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STUDENTS OWN GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN DEMOCRATIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES: CASE STUDIES OF UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM AND MZUMBE UNIVERSITY

Prof. Faustin R. Kamuzora & Prof. Yunus Mgaya

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**STUDENTS OWN GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN
DEMOCRATIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES: CASE STUDIES OF UNIVERSITY OF
DAR ES SALAAM AND MZUMBE UNIVERSITY¹**

By

Prof. Faustin Kamuzora, Mzumbe University

And

Prof. Yunus D. Mgaya, University of Dar es Salaam

Abstract

While there are several other stakeholders in a university system, students are considered to be one of the key stakeholders. Therefore, to attain university good governance, the students' own governance through quality leadership must be of high standards. However, despite its critical importance, the students' leadership in African universities has not been analyzed enough by many scholars. The paper discusses the students' own governance using two cases studies. One of the case studies is on students' government democratization processes at the University of Dar es Salaam and the other is on a need of embedding students' leadership development programmes at the Mzumbe University.

The paper demonstrates that depending on the leadership qualities, usually of the students' president, performance rates of these one-year terms differ substantially. Whereas some of the presidents achieve a lot, some spend most of their time defending themselves lest they are toppled by their rivals and some succumb to populist tendencies which at times may cause a number of crises such as the forced closure of universities.

The paper is concluded by pointing out that if African universities have to attain their missions, which include fostering socioeconomic development of the citizens, developing leadership skills and competence of the students such as emotional intelligence, self-efficacy, self-confidence, and extroversion must be one of their key agendas. This is because most of the students' leaders end up becoming society leaders apart from ensuring the smooth running of the universities.

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Introduction

The paper attempts to show how democracy in Universities is practiced by Students' Governments using the University of Dar es Salaam and the importance of students' leadership development using Mzumbe University as case studies. Universities in Tanzania have had an opportunity to be issued with The Universities (Student Organizations) Regulations (Government Notice No. 178, 2009) and the Guidelines for Drafting of Student Organization Constitutions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania (MoEVT, April, 2010). Both documents are guidelines for democratizing students' governance systems in the running of students' affairs in the Universities. Public and Private Universities have admitted Tanzanian students as the majority of the students community, and a few others as non-Tanzanians or international students. A diversified student body with an international composition of students is found in our universities. It is assumed that the composition of students is true in both public and private universities. Students' community has to elect their students leaders in a democratic manner, thus the need for these two documents in the democratization of students' governance.

In order for the elected students' leaders to be effective the paper discusses a need of taking deliberate efforts to develop them on various aspects of leadership. This is because as demonstrated by a number of theories which are briefly discussed in the paper, one of the success factors of students' leadership is the self-efficacy or previous leadership experience a leader has accumulated over time. This means in other words that good leaders are made not necessarily born. Therefore, there is a need of the universities without proper students' development leadership programmes to design and run such programmes.

Importance of Students' Leadership programmes

According to Freeman and Goldin (2008) a number of universities have formal institutional leadership programmes which aim to reach as many students as possible through their various institutes and unstructured leadership programmes often follow the philosophy of Maxwell (1995) which is that leadership can be learned through motivation and training, and only a few leadership skills are innate. Lack of critical effective leadership globally can often be attributed to the lack of leaders who make decisions with integrity, ethical standards, an understanding of the interests of all people, and a focus on the present and future. These concepts identify an important goal of leadership programmes: to develop leaders who can be managers so that managers who cannot lead are reduced and the public and private benefits are maximized for society and the individual.

Formal and informal leadership development experiences help individual students place value in and exhibit heightened personal characteristics. Among the key leadership attributes which students or other people usually look for, admire, and would willingly follow are honesty, forward-looking, competence, inspirational, intelligence, fair-minded, broad-minded, supportive, straightforward, dependable, cooperative, determined, imaginative, ambitious, courageous, caring, mature, loyal, self-controlled, and independent (Kouzes & Posner, 2002 in Freeman and Goldin (2008). Kouzes and Posner developed five steps identified as key to successful leadership: 1) model the behaviors sought for others to adopt, words are not enough; 2) motivate and inspire others to develop a vision they feel is their own; 3) show innovation and excitement through

handling adversity through the process; 4) encourage and enable others to act and put their ideas into motion on a regular basis; and 5) develop passion and enthusiasm of others through displaying personal passion. Developing these important leadership characteristics and understanding the five steps improve the likelihood of success as a leader.

Equally, Mozghan et al. (2007) have identified other important characteristics of successful student leaders. In their qualitative study they identified several factors affecting student leadership competencies development such as 1) individual factors including emotional intelligence, self-efficacy, self-confidence, and extroversion, 2) student experiences and involvement including academic involvement, student-faculty relationship, peer relationship, leadership position in class and in student organization, and 3) college environment.

In a study by Lloyd (2006) to predict characteristics associated with student leadership effectiveness, peer influence, role model influence, extroversion, self-confidence, and self-efficacy were found to be strong predictors indicating these characteristics and influences describe student leaders. The study revealed also that self-efficacy or previous leadership experience is the best predictor for university student leadership. Among male students, the next strongest predictors for leadership included role model influence and extraversion. For females, the next strongest predictors were self-confidence and extroversion. Therefore, allowing students to take on leadership roles is important in developing university student leaders. Implications also show the importance for providing leadership opportunities in high schools. Previous leadership experiences provide students with a level of self-confidence and an indication of their success as student leaders. The study recommends that it is vital for student affairs administrators to mentor and guide students while in a leadership role so as to make them successful. Also, it is a good practice is to rotate leadership responsibilities rather than having a few positional leaders so that many students get an opportunity to serve in a leadership capacity.

Situation in Tanzania

As in many other African countries, in a period of 50 years since political independence and provision of university education, there have been a mix of fortunes in terms of tranquility and crises in management and governance of the universities in Tanzania. The universities have provided space to develop leadership skills of various students. It is not surprising therefore that majority of political and business leaders in the society have had opportunities to hone their leadership skills at various stages of their studies in universities or other higher learning institutions. Quality of the leadership of individuals, particularly, the president² or chairman of the respective students' organization is essential in maintaining tranquility or fostering crises at the university. In Tanzania, a number of students' crises increased rapidly in 1990s compared to preceding decades. In order to synthesise critically the crises, the Government of Tanzania in 2004 commissioned a special study on the problem. The study unveiled several reasons which

² From the 1960s to early late 1980s the over leader was known as chairman of the students' organization but the title changed to president from 1990s. The change of the title to president went hand in hand with patterning the leadership positions with that of a political government whereby the president appointed ministers, deputy ministers, prime minister and permanent secretaries to run various cabinet ministries. On the other hand, a speaker was voted in to run the students' parliament. The system was highly politicized and an attempt to revert to an earlier system was gazetted through the Government Notice by Ministry of Education in 2010 but the students vehemently opposed to the government position to the extent that the government decided to rescind the Notice.

contributed to the crises (Sinare, 2004). One of these reasons was weak and unsustainable student leadership. This entailed the following:

- Inadequate student leadership participation in forums of policy decision-making at national level,
- Absence of the culture of smoothly handing over leadership to the next batch of student leaders,
- Ineffective or poor communication ability with fellow students,
- Inadequate knowledge of the higher education institutions (HEIs) and the Education sector,
- Inadequate leadership skills,
- Unsustainable student leadership in the long-term.

Whereas other problems that were identified in the above reports were common to almost all universities in the country over a period, to a larger extent episodes of the crises were fueled by poor students' leadership. For example, in an institution, depending on quality of students' leadership in a given year, the crises would either be experienced or solved amicably. In Tanzania, as is the case in a majority of other African countries, the students' crises would result into strikes which normally end in closure of the university. Because of its complexity, in order to be able to analyse such phenomena, namely students' leadership and students' crises in universities one needs to briefly revisit some of the theories on leadership which can shed light on how to develop effective students' leadership.

Leadership theories

While from time immemorial effective leadership has been valued by societies, thorough studies and theorization on leadership increased during the early part of the twentieth century. Early leadership theories focused on what qualities distinguished between leaders and followers, while subsequent theories looked at other variables such as situational factors and skill levels. According to Gifford (2010), Sims (2010), Uday Kumar Haldar (2010), and Kendra Cherry (2011) while many different leadership theories have emerged, most can be classified as one of eight major types:

i. "Great Man" Theories:

These theories assume that the capacity for leadership is inherent – that great leaders are born, not made. These theories often portray great leaders as heroic, mythic and destined to rise to leadership when needed. The term "Great Man" was used because, at the time, leadership was thought of primarily as a male quality, especially in terms of military leadership.

ii. Trait Theories:

Similar in some ways to "Great Man" theories, trait theories assume that people inherit certain qualities and traits that make them better suited to leadership. Trait theories often identify particular personality or behavioral characteristics shared by leaders. If particular traits are key features of leadership, then how do we explain people who possess those qualities but are not leaders? This question is one of the difficulties in using trait theories to explain leadership.

iii. Contingency Theories:

Contingency theories of leadership focus on particular variables related to the environment that might determine which particular style of leadership is best suited for the situation. According to this theory, no leadership style is best in all situations. Success depends upon a number of variables, including the leadership style, qualities of the followers and aspects of the situation.

iv. Situational Theories:

Situational theories propose that leaders choose the best course of action based upon situational variables. Different styles of leadership may be more appropriate for certain types of decision-making.

v. Behavioral Theories:

Behavioral theories of leadership are based upon the belief that great leaders are made, not born. Rooted in behaviorism, this leadership theory focuses on the actions of leaders not on mental qualities or internal states. According to this theory, people can *learn* to become leaders through teaching and observation.

vi. Participative Theories:

Participative leadership theories suggest that the ideal leadership style is one that takes the input of others into account. These leaders encourage participation and contributions from group members and help group members feel more relevant and committed to the decision-making process. In participative theories, however, the leader retains the right to allow the input of others.

vii. Management Theories:

Management theories, also known as transactional theories, focus on the role of supervision, organization and group performance. These theories base leadership on a system of rewards and punishments. Managerial theories are often used in business; when employees are successful, they are rewarded; when they fail, they are reprimanded or punished.

viii. Relationship Theories:

Relationship theories, also known as transformational theories, focus upon the connections formed between leaders and followers. Transformational leaders motivate and inspire people by helping group members see the importance and higher good of the task. These leaders are focused on the performance of group members, but also want each person to fulfill his or her potential. Leaders with this style often have high ethical and moral standards.

In this paper, therefore, effective leadership is defined as the ability to influence others in various directions, namely, downwards for followers to willingly follow the leaders in this context fellow students, upwards for students leaders to the dean of students, deputy vice chancellors, vice chancellor, Council etc, and this can be done with a presentation of hard evidence if it is convincing enough as well being respectful and understanding on the part of student leaders. Another direction of influence is sideways where colleagues influence each other by showing a better way, which can be done either by example of by overtly promoting a new direction.

Democratization of Universities: UDSM Case Study

The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) introduced the Universities (Student Organizations) Regulations, 2009 that set forth procedures to be adhered by Students' governments, in exercising their democratic procedure in putting in place students' governments. These Regulations are provided in the Government Notice No. 178, published on 12/06/2009 and was amended in the year 2011.

What is students' own governance?

This is the manner in which students govern their activities, functions and exercise their political affairs. Students have a system in which they manage their political functions and goals (Przeworski, 2010). They exercise their political will and interests within their system of managing their affairs.

When students want to elect their government, they have to compete among themselves on equal basis for both female and male students. They have to make election manifestos and explicitly proclaim their objectives in contesting for leadership positions, which then becomes the motive for competition. These election manifestos become an unfinished business where those making these promises are elected into the governance of student affairs.

Manifestation of Democracy

In most instances, the election manifesto promises are made as the centre of the perceived problems that the students community is facing at a particular point in time. These problems would usually start from group problems, like non-qualified recipients of Higher Education Students Loans for whatever reasons as indicated by the Government's priorities, pass marks from prospective loan applicants, parents and guardians economic status of individual students in certain programmes and students whose course of study was not in the first place recommended for practical field study. Certain influential groups of students have their interests manifested and fought for, while contesting for leadership positions. Students contest for the leadership positions within the students' government with numerous motives. Some students would proclaim to win popularity, while others want to lead their fellow students and keep in their heart motives compelling them to contest, like future career goals and accessing student union public coffers.

Some student's leaders who held leadership positions in the past students' government at the University of Dar es Salaam are currently holding high positions in various political parties including Tanzania's ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) and the Civil United Front (CUF). There is also a significant number of former student leaders who are occupying high political and administrative positions in the government. Their political or administrative careers began by contesting and practicing democratic systems when they were student leaders at universities.

In the course of getting elected to any position in the Students' Government, one has to observe some of the basic principles of democracy. Democracy, as practiced should be understood by each of the participating community members. Individual students should be ready to be responsible, accountable and meet their own costs of positioning a student's government. Students in their government should be ready to plan and implement their government plans without looking for any outside organ or body to provide funding in running their activities.

Accountability

Expenses are incurred while screening the contestants. Electoral Committees should see the need to volunteer in the screening of the contestants. Those who want to contest for leadership positions, ought to do so in order to serve their colleagues at the positions they are contesting. They do come forward, either on their individual initiative or by pressure groups asking them and persuading to volunteer leading other students. Students' leaders of this kind should be encouraged to continue along such paths of leadership, for they learn from early stages to serve others at their own initiatives. These students' leaders become patriotic and caring for the majority they lead and are followed.

The Electoral Committee should sit and plan on how they will perform the activities of screening the contestants and come up with a modest budget that they have to show how they will raise the funds from among students themselves and expend such funds in accordance to the Student Union Financial Regulations.

Students' leaders should raise the funds and put checks and balances on how they should be expended. The office of the Dean of Students takes up the role of overseeing that funds are raised and spent according to the UDSM Financial Regulations. Room for extravagance should be minimized if not sealed. The accountability should rest with the students' governance. Legal procedures should be instituted against culprits who mismanage Student Union funds through their student government.

Democracy is promoted where students promote equality; there is effective students' participation, control of students' government by students themselves, and liberty (Przeworski, (2010). Where democracy prevails, there is a popular student government, wherein the supreme power is vested in the hands of students. A popular student government is demonstrated by students support in their actions and functions, decisions are reached through representative mechanisms and are legally binding. Such a student government is credible and the students' leaders act or perform their duties at the bequest of and on behalf of the students.

Characteristics of a credible student's government are shown when the representatives and student leaders are acting or functioning on behalf of student's majority. Student leaders of this character cannot easily be thrown out of leadership by the students' community; instead they are supported and liked, and are usually very popular amongst their fellow students.

There are competitive elections, where several individuals decide to contest for leadership positions, like Chairperson or Vice Chairperson, President or Vice President, etc. The title does not matter much, but the process through which incumbents face a chance of being voted out of office if students so decide according to reasonably fair rules and procedures. This is one of the credible tests of a genuine students democratic government.

Competitive elections are the only credible mechanisms of making students believe that their student leaders govern them at their bequest and on their behalf. Elections authenticate the claim that students governments are run with active consent because they repeatedly test this claim by

voting. At the University of Dar es Salaam, students' government holds office for one year. If a students' government that does not enjoy such consent it can be impeached.

Elections are competitive and credible when the basic democratic principles are observed including freeness and fairness of the electoral process at all stages from the nomination process, campaigning, voting, counting and declaration of results. It is clear evidence that elections must follow certain rules, and rules can be manipulated. Manipulations at times are so blatant that the opposition is left with no chance. When manipulations in students' governments fail, fraud is sometimes used by the incumbents.

DARUSO Organs

University Students' Representative Council, (USRC) is a legally formulated body composed of students elected from the Colleges, Schools and Institutes. There are also students representatives from the Halls of residence and the Mabibo Hostel.

USRC formulates rules to govern the students' government. This organ oversees the students' government functions in the University. The top students' government leadership moderates the way in which students' government operates in their day to day functions. USRC approves the nomination of a DARUSO Prime Minister, elects USRC Speaker, Deputy Speaker and the Clerk.

The USRC receives, discusses and approve the DARUSO budget for each of the portfolios of the students' government. It receives and discusses expenses of running any DARUSO government. It is this organ that can expound on how best to encourage democratic practices within the students' government and allow it to be practiced by the students' community or freeze it on campus. Most importantly, USRC has to bear consequences of not adhering to the rules and regulations governing the University at large. In their meetings that are scheduled, the USRC composition consists of students' representatives and representative from Dean of Students office, for without the presence of a representative of Dean of Students, USRC decisions are null and void.

All organs of the students' government are required to observe stipulations in the Students By-Laws 2011, University Charter and Rules and Regulations 2007, issued by the University Council, or College Governing Boards in the case of the constituent Colleges of DUCE and MUCE in order to create a conducive environment for research, consultancy, teaching and learning to run smoothly. Students' community; undergraduate and post graduate, form the majority of the University community members with diverse interests and must have Rules and Regulations governing their freedom of expression and movements without infringing into the individual freedom of other members.

Organs of the Students Union are:

- DARUSO Judicial organ
- The DARUSO Cabinet
- The USRC

Elections are an indication of democracy where hope is renewed in students' governments. If one weak student's government fails them, then hope is renewed in their next elections when

another more competent government is elected to power. DARUSO leaders are elected in office for one academic year. In that way, democracy takes its course and prevails.

DARUSO Constitution, May 2012

The University of Dar es Salaam witnessed a new DARUSO Constitution formulated by the 2011/2012 students government. This Constitution was formulated according to the Universities (Students Organizations) Regulation, 2009 as amended in the year 2011. All processes for putting the new Constitution in place were followed and approved by the Council. The 2012/2013 students' government leadership was elected to office in a democratic form and sworn in office by a Commissioner of Oaths. The students' government has taken up the responsibility of leading the University student community in a transparent and responsible manner. They have to raise their finances from their fellow students and inform them on the ways they expend the funds. They have to show the amount of money collected and expenditure according to their budget as proposed and discussed in the USRC meetings. Where there are deficits, they have to come up with other sources identified and accepted as sources of their funds in the University. The students' leadership has to be tasked to responsibly handle their government affairs and deliver all activities they have to perform until the next students' government is in place while bearing in mind that their objectives for coming to the University are met and in a fulfilling manner.

Functions of University of Dar es Salaam Students' Government

The University of Dar es Salaam student government that is in power at any time has functions to perform democratically as follows:

- Ensure that student government conducts its business in accordance with its constitution and by-laws.
- Conduct orientation programmes to all newly-elected students' government leaders.
- Encourage and facilitate responsibility and accountability of students' government leaders to all its stake holders.
- Decentralize powers to student government's participatory organs for handling some cases of misconduct, dispute settlements and resolution of conflicts among students.
- Task the student government to supervise general elections.
- Encourage and facilitate inter-institutional student leadership conferences and get together.

Students' Activities that may be performed

Students' government may perform various activities at their own initiatives. They need support, guidance and encouragements from the University management. The following three are eminent:

- Encourage and facilitate students to engage and organize students activities themselves, by providing an enabling environment which will result in
 - A growing spirit of students helping each other in development plans or activities.
 - Students becoming volunteers for community service activities.
- Encourage students' involvement in significant projects and self reliance activities in and around the University of Dar es Salaam for their self enrichment or that of the community.

- Encourage private investors to collaborate and cooperate with students to establish students' self-reliance projects.

Students *Baraza* at the Institute, School and College Level

Student governance is instituted at all levels where students dwell. At the Hall or hostel level, student's governance is present, with an elected or competitively contested student leadership. The system of instituting a student leadership is interwoven in the Students Union constitution that is democratic in its formulation and approval. In UDSM, it is Dar es Salaam University Students Organization, DARUSO. The Chairpersons, Secretaries and Executive Committees are democratically elected and competitively contested by students from among the residents of a Hall or Hostel. It is the same in all other levels in Colleges, Schools and Institutes. Student associations and minority groups elect their student representatives in the same format.

There are Students *Baraza* at the level of the Colleges, Schools or Institutes where issues of interest to students are deliberated. Meetings are convened by the respective Chairpersons, Secretaries and Executive Committee members. Director, Deans and Principals sit in these meetings for purposes of providing clarifications, explanations and guidance on controversial matters. These Student *Baraza* meetings are very useful in that academic issues get an upper hand in these discussions. Administrative and other matters take lower percentage of the time spent on an average scheduled meeting. Students and faculty members exchange ideas on how they perform their functions and activities in their respective Institute/School/College while at the same time operating with the governing rules and regulations set from time to time by various decision making organs of the University of Dar es Salaam. Decisions reached in the Students *Baraza* are legal and binding to the respective represented stake holders.

Institute/School/College Board

These are decision making organs at the Institute, School or College level. Chairpersons are the University Executive Officers at that level. Students' representatives sit in these boards and actively participate in decision making machinery in a democratic manner. Matters deliberated and decisions reached, on concurrence, are disseminated through the student representatives to the student community. Students participate through representation in decision making machinery. This is a democratic way of getting involved in running governments in an acceptable way by the majority of the students' community members in the University.

Hall, Block Meetings

At the Hall or Block level, meetings are convened by the Hall Chairpersons in collaboration with the Wardens. Secretaries keep record of issues discussed and deliberations reached. Major issues for discussion center on the cleanliness of the residential places and rules and regulations in order to attain maximum conducive environment for studying peacefully and observing accommodation regulations. Hall/Block residents bring forth problems encountered while living in these halls and Blocks. Sports and Games are also coordinated at this level in order to cultivate the identification of the Hall or Block members while building the sports spirit of maintaining a healthy body and the competitive team work.

Students Leadership Development at Mzumbe University

When students' leaders have been democratically elected by a procedure similar to that of UDSM detailed above, the office the Dean of Students organizes some workshops to train newly elected leaders. The first workshop takes place immediately the President of Mzumbe University Students' Organisation (MUSO) selects his/her cabinet. In the workshop top MUSO leadership (President, Vice President, Prime Minister, and Chief Secretary), all ministers, permanent secretaries and leaders of the USRC are trained by seasoned experts on various issues. Examples of the issues include ethics, financial management, legal issues related to MUSO activities, principles of good governance, among others.

To give high prominence of the workshops, traditionally the either the Vice Chancellor or one of the DVCs is invited to open or close the workshops. Various training methodologies are employed in the trainings and at end an evaluation is conducted. The students do appreciate greatly for being exposed to a number of new information and knowledge on issues related to leadership. Two days workshops help new MUSO leaders to interact and bond more as the trainers are encouraged to use some participatory training methodologies

Two Brief Cases of Student Leaders at Mzumbe University in Tanzania

As other universities in Tanzania, the Mzumbe University had very few cases of students' unrests in 1970s and 1980s but in early part of the 1990s the unrest levels were elevated to the extent of forcing the university to close for a few months in 1991. When the university was opened, a number of programmes were not reinstated and therefore new students were invited to apply to fill places of those who were indefinitely expelled. However, the expelled students took the university to court and the students were re-admitted into the university after one year after winning a court case of unfair termination of studies.

Student Leader A was elected a president of the students' organization in a year when the reinstated students returned to proceed with their studies. As expected, there was some tension between the two groups of students (those who were expelled and those who replaced them). However, given Student Leader A's good leadership skills and ability to exert influence in all directions, namely, top to university management, downwards to his fellow students, and sideways to other colleagues in various universities and institutes of higher learning, he was able to stabilize the situation at the university. From his legacy the university continued to be stable³ till the leadership of Leader B as will shortly be described.

Due to his good leadership record and excellent performance in his studies, the Leader A was offered a teaching post at the University. After five years he left to vie for Member of Parliament seat and he won. He went on to be appointed to higher political positions.

Looking at some of the factors which facilitated his effective leadership, relevant interviewees pointed at the advantage of self-efficacy or previous leadership experience because he had been a students' leader from primary to both secondary school levels and he had a benefit of role model as his father was a leader at mid political level, among others.

³Sinare, H. (2004). Report confirms that among residential public universities, Mzumbe University was an exception in terms of few or lack of students' crises.

Whereas Leader A was a university direct entrant with high performances in Ordinary and Advanced levels, Leader B would be considered as average student. He scored division three at both Ordinary and Advanced levels of Secondary Education. Because his Advanced Level performance was not quite impressive he had to first go through a diploma level (two years) before being admitted to the university. Immediately after the admission, he was forced to postpone a year due to undisclosed family problems. While in second year, he decided to run for the post of president of students' organization. However, for him to qualify, the electoral committee had to close their eyes on one of the conditions for such candidacy. The condition that required those vying for such post to have an average of upper second class (at least 3.5 GPA)⁴ in previous semesters. After the usual intensive one week of overt campaigning period which almost the university comes to standstill Leader B was declared a winner on the voting day.

It is said that his class donated some resources and campaigned so strongly for him on some conditions. However, he could not honour some of the promises in appointment of his cabinet. This put his government into disrepute and the university which was stable for several years started to shake. The university management was forced to intervene in elevated number of conflicts which were threatening to get out of hand. For example, due personal conflicts between Leader B and speaker of the students' parliament there was a threat of breaching peace at the university as the students' government was divided between the two campuses (one for Leader B and another for the Speaker). Several meetings between university management (from the Dean of Students and above) and Leader B and Speaker in attempting to reconcile the two conflicting parties failed to reach a desired rapprochement.

Throughout his leadership period, Leader B was living on a threat to be overthrown since this was an ambition of his nemesis Speaker. In order to wave off the threat of being overthrown, Leader B spent much of his time defending himself and working with supporters to foil the coup d'état plots. This resulted to poor performance in his end of semester university exams⁵. He was forced to re-write a number of papers as supplementary exams but he later finished his leadership without being overthrown. While he escaped being overthrown, he could not escape being arrested on grounds of embezzlement of students' organization funds. The arrest happened when a new government came in and through the influence of his "enemy", the former speaker, it was claimed that Leader B had misappropriated the funds. The university management came to learn later that Leader B had been arrested and efforts to get him out of policy custody on bail bore fruits and he was released in the early hours after spending more than six hours under arrest.

The two cases reveal the extent the universities in Tanzania (this may apply to many other African countries) are vulnerable to the quality of students' leaders. While Leader A was a stabilizing force, Leader B despite the path dependency or legacy he inherited, due to his weak leadership skills he managed to somehow shake the tranquility which the university had enjoyed for quite a long time. As stated earlier, because the students are key stakeholders in the university system, when their leadership is not at its best there are a number of opportunity costs involved. For example, a lot of time, the time which would be spent on other strategic issues, is used to trying to resolve unnecessary conflicts. Equally important is the fact that the warring factions in

⁴ This was pre Government Notices No. 178 and 455

⁵ The Speaker in question was in a more precarious situation as he on the verge of being discounted from studies as he was carrying a maximum allowable number of carry-overs (commonly known as probations in other universities)

the students' leadership suffer as well. This has been demonstrated by the fact that both Leader B and his "enemy" were not performing well in their academic life.

Conclusion

The paper has pointed out the importance of providing space for democratization of students' own governance and a need of universities of developing leadership programmes for their students. This is considered essential since the world is continually getting complex. Therefore, it is a requirement that individuals and leaders with skills and knowledge should roam intellectually, to negotiating turbulence, manage ambiguity, develop understanding and manage connectivity and complexity so as to be able to succeed in challenging environments and situations. Therefore, if the universities have to attain their noble missions, which include fostering socioeconomic development of the citizens, developing leadership skills and competence of the students such as emotional intelligence, self-efficacy, self-confidence, and extroversion must be one of their key agendas. This is because most of the student leaders end up becoming society leaders in addition to ensuring the smooth running of the universities during their leadership tenure as student leaders in universities.

There is a need also to critically evaluate how to control a number of influences from the external environment which are affecting university students' leadership. In addition, the paper has revealed that one of the success factors of students' leadership is the self-efficacy or previous leadership experience a leader has accumulated over time. There is a need, therefore for the universities without proper students' development leadership programmes to design and run such programmes. This is because without such programmes there is a danger of incompetent students' leaders to plunge the universities into crises as it has been observed in a number of universities over time.

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