of Tanzanian scholars' experiences with research more complete. The following sections examine the tension described above in detail, framed by the research questions posed in chapter one. The goal is to shed light on the central question of this dissertation— How have Tanzanian academics experienced and negotiated shifting local and global demands in their research lives over the course of the history of UDSM?

Influences on Academics' Research Agendas

This section addresses the first research question posed in this study: What have been the key factors influencing faculty members' research agendas? The factors discussed below are not meant to be an exhaustive list of influences on academic research at UDSM, but a discussion of the most consistent factors that emerged from participants' narratives about their work lives. I have divided the factors roughly into the categories of "local" and "global" by relying on how scholars described these influences. Scholars referred to a wide range of influences as "local," related to a context that they saw as their

immediate environment, or "global," related to wider trends and processes that extend beyond national boundaries and are not anchored in a specific locale. The discussion of these factors includes local influences such as personal interests, institutional conditions, and departmental factors; however, the main analysis lies at the national level (the widest local level) and the global level because these emerged as absolutely central to Tanzanian intellectuals' narratives. I also note the interaction between the different levels. It is essential to recognize and acknowledge that nothing happens in isolation. Global processes shape local contexts, just as the local environment can feed into and influence what constitutes the global.

Incorporated into all of the levels of what affects researchers' work lives are national influences. This is the widest level of local impacts and pervades all other local levels. As evidenced by previous chapters, the influence of national issues, politics, economics, etc. have been central to this dissertation's findings. More importantly, they have been central to how Tanzanian intellectuals view their scholarly work. Contributing to a sense of *national* identity, solving *national* problems, and building the *nation* were all prominent themes in Tanzanian academics' descriptions of their work. The institution itself was established as a national university, and its employees are civil servants who have interacted regularly with the state. Indeed, many academics have been involved in national politics or served in other national ministries at various points in their careers. It is therefore understandable that ideas and influences of the national are at the core of the institution and, by extension, its academic staff.

National identity is key to how academics at UDSM have defined themselves. They are first and foremost *Tanzanian* intellectuals. In the post-independence era,

Nyerere enacted a very deliberate strategy to construct a national identity that superseded the multiple ethnic identities existing in Tanzania at the time of independence. To a large extent this plan was successful, especially in urban areas such as Dar es Salaam, and in elite levels of society including intellectuals. Many scholars pointed to their Tanzanian-ness as central to their identities as academics. In speaking about his mentorship of younger academics, a development studies professor argued that it continues to be important to instill students with a sense of national identity.

> We still need to teach people who would, you know, who would distinguish themselves as Tanzanian scholars or Tanzanian practitioners regardless of where they will be working. (personal communication, October 13, 2008)

A fine arts senior lecturer spoke about maintaining his Tanzanian identity while pursuing his graduate studies abroad.

> There was a strong force in students' minds on who they were, you know, their identities as Tanzanians, and how they go around living in this world, and... it is actually very helpful now when...we say that the world is just like a village. So everyone is around, mingling around. Now if you do know your direction, for Tanzanians, they still feel that they are Tanzanians anywhere. They have their identity. You know? And they are proud of themselves. (personal communication, December 1, 2008)

Another history professor spoke about Tanzanian scholars' strong identification with national service,

> Most Tanzanians follow the saying 'charity begins at home'. Even when he is away, either when doing his Ph.D. or working outside of Tanzania he is always thinking of how something relates to Tanzania. (personal communication, September 11, 2008)

For many scholars, a sense of national identity has been connected to pride in their own national history and strongly tied to their sense of purpose as academics.

Intellectuals especially indicated their loyalty to Tanzania and their Tanzanian identity when they spoke about their decisions to return to Tanzania after completing their graduate studies overseas.

> Someone sees you, he says, yes this one is a Tanzanian which we achieved in those days. I don't know whether they told you, Tanzanians *never* stayed abroad. Whenever they went to study, they came back here, and no country insisted on visas for Tanzanians. They say, we know those guys will go back. (Former vice chancellor, personal communication, November 14, 2008)

During the early era of the university in the late 1960s to the 1970s, this dedication to Tanzania was strongly connected to Nyerere and TANU's vision for national development and the President's call to national service.

> Really the major attractive feature at that time was the philosophy of Julius Nyerere. He was really asking all of us to make a contribution to the national building and I thought that since [I was] afforded the opportunity to get an education, I thought that I had an obligation to do as much as I could. It might have been a naïve idea to just follow ahead of political persuasions and so forth, but Nyerere was a very, very powerful force in terms of really asking people to do what they can in their private and public lives. (Zoology professor, personal communication, April 29, 2008)

Even in later years, scholars expressed a commitment to Tanzanian development. A fine arts senior lecturer who finished his Ph.D. abroad in the 1990s conveyed a desire to return to Tanzania after his studies to fulfill his patriotic duty.

> We stayed there for 3 years. After that we said, no, we are going. The drive was, I love my country. I wanted to serve my country. (personal communication, December 1, 2008)

Scholars' commitment to Tanzanian development and their strong identification with their national identity have contributed significantly to decisions about their work lives. Many indicated that they considered the Tanzanian public as the primary audience for their work, and, as will be discussed later in this chapter, their dedication to national development drove their ideas about the purpose of research.

The national scene has not remained static, and as chapters four and five document, the ebbs and flows of national politics and economics have had a significant impact on the university and its intellectual environment. After the university was established, it adopted the goal of national service which later shifted to include a socialist agenda. Subsequently, academics there took up the principles of socialism as laid out in the *Arusha Declaration*. While the African socialist policies of Nyerere were not strictly Marxist, the Tanzanian national experiment attracted progressive/leftist/Marxist scholars from around the world and led to a vibrant intellectual atmosphere focused on ideas of socialism. These philosophical debates and the scholarly work coming out of the university at that time helped put it on the map in terms of international academia. Tensions developed between the national government and academics, especially after the dismissal of staff members in the late 1970s, which may have caused some scholars to tread more carefully in terms of freely expressing their ideas. The national economic downturn in the '80s and '90s, which was also strongly connected to regional and global processes, severely impacted UDSM, and as the historical analysis of this dissertation has asserted, shifts in the national political landscape – also tied to external global political trends – markedly affected the intellectual (and political) atmosphere of the university.

The institutional level is another local influence on research at UDSM. The mission of the university has guided the focus and approach to research at various points in its history. Additionally, the types of support provided by the institution and its structure have impacted the ability of academics to conduct research in a given institutional environment. Again, it is important to note that institutional factors are not

isolated from other levels of influence. For example, the structure of UDSM is largely inherited from the West. Although it has changed over time to fit different circumstances, the institution has maintained the research university's basic "universal" structure. The influence of this institutional heritage will be discussed more thoroughly in relation to global influences later in this chapter.

The institutional mission of the university has been a major influence and guiding force for determining academics' research priorities and their sense of themselves as scholars. This mission, however, has shifted with the changing political and economic situation in Tanzania. In fact, it has mirrored closely events and trends on the national level, which makes sense since UDSM is by definition a national institution. The institution's mission, which has impacted how academics at the university have approached their work, is included with institutional factors, but also represents how national demands have shaped research agendas. It is, like other factors, intertwined with wider national and global processes.

Nyerere and TANU laid out a clear mission for the institution at its founding – to provide an African-oriented education. Its central purpose would be "directed at meeting the needs of Africa... our present plans must be directed at reaching the village" (as quoted in Omari, 1991, p. 182). When UCD joined with Makerere and Nairobi to form the University of East Africa, it adopted the larger mission of this regional institution. The UEA's mission aligned in many ways with Nyerere's ideas about the university's purpose, although rather than focusing on national development, it was concerned with development on a wider regional and continental scale. Upon introducing the University of East Africa Bill, the Secretary General of the East African Common Services

Organization declared, "Above all the University should be relevant to our situation, should be African in a true sense...and make a peculiar African contribution to the world of scholarship, achievement, and research, and the advancement of knowledge" (as quoted in Court, 1975, p. 196). In the University College's 1964/1965 Annual Report, Vice Principal W.K. Chagula stated that the college was making its contribution to UEA's mission in research by addressing "the many pressing problems facing the East African countries" (University College Dar es Salaam, 1965, p. 3). The college instituted the type of education outlined in the UEA Bill, but its main goal was training Tanzanians (or East Africans) to take over government and industry posts previously held by colonial expatriates. To fulfill this particular aspect of the mission, university administrators did not see the need to change the inherited pattern of university organization (Court, 1975), and therefore, though the mission included a demand for an African orientation, the institution maintained a principally Western approach to higher education.

With Tanzania's adoption of the *Arusha Declaration*, the mission of the university shifted again to focus specifically on Tanzania and national development in line with the state's African socialist policies. Higher education was tied to the goals of socialist development, thereby connecting the institution's mission very closely to national political and economic goals. In a speech before the *Conference on the Role of the UCD in a Socialist Tanzania*, R. M. Kawawa, the country's vice-president, asserted, "In the long run our success in building a socialist society depends on our success in educational matters" (p. 6). The state and, by extension, university administrators began to recognize the importance of different goals of development, such as accelerated economic growth, equitable distribution of resources, the development of a distinct

national identity, and the improvement of living conditions for the citizenry (Court, 1975). In terms of research's contribution to this mission, in a 1968-1969 Report on Research at UCD, then Chief Academic Officer Isaria Kimambo stated,

> In the 1967/1968 Research Report, we indicated that this University College was conscious of its role as a national institution... Research in all fields has been encouraged and geared towards the needs for development in Tanzania. (p. i)

The mission of the University and its research priorities were closely aligned with priorities for national development as laid out by the Tanzanian state. Given the close relationship that was beginning to develop between the state and the university, the institutional mission, as a factor in research production, was inextricably tied to national-level influences.

In 1970, UCD split from UEA, and the *University of Dar es Salaam Act of 1970* established the institution as an autonomous national university. This structural change solidified the connection between the university's mission and the state's vision for African Socialism and Self-Reliance. The *Act* indicated the objectives of UDSM, including "to preserve, transmit and enhance knowledge for the benefit of the people of Tanzania in accordance with the principles of socialism accepted by the people of Tanzania" (as quoted in Kimambo, 2008cp. 160). The mission as put forth by the UDSM Act pervaded the culture of the university. A zoology professor observed,

> Yes, there was a clear purpose—to provide the needed skills among people and the graduates to serve the nation....[Nyerere] made us feel that we have an obligation and we are not here just to serve our own interests, but to serve the nation" (personal communication, April 29, 2008).

With regard to research, a letter from the chief academic officer confirmed that the university would only consider supporting research projects "which are beneficial to the University and the country" (University of Dar es Salaam Senate, 1978).

As chapter five argued, after the university's decline in the 1980s and the fall of African socialism in 1985, morale on campus waned. While the mission the university had had under socialism remained part of the institution, it was not as prominent as it had been in the early era. As the institutional culture changed due to a distancing of the university from the state, a decrease of resources on campus and shifting ideologies, the influence of other factors increasingly grew in dominance. The next section will address this dynamic in more detail.

With the implementation of the Institutional Transformation Programme (ITP) in 1994, the mission of the university changed slightly again. Now the vision was "to become a reputable world-class university that is responsive to national, regional, and global development needs through engagement in dynamic knowledge production" (Luhanga, 2009, p. 53). An emphasis on national relevance remained, but the focus shifted to include regional and global development issues as well. The mission statement's inclusion of the phrase "engagement in dynamic knowledge production" demonstrated UDSM and its academic staff's desire to reinsert themselves into global scholarly dialogues. As chapter five of this dissertation argued, the ability of Tanzanian intellectuals to participate actively in the wider academic community had significantly diminished, and these scholars experienced intellectual isolation to a certain degree. With ITP, they were making this re-engagement a central part of their institutional mission, which certainly had implications for the priorities that were put on research activities and outcomes.

UDSM's local community of scholars has also figured significantly into the academic experiences of Tanzanian intellectuals from the time of their educational

training and throughout their entire academic careers at the institution. During the early years at the university, as we have seen, the community of scholarship was vibrant. There was significant interaction between scholars and their colleagues (both Tanzanian and expatriate) around issues of national development and political and economic philosophy. As chapter four noted, during this time period, radical scholars (and students) placed significant pressure on other academics to adopt a progressive or leftist ideological approach. Expatriate scholars were literally driven out of town for espousing conservative viewpoints. An academic committee failed a student in his oral dissertation examination for utilizing a conservative framework. As the intellectual atmosphere at the university shifted away from socialism after structural adjustment, the pressure that the local progressive community of scholars had been previously able to exert dissipated. Scholars were now freer to take up alternative approaches; however, as Shivji argued, this led to "inconsistent" and "incoherent" debates on campus. As many participants observed, the vibrancy of the local intellectual community members dwindled in terms of their interactions and debates with one another and also in their ability to address current issues in a coherent way. As some argued, it became "everybody for himself" (Zoology professor, personal communication, April 29, 2008). A historian lamented the collapse of his department's formerly cohesive research agenda. "When we came in the '80s, [there was] no common research theme going on, and each one for himself." He went on to argue, "We have to think it down and see what we can do, what identifies us as a department and what we can sell out there. That this is not commonly done" (personal communication, May 5, 2008). According to these scholars, the unified research priorities that had existed within the local academic community were no longer intact.

Of course, the composition and dominant approach of the local community of scholars, while located at the local, institutional level, were certainly affected by larger trends in the national and global political climate as well as global academic trends. For instance, in the 1980s when neo-liberalism rose as a dominant theoretical framework in the global economic and academic community, this ideological shift had an impact on Tanzanian scholars, which in turn reshaped their local community. Moreover, the mission of the institution, which, as demonstrated earlier, was tied closely to national objectives and policies, certainly played a role in shaping the overall dynamics within the local academic community at UDSM. Indeed, a central finding of this dissertation is that scholars at UDSM have maintained a strong commitment to national development throughout the history of the university, and this dedication pervades the institutional culture.

While there were many themes within faculty members' personal narratives that spanned departmental and disciplinary affiliations, the departmental cultures of the four academic units included in this dissertation research did affect scholars' experiences with research throughout the course of the university's history. Scholars from all of the departments expressed a strong commitment to national development. This was one of the strongest themes running throughout their personal narratives. They also conveyed a desire to participate in and contribute to a global community of scholarship. The ways in which they were able to fulfill these two roles, however, were impacted by both their departmental environment and their disciplinary affiliations.

It is important to note that department and discipline are two factors which are closely tied. The department and its culture are a local influence on researchers in that it

is the location in which they are anchored. How the department has operated, the priorities it has asserted, and its research culture have been closely tied to UDSM's institutional mission and culture and, therefore, to national priorities and influences. Discipline, on the other hand, is global in nature. Disciplinary standards, norms, and trends are not tied to a particular location, but are generated by and impact scholars in their respective fields worldwide. Discipline, along with institutional and national factors, has played a significant role in determining departmental culture at UDSM. The department is the site where disciplinary influences are adapted to local institutional and national contexts. Therefore, while departmental factors were considered local in nature and are included in the discussion of local influences, it is necessary to acknowledge that they are also inextricably tied to global disciplinary cultures. It is impossible to separate the department from the discipline.

The Institute of Development Studies is the academic unit that was arguably most affected by the historical changes on the national level as well as the wider global political and economic shifts described in the previous chapter. Indeed, it became clear from academics' narratives that IDS experienced a type of identity crisis during the 1980s, and this impacted how academics within this unit defined themselves. IDS had been founded as an extension of the Tanzanian state's socialist agenda. Its first annual report stated, "It shall especially involve itself in the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania and in this it shall base its programme on the principles and policies of TANU" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 8). The staff members and students were encouraged to participate in national development and the *Ujamaa* villagization process. For example, in the 1973-1974 academic year, IDS initiated a research project into the

"Problems and Strategies of Building *Ujamaa* Villages" (Institute of Development Studies, 1975, p. 3). A few of the senior scholars within the department described their experiences in researching and teaching in the villages. "[T]he students and some of the members of staff were encouraged to go in the surrounding villages. They used to go and help in the villages... Some of them went as far as Tanga, and so, it was quite exciting" (Development studies professor, personal communication, October 13, 2008). While faculty members within the institute during the early years wrote about and engaged with development theory such as "underdevelopment theory" and "modernization theory" as well as Nyerere's African socialism's ideas about development, there was also an emphasis placed on applied research that was readily useful in Tanzania's development.

When African socialism ended in Tanzania in the 1980s, this political and economic change had a disproportionate effect on IDS because its identity as an academic unit had been so closely tied to the state and its socialist agenda. It still maintained its emphasis on national development, but had to search for new ways to address these issues because of Tanzania's transition to structural adjustment reforms. As one scholar put it, "We had quite a difficulty, we at IDS, in legitimizing what we were teaching" (Development studies assistant professor, August 12, 2008). The change in global approaches to development and development studies compounded this local shift. "[W]e became even more marginalized because of what had happened, you know, in the global political economic system. So, we had to change our curriculum to remove items that were strongly ideological" (Development studies assistant professor, August 12, 2008). Research topics associated with African socialism, self-reliance, and even labor relations were replaced with a focus on issues such as technology, gender issues, and

environmental planning. While many of the IDS scholars who had had a strong Marxist/leftist/progressive ideological approach were able to maintain their focus and were supported by others within the institute, they began to feel marginalized within the international academic community and in their relationships with other departments on campus, like economics and political science, which had made the quick transition to dominant neo-liberal approaches.

It was also clear from the narratives of historians at UDSM that the academic culture inside the university's Department of History played a significant role in shaping the experiences of its scholars. This department was one of the first founded at the university, and under the innovative leadership of T.O. Ranger, it gained a strong reputation both within the institution and the wider field of African history. Tanzanian scholars interacted with expatriate colleagues like Walter Rodney, John Lonsdale, and John Iliffe, and scholars worldwide traveled to deliver papers and participate in discussion in the department. It was known for having a coherent vision leading to the founding of a new school of historiography—the Dar es Salaam School. During the early years of the university, historians at UDSM undertook large scale, collaborative research initiatives such as the *Maji Maji* Research Project. The emphasis of the department was on building an African-oriented approach to historical scholarship of the continent, and it was successful in playing a role in contributing to both international conversations in their discipline and a Tanzanian national identity.

As with IDS (and the other departments under study), however, the economic and political transition in the 1980s had a detrimental impact on the department as well as its scholars. According to a senior scholar in history, the department supported a policy of

"disengagement" during this time, meaning that they did not want to form links with "imperialist" departments abroad.

> [T]he history department was very staunch, staunch in Marxist stand, and they were insisting on disengagement. The stand of the department was *disengagement.* I remember at the time when Professor Sheriff was head of the department—*disengagement.* Now, it means then disengagement, we must not make those connections with imperialist departments... They wanted to remain alone. To remain alone meant missing a lot of resources which other departments were getting. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

This policy led to decreased access to resources and eventually contributed to a sense of isolation for many historians at UDSM. No longer did the Department of History have the resources or the manpower to conduct large-scale research initiatives. They no longer felt that they were at the center of African historical research. Moreover, with new funding structures during these later years, historians felt as if their work was not prioritized by donors and, therefore, was not prioritized within the institution.

The same perception of marginalization holds true for the Department of Fine and Performing Arts. In a conference held on campus by the American Council for Learned Societies, scholars from this department expressed their concern that the humanities, which had played a significant role in forging and documenting Tanzania's post-colonial identity during the Nyerere era, were no longer valued in donors' agendas. While this is a frustration conveyed by members of the department, it was also clear that department had taken a proactive role during the 1980s by formulating initiatives and areas of study, like "theatre for development" (using theatre as a tool to communicate with communities and strategize about development solutions), which have been able to tap into donor support because of their applications in development projects. In this way, many of the members of this department developed a focus on the connection between fine arts and

development to successfully support their research agendas in the arts. Indeed many contended that in this way they have been able to contribute to their wider disciplines of theater, dance, and the visual arts by defining a distinct *African* art, which is not just art for art's sake, but a tool for social communication and community development. This theme, which has been woven throughout the departmental culture, is directly related to contributing to academics' wider disciplines.

The scholars in the Department of Zoology and the natural sciences were not as affected by the ideological shifts that occurred between Nyerere's era and the post-structural adjustment phase as those in the social sciences and history. Many of the senior scholars indicated that the department, like others at UDSM, has had a strong commitment to national development and serving local communities, yet also maintained a strong desire to contribute to general scientific knowledge. It was, however, the department most impacted by the financial constraints that ensued after Tanzania's economic and political transition. To conduct scientific research, especially basic scientific research, it is necessary for scientists to have up-to-date laboratory equipment. Though the department had not acquired this equipment before the transition, it was able to provide some facilities to its scientists. With the Tanzanian state's transition away from funding higher education in the 1980s, the quality of lab space and access equipment seriously deteriorated. One zoologist walked me through the lab space within the department and explained to me that much of the space once allocated for research was no longer available. Many zoologists (as well as some administrators) indicated that basic research in the department was on the decline. In terms of its research priorities, the department had begun to move away from basic science to focus on more applied

themes such as biodiversity and environmental issues, areas which would likely gain money from donors and had immediately applicable outcomes to development.

In general, departmental (and disciplinary) environments have impacted scholars' experiences in their research work lives, however, some common themes did emerge among academics from all of the departments under study. All expressed a commitment to national issues and development coupled with an aspiration to contribute to larger bodies of scholarship. Additionally, while some were more affected by ideological shifts (both local and global) and others by financial, all departments – and, by extension their scholars – experienced significant changes in their research cultures with the transition from African socialism to a more open-market economy. Some adapted to this new environment better than others, but it was clear that each of the departments experienced a cultural shift with Tanzania's adoption of structural adjustment reforms.

Finally, as noted in chapter one, the most basic level of influence on scholars' choices of research initiatives is the individual level, directly related to personal interest. Researchers' interest in a discipline or a specific topic appeared to be a primary factor in their initial choices of which field to pursue in their education and then which themes to investigate once they were situated in their academic careers. Of course, these personal interests do not develop apart from other factors. In fact, personal interests are impacted by all of the other levels of influence. They can stem from a range of experiences that scholars may have had throughout their lives. For instance, choice of research interest may have been connected to the local environment in which the scholar grew up. One development studies senior lecturer spoke about his choice of research for his Ph.D. in terms of his home region.

> I come from the north, the region we call the Kagera... By then it was one of the regions which had been hit by different refugees. The war with Idi Amin, it was at the center. There is the problem of bananas, banana weevils in the fields, killing this type of bananas... That's why I went to a Ph.D. I got an interest in doing that. (personal communication, August 8, 2008)

A history professor who had recently become interested in disease and health in history because of the problem of HIV/AIDS in his home district provides another example.

> As you know, or maybe you don't, the first victims of AIDS to be discovered were discovered in my district of birth. Yes, in Bukoba district. Yes, and these were really the initial victims, although they don't like the word victim. And everybody in Tanzania – and this is the point I make in this paper – thought that, you know, these people have a history of prostitution and that sort of thing. They are dying of AIDS because they are morally depraved, I guess. A lot of people were dying so you get concerned. So that's part of the reason I got involved in this. But then as a result I have become interested in disease generally speaking, and that's why we... are running this master's course on disease and healing in Africa. So, this was my initial entry. (personal communication, June 27, 2008)

Not only were scholars impacted by the general national context, as noted elsewhere, but some also felt a commitment to a more specific local region, most often their home district.

Academic advisers also played a role in shaping many researchers' interest, especially in the early phases of their graduate study. A history professor recounted his first meeting with his dissertation adviser at a British university.

> And I didn't have anything specific so to say, I thought I would, you know, sort of pick a subject, so after we sat down to discuss what I wanted to do, he said well look, you have an added advantage if you took an area or a subject area for which you don't know, you're not very familiar with. Because the temptation to pick something you already know is very great and you'll always assume that you know the topic, so pick a new subject. So, I picked a new subject... That's why I chose that. So, it was my supervisor's suggestion, but definitely the reasons he gave were very convincing. (personal communication, April 8, 2008)

Indeed overseas training could be considered a global factor, since most academics pursued their graduate education in the West, at what Altbach (1998) would refer to as the "centers" of knowledge production. These experiences played a large role in shaping scholars' personal interests and approaches to research. Oftentimes, where scholars studied – and with whom – significantly influenced their research throughout their careers, as well as their interaction with academic communities outside of Tanzania.

Furthermore, once academics returned to the university to take up full time employment, many found the restrictions placed on them by local availability of resources to be a central force in taking their research interests in a particular direction. As noted above, this was especially true in the natural sciences, where up-to-date laboratory equipment was difficult to procure.

> It's a personal interest. It's a way to keep alive, and so that means digressing, learning new tricks and so on, but still be effective....So, I've adapted and now still maintain my neuroscience, but now I'm also into ecological issues and biodiversity. (Zoology professor, personal communication, April 29, 2008)

It is sufficient to say that while personal interests have been the foundation on which academics build their research agendas, they are highly influenced by circumstances from a range of directions. As Ayindoho (2006) points out in her discussion of intellectuals' positions in relation to their research, the "locations" from which a scholar writes, including their personal orientation toward the subject matter is "mobile because each person inhabits multiple locations within and across time" (p. 163). This, of course, is not specific to the Tanzanian context, but is relevant to scholars' worldwide. Personal interests are by their very nature the least static, most malleable influence on academics' decisions about what research they pursue. They are the basis of

academics' research lives and are impossible to separate from influences on wider national and global scales.

What I am calling global influences on research at UDSM were clear in participants' narratives. From the beginning, the structure of the university was based on inherited models from the West that are now ubiquitous worldwide. Chapter two indicated that African universities such as the University of Dar es Salaam have reflected on and debated how to adapt this model to the African context, but the basic structures of the inherited system have persisted. Moreover, in recent years, UDSM has adapted in ways that align it with the current international higher education systems' dominant structures. This adaptation has allowed the university to create institutional links internationally and work more easily with universities abroad. Semesterization is one example of this type of structural change. Some academics have embraced this change, but many others have expressed concerns. A development studies professor went so far as to equate this structural change to the current political global order.

> As you move from the bipolar world into a unipolar world, yes, then there's this hegemony of neoliberalism... And this catches up from the late '80s to the present... Unipolar world, hegemonic world, and you have Americanization of everything. You go to all universities, they have semesters. We didn't have semesters... Now we have semesters... Semesterization is distracting (personal communication, July 18, 2008).

Not only do some scholars believe that this change is symptomatic of undue American/Western influence, but under this new system, many scholars have found it more difficult to balance the demands of teaching and research. In this way, a change sparked by the university's desire to more easily interact with institutions abroad may have had a detrimental impact on research production, at least as far as scholars' perceptions of their own work is concerned.

Another key element of the university's inherited model that has affected the production of research at UDSM is the promotion system for academic staff. Scholars indicated that promotion criteria played a large role in how they approach research. Promotion at UDSM, like other universities around the world, has been based almost entirely on research output, i.e., the number of publications that a researcher puts out over a certain time period. This was adapted from the British university system and is common in academic life worldwide. UDSM's particular system is based on points earned by various types of publications. Publishing internationally receives the highest number of points, while local publications earn fewer. Therefore, UDSM's promotion system has been tied intimately with the international scholarly publishing industry, and according to their own accounts, academics have often adapted their research to fit the criteria and themes desired by international journals.

While promotion policies could be seen as an institutional level local factor in research, scholars more often spoke about these policies as being imposed from the outside, and some criticized their colleagues and university administrators for not questioning or reforming the system. One zoology professor called it the "prima donna" approach and attributed the design and implementation of the promotion process to the inherited (and, according to him, outdated) British system (personal communication, April 29, 2008). Many expressed concern that tying promotion to international publications devalued work that contributed to national needs. This type of locally relevant research has been part of the core mission of the university since its early era, but the promotion structure, being a remnant of an inherited higher education model, many argued, has not fit with this goal. Several Tanzanian academics contended that the

system promoted interaction with international audiences, but left scholars feeling disconnected from local populations whom, many felt strongly, it was their mission to serve.

> I quite hate the system that we have now in academia. The way we have tied research, publication and promotion, for example, in universities. Like here, we use publications as a means of scholarly work, a means of scholarly fitness, a means of scholarly performance and therefore we use it for promotion...That will let other scholars know that yes, this is a serious scholar and then you deserve to be called a professor. That to me, I'm very uncomfortable to be frank... If we are writing in say *Tanzania Zamani*, this is our journal here in History. So, if one writes in here, then this could easily be circulated, and it would be of use. But now if you write here, for example...this is not international journal, this is not... a refereed journal and so it cannot be used for promotion. I find it to be just a component of neocolonialism and we have not been able to actually completely disentangle ourselves from... academic colonialism. We are still tied to that and it is haunting. Look at people who have contributed, written something that is of use to our people. We should also consider that for promotion... but anyway, we are blindfolded. We don't see what we are doing. (History professor, personal communication, September 11, 2008)

An arts professor indicated that even though promotion is tied to international publications, he would often forego publishing internationally and choose instead to publish in local newspapers where Tanzanians would read his work. He contended that this was the way to maintain the ideal of a "classless society." He argued, "So, this is the thing, most of the people here say well, we are not going to employ you, to promote you because you don't write in international journals. I say, who cares? Who cares about promotion?" (personal communication, November 26, 2008).

Some faculty members commented on problems with the publishing industry in general. They argued that the structure of the industry limited scholars in their approach to research and in the themes they have been able to take up in their studies. Decisions made by the international publishing industry have also tied in closely with standards, norms, and trends within the wider international academic community. Several scholars

felt constrained by trends that they perceived as marginalizing the type of scholarship they were committed to pursuing.

> Now there is hegemonic thinking. What they call a Washington consensus is very hegemonic at all levels, globally, and those who contend to have different mode of thinking are considered dinosaurs. You cannot publish in any journal of your choice; I mean journals are, there are few remaining journals where you can have your work published outside the mainstream journals, and it is these journals that determine what is knowledge, what is not knowledge, what is new knowledge and what is old-fashioned knowledge. So that is the hegemony of neo-liberalism. (Development studies professor, personal communication, July 18, 2008)

This was especially true of academics who had maintained leftist or Marxist approaches in their work. As chapter five indicated, many Marxist scholars either changed their orientation after the fall of socialism in the 1980s and 1990s or began to feel marginalized within the broader academic community.

Moreover, the arguments made in chapters four and five, as well as the discussion of local factors earlier in this section, have demonstrated that global economic and political events and processes have had a significant impact on scholarly work at UDSM. The decline of socialism worldwide and the subsequent decrease of its prominence in academic circles is one example. The rise of neo-liberal development policies is another. Factors both internal and external to Tanzania in the late 1970s led to the financial crisis that devastated the UDSM academic community until the early 1990s. While there is no doubt that internal national policies were partly to blame for the crisis, a number of global events also contributed to and compounded the consequences of the economic downturn. These include the worldwide oil crisis in 1979 and the drastic fall in international prices for agricultural exports. In the aftermath of the crisis, Tanzania moved away from African socialism, and the country was pressured by the international community to adopt neo-liberal structural adjustment programs. Chapter five outlined the impact that

structural adjustment policies had at the university. Under these policies, educational funding shifted from higher education to the primary and secondary levels. The University's budget was slashed and administrators and academics were forced to increasingly turn to external funding sources. More and more, scholars had to take on consultancies to make ends meet, which took time away from academic research. A recruitment freeze was instituted at UDSM, and those scholars who remained at the university had to compensate for their colleagues who had left during the lean economic years, with not much hope for relief from new hires. As chapter five showed, the consequences of structural adjustment programs on academic work at the university figured strongly into participants' narratives.

The rise of donor research funding at UDSM, triggered by Tanzania's adoption of structural adjustment and its subsequent shift toward a market economy, is another external or global factor that scholars emphasized as shaping their work lives. Though donor money was present during the Nyerere years, the majority of funding for the university came from the government. After 1985, funding for research shifted to become almost completely external in origin. Multilateral agencies such as the IMF and World Bank and foundations like Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie have sponsored some research. Foreign governments from countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Britain have provided other sources of funding. The influx of foreign funding changed the way that scholars had been conducting research and impacted the research agenda of the University of Dar es Salaam.

As pointed out in chapter five, some scholars found that this opening up of external resources allowed them to move away from full reliance on the government and

to escape to some extent its influence. However, the majority of faculty members expressed concerns about over-reliance on outside funding sources. An academic audit at the university in 1998-1999 was quite critical of the quality of research on campus and stressed that an overdependence on donor funding was part of the problem. The audit claimed that "dependence on external funding has affected research priorities" (Mkude et al., 2003, p. 27). A development studies senior lecturer's comments illustrated this concern.

> When it comes to the support of some of these researches, the support comes with some strings, ok? Yeah, I mean someone comes with his money and said, we are conducting this research in this area, and we are looking for people who are ecologists because we want to do this and this and this. It's not necessarily that it will fall into your research agenda, but people might be involved simply because, first of all, just to be honest, they want to publish so that they can climb the ladder... So, the people who are coming up with money, they have their own research agendas. So, sometimes you don't have a choice. (personal communication, September 25, 2008)

In order to remedy these types of concerns, the academic audit went on to recommend that "the University should increase efforts for securing local funding sources in order to reduce current overdependence on such funds from external sources" (UDSM, 1999, p. 31).

Chapter five gave examples of scholars' concerns over the undue influence of donors and how it had shaped research. Shivji (1993) argued that it contributed to an international division of labor in which scholars in developing countries applied research rather than contributing to knowledge production. Members of the history department saw donor research funding as favoring more developmentally-oriented fields.

> People are more interested on areas where the application, all the research is much more development-oriented. And that's where my problem is now. When I want to do much of the population research for teaching for students, you may not acquire funding. People want more probably HIV or the environment, or things

like that, and for me I have other problems which I want to study. (History senior lecturer, personal communication, May 5, 2008)

In an informal discussion about the changing nature of "relevance" at the University, a history professor told me that when scholars and students write proposals to funders now, they must include the significance of the study. As has been the case throughout the history of the university, significance often means utility to the development agenda of Tanzania, but now it is put in a very mechanical way. The authors of the proposals are straining to prove relevance to the development agenda, "instead of saying that they are contributing to a new paradigm, a new way of thinking about something." He claimed that this came from general academic discourse, which is dominated by particular ideas of development, but that it is also a product of donors and the resources that they provide. These donors include development foundations like Carnegie, Rockefeller and, especially, the Ford Foundation. According to him, these foundations want significance of the social sciences *and* the humanities to relate immediately and directly to policies and interventions, rather than contributing to innovative theories and methods. (personal communication, September 24, 2008).

While the evidence above indicates that foreign donors have been concerned with the development needs of Tanzania, many scholars felt that Tanzanians and, more specifically, Tanzanian intellectuals should be in charge of determining what these development priorities should be and how research should address them, rather than relying on foreign donors to dictate them. The evidence above also shows that academics want to be involved in formulating the larger ideological issues associated with development, rather than simply applying development theories imported from the West.

According to participants, significant increases in consultancies have played a major part in perpetuating this division of labor in which African intellectuals apply knowledge that has been formulated elsewhere. Again, during the era of financial crisis and continuing after structural adjustment, the university's resources decreased severely. In order to support themselves, scholars took up paying consultancies from external agencies. While providing experts for consultancy or service has always been part of the mission of the university, during this time period consultancies began to take over the research culture of the university, and they have continued to put a strain on research capacity today. As the 1998-1999 audit documented, "Research, particularly that conducted in the research institutes, has degenerated into consultancy services, with very little new knowledge being created in the process" (UDSM, 1999, p. 9). A development studies professor made this observation as well.

> During the early 1980s people applied for consultancies, but these were not intended to create new knowledge, and even from the government's point of view, they wanted to support action-oriented research rather than knowledge for its own sake. For teachers, the emphasis should be on the creation of knowledge. Even up to now, it is not. This is where I differ from many people at the university. You should create knowledge, and tomorrow it should be applied. Where there is a problem, it's a scientific something, and you should approach it that way and generate new knowledge. Social significance comes later. (personal communication, August 29, 2008)

Though this professor stated that his opinion on this matter differs from others at the university, according to my data it is actually quite consistent.

The factors affecting faculty members' experiences with research and scholarship are numerous and varied. Although all of them are not mentioned here, the above section has teased out the factors that Tanzanian academics pointed to as being most significant in their personal narratives. More specifically, national and global influences emerged as

pervasive in researchers' work lives. This assertion supports the finding that academics have experienced a tension between local and global forces when negotiating their approaches to research. This section has also hinted at the interplay between influences internal and external to the Tanzanian national context. The next section will examine more closely this interplay and explore how these factors have interacted and shifted over the course of three generations of scholars at UDSM.

Generational Shifts at UDSM

The historical narratives I laid out in chapters four and five of this dissertation show that the influences on Tanzanian intellectuals' research lives have not remained static. At times, national influences have been very strong while, at others, foreign donor involvement has dominated. The shifting balance between influences is central to the tension in Tanzanian academics' careers between a commitment to their local environment and the desire to connect with larger bodies of knowledge, gain prestige for themselves and their institutions, and have access to resources to do quality work. Because of the changing balance of influences in the university environment, scholars at UDSM have engaged with the two sides of this tension in different ways at different times in an effort to gain a balance in their own work lives. This section will address the second research question posed in this dissertation: How has the balance between local and global influences shifted over time as reflected in the research work lives of UDSM faculty members?

As noted several times throughout this dissertation, the University of Dar es Salaam has its roots in an inherited Western model of higher education, and during its first years, it strove to be a "neutral" regional academic institution. The staff was

composed of mostly expatriate scholars, and research followed the lines of international scholarly trends, albeit with some "nationalist" influences. During these initial years, external influences dominated; however, by 1967 and the issuing of the *Arusha Declaration,* national issues began to hold more sway over UCD's intellectual community. This was the era of UCD's influential *Conference on the Role of the University College Dar es Salaam in a Socialist Tanzania*, where the university sought to define its central role in contributing to national development. The state cultivated a close relationship with the university and government leaders were integrated into its administrative structures. The institution became a highly political, national university and was reshaped to fit a "developmental" model. Its main mission was to serve the needs of a socialist Tanzanian nation.

At the same time, UCD and later UDSM made a name for itself internationally. Even though national issues were front and center in the debates and discussions on campus, scholars were also able to engage with the global academy and influence thinking worldwide on development and socialism. Nyerere's experiment had attracted the attention of governments and intellectuals throughout the world, and they listened to scholars at UDSM who had something to contribute to global scholarly dialogues. "We had a very interesting group of radical scholars at that time who were quite effective, quite influential" (History professor, personal communication, June 27, 2008). The Dar es Salaam school of thought "continued to attract a lot of people, even outsiders, even people having papers which they really wanted to present for serious discussion – they brought to Dar es Salaam for serious discussion" (History professor, personal communication, April 17, 2008). Another historian noted that during his early years at

the university the commitment to socialist-oriented scholarship and revolutionary movements contributed significantly the university's international prestige.

> It made this place very inviting to revolutionaries around the world, and so they came...It was just appropriate, an academic setting like the university to be an avenue for some of those ideas to be generated... So, from mid-70s, the university becomes a major source of inspiration, or you know a major influential force as far as the ideological and political undercurrents in history teaching were concerned. (History Professor, personal communication, May 29, 2008)

This is the atmosphere in which scholars from UDSM's first generation established their careers and conducted their scholarly work.

Moreover, with some support from the university and international aid programs, many of the Tanzanian scholars from this generation were able to attend some of the best universities in North America and Europe for their graduate training, but they were also driven to return home by a moral obligation to their nation (Mkandawire, 1995). Most often, promising scholars were selected from undergraduate cohorts, and then, after fulfilling civil service obligations to the government, they received funds to pursue graduate studies abroad. For instance, after being selected as a tutorial assistant, one historian received Rockefeller Foundation sponsorship through UDSM's staff development program to complete his graduate studies in the UK with one of the preeminent scholars in his chosen field. A development studies professor spoke about being selected for a special scholarship to study at a prominent university in East Germany. In the late 1970s, a theater arts professor was sponsored by the British Council and UDSM to pursue her Ph.D. with a top university in the UK. What is more, these scholars were able to maintain strong connections to their mentors and colleagues abroad. The theater arts professor spoke about keeping in touch with her former advisor through

their mutual scholarly interests. The history professor spoke about the relationship with his British advisor continuing far beyond his graduate studies.

Built into to these staff development programs was a contractual obligation to return to Tanzania and the university, yet as noted in the previous section, most were compelled to comply not simply for contractual reasons, but because of their desire to participate in national development. A historian who completed his Ph.D. in Canada in the early 1970s through the staff development program stated that he "was quite determined to return" (personal communication, November 20, 2008). When discussing his decision to return to UDSM, a zoology associate professor who studied in the U.S. stated,

> It was the main central desire [to return]. I never expected to remain there in a foreign country. It was, it was, it's like it was not a decision, you know, it was something that was very strongly in me... I just feel attached to the country, to the situation here. (personal communication, October 28, 2008)

In short, the first generation of Tanzanian intellectuals interacted with and had a voice in the wider academy. They had earned themselves a level of prestige within this community. The tension between national relevance and global recognition was not as evident at this time because scholars were able to fulfill the dual role of contributing to national development and engaging with global scholarship in a meaningful way. They did not face the same kind of choice that later generations of Tanzanian intellectuals would encounter. According to their narratives, these scholars felt that they were able to simultaneously focus on development of their own nation and contribute to what Nyerere (1969) called "the development of mankind." The first generation of Tanzanian academics was influenced by both national and global factors, but in many ways they had the space, access, and support to navigate these factors and find their own balance.

Mkandwire (1995) defined the second generation of African scholars as being generally disenchanted with academic life at African universities. Tanzanian intellectuals of this era returned home from graduate studies abroad in the late 1970s and early 1980s to find a depressing economic situation and growing tensions between the state and the university community. Many of them did not stay long at the university, leaving for what participants called "greener pastures" in the private sector or at universities abroad. A zoology senior lecturer gave the example of colleagues that he had begun to train in the 1980s.

> I trained them and they left. They are employed by other agencies, either agencies, they didn't stay in the university as such, yes. Normally when somebody is bonded to the university, you find that the bond can sometimes be broken. I think that more than 60% of the cases or 70% of the cases, the bond has been broken. Somebody goes off where it's greener. He goes off where it's greener, or somebody just gets fed up with the academic life, and says, well, I don't want. I want a more peaceful life or more, a life which is less taxing. (personal communication, June 24, 2008)

A history professor made a similar observation,

> Of course, the Africans, the local professors, I don't know why, but again, there was quite a large [number] of them, quite a good number of them who left in the late '70s for, you know, universities all over the place. Some went to America, you know, others went to South Africa because South Africa then was slightly opening up, especially Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, and Kenya for sure, Uganda, certainly yes, and Nigeria, even Ghana I think... So you know quite a good number of people went away in the late '70s, both local and foreign. (personal communication, April 8, 2008)

Mkandawire argued that this constituted the first wave of the "brain drain" from the African academy (p. 77). The enthusiasm for and commitment to national development that had existed in the first generation seemed to have waned a bit in the subsequent generation. The guiding vision for the nation and the university had dissipated. The morale of the scholars who remained on campus was very low. "[W]e have gone through

difficult times... It has been very difficult working in Tanzania, doing research in Tanzania because we passed through an extremely difficult time" (History professor, personal communication, April 8, 2008). Because of the lack of funding and access to resources and, in some cases, intellectual isolation as described in the previous chapter, scholars during this time had difficulty fulfilling their roles, both in shaping the nation and in producing research that would gain voice in the international scholarly communities.

These years were a difficult transition period for the academic staff at UDSM. Due to the budget constraints that the financial crisis and structural adjustment brought about, the university instituted a staff recruitment freeze in the 1990s that lasted most of the decade. The freeze, combined with the propensity of academics of the second generation to leave the University, led to a significant age gap at the institution which is quite evident today.

> Not only our department, the whole university was feeling this gap of recruitment for new staff. It became almost static by the late '80s and '90s and this is why now you are seeing that we have all these older academicians and very young academicians and the middle there because there was this gap of recruitment. And so, I think it started around that time where you know people were not coming into the university... as they needed. (Theatre arts professor, personal communication, June 21, 2008)

The third generation of scholars began to arrive as staff on campus toward the end of the 1990s, and they are now lecturers and senior lecturers. However, the university now has what former Vice-Chancellor Luhanga (2009) called "a very bad age profile" (p. 73). This means that currently the majority of UDSM staff is more than 50 years old and quickly approaching the mandatory retirement age of 60. This also means that the gap between junior and senior faculty members' experiences is all the more stark.

In analyzing the data from a generational perspective it became apparent that, due to their differences in experiences, scholars from different generations view the ideal balance between national service and international interactions in different ways. According to Mkandawire (1995), the third generation of African academics is increasingly produced locally or regionally in Africa. However, due to the hardships faced by African universities in '80s and '90s, they received their training under difficult circumstances in "an atmosphere inconducive to academic activities" (Luhanga, 2009, p. 7). It has been especially difficult for those in the sciences to pursue graduate studies locally. Oftentimes, junior scholars are able to complete their master's degrees locally, but equipment is unavailable for the intensive research required for a Ph.D. These students must then wait for a local project to open up with doctoral research opportunities or wait to be funded to go abroad. A zoology lecturer explained the difficulties she has faced in trying to pursue her Ph.D.

> I've been really planning a long time, but actually there are no funds up to now, yeah, there are no funds. As an institute, Dar es Salaam, there are no really funds, but one has to apply to other universities. I've been trying to some UK universities, but again there's a lot of competition in getting funds, and this is my third year, oh, second year, sorry, I'm getting a regret letter and that's very common, that there's no funds.... The problem with some of the projects, we don't have facilities. If I get the project, if I do my project here, that means I will look for labs elsewhere to do my lab work. (personal communication, April 25, 2008).

Even those in other fields have found access to graduate education quite difficult. While it is possible and even encouraged for them to complete their degrees at the University of Dar es Salaam or another similar institution in the region, many still desire to pursue their studies abroad in order to gain "exposure" as one IDS assistant lecturer put it.

> At this moment, we have a loan board, where if you apply in this university to have your Ph.D. the loan board can give you a loan to have your Ph.D., and the

> University has to pay. But because we want to go outside the country so as... we can get new ideas, new vision, and to meet different people... because you know if you have your first degree in your country, second degree in your country, third degree in your country, you are not well exposed. So, for exposure, at least you go outside your country. So, that's why we are asking for funds from different universities and from different organizations. (personal communication, September 28, 2008)

She went on to explain that studying for her Ph.D. outside the country would not only broaden her perspective on her chosen research topic, but would also lead to connections with scholars in her field outside of Tanzania. The lack of direct exposure to scholarly communities outside of Tanzania – and the fact that the government no longer funds research as they had in the previous era – has had a disproportional effect on junior scholars. In this environment, academics have had to fend for themselves in securing funds for their work. Junior scholars who have had significantly less exposure to international academic circles than their predecessors expressed that they found themselves at a disadvantage when seeking these funds, but they felt that they had no choice but to adapt to this new dynamic.

Furthermore, these junior scholars had not experienced the golden era of the University. While Nyerere's legacy remained at UDSM to a certain extent and younger scholars claimed a commitment to Tanzania's development, their identification with Nyerere's philosophy has not been nearly as strong as intellectuals from the older generation, perhaps because they did not experience it firsthand. In many interviews with younger scholars, they did not mention Nyerere by name, but only alluded to ideas of self-reliance and the importance of locally relevant research. While many of the older generation still claim to be influenced by socialist ideology, socialism and class analysis,

it did not seem to be major themes in the work and research agendas of the younger generation.

Some senior scholars expressed concern over what they perceived to be a waning commitment to national development amongst their junior colleagues. As one zoologist argued, the loss of Nyerere's vision has had a detrimental impact at the university.

> He [Nyerere] had all of these things, and once he left it appears now that we are hanging around. The education system, nobody really knows what it will serve... I think we have problems. (personal communication, October 29, 2008)

Another zoologist observed,

> The spirit of national, nation building has been dissipated. Now everybody wants to take care of himself as much as possible... and the reason for this is that the global economy is affecting us... We seem to be interested in building up our curriculum vitae. That's a way of marketing yourself. (personal communication, April 29, 2008)

Like the professor quoted above, several senior scholars claimed that, as a consequence of over-reliance on external sources of funding and overall economic constraints at the university, younger faculty members have been more worried about their personal careers than local or national needs or authentic knowledge production.

> [In the early years], you had people who were really committed to doing research for their own advancement, yes, but also for the advancement of knowledge, their country, but since I think there's been a lot of misorientation. There's much more interest in material than in knowledge and in what I'm going to leave behind, whether I'm leaving behind in the department some talents to run the department so that when I look back, I'll say I did something that's... I think that's changing, but maybe it's because I'm looking through my self, my own selfish eyes. You'll have to talk to these young people. They'll tell you. (Zoology associate professor, personal communication, October 28, 2008)

According to participants, research had become more individualized, and, as noted in chapter five, the coherent vision that existed in the university's early era was no longer intact. Two historians commented on this change.

> We used to have a departmental research agenda. I'm saying that that system has collapsed. It doesn't work anymore. Now it's like everybody to himself... So everybody goes his own way now... Funding would be part of it...The money doesn't come to the department as such nowadays. It goes to individuals. It goes to individuals, even if they emphasize on collaboration, but nowadays it's individuals that are secure funding... Research is much more individualistic now. People get funding from abroad. (History professor, personal communication, April 8, 2008)

> When we came in in the '80s, no common research theme going on, and each one for himself. And you go hunting and gathering and collecting whatever you get out there. (History senior lecturer, personal communication, May 5, 2008)

According to these participants, due to the nature and structure of external funding sources and the scramble for scholars to take advantage of a small pool of resources, many academics, especially junior faculty members, are now pursuing individual projects rather than contributing to a coherent and coordinated research agenda. Another senior history professor described his frustration with trying to put together collaborative, department-wide research projects similar to the initiatives that the department had pursued during its early years. He claimed that these efforts had been largely unsuccessful because the junior staff were distracted with other roles or projects and were unable to participate fully or take a leadership role.

Furthermore, the economic conditions at the university, joined with the loss of prestige of UDSM after the socialist period, junior scholars' lack of international exposure, and their sense of not being part of a coherent national or institutional mission all mean that many of the younger generation fear being relegated to the further reaches of the periphery within the global academic community. Mkandawire (1995) argued that the third generation have not "acquired a sure footing in the international research world", and that they are "much less 'marketable' internationally than their predecessors" (p. 79). It was clear in several interviews that these scholars are frustrated with the

current situation at UDSM and wish to live up to the legacy of scholarly inquiry and international debate that once existed on campus.

> Such things [academic debate] are on the decline currently at the university. You don't... even though there is a lot to be discussed nowadays given globalization and discourses that come with it, challenges of globalization, new forms of imperialism, new forms of international relations, um, multiparty-ism, new democracies, and events that are happening in Africa. So many things to discuss! ...I would think, during the, if it was early '80s and late '70s, the discourse would be very different here... Maybe it's poverty, no resources... Today we have a lot of technology which was not there in the past. People are more informed, so the discussion may be very different, but it's not different, they [the discussions] are not there. (Development studies lecturer, personal communication, August 2008)

While scholars from the third generation must increasingly turn outward for financial support for their research, their voice in the wider academic community has diminished significantly. They have expressed a commitment to national development, but can no longer rely on the coherent vision of progressive scholarship that once existed at the university. National ideological issues have become less of an influence in these scholars' work lives than they had been in previous eras, and the influence of foreign donors is strong. Tanzanian academics of the younger generation have been concerned about falling behind both in terms of their relevance to the national development project and of their prestige in the international academic community. They continue to struggle, however, against the isolation and marginalization imposed on them by their circumstances and still strive to have their arguments, ideas, and contributions to knowledge heard on a wider scale.

Valued Knowledge

This section will address the third research question in this dissertation: What types of knowledge have been valued by the various stakeholders at UDSM? The discussion in this section will focus on how Tanzanian intellectuals have perceived the

ways that various entities outside of the university have valued knowledge, as well as how these academics themselves have determined what types of research to prioritize in their own work. It will not provide an extensive analysis of calls for research from donors, nor an objective account of global research trends, because the goal of the study is to understand faculty members' experiences with research. How intellectuals have viewed trends in what is valued is key to understanding how they made decisions regarding research and how they have experienced the central tension of national commitment and participation in global academia.

In the early years of the university, the state played a major role in defining the mission of the institution. This includes participating and influencing research goals and priorities. National issues were central to debates over research policy during this time. As Luanda (2008) pointed out, "The Academic Board, University College, Dar es Salaam vigorously grappled with...the formulation of a research policy relevant to the local conditions of the emerging nation" (p. 134). Nyerere argued for a university relevant to Tanzanian society. He asserted, "This means that university studies, and the university itself, are only justified in Africa if they—and it—are geared towards the needs of society" (Nyerere, 1973, p. 28). The conference held at UDSM after the *Arusha Declaration* reasserted UCD's commitment to the national project and the influence of national policies on determining research priorities. At this conference TANU, the government, and the university staff put forth that research needed to be relevant to local conditions and to building a socialist Tanzania. The intellectuals who were at the university during this time agreed with what the state valued and took up the challenge of doing work that was both theory-driven but also had application to local contexts.

Later, perceptions of what the state – or more specifically, Nyerere – valued changed. While some remained loyal to what they thought was Nyerere's vision, others spoke about a growing disconcertion with what seemed to be intolerance by the state of dissenting opinions. This sentiment is especially clear after the 1977 incident in which five Tanzanian academics were arbitrarily "retired in the public interest" (Mkude et al., 2003, p. 5). This undemocratic dismissal of staff caused some academics to fear that if they published work that was too ideological in nature or that went against state philosophy (i.e., African socialism), they would be transferred away from the university and their academic careers would be over. As one historian argued, this led to self-censorship on the part of some intellectuals at UDSM.

> So, I think people have been timid because they thought other people would be molested by having a strong socialist opinion, and especially if they thought that their socialist opinion would differ from that of Nyerere. (personal communication, April 17, 2008)

In this case, the perception of what Nyerere and the state valued was significant in that it affected the work produced at the university. Some scholars were fearful of publishing work that disagreed with what the regime valued, namely research that supported the philosophy of African socialism.

After structural adjustment the Tanzanian government's role in research at UDSM began to decrease. Then with multi-partyism in 1992, the ruling party became even more distanced from university administration. At this point, what foreign donors valued in terms of research became more important to scholars. Chapter five demonstrated that with the shift in global politics (and subsequently academia) away from valuing socialist analyses impacted scholars at the university. Many Tanzanian intellectuals commented

that neo-liberal scholarship had now become dominant in global academic circles, especially in the social sciences.

Additionally, as demonstrated in the previous section, Tanzanian scholars, such as Issa Shivji, have written about the influence of donors in setting up an international distribution of academic labor in which money is awarded to African scholars to apply knowledge produced in the West, rather than supporting their own production of knowledge. The evidence from the previous section shows that other scholars at UDSM shared the same concerns as Shivji. A development studies professor argued,

> Whoever comes along with money and looking for partners will pick you and you end up with that division of labor... [It] is a hierarchical knowledge production process whereas the north determines what types of knowledge you produce, how that knowledge will be packaged and how that knowledge should be distributed. (personal communication, July 18, 2008)

Intellectuals believe that the donor community has focused specifically on development-oriented research and that other areas have been neglected. A historian told me that he was planning on publishing an article in a local newspaper to advocate for the increase of government funding for research because he felt that the types of research valued by donors (applied research, development-oriented research) did not reflect the full range of priorities of scholars at UDSM. He contended that government funds would provide academics more freedom to determine for themselves the value of different types of research. Basic scientific research, he argued, had suffered the most as a consequence of reliance on donor funding. Academic staff in the Department of Zoology confirmed this contention. They said that focusing on basic science was difficult because, as one professor put it, there was "no space, no equipment, no money" (personal

communication, October 29, 2008). According to these scholars, foreign donors have not valued this type of research.

In analyzing the types of research that Tanzanian academics themselves have valued, two themes emerged. One is research that was directly applicable to national development, and the other was research contributing to general knowledge production. When discussing what they view as the purpose of research, many offered this dual goal for research production.

> What is the purpose of research for me, specifically? Well, the purpose is to generate new knowledge, and not only new knowledge, but for really [to] address the way people view their lives here, and the limitations which accompany that kind of life for the purpose of actually making it better. (Zoology senior lecturer, personal communication, September 1, 2008)

> I think the purpose of research, it can't be one cause when you are dealing with research for us here, for example, there is some academic achievement, but also that has to solve a certain problem, a scientific problem, that some research has to help the people and the society. (Zoology professor, personal communication, October 29, 2008)

> Definitely the search for knowledge...the search for knowledge in a very sort of critical way, and that's the role of the university and we embrace it...and for the purposes of feeding into the developmental areas of the country. (History professor, personal communication, April 8, 2008)

> The purpose of research, I told you, one is promoting science... the other component is even the science is to benefit the community, so we are forgetting this, the use of the community. As a result we find that our scholars here, we are here as thinkers, but we don't contribute much to our society. (History professor, personal communication, September 11, 2008)

The fact that scholars have assigned this dual value to research, again hints at the central tension in their work lives—between generating new knowledge that is valued within international academia and producing research that benefits Tanzanian society. Of course, these two aspects of research production are not mutually exclusive, and

searching for a way that these can overlap has been key to how researchers have approached their work.

Conclusion

Two major dynamics have been at play in Tanzanian scholars' representations of their research work lives in their personal narratives. First, these academics have conveyed a dedication to serving their nation and participating in creating solutions for national problems. Second, scholars have been influenced by (and at times have influenced) wider global processes and international academia. These two factors have played different roles at different times, and academics often portrayed them as being in tension with one another. In the beginning, national issues and priorities took center stage. Later in the universities history, national priorities were superseded by the influence of foreign institutions. Throughout the course of the university's history, scholars have been working to balance the two sides of this tension. This balance has become increasingly difficult as control over research production has moved further from the hands of the scholars who do the on-the-ground work. Academics at UDSM continue to feel a moral obligation to national development, but due to their loss in status in the international community and the takeover of research funding by international agencies, their role in the decision-making process has diminished. With the ITP, the university is attempting to create a strategic plan for re-building the institution; however, frustration still remains among the academic staff. As the balance between national and global continues to shift, scholars persevere in their efforts to successfully negotiate between local and global demands.

Chapter Seven:

Conclusion

> Of course, [research has] gone on, and quite a lot of people were surprised that the University of Dar es Salaam has survived and continued to function in spite of the crisis. I think that should go maybe to the kind of commitment of some of the people at the university have to ensure that this institution continues. (Theatre arts professor, personal communication, June 21, 2008)

Overview of Major Findings

This dissertation started with a question that arose from observations I made during my pre-dissertation work at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania: What happens when a distinctly national university formed within a clearly articulated post-colonial socialist vision intersects with liberal market reforms? It appeared to me that the university had maintained, to some extent, its identity as a Tanzanian university with core elements that were unique to its national context and history. At the same time, the institution seemed to be facing a changing national *and* global environment, which had led to a growing presence of international donors and a conscious movement away from the post-independence socialist era that had been such a central part of its foundation. The global economy's influence had created a new tension at the university between the desire to maintain a distinctly national character and the perceived need to look increasingly outward.

Tanzanian intellectuals have been at the center of this tension between national identity and global influence. They have expressed a moral obligation to serve their national society, and they have taken pride in their contributions to the national project. They have also been in a position to interact with institutions and individuals beyond

Tanzania, and their identity as intellectuals makes them members of a wider academic community. These intellectuals have a dual loyalty to the academy and to their own local contexts. These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, however, and at different points in the history of UDSM, it has been easier to serve these roles than at others. Tanzanian scholars' ability to balance between the national and the global has shifted with the evolution of national and global political, economic and social conditions.

Research, as a key site of interaction between the global and the local, is where this tension in Tanzanian scholars' work lives has been the starkest. Researchers participate in a global community of scholarship. When one performs research it is not an individual endeavor. The research must engage with the literature that her predecessors have produced and understand how her contemporaries are approaching a given theme or question. Moreover, the audience for research outputs can be local, global, or both, and the goal of research can be to produce knowledge about a particular location, to contribute to global theories, or both. In the case of Tanzanian scholars, while they valued research that contributed to national development, they also recognized the importance of engaging with global knowledge systems. It has been their responsibility to bridge these two worlds in their work lives, but this negotiation has often involved reconciling competing demands.

During its early era (1961-1979), the university saw the rise of nationalist scholarship, which in turn led to progressive scholarship and the influence of Nyerere's African socialism. The university took a different path from its neighbors and adapted its structure to a "developmental model." The role of the government and its political

philosophies on campus increased significantly during this time and Tanzania attracted a lot of attention worldwide for its unique approach to post-colonial development. This was the time of the Dar es Salaam School of Thought, and scholars from all over the world traveled to the Dar es Salaam to interact with UDSM's intellectuals. The first generation of Tanzanian scholars took their ranks among their colleagues. They described this as the university's golden age. In terms of the tension defined throughout this dissertation, intellectuals at UDSM in this era, especially during the late 1960s and early 1970s, were in a position to simultaneously focus on national development and contribute useful knowledge to global debates on development and socialism.

This golden era faded in the late 1970s. A rift was growing between the state and the academic staff. Collapse of Tanzania's financial system led to the university's deterioration. Scholars were no longer able to access materials to carry out quality research and, as a consequence, research output declined sharply. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, socialism fell in most of the world, and the types of analysis associated with leftist scholarship fell out of mode in global academia. Tanzanian scholars were marginalized and isolated in many cases and the university's adherence to a coherent approach dissipated. Moreover, government funding to the institution was slashed, leaving scholars to rely on external donors and consultancies to support their research. This changing environment led to a shift in the balance of influences on scholarship at UDSM. The concern over undue dependence on foreign donors was prominent in many narratives as well as in university reports. A moral concern for Tanzanian national development remained and was evident in the narratives of scholars across disciplines, yet their sense of control over research production had moved further from the reach of

those who were actually in the field conducting the research. The university's loss of status in the international community further compounded their sense of a decreased role in the decision-making process.

Yet, as the quote at the beginning of this conclusion reveals, Tanzanian scholars have persisted in their pursuit to strike a balance between national commitment and a connection to wider academic discussions. The ITP has begun to institutionalize a proactive approach to securing research funds. While the outcomes of this new policy initiative remain to be seen, it has attracted the attention of foreign donors like SIDA who are willing to give the university more control in setting their own research agenda. It has also given the academic community an opportunity to self-consciously redefine itself and assert a more cohesive identity.

Implications and Future Research

Findings from this research have implications for several stakeholders in the research process at the University of Dar es Salaam and beyond. These findings relate to the future direction of the University of Dar es Salaam's approach to research, Tanzanian academics' attitudes about their on-going research endeavors, and foreign donors relationship with administrators and scholars at UDSM. First, when speaking with scholars, several indicated the need for a more coherent approach to research, especially on the departmental level. Members of the history department, which has had a strong background in coordinated research, were especially committed to the idea of revisiting the time when the department designed large-scale studies and expressed a desire to re-implement this type of research structure. They argued that becoming more coordinated

in their research approach would force them to be more self-reflexive as a department and take on a more proactive approach to setting a research agenda.

Furthermore, a goal of this research is to add this national narrative into a larger global narrative concerning higher education development and academics' experiences. As David Court (1975) argued, there has been a "tendency to underestimate the importance of the particular socio-political context in which single universities in most the third world countries are deeply rooted" (p. 193). It is important to add the voices of these scholars who are embedded within a particular national history to the wider meta-narrative of academia. Understanding what experiences they share with other academics, as well as how their particular context has shaped their work lives can lead to ways of recognizing the contributions these scholars have made to Tanzania's national project and increasing opportunities genuine intellectual exchange between African intellectuals at African universities like UDSM and the wider global academic community.

Finally, this study's findings have implications for donors who support research at universities in the developing world. Birgit Brock-Utne (2000) posed the question, "How much has the support [of foreign donors] been given as a help to self-help, as a possibility for Africans to do research on their own culture, and how much has it been another 'transfer of knowledge' project?" (p. 224). The donor-recipient relationship is inherently disempowering for the recipient. Donors must be willing to self-consciously reform their structures for giving and recipients must be able to assert some control over funding distribution in order to begin to redress this imbalance of power. SIDA/SAREC is a good example of a move in this direction. Additionally, over-reliance on donor-driven research funds carries with it issues of sustainability. Once funding is gone, how can

universities like UDSM sustain research production if they have not had the funds to build capacity? There is a need not only to support research per se, but also to build up research structures at the university so that knowledge production becomes a sustainable endeavor. Several scholars at UDSM argued that this should be done through increased government spending, while others contended that the university's advocating for capacity-building funds through the ITP program could address this problem. Either way, this is an area that needs more investigation.

The limitations and the results of this study indicate directions for further inquiry. While the research examined Tanzanian intellectuals' relationships to the nation and the wider academic community, there are without a doubt other relationships and dynamics at play in their work. This study is a starting point for fleshing out and making sense of the complications in global/local interactions. How have processes such as regionalization and globalization shaped knowledge production in Tanzania and the developing world? How do negotiations for control over research production develop and what are the implications for the distribution of decision-making and authority over the research process? Bringing this research into communication with literature on globalization and higher education could aid in addressing these questions and make sense of the complexities that face these intellectuals in their careers and relationships.

Academic freedom is another issue that emerged from the study, but was not center stage in the research analysis. Engaging with and interrogating the government-university relationship and its impact on scholars' ideas of academic freedom could lead to a better understanding of the implications for the state's role in higher education in the future, especially in countries with a history of strong government involvement. This is

especially pertinent with regard to emerging literature on the changing role of the nation and, by extension, national governments in a new globalized world order.

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