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Editorial

We are pleased to usher in Volume 2, Number 1 of the multidisciplinary *Journal of Sociology and Development*. We have lived up to our goal of sustaining the journal, thanks to a growing interest amongst authors to publish with us. The constructive feedback from the first Issue has propelled us to forge ahead. Our goal remains the same: publishing original, scientific, and professional articles. This sounds like an ideal. But it is the one we must pursue and promote. We would like to encourage young authors to write and not to give up on this. Their ideas matter and the future belongs to them. Senior researchers and academics are equally invited to send us their manuscripts as some of them have done in this Issue. We have a team of excellent reviewers: They are instrumental in maintaining the quality of the JSD. We count on them and the international Editorial Board to take the JSD to the next level as we apply to go online this year. In this Issue we inaugurate a Book Review section. Thank you all for keeping the JSD spirit alive.

As with the first Issue, this Volume spotlights some of the social and development-related questions that are most compelling and urgent in Africa with local and international relevance. The three themes that characterize this Volume are children and youths, socio-economic development, and the African academia. With one of the fastest population growth rates, which results in one of the youngest populations, the African continent and its policy makers cannot but focus their attention and direct their efforts to the position and well-being of their children and youths as the key for the development of the whole continent. The first two articles in this Issue tackle very different, though equally urgent, aspects of being young in Africa. In the first article, Massawe attempts to address the controversial and complex question of Child-on-Child sexual abuse in Tanzanian schools. Despite many episodes of such abuses as also reported in the press, the topic has been worryingly understudied. The author has studied the problem in primary schools in rural Tanzania and identified different areas related to the problem, from awareness and risk factors to the surrounding contextual situation that creates the conditions for the abuses to occur. These areas also constitute potential areas of interventions of which the author proposes a few to aid the government tackle the problem effectively. Moving on from children to youths, this time in the Rivers State in Nigeria, the second article by Asadu and Ayuwo is another context-specific account this time of the widespread experiences of social media use (Facebook) that characterizes the lives of many youths. Being a tremendous tool that enables boundless and virtual experiences and friendship, particularly enticing to youths all over the world, Facebook, the authors argue, can also be a powerful tool for rural

grassroots development in the African context. Unlike popular thinking that considers rural areas untouched by or marginally benefitting from the digital revolution, the authors identify in Facebook a powerful tool for the revitalization of development in rural areas and for subverting a long-lasting development model centred around investments in the urban areas. The third article by Rutagwelera wraps up the section and theme on children and youths in Africa with a sophisticated philosophical essay on John Locke's doctrine of paternal power. Rutagwelera's investigation revolves around the rejection of forms of *innatism* as to social and political relationships between individuals in society. Such perspective involves as well the relationships between fathers and children and the 'power' of the first to 'rule' over the second by a 'divine' right. The philosophical concept as unpacked by the author has social and political implications for the development of individuals in society especially as to the necessity to determine the age of maturity at which conscious decisions and acts can be taken. While disentangled from any specific geographical context, the analysis of the paternal power concept and related implications are of great relevance and urgency for the African continent and its fast changing age and generational relationships, given the controversial effects that throughout history a fundamentally 'patriarchal' society has meant for Africans.

The second theme in the Volume features four articles that in different and innovative ways address questions of socio-economic development in Africa. The traditionally symbiotic relation between development, society and well-being in Africa is addressed in the first pair of articles from a gender perspective. Mbilinyi and Jeckoniah as well as Mkamwa and Jotta call for a heightened attention to the role and contribution of women to national development by attempting to statistically analyze women empowerment. While Mbilinyi and Jeckoniah take participation in government-led initiatives such as TASAF for vulnerable groups as proxy for women empowerment, Mkamwa and Jotta turn their attention to religion which especially in the context of Africa cannot be detached from the social, economic and political spheres of life. Both articles paint an encouraging picture with women in the first case experiencing empowerment in the family and economic spheres, and in the second case enjoying an increase in the quality of performance at work which translates in a more fulfilling overall work experience. In the third article within the socio-economic development theme, Gilarowski utilizes an innovative research approach to conduct a broad-scale survey analysis of perception of climate change in Tanzania. Based on wealth of data from a wide number of respondents in all regions of the country, the author endeavours to assess the perceived climatic change and urges the adoption of measures for adjusting policies and practices in agriculture on which the country is highly dependent. Finally, Rugaimukamu grasps the importance of the strategic role of small and medium-

sized enterprises in Tanzania in fast changing markets where 'local products' gain terrain in competing with imported goods. The article analyzes consuming behavior among Tanzanians and constitutes an important addition to knowledge for the sector of local products to tailor their business strategies based on target groups of consumers.

The third and last theme of this Volume is closely intertwined with the first two. Many African countries have tied the knot between education of their youths through the advancement of the higher education sector and socio-economic development. Tanzania has witnessed a tremendous expansion of the higher education sector with a mushrooming of private institutions. To grasp the directions of this expansion is to predict the future of the country as a whole and anticipate challenges to tackle. In the first article within the theme, Nkyabonaki addresses the question of leadership and gender at the Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy in Tanzania by looking at the electoral process for selecting students' representatives. The investigation reveals an endurance of patriarchal values among students which limit female students' participation and relegate their role to cheerers and voters. The importance of this and further research in the field of student leadership lies in its potential to pave the way for stronger and wider female participation and equality within universities but with much broader implications in the outside society where the students of today become the leaders of tomorrow. Finally, Mutalemwa broadens the breadth of analysis of African academia to internationalization and diaspora, two inevitably connected phenomena linked to the expansion of the sector. By drawing from the experience of African academics in Germany and their role in revitalizing universities in their mother countries, the author investigates the relationship between the two phenomena of the overall positive tendency to internationalization of African universities on the one hand, and the controversial increase of brain drain from Africa with African students opting to remain in the countries of study in the western world to work, in this case in Germany. The author constructs a university revitalization theory to engage the African academic diaspora in the revitalization of universities. The devising and establishing of an African academic diaspora association is called upon, among other recommendations, as a possible effective platform to enable African academic diaspora to channel efforts toward the development of academia in their mother countries.

George Mutalemwa and Antonio Allegretti, JSD Editors

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Child-on-child sexual abuse in public primary schools in Kibaha, Tanzania

Magdalena J. Massawe[1]

Abstract
This paper is based on research carried out to examine sexual abuse by children against fellow children, technically known as Child-on-Child Sexual Abuse, in short COCSA, by investigating factors which drove pupils to sexually abuse their fellow pupils and ways to prevent such abuse in public primary schools. The study was conducted in a public primary school in Kibaha, Pwani Region, using a qualitative approach which employed a case study design. Data collection instruments included in-depth interviews, naturalistic observation, focused group discussions and questionnaires. The study used a total of 82 respondents to generate the data needed for the study. After content analysis of the data, some of the findings showed that COCSA was real in the primary school and most of the respondents were aware of the existence of COCSA in the school. One of the four study conclusions was that there existed factors that contributed to making children either victims or perpetrators of COCSA. Finally, one of the three recommendations of the study was that Government should establish COCSA awareness programmes for the entire country through text and audio-visual media to help prevent children from being recruited into COCSA.
Keywords: Child-on-child sexual abuse, public primary schools, safe schools, school pupils

Introduction

Sexual abuse committed by children against other children, technically known as Child-on- Child Abuse, in short COCSA, is part of a serious and complex problem of child sexual abuse in Tanzania (URT-UNICEF, 2011a). COCSA, which has long been implicated in many research findings concerning child

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abuse, HIV/AIDS among children and reproductive health and safe motherhood education among young persons (Andersson, Parades-Solis, Milne, Ormer, Marokoane, Laetsang and Cockcroft, 2012), is a threat that may have already and is still causing more and more serious physical pains, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, psychological trauma, shame and isolation (Fox, 2013; Kigombola and Gotora, 2005).

Popular and social media in Tanzania has been rife with many stories about child abuse committed by children against other children especially incidences of sexual abuse in the form of penetration by penis. For example on April 10, 2014 the *Amani* newspaper reported about a boy aged 15 who had been sexually abusing three young primary school children (two girls and a boy) from his neighbourhoods in Dar es Salaam. The three children were studying in classes One, Two and Three, respectively. A contributor to *JamiiForums.com* reported on December 12, 2013 of an incidence of an eight- year boy who sneaked into a room of a neighbour and sexually abused a one-year girl baby when the mother left shortly to buy something from a nearby shop in Dar es Salaam. The *Majira* newspaper of September 5, 2013 reported about four primary school children in Kibaha who raped a class two girl to unconsciousness later on to be admitted to a referral hospital. The incidence happened while she was on her way from school around 12.00 noon when four relatively older boys (reported to be between 10 and 13 years old) from her school pursued, caught, blocked her mouth and sexually abused her causing her serious physical injury and bleeding. The *Nipashe* newspaper of March 18, 2012 reported their own findings of a survey they had conducted involving three (3) primary schools in Dar es Salaam city on the issue of child sexual abuse. Their findings revealed that many pupils were being sexually abused within the school premises by their fellow children and that it had become a normal thing.

Despite public knowledge that child abuse by children against other children was a common thing in Tanzania, very little has been studied about it. This researcher suspected that child-on-child abuse had been eclipsed by both government and researchers paying too much attention on child abuse committed by adults and thereby neglecting an equally abusive and dangerous behaviour of sexual abuse committed by children against their fellow children. To generate knowledge on the problem of child sexual abuse by focusing on child-on- child sexual abuse in primary schools, the researcher conducted a study in one primary school located in Kibaha semi-urban, in Pwani Region, as

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part of her work for a degree in Master in Social Work of the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) submitted in January, 2015. The aim was to conduct an in-depth study that would identify the risk and protective factors of child-on- child sexual abuse from respondents of a community related with one primary school in Kibaha, Pwani Region.

Literature review

Child-on-child sexual abuse (COCSA) is a sexual activity between persons under the age of 18 which occurs without consent, without equality or as a result of coercion (Shaw, 2000). Although there is a great paucity of the literature concerning child-on-child abuse, researchers have long pointed out that school pupils comprise a segment of those children who are sexually abused in society. For example, the Global School-based Student Health Survey of 13-17 year-old children in Namibia, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe estimated the prevalence of sexual abuse at 23% (Brown et al., 2009). In cross-sectional surveys conducted by Andersson et al. (2012) in 2003 and 2007 among schoolchildren aged 11-16 years in ten (10) Southern African countries, it was reported that 25% of boys and 29% of girls experienced forced or coerced sex. The same report also specifically mentioned that a high proportion of students were "experiencing and perpetrating abuse" and one source where schoolchildren are likely to learn sexual abuse behaviours is in the bars that are situated in the vicinity of schools (UNICEF, 2014).

The literature suggested that understanding children involved in incidents of COCSA is critical to effective prevention and intervention (Winokur, Devers, Hand and Blankenship, 2010). It is with that understanding that Tanzania conducted a large-scale research called Tanzania Violence Against Children Study (VACS) concerning child abuse in 2009 and released findings in 2011.The study findings revealed that violence against boys and girls is a real threat to the nation's health and well-being (URT-UNICEF, 2011a). The research showed that nearly three in ten females and approximately one in seven males in Tanzania had experienced sexual violence prior to the age of 18. The most common form of sexual violence experienced by both females and males before the age of 18 was identified (in their order of prevalence) to be (1) sexual touching (2) attempted sexual intercourse (3) physically forced sex and lastly (4)

coerced sex. Among the research respondents who had their first sexual experience prior to age 18, nearly one-third (29.1%) of females and 17.5% of males reported that their first sexual intercourse was unwilling, meaning that they were forced or coerced to engage in sexual intercourse.

It is even more insightful to note that although the dominant perpetrators of sexual abuse mentioned in the VACS were neighbours, strangers, dating partners, authority figures and relatives, the sad highlights of the report revealed that even children were sexually abusing their fellow children. The figures showed that 8.6% among girls and 10.6% among boys had been sexually abused by their fellow friends and classmates. Both males and females were involved in abusing fellow children and were therefore responsible for the resultant traumas inflicted on their fellow children. The findings also indicated that 38.1% of child sexual abuses took place within the school grounds and along the way while children were going to or coming from school, which was only second to the incidences being committed within someone's house (at 49% rating). All these local findings confirmed what earlier studies had found worldwide that a substantial proportion of child sexual abuse was also being perpetrated by younger children as opposed to the old view that adults were the major abusers (Brown, 2004). On the basis of the above literature and the argument that children are spending up to 12 hours a day in and around schools which are far from being safe (URT-UNICEF, 2011b), it became a matter of justifiable concern to this researcher to study child-on-child sexual abuse in a primary school context because no such study is known to have been done in Tanzania before.

Theoretical framework and conceptual model

The theoretical framework for this study was the human rights perspective as propounded by Amartya Sen. Sen (2004) in his early attempts to build a theory of human rights argued that because it is critically important to see the relationship between the force and appeal of human rights, it is also important to have a reasoned justification and scrutinized use of human rights. He submitted that a theory of human rights should consider several facts including (1) human rights are primarily ethical demands not just legal demands (2) the importance of human rights is related to the significance of the type of freedoms that form the subject matter (3) human rights should generate reasons for action for agents or

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people who are in a position to help in the promoting or safeguarding of the underlying freedoms (4) the implementation of human rights goes beyond legislations and includes public recognition, discussion and advocacy (5) human rights include economic and social freedoms (6) the universality of human rights relates to the idea of survivability of the rights through open discussions by people across national boundaries through interactive processes of free flow of information and views. The researcher was guided by this theoretical framework because most of the facts submitted by Sen are applicable to the study of child-on-child sexual abuse and also the researcher strongly believes that children are humans with rights to be respected and child-on-child sexual abuse is a violation of fundamental human rights for safe childhood.

The COCSA knowledge found in the literature and the findings of this study led the researcher to develop a conceptual model called COCSA Visualization Matrix or CVM (see Table 1 below) to help readers clearly see the link between major elements involved in dealing with the COCSA problem. The concept of 'visualization'" was borrowed from the Japanese quality management literature in which visual control in production and quality performance is one of the key tools of "*Kaizen* (in Japanese) meaning "continuous improvement" (GRIPS, 2009). The idea is such that by visualizing what one is dealing with (making a mental picture or representation) helps to discover easily where there is a problem and where things are going right. So the CVM is for helping the reader to see the various elements involved in COCSA issues and use them to discover where there are weaknesses in dealing with the problem and again see possibilities for change. The various elements of the matrix are briefly described in Table 1.

Table 1: COCSA Visualization Matrix (CVM)

RISKS	CONTEXTS	PROTECTORS
-Non-existence of responsive policies and laws and by-laws -Inconsistent court and police decisions on COCSA -No COCSA research done to understand issues involved	**MACRO National, Regional, District**	-Enacting child friendly policies and laws and by-laws -Just and fair court and police systems to COCSA victims -Conducting COCSA research to understand issues involved
-School without COCSA awareness programmes -Unsafe school and classroom environment -Indecent dressing -Watching or reading pornographic content -School failure -Bad friends -Non-supportive community members -Community that is complacent about child sexual abuse -Lack of NGOs specifically addressing COCSA in community	**MEZZO Community, School, Orphanage**	-School conducting COCSA education -COCSA-free school and classroom environment -Decent dressing -Watching or reading non-pornographic content -Better school performance -Good friends -Understanding and supportive community -Community that rebukes child sexual abuse -Presence of NGOs specifically fighting COCSA

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	MICRO **Neighbourhood, Family, Child**	
-Child's compliant/aggressive behaviour (personality traits) -Undue association with victims and perpetrators -Poor social skills -Lack of parental supervision and guidance -Family and neighbours with conflicts and separation -Children left to grandparents -Family poverty -Indecent dressing -Watching, listening or reading pornographic-loaded content		-Child's well-balanced behaviour (personality traits) -Guarded association with victims and perpetrators -Good social skills -Parental supervision and guidance -Family and neighbours with peace and strong family bonds -Responsible parenting -Financially stable family -Decent dressing -Watching, listening or reading non-pornographic content

STRONG POSITIVE GUIDING VALUES

STRONG PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION

Source: Developed for this work, 2015

The first important element in the COCSA visualization matrix is the *contexts* of COCSA. The contexts are presented based on the works of Veronesi, Larson-Samalus, Trevethan, Metcalfe, Osterman and Rodriguez (2011), Fischer, Glisson, and Thyer (2001) and Dubois and Miley (2008) who viewed social work intervention in three levels namely the *micro level, the mezzo level and the macro level.* The *micro level* context focuses on individuals or families or small groups of people. The *mezzo level* context focuses on organizations, teams and formal groups of people. The *macro level* contexts target an entire population of people (e.g. a country, state, county, city or societies). In this study these levels

are viewed as contexts in which the individual child, the family, the school, the community and the government can deal with COCSA.

The second element refers to the *risks* and *protectors* related to COCSA. Risks are those things likely to impact the children's sexual relationships negatively while protectors are those that will impact the child positively. Both can be found from the *contexts* of the child, that is, from within the individual child, the family, the neighbourhoods, the school, the orphanages, the community, the district, the region and the nation at large. Each context of COCSA needs to be examined carefully against risks and protectors to help discover negative or positive influences and possibilities at each level of handling COCSA. The specific contents presented in the matrix under Risks and Protectors or under Contexts are not to be taken as final or exhaustive. Rather, they only serve to demonstrate what can be included so interested parties may be more analytical in adding or removing things depending on their specific situation.

Third, in the matrix there are elements of *strong positive guiding values* and *strong practical implementation* at the base of the matrix. The whole idea of the visualization matrix depends on commitment to agreed *guiding values* and *practical implementation* measures. Without one of the two, nothing substantial will happen in eradicating COCSA. The word 'strong' is deliberate in each case to signify the use of time-tested, research-based and practice-based values and implementation measures, respectively. Strong positive guiding values imply strong principles on which to build our decisions to deal with COCSA. They may include religious values, psychological insight, time-valued community wisdom or research-based principles that have been proved to be practical in helping individuals to fight COCSA. Commitment to these values should guide everyone from the individual level to the national level. On the other hand values without implementation end up in people's minds or they become wishful thinking only, hence the need for strong practical implementation.

The matrix, therefore, helps to answer the question: *Who* is doing *What, Why* and *Where* about COCSA? Therefore, to eradicate COCSA in Tanzania we need to maintain our commitment to values and implementation measures for COCSA eradication. Values will guide to identify which sexual behaviours cannot be tolerated among children in society and then implementation will demand wise action from the individual child towards family, school, community and national level. That is why the matrix identifies potential risks

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and potential protectors to pinpoint areas that can be worked all through from micro, mezzo to macro contexts.

Research question and objectives

The study was guided by one major research question: What factors drove pupils to sexually abuse their fellow pupils and how could child-on-child be prevented? The study had the following four objectives: (1) discover respondents' awareness on incidences of child-on-child sexual abuse in the primary school (2) understand factors why some pupils got involved in COCSA, as victims or abusers of their fellow pupils (3) explore ways for preventing incidences of child-on-child sexual abuse among pupils, as victims or abusers (4) explore whether the school environment was safe from child-on-child sexual abuse.

Data and methods

The study employed the qualitative approach and used a case study research design. A case study, in contrast to a statistical study, places more emphasis on a full contextual analysis of an event or condition in order to understand it better (Cooper and Schindler, 2009). This emphasis on depth and detail in case studies provides valuable insights for problem solving, evaluation and strategy. Moreover, questionnaires were used to capture personal and sensitive information about the pupils that would otherwise be difficult to divulge in a face to face discussion (e.g. identifying who had personally been involved in child-on-child sexual abuse). Even so, the analysis of the data from the questionnaires was done qualitatively because the interest of the study was not in the numbers but in the facts presented in those questionnaires.

Because schools are known to be rich sources of information about children (Fox, 2013) this researcher collected data from participants related to one primary school in Kibaha semi-urban, in Pwani Region. At the time of this study, Kibaha was one of the four areas (others being Kisarawe, Shinyanga Rural District and the West District of Zanzibar) earmarked for a joint project by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Save the Children International (SCI) and Plan International launched in 2014 as a joint child protection initiative to end

violence against children as a follow-up to the Violence Against Children Study (VACS) undertaken in 2009 (UNICEF, 2014). The project aimed to support the National Plan of Action for Prevention and Response to Violence Against Children (2013-2016) and the Costed Plan of Action for Most Vulnerable Children (2013-2017) designed to establish child protection systems to effectively identify, prevent and respond to all forms of violence against children with a focus on children and their families, promoting protective community environment and safe schooling while building the capacity of frontline duty bearers.

The sample of this study consisted of 82 respondents, involving four different groups of informants including 61 primary school pupils, 8 parents, 11 teachers and 2 police officers. The types of research instruments used for this study were four including in-depth interviews (which were used for parents, teachers and the police officers), naturalistic observations (which were used to understand factors in the environment and classrooms whether they were safe or unsafe from COCSA), focused group discussions (which were used for small groups of between six [6] to Fifteen [15] pupils drawn from classes Four, Five and Six) and questionnaires which were used to elicit pupils' sensitive and private information (which they felt uncomfortable to discuss face to face) from both leaders and non-leaders from Classes Four, Five and Six.

Data analysis was performed using content analysis technique which measures the semantic content of the responses given by the informants while guarding against selective perception of that content. Kothari (2009) asserts that content analysis is a central activity whenever a researcher engages in studying verbal materials and that the analysis can be done both at a simple level and at a deep level. The researcher worked on the data right within the school environment because it helped her to recall the context for the data and therefore simplified their understanding and interpretation. After listening to audio recordings and checking notes, the next step was the transcribing of the words spoken by the respondents. Following suggestions from Saunders, Lewis and Adrian (2009), to reduce the vast amount of time that would be used to transcribe every word and reaction of the respondent, the researcher chose to use a process called "data sampling", that is, transcribing only those sections of the audio-recordings that were relevant to the research as sometimes respondents included irrelevant information in their responses.

From that stage, the researcher continued with the analysis of the data based

on themes or perspectives which were pre-designed based on the four research questions of the study. Thematic analysis involved reading through each text of the in – depth interviews and focused group discussions in order to identify responses that were relevant to the study research questions (Creswell and Clark, 2007). The information that emerged in the categories (sub-themes) was summarized into the researcher's memos to help in writing the results. Memos are interpretive comments made by the researcher on the respondent's words (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). They reflect the researcher's understanding of what the respondents said in relation to the question asked. The total time spent for data collection and analysis was six weeks between September and October, 2014.

Findings and discussion

From the data analysis, four major findings were obtained based on the four research questions of this study. These findings include awareness of COCSA among respondents, risk factors for COCSA among pupils, protective factors for pupils against COCSA and school environment and its safety from COCSA. The findings and their discussions are thematically presented below.

Theme 1: Awareness of COCSA among Respondents
The findings indicated that COCSA was real in the primary school studied. All the pupils, all the teachers, all the police officers and most parents studied were aware of COCSA existing in the primary school and cited many true examples of COCSA incidences they knew including some pupils admitting themselves of being victims or perpetrators. Some of the 'voices' of the pupils on this theme include the following:

> A boy child from class two lied to a girl in their class that he would give money to her but after he finished doing it he refused to give her the money so they quarrelled" (Girl in Class Four). "She was touching me whenever the teacher was not in class" (Boy in Class Six). "She refused and I got angry and did it to her (Boy in Class 5).

The finding confirmed what Boeree (2009) had reported that children are sexually active at the age of primary schooling. It was discovered that pupils

were practising COCSA which involved boys with girls, girls with girls and boys with boys with the form involving boys and girls leading in frequency, followed by boys with boys. All the parents interviewed were not aware that girls were sexually abusing fellow girls which may suggest that parents are not very close to their girls. The police officers noted a high increase in the cases involving sodomy amongst boys. All these findings corroborated with the research done in Kisarawe (same region where this study was done) by Kigombola and Gotora (2005) who had reported that 33% of primary school pupils in class Six and Seven were coerced to have sex with fellow pupils (see also Wamoyi, Frenwick, Urassa, Zaba and Stones, 2010). It was also discovered that pupils were practising COCSA in many different ways including writing a sexual note to a fellow pupil, pupil calling another pupil their fiancé (e), luring others through use of money, "throwing a kiss" at their peers, boys secretly placing a mirror below a sitting or standing girl in order to see her private parts, et cetera. This confirms earlier research which had shown that child sexual abusers could actually be their peers (Kisanga, 2012).

Theme 2: Risk Factors for COCSA among Pupils
Many respondents believed that COCSA did not happen by chance but that there were behaviours on the part of victims that invited or provoked perpetrators to act. This understanding agrees with Mnzava (2012) who had found out in Mara and Mtwara that poor traditional upbringing of children was encouraging girls to get involved in sexual intercourse at an early age by enticing men. Some of the things the respondents mentioned as *"enticers to perpetrators"* included girls sitting with their legs open, girls winking sexually at boys, girls wearing short skirts, boys behaving like girls and girls running their tongues over their lips at boys. Note some of the things the respondents said on this point:

> Today's children [girls] prefer wearing short skirts so their fellow children [boys] lust after them." (Parent) "Madam, the girls are gyrating their hips and buttocks in front of us…and some of them have big buttocks that attract us". (Boy pupil) "They soften you with nice words and really tell you that they love you so much and you accept their words (Girl pupil).

It is only in the category of parents that the majority argued that there was nothing real that triggered the abusers to act but that they were doing it

intentionally to destroy the lives of their fellow pupils. This might show that most parents did not know their children well. Other parents, however, said the wearing of short skirts could be a contributing factor for some girl-pupils to be sexually abused.

On the other hand, respondents also believed there were other behaviours or factors that contributed to shaping the perpetrators apart from the behaviours of the victims. Such factors included parents who involved their children in sexually explicit dances, children watching X-rated CDs and DVDs, boys to prove that they are 'men' and older boys displaying their 'power or superiority' through having sex with younger children. Some of their statements include the following: *"Some of our friends are watching X-rated CDs at the video huts"*. (Pupil) "That's it; when children grow they must disturb a little bit" (Teacher). "It is only their humanity once they reach puberty". (Parent)

There was also a concern among teachers and the police officers over the custom of many Pwani Region dwellers to leave their children to stay with widowed and often poor grandmothers who had no alternative except to survive by receiving gifts from the lovers of their granddaughters. This behaviour was exposing the pupils to freedom that led to sexual involvement which they transported to school as COCSA. Andersson et al. (2012) had found that poverty (e.g. lack of food) was one of the factors for coerced sex among children. This is also supported by Winokur et al. (2010) who reported that children who engage in child-on-child sexual abuse have a history of unstable families. This may demand a region-wide education to conscientize parents towards the importance of rearing their own children instead of "dumping" their children in the hands of old grandmothers who cannot match with the energy of growing children.

Theme 3: Protective Factors for Pupils against COCSA
To stop COCSA before it happens respondents suggested things such as erecting a fence around the school to stop pupils who seduce their friends to get out of the school compound without teachers' knowledge, parents to control what children watch and listen, Ministry of Education to prepare videos for schools showing dangers of COCSA, parents to instil the fear of God in the children and educating the whole society about COCSA. Some of the respondents' comments on this include the following:

What will save us is to teach our children to have the fear of God and keep the teachings of the Bible and the Koran" (Parent). "Serious education is needed for the whole society about these things" (Police officer). "The government should erect a fence around our school to prevent pupils who force their friends to go out of the school to have sex during class hours (Pupil).

To stop or deal with COCSA after it happens, pupils suggested what seemed to this researcher as very harsh measures. For example, they suggested such things as offenders to be beaten up using electrical cables, to be shocked by electricity, to be incarcerated and to shame them by having them "advertised" on the media. It was clear from the pupils that they hated COCSA very much and were demanding justice especially for the victims through brutal punishment of the abusers. Perhaps this "hatred" against COCSA explains why Gabriel Myers killed himself after being sexually abused by a fellow child (Winokur et al., 2010). On the other hand, teachers, parents and police officers suggested such things as caning the children offenders (e.g. "a child ought to be caned; he/she should not be treated like an egg"), threatening them that they would be sent to a police station, suspending them from school and involving parents and the society in general to find solutions for COCSA (e.g. "We, parents of the victims and perpetrators have to work together as partners to help our children instead of becoming enemies").

To explore more why pupils proposed such brutal punishments for fellow sexual abusers, the researcher asked them what they thought about the work of human rights advocates who were struggling to abolish corporal punishment in schools. This produced a discussion between the researcher and the pupils on the belief in the effectiveness of corporal punishment to stop COCSA among pupils. All pupils were totally upset by the idea of entirely abolishing corporal punishment in schools saying that alternative punishments do not help sexual abusers to stop and that they believed if the abusers are not made to feel the pain that the victims are feeling, they will never stop doing what they enjoy doing.

The pupils, however, recommended a judicial administration of corporal punishment depending on the amount of damage caused by the sexual abuse. Although teachers, parents and the police officers recommended counselling and educating the abusers, they confessed that stubborn and incorrigible pupils do not respond to mere words nor alternative punishments because actually they

even refuse to do the alternative punishments. Teachers claimed that corporal punishment maintained order and protected innocent pupils against abusers in the school. There were a few parents who were desperate, not sure of whether both the corporal punishment and the alternative punishments were effective. They said it was God who could change people. It was obvious that such parents needed assistance in educating their children to become sexually healthy. The suggestions above from the respondents reflected that prevention of child abuse has to involve everybody in the society from individuals to the national level or helping one another from primary, secondary and tertiary level (Dwyer and Strang, 2009).

Theme 4: School environment and its safety from COCSA
Several things were observed in the school environment and its surroundings that did not guarantee pupils' safety against COCSA. Such things included a fenceless school compound, presence of two big pubs in very close proximity with the school, trespassers of every kind crisscrossing the school from every direction, pit-latrines with no doors or having defective door shutters where pupils peeped at one another, roads and paths passing along and across the school, a dense bushy area (which was cleared as the research continued) just at the end of the school compound where pupils went to play during school hours, ditches into which pupils hid and chatted during school hours, pupils going outside the school bounds to buy foodstuffs, pupils playing in compounds of neighbouring homes during school hours and beautiful trees and logs where lovers came to sit and chat as well as an open school playground which invited many young people who came with their boy/girlfriends to watch community football games in the evening. The Violence against Children Study (VACS) conducted in 2009 observed that primary schools were no longer safe places for children because they were places where many incidences of child sexual abuse took place, the leading types of sexual abuses being sexual touch and attempted sexual intercourse done within the school environment (URT-UNICEF, 2011a). The pupils, teachers and the police officers perceived the existing school environment as contributing towards COCSA. They believed pupils were being exposed to many temptations by seeing lovers crossing within the school and by hearing loud love music from the nearby pubs. Some of the respondents' comments on this issue are such as:

Children are human beings just like adults and if they are exposed to constant temptations from the surroundings of the school they can fall." (Parent) "When girls start dancing at the loud music heard from Mkuu Pub the boys start kissing them and hold their buttocks when they are gyrating their hips." (Teacher) "That woman neighbour came to school complaining that some pupils were doing bad things and stealing her potatoes and cassava from her field (Pupil).

Classroom observation showed that the class environment for Classes Five and Six looked conducive and spacious with two or three pupils sitting at a desk. However, the situation was different for pupils in Class Four who were overcrowded causing some of them to sit down on the floor. Comments by teachers and pupils on the Class Four situation indicated that overcrowded pupils tended to sexually molest their fellow pupils by touching one's buttocks or breasts without the teacher's noticing. UNICEF (2014) has pointed out that overcrowded classrooms can be a potential source of violence among children (including sexual violence) as pupils can easily touch and sexually arouse themselves because of the sitting arrangement. This shows that classes need to have enough spaces and desks for pupils to minimize COCSA cases.

It is clear that the findings and discussion in this paper resonate well with Amartya Sen's human rights perspective chosen for this study. All the six points raised by Sen (2004) as a basis for a theory of human rights clearly support this study. First, this study on COCSA addresses an ethical issue in the sense that abusing children is not ethically neutral and it is not acceptable internationally. Second, the children's rights presented in this study are significant in the sense that they deal with defending children as human beings who deserve respect and freedom from abuse from anybody including fellow children. Third, the author believes that COCSA is a sensitive human rights issue which calls for a platform for action from individuals, organizations and institutions committed to promoting and safeguarding human rights in general and children's rights in particular. Fourth, the type of children's rights brought up in this study requires implementation of everyone, not just the government. Fifth, COCSA should be understood as a human rights issue that impinges on children's economic and social freedoms by destroying their education potential as well as their social dignity. Sixth, the author believes that this study on COCSA will contribute to advocating universal human rights and thus extend the survival of children's

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rights in Tanzania and beyond. All Sen's (2004) points are helpful in understanding child-on-child sexual abuse raised in this article as a human rights issue just like any other human rights issues such as survival rights, participation rights, and rights against discrimination of individuals.

Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from the findings of this study are based on the four research objectives that guided this study as follows:

(1) Respondents' awareness of the incidences of child-on-child sexual abuse in the primary school.

The conclusion from the findings is that COCSA was real and going on in Kibaha public primary school. The findings showed that all the respondents were aware of the COCSA incidences in their school and the pupils reported the incidences to the class teachers, parents and the police officers.

(2) Factors explaining why some pupils got involved in COCSA (as victims or abusers of their fellow pupils).

The conclusion from the findings is that COCSA did not happen by chance. There existed factors that contributed to making pupils either victims or perpetrators. Many respondents mentioned various factors they thought contributed to shaping pupils into COCSA victims (such as girls sitting with their legs open) or abusers (such as watching and learning from X-rated CDs and DVDs).

(3) Preventive measures for child sexual abuse by fellow pupils.

The conclusion from the findings is that respondents believed there were certain ways that could help prevent COCSA problems. Respondents mentioned various ways such as caning the offenders and parents to control what children watch and listen. Pupils suggested some things that were even against conventional wisdom (e.g. shocking abusers with electricity) to show their hatred of COCSA.

(4) Perception of school environment as safe from child-on-child sexual abuse.

The conclusion from the findings is that the school environment and its surroundings were considered unsafe from COCSA. Most respondents were dissatisfied by the situation of the school environment (e.g. children could get out of school unnoticed as there was no fence around the school). It is clear that

primary schools need to be safe places for pupils to learn and play instead of being places for child-on-child sexual abuse.

Recommendations

In the light of the findings of this study the following are the recommendations to the government, researchers, pupils, parents, teachers, religious leaders and other stakeholders.

To the government:
(1) The government should establish COCSA awareness programmes for the entire country through text and audio-visual media to help prevent children in general and pupils in particular from being recruited into COCSA.
(2) The government should establish laws that recognize the human rights of the COCSA victims. The current Law of the Child, Act 2009 does not even mention COCSA which is a big anomaly for a law that claims to protect the rights of children. In other words, the Law of the Child should not only consider sexual offenses committed by adults against children but also should address the equally devastating sexual offenses committed by children to other children.
(3) The government should strengthen the concept of safe schools and involve stakeholders in protecting pupils against COCSA through such things as erecting fences around primary schools and stopping passers-by from criss-crossing within schools.

To researchers:
Because this qualitative research was exploratory in nature, quantitative researchers may choose to take this study beyond one case and multiply it to other primary schools in the country to measure the extent to which COCSA is being practised in Tanzania.
To pupils, parents, teachers, religious leaders and other stakeholders:
All concerned parties such as individuals, organisations and institutions interested in children's welfare should partner together and forge movements to fight COCSA at all levels forming awareness clubs, establishing counselling programmes and even writing books about COCSA.

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Facebook groups and youths' facilitation of self-help rural development programmes in Rivers State, Nigeria

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Abstract
This study sought to evaluate the utilization of Facebook group discussion in the facilitation of rural development of Rivers State. The study was motivated by the fact that many youths in Rivers State are on social network, but they appeared not to be exploring it to solve socio-political problems of the people. Three research questions were posed to guide the study. Using the mixed research methods of the survey and content analysis, a multistage sampling technique was employed to select 384 respondents from the population. Data were collected using questionnaire and code sheet. The collected data were subsequently presented using simple percentages and frequency tables, and four-point Likert scale. The study found out that Rivers State youths use Facebook group to share messages or information that bordered on road renovation, environmental protection and increase in political consciousness. It equally found out that members of the community who live outside the community are always motivated to participate in sharing and execution of rural development programmes. Based on the findings, the study recommended that development agents and government should develop Facebook groups dedicated to different aspects of socio-economic and political development of the state.
Keywords: Facebook group, youth, rural development, self-help

Introduction

No society can be considered developed if the rural areas are still largely backward and deprived. It therefore, follows that for a society or state to be developed, rural areas should be the focal point. Yadav (2006: 85) supports this

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assertion, observing that "unless the living conditions of the majority of the rural poor who live below the subsistence level are improved, there cannot be development in its true sense". In Nigeria, development was structured along two lines by the colonial masters – urban and rural. Colonial masters lived and administered from upgraded areas with many amenities necessary for good life, the other areas remained underdeveloped.

This system was inherited by Nigerians who took over the mantle of leadership from the colonialists. The whole development initiative in Nigeria since then has been championed by government officials who see development only as the concentration of infrastructure such as hospitals, good roads, bridges, high-rise buildings, access to the media, good schools, among others in the urban areas. This lopsided development has left the rural areas very impoverished, abandoned and neglected. Rural areas, according to the National Population Commission (2006), have over 60 per cent of the Nigerian population which equally provides a very high percentage of the food and workforce needed in the urban areas. Most youths are leaving the rural areas for the urban areas. Youths have been recognised as the propelling force in most self-help development projects.

Today, Facebook group, as one of the social media platforms, has reconnected and reunited youths in the urban and rural areas as though they were in one place. This sense of oneness has increased the involvement of the youths in the community self-help development programmes and by extension has increased the social capital value of youths in all societies. Youths have used social media to come together to solve problems that affect them and that of the entire community. For instance, the popular Arab Spring which was aimed at changing authoritarian regimes in the Arab world is an example of a self-help development intervention. The protest was organised and executed through the social media. Similarly in Opi, Nsukka Local Government Area of Enugu State, youths opened a social media platform blog (www.onyeopi.com) to combat raping of elderly women in the community. More so, such site had long been opened by youths of Ndokwa West in Delta State to discuss mainly socio-political challenges faced by the area.

This type of people-initiated development is called self-help. Cheshire (2006) notes that self-help development presupposes that: "since entire groups or localities were experiencing a disadvantage, community solutions to the problem should be applied" (p. 59). Besides, in recent decades the responsibility for initiating regeneration programmes has been placed firmly in the hands of rural communities with the rationale being that local people are best placed to know

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their own problems and consequently, to develop their own solutions Developing their own solutions involves "grassroots programmes of consciousness raising and collective action which helps the people in the identification and prioritization of their needs and resources" (Cheshire, 2016: 59).

Rivers State is one of the six States in the South-South geo-political zone of Nigeria created in 1967 by General Yakubu Gowon military administration. It is about the highest oil producing State in Nigeria yet there are high levels of poverty, neglect and poor presence of government in the rural areas. Youth unemployment is equally high. A youth here refers to a young person who is independent and can take full responsibility for all his/her actions or inactions. In other words a youth is independent. The age of a youth differs from country to country and context to context. For the purpose of this study, youth is made up of male and female from the age of 15 to 44 years.

This work is aimed at examining how the Facebook group has been employed by the youths in Rivers State to initiate and champion development programmes in rural areas considering the fact that social media has facilitated social-economic changes in other climes. Specifically, this study focuses on three broad questions in the analysis. First, to what extent do youths in Rivers State utilize the Facebook group to share rural development messages?Second, what specific rural development programmes do youths in Rivers State facilitate through Facebook group discussions? Finally,to what extent do messages shared through the Facebook group mobilizes youths in Rivers State to engage in rural development?

The concept of rural development

Defining a rural area has lacked precision. Schucksmith and Brown (2016) observe that the pastoral and modernist schools of thought have affected the meaning of rurality. While the pastoral school sees "rural areas as repositories of cultural values or even national identities the modernists see rural areas as essentially backward and requiring transformation and development so that their residents can enjoy the tangible benefits of the modern world" (Schucksmith and Brown, 2016: 2).One thing that has been agreed by the two groups is that rural means a place that appears natural, local and lacking the necessities of life such that exist in urban areas –good roads, quality education, good housing and adequate health facilities. Rural dwellers depend on natural resources for survival. Rural areas can better be understood when compared with the urban

areas. Brown and Schafft (2011) see rural areas as "spatially delimited or separated natural environments. A rural area is also thought of as a geographically and socially isolated area from centres of power and influence" (Brown and Schafft, 2011: 5). In addition, "rural areas are homogeneous, have closer relationship, and social order is typically maintained through informal control" (Brown and Schafft, 2011: 7).

The development of the rural areas has been seen as the fulcrum of the national or societal development. In support of this view, Mahatma Ghandi had written long back in 1936 in Harijan saying, "I have believed and repeated times without number that India is to be found not in its few cities, but in its 700,000 villages...I would say that if the village perishes, India will perish too" (Singh, 2009). Ghandi favoured village-based decentralized development where the masses cause employment through cottage industries leading to self-sufficiency. He believed in rural development as the desideratum for societal or national development. The term rural development has undergone several shifts in meaning and practice. The modernization approach which involves an increase in income, westernization, diffusion and attempts by powerful, urban-based elites to extract resources from rural communities and places was earlier adopted to define and execute rural development programmes(Gasteyer and Herman, 2013; Green and Zinda, 2013; Mefalopulos, 2008). Today, the participatory approach has been adopted. This approach is the direct opposite of modernization approach. It believes that the change or development in the rural area involves the empowerment of the rural people for the realization of their human values. It is the participatory approach that has birthed self –help rural development.

Self-help rural development is referred to as grassroots development by Gasteyer and Herman (2013). They note that "grassroots development is a process of intentional social change that privileges local organising, visioning and decision making" (Gasteyer and Herman, 2013: 56). The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO, 2013) describes self-help or grassroots rural development as rural transformation which harnesses the productivity and entrepreneurial potential of rural communities by transition of informal economic activities into the formal sector (UNIDO, 2013: 1). Rural transformation looks beyond agriculture.The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, 2016)notes thatrural transformation does not happen in isolation, but as part of a broader process of structural transformation shaped by the interlinkages between agriculture, the rural non-farm economy, manufacturing and services among others (IFAD, 2016: 18). IFAD (2016) goes

further to remark that rural transformation alters the structure of landholdings, the technologies in use, the capabilities of rural women and men, and the distribution and dynamics of the population and labour force. The foregoing shows that modern rural development or transformation encourages women and youth to take part in activities that can help in pushing poverty back. In other words, rural transformation aims to arrest the rural-urban drift which was caused by the underdevelopment of rural areas and connect it to the urban areas. This will lead to building a new countryside and the development of township and village enterprises (TVEs) (Long, Zou, Pykett and Li, 2011).

Supporting this, Bhose (2003) observes that "rural development is the process of continuous progress, unyoking the people from the stages of dependency towards self-reliance, assuring equitable distribution of opportunities and resources" (Bhose, 2013: 56). Similarly, Anaeto and Solo-Anaeto (2010) submit that rural development is "a planned process of change designed to alleviate poverty, increase productivity and improve the conditions of the rural areas" (Anaeto and Solo-Anaeto, 2010: 2). They add that rural development involves "a planned process of using a form of action or communication intended to transform the environment, institutions and attitudes of rural people to alleviate poverty and improve their way of life" (Anaeto and Solo-Anaeto, 2010: 2).

Facebook group as a rural development forum

Facebook exists in two main forms –as a page and as a group. A Facebook page is usually added to a person's profile. It is typically used by artistes or people with a large fan-base. The Facebook page is for public figures, celebrities and other people you would like to hear from (https://web.facebook.com). Every comment made by the person and response to the comment appears on the timeline. One sends and receives messages from a public figure by clicking on "like" on the public figure's page.

Facebook group is specialized. It is for like-minds or people who share interests. It carries the profile of the group or community. It could be a closed or open (public) group with an administrator. Vahl (2015) observes that one of the biggest reasons to join Facebook groups is the visibility and networking they offer. Generally speaking, a Facebook group is one of the social media platforms where people who are separated by distance but united by interest converge to share ideas, video clips, photographs or information among others. Kraynak and Belicove (2010) note that "Facebook is a free online social

network site where friends, families, colleagues and acquaintances can mingle, get to know one another better and expand their social circles" (Belicove, 2010: 3).

Facebook has transformed how information is shared. Kirkpatrick (2010) is of the view that this social media site makes communication more efficient, cultivate familiarity among people and enhance intimacy. He adds, "Facebook is bringing the whole world together. It has become an overarching common cultural experience for people worldwide, especially young people" (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 15).

A Facebook group is a good medium to mobilize support for or against any cause. Kirkpatrick (2010) observes that "people were using it back then to protest whatever was important...even if they were just upset about a minor issue with school" (Kirkpatrick, 2010: 6). Golden (2009) writes that Facebook causes three things in society. First, it causes deep integration. It binds members of the society together irrespective of geographic location, tribe and tongue. Second, it causes mass distribution of messages. The message on Facebook, like any other network media, spreads beyond one person to almost the whole people on the network. Third, it creates new opportunities. Facebook has become a place where an individual can stumble on information that is capable of transforming the person's life in a sustainable way.

Mobile phone and Facebook in rural areas

Internet communication can arguably be seen to have penetrated and reformed all forms of communication. In the past, internet services were mainly seen at cybercafés in the urban centres. But the discovery of Global System Mobile (GSM) or mobile phone has transformed communication and levels of interactions mainly in the rural areas. Because of the commercial drive of the operators, telecommunication masts are scattered in both urban and rural areas for greater market share.

Further improvement on mobile phone technology took it from simply voice services and text messaging to diverse range of applications. Smart wireless phone now operates the way computer does. In other words, it can be used to also browse the Internet, download video, audio and access information services. Most of the internet activities which were not available in rural areas due to lack of cybercafés or electricity are now done with the phone. Khali, Dagier and Qiang (2009) note that "mobile phones increase productive uses of online applications and services making it possible to improve process, introduce new

business models, drive innovation, and extend business links" (Khali, Dagier and Qiang, 2009: 5).

Mobile phone in other words has also extended social network to the rural areas. Many young people in rural areas are now connected with family and friends who are in faraway places. The ubiquity of mobile phone in rural areas has increased the information sharing capacity of rural people and as such has blurred the line between the urban and rural members of a community. Williams and Kwofie (2014) stress that African families are close units although today, these units are scattered they still communicate and support each other. This communication and support is coming from the mobile phone. The generation of mobile phones in rural areas has actually given the people, irrespective of location and distance, the opportunity to contribute their knowledge, ideas and opinion in what happens in their community.

Youths group discussion and civic engagement

Kim and Ball-Rokeach (2006) sought to find out how communication infrastructure of neighbourhood storytelling network can cause a community to engage in a collective action for common purpose (civic engagement). Civic engagement is akin to citizen participation in community efforts which helps individuals in identity formation, teamwork, building and maintaining organizations, socialization, community building, and democracy and civic society. The study found that neighbourhood storytelling network encourages people to talk about their neighbourhood thereby making individual residents more likely to become community members and have a stronger sense that they can solve various neighbourhood problems and to be more willing to participate in civic action. To explore the importance of youth groups in rural development, Iwuchukwu, Ogbonna and Agboti (2015) found out that Afikpo youths belonged to different groups and organisations and their major roles included town hall building, school development and market building among others.

On their own, Farnham, David-Keyes and Tugwell (2013) sought to explore the relationship between internet technology experiences, civic efficacy, community identification and civic engagement in their everyday lives. The study found that contrary to prevailing stereotypes of digital youth, most of them rely on email and text messaging in their local communities about civic issues. Those who use social network had higher levels of civic engagement. These studies have confirmed that sustainable rural development programmes are championed by a group or an organisation in the community. This group simply

uses a wide and cheap communication platform such as Facebook group to mobilize support from members of the community within and outside.

Theoretical framework

This study is anchored on participatory development communication approach. The groundwork for this approach to development was laid by Nora Cruz Queberal in 1973 in a paper titled "Development Communication in the Agricultural Context". The theory posits development decisions, plan and execution cannot be done without integrating the beneficiaries.It recognizes people as the drivers of their own development. Communication for Development Roundtable Report (CDR Report, 2005) sees participatory communication for development as "a horizontal, two-way process that is about people coming together to identify problems, agree on visions for desirable futures and empower the poorest. It is about the co-creation and sharing of knowledge. It respects the local context, value and culture" (CDR Report, 2005: 6). To involve the people in the development intervention requires sharing development information not only through the available means of communication, but the ones that can conveniently reach the people at a cheaper rate and offers them the right of reply. Interaction is central to participatory communication.

Similarly, Mefalopulos (2008) submits that participatory communication "involves the use of dialogic methods and tools to promote change" (Mefalopulos, 2008: 7). He goes on to say that the approach is rooted in the people's cultural realities. That is, development has to come from the people and within their environment; it cannot be transported or copied. McAnany (2012) notes that "participatory communication for development sees the people as the engines of sustainable change in their lives and their environments" (Mefalopulos, 2008: 87). In the views of Servaes (2008) this approach involves "sharing knowledge aimed at reaching consensus for action that takes into account the interests, needs and capacities of all concerned" (Servaes, 2008: 15).

For this reason, participatory communication approach to development recognizes any medium of communication that allows free and pluralistic information systems. The use of new information technology should be for problem solving and not an end to itself. Facebook provides a platform for participatory communication for development. It enables people to gather, irrespective of their physical locations, as though they are face-to-face to discuss and share information about their community. The Facebook groupplatform

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empowers community members to report issues of concern and make their voices heard. By so doing they improve their sense of identity and increase their participation in the community and the possibilities of empowerment for social change. Self-help projects are often initiated and pursued through information exchange among people who initially had an offline relationship, but may have been separated by distance. The end result of participatory communication is to bring about empowerment, commitment to action and equality in development decision making.

Methodology

The survey method and content analysis of Facebook group posts from August 2016 to October 2016 were employed. The population of this study comprised all the youths (aged between 15-44 years) in Rivers State which according to the National Population Commission Census (2006), was 2,588,682 and was projected to 3,241,865 in 2015 using 2.5% exponential growth rate. Using Meyer's sample size determination template, a sample size of 384 was arrived at. To ensure that every youth in the State was represented in the study, a multi-stage cluster sampling technique was adopted. The state was divided into the three senatorial zones from where three local government areas were purposively selected. The reason for using the purposive sampling technique was to eliminate any chance of selecting a local government that was not rural. Quota sampling technique was employed to allocate 42 respondents to each local government with the exception of Degema and Gokana which had 44 respondents each because they had larger populations.

   From each local government area, three wards were selected using simple random sampling technique. Subsequently, relying on the register/roll call of the general community youth association in the selected wards, a systematic random sampling technique of interval of six members was used to select 14 respondents from each ward. For content analysis, using simple random sampling technique, one Facebook group was selected from each of the three senatorial zones of the State. For clarity, Ikwerremeka news represented Rivers East senatorial district; Advocacy for the actualization of Ogoni freedom represented Rivers South-east senatorial district and Kalabari youth federation represented Rivers West senatorial district.

Content categories

To group messages shared (posted), the contents or themes of the three groups' posts between August 1 and October 31st were analysed and classified as shown below:

Table 1: Themes of discussion

Themes	Description
Name of Facebook group	They are the Facebook groups studied –Ikwerremeka news, Advocacy for the actualization of Ogoni freedom and Kalabari youth federation
Awareness raising	Posts on: 1. Notice of meetings of any community group 2. Government official's visit to the community or 3. Any other announcement
Raising community consciousness to support community programmes	Messages on: 1. Encouraging people to embrace education, 2. Use of native tongues, 3. Support for clean environment struggle 4. Stop and report of criminal activities
Call on government	Posts that border on road rehabilitation
Raising of political consciousness	Messages on politics
Skill acquisition/training	Posts that encourage people to learn a handwork
Others	These are messages that do not concern the community. They include things like advertisements, comedy skits, marriages and online businesses

Source: Developed for this research.

Results

Three hundred and eighty four (384) copies of the questionnaire were administered on the respondents by hand and all were returned. However, only

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267 were found useable as they belonged to Facebook groups while 117 did not belong to any Facebook group. For this reason, the 267 represents 100% of the respondents used for the analysis.

Table 2: Amount of time spent on Facebook

Nature of response	Number of respondents	Percentage
3 hours and above	57	21.3
1.30 mins -3 hour	133	49.8
30 mins-1.30 mins	68	25.5
1 min-30 mins	09	3.4
Total	267	100

Table 2 shows that 57 (21.3%) respondents spent above three hours on Facebook each time they are connected. A total of 133 (49.8%) respondents spent between 1.30 minutes and three hours each time they are connected. The number of respondents that spent between 30 minutes and 1.30 minutes was 68 (25.5%) while nine (3.4%) respondents were always connected for between one minute and 30 minutes.

Table 3: Frequency of community information sharing on Facebook group

Frequency	No. of respondents	Percentage
Daily	93	34.8
Once in 3 days	51	19.1
Once a week	107	40.1
Fortnightly	13	4.9
Don't share information	3	1.1
Total	267	100

The table shows that a total of 93(34.8%) respondents share information (photographs) everyday through Facebook group. The number of respondents that shared information once in three days was 51(19.1%). The table equally shows that 107(40.1%) respondents shared information on through Facebook group once in a week. A total of 13 (4.9%) respondents shared information fortnightly while 3 (1.1%) respondents did not share any message.

On content analysis, units of analysis of the discussion themes were texts, videos and pictures on the timelines of the three selected Facebook groups. It was found out that *Ikwerremeka news* had 5,179 members with 477 posts; *Advocacy for the actualization of Ogoni freedom* had 2,518 members with 72 posts on issues that directly or indirectly border on their community while *Kalabari youths federation* had 835 members with 47 posts about the community within the period under study. This brought the total posts from the three zones to 596.

Table 4[3]: Mobilization for school renovation

Nature of response	SA	A	D	SD	TOTAL	N	WMS	DECISION
Youths in your community use Facebook group to initiate and mobilize for renovation of schools	73 265	98 432	53 106	43 43	735	267	2.7	Accepted

The table shows a positive mean score of 2.7 which is accepted. The question indicates that 171(64.0%) agreed that youths use Facebook group to initiate and mobilize for the renovation of schools in Rivers State while 96 (36.0%) did not agree that youths used Facebook group to initiate and mobilize for the renovation of schools.

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[3] For this table and the others below, a four-point Likert Scale was used:
SA = Strongly Agree, A=Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree, while 'N' is the population and WMS= Weighted Mean Score. The decision rule is that any score above 2.5 is accepted as positive while the score below 2.5 is rejected.

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Table 5: Mobilization for environmental protection

Nature of response	SA	A	D	SD	TOTAL	N	WMS	DECISION
Facebook group is used to mobilize for environmental protection/sanitation	43 172	109 327	65 130	50 50	679	267	2.5	Accepted

The table shows that 152 (56.9%) respondents agreed that they used Facebook to promote environmental protection and sanitation while a total of 115 (43.1%) said they did not use Facebook group to promote environmental protection and sanitation.

Table 6: Mobilization of youths for community projects

Nature of response	SA	A	D	SD	TOTAL	WMS	DECISION
Facebook group discussion encourages youth participation in politics	57 228	139 417	38 76	33 33	267 754	2.8	Accepted
Community members outside the community always participate in the community development programmes	42 168	150 450	58 116	17 17	267 751	2.8	Accepted

The table shows that 196 (73.4%) respondents agreed that Facebook group discussion encourages youth participation in politics while 71 (26.6%) respondents disagreed that Facebook group discussion encouraged youth participation in politics. The table also shows that 192 (71.9%) respondents agreed that community members outside the community used Facebook group to

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participate in the discussion and execution of community projects while 75 (28.1%) respondents disagreed that community members outside the community participated in the community projects.

Discussion

This study was to find out how Rivers State youths utilize Facebook group platform in facilitating the development of rural areas. From the data gathered and analysed, it was found out that Rivers State youths use the Facebook group to share messages/information. Table 2 above shows that the respondents spent between one and a half hours, and three hours on Facebook group to post (repost or share) messages (video) aimed at community development. The content analysis shows that the size of each Facebook group affected the frequency of information sharing via the platform. Large ones like *Ikwerremeka news* got an average of six posts daily; *Advocacy for the actualization of Ogoni freedom* got an average of two posts daily while *Kalabari youth federation* got an average of two posts every three days. This shows that rural development messages were regularly shared on Facebook group.

This finding is in line with what Mustaffa, Ibrahim, Wan-Mahmud, Ahmad, Kee and Mahbob (2011) found in their study. The researchers found out that Facebook has emerged as the most pervasive and the most personal of the new media. The study observed that youths were influenced by peer pressure to use Facebook; spending several hours on it. Facebook is the most popular means of sharing messages especially among the youths. Similarly, Tables 4 and 5 above show that 64% of the respondents used Facebook group to discuss and facilitate the renovation of dilapidated schools in Rivers State. Furthermore, 73% of the respondents used Facebook to promote safe environment and sanitation.

The foregoing shows that Facebook group has been used to facilitate some specific development projects such as: an increase in political consciousness, renovation of schools and promotion of safe and clean environment because of oil exploration. Giving credence to this finding, Iwuchukwu, Ogbonna and Agboti (2015) discovered that the major contributions of Afikpo youths to community development included town hall building, school development and market building. Similarly, Umeh and Odom (2011) found out that youths contribute greatly to agricultural and rural development through construction and rehabilitation of rural roads, promotion of cultural heritage and mobilization of labour for community self-help projects.

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Finally, it was found out in the study that youths were often mobilized by messages shared or discussed on Facebook group. Table 4. above shows that 64.0% of the respondents agreed that Facebook group discussions made them take part in politics. The table equally shows that 56.2% respondents agreed that community members outside the community participated in the community projects. The finding is in tandem with the position adduced by Williams and Kwofie (2014) that African families are close units although today, these units are scattered they still communicate and support each other. Kirkpatrick (2010) corroborates this in his work that Facebook brings the whole world together.

Conclusion

The place of rural development in the overall national development is significant. In Nigeria, the colonial masters concentrated the necessities of life in the urban areas where they lived and operated from, while neglecting the other areas as rural. Many approaches to develop the rural areas have been tried with varying degrees of success. Initially, it was the modernization approach which encouraged planning of development programmes for rural dwellers by experts in the urban areas. Today, the participatory approach which encourages self-help or grassroots change or development is supported by many countries and United Nations agencies such as The World Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) among others. This approach has been seen as the most efficacious and more beneficial to the people. Although rural-urban drift has reduced the number of youths physically present in the rural areas, Facebook group has become a forum where a member of a community, irrespective of his/her location, can connect through the mobile phone to the platform and contribute in one way or the other in the discussion of change that needs to occur in the rural setting.

This form of participatory communication for development asthis study has demonstrated happens extensively among youths several communities in Rivers State, Nigeria on Facebook group. Specifically, the study found out that the youths have used discussions on Facebook group platforms to facilitate the renovation of dilapidated schools and promote safe environment and sanitation. It was equally found out that the Facebook group has raised the political consciousness of the youths in Rivers State. It is therefore recommended that development agents and government should develop Facebook groups dedicated to different aspects of socio-economic and political development of the state as a

way of monitoring the direction of people's needs in order to be proactive in providing the people with their needs.

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John Locke's concept of paternal power: The parents' formative prerogative for the children's Social and Political Roles

Longino Rutagwelera[1]

Abstract
Paternal Power is among the key concepts which John Locke used to expound his epistemology and social-political doctrine. While used to refute the Cartesian epistemological innatism the concept also served the purpose of ruling out political innatism which the then British nobility used as a ground to claim a natural and innate right to rule. The concept exposes the formative role that parents have to play over their children, its non-absolute nature and its aim of leading children into maturity rather than being a ground for claiming absolute political control. The concept is viewed in its social-political dimensions in its relationship with the principle of separation of powers, its instrumental role of refuting absolute monarchical rule, its applicability in civic education and formation into mature and responsible freedom. The paper hinges on the argument that social roles are neither natural nor innate, they come with worked and lived experience.
Keywords: Paternal power, John Locke, social roles, philosophy

Introduction

This research hinges on John Locke's understanding of paternal power and its social and political implications. My central argument is to establish, basing on John Locke's categorical denial of all forms of *innatism*, that each person's social and political place and role in society is neither natural nor genetic but rather a result from his/her formative environment. Parents have a role to play in the form of paternal power to mould the future social role of their children. This doctrine of Paternal Power had a background of refuting the then claim of the British nobility that it had a naturally innate aptitude and potential to rule. John Locke with this doctrine being inspired by his empirical stand, and being opposed to the said claim, maintained that all that a person is and what he/she

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becomes is neither divinely given nor genetically and naturally innate but begins and comes from experience which, among others encompasses formation from parents in the form of paternal power. Just as the parents' role in the form of paternal power has a time limit to be exercised until children reach the age of reason, so also all social and political powers may not be exercised over subjects perpetually as the nobility claimed. The concept therefore, helps explain also the reason of denying political absolutism which was the claim of the nobility.

John Locke in brief: Life and background to his socio-political philosophy

John Locke was born in England on 29th August 1632. He studied classical philosophy, medicine and experimental philosophy at The Westminster School and Christ Church – Oxford. He experienced social and political upheavals such as conflicts between the Anglicans, Protestants, and Catholics; political tensions between the monarchies and the parliament etc. He became part of this conflict and thus he lived in exile in Holland since 1683 until The Glorious Revolution of 1688. He died on 28th October 1704 (Chappell, 1994: 5-25).

For Locke, human persons were originally in the state of perfect freedom and were equal (Locke, 2005: 72-73). By perfect freedom he negatively means a state of not being under, or depending on the will of another person. In the positive sense, it means the capacity of self-determination in matters of ordering one's actions, disposing one's possessions according to what one thinks fit (Locke, 2005: 72-73). He qualifies this freedom as perfect but not as absolute (Tully, 1994: 19). It is not absolute because it is within the bounds of the laws of nature (Locke, 2005: 72-73) and of one's thinking nature (Locke, 2005: 72-73). This perfect freedom is the freedom for construction and preservation rather than for destruction; it is freedom for charity rather than for subordination (Locke, 2005: 73).

This original state of nature is as well qualified by equality of all human beings. By this equality he means that all human beings are equal in their nature, equally subject to God, equally disposed to use their natural faculties and are disposed to an equal exploitation and use of what nature offers (Ashcraft, 1991: 151). This equality is the ground for mutual love and reciprocation of duty, and foundation of justice and charity (Locke, 2005: 73). Taking God as the source of human equality and laws of nature, he conceives Him as the author of this state of nature and as with power to order it as He wills (Ashcraft, 1991: 221). It is against this background, that God whom he qualifies as the 'Lord and Master' (Locke, 2005: 83-84) bestowed power and responsibility over parents to will for

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their children while they are in their tender age. It is this responsibility of parents over children in their tender age which he conceives as paternal power.

Exposition of the concept of paternal power

Definition of paternal power

John Locke defines paternal power as that power:

> which parents have over their children, to govern them for the children's good, till they come to the use of reason, or a state of knowledge, wherein they may be supposed capable to understand that rule, whether it be the law of nature, or the municipal law of their country, they are to govern themselves (Locke, 2005: 123).

From this definition, we learn that although he qualifies this power as paternal, it is not confined to the father but it pertains to both parents. He justifies its parental aspect as opposed to being confined to the father by making recourse to its natural and divine origin which gives authority to both parents (Locke, 2005: 87). But does it logically follow that obeying the father and the mother entails that the two have the same power over their children? Answering this question, we proceed by arguing that obedience is a concept which necessarily entails a relation of response to some form of power. If children are divinely mandated to obey their father and mother, it follows that the father and the mother have power to which children reciprocate in the form of obedience. It would be logically absurd for child to be obedient to the father and to the mother if the two did not have power as a reality correlative to obedience. With this argument, I justify the necessary coexistence of the two concepts, that is, parental power and children's obedience. My next burden is to investigate the parental power in terms of its nature and origin and to see whether it is necessary or contingent.

Origin and finality of paternal power

Paternal power originates from God as a dimension of the divine mandate to the human persons to fill the world and subjugate it (Ashcraft, 1991: 164). Its divine origin is made concrete both through revelation in the scriptures in which children are mandated to obey their parents (Locke, 2005: 87) and through the human rational nature in which human beings in general are endowed with the

inclination of self-preservation and preservation of others (Ashcraft, 1991: 15-16).

As exposed above, for John Locke human persons originally were in the state of nature characterized by perfect freedom and equality (Locke, 2005: 72-73). If by freedom he objects subordination of one human person under any other human person, what justifies parental power which by its nature subordinates children under parents? Making recourse to his concept of the original state of nature, he maintains that, originally human beings had perfect freedom being guided by the law of nature through which they maintained order (Locke, 2005: 72-73). When human persons started to transgress the laws of nature, it was when infringing into others' freedom and rights became a reality (Locke, 2005: 74-75). This infringement however, did not abrogate the natural human right to self-preservation (Tully, 1994: 25). Children, in the thought of John Locke, as human beings have a right to self-preservation but due to the tenderness of their age are not capable of carrying it out on their own. It is here that God brings in the role of parents in the form of parental power in order to will for their children and to preserve them through nourishment, education and protection (Locke, 2005: 88). Paternal power therefore is divine in origin and it is necessary due to the tenderness of the children's age (Locke, 2005: 90).

But if parental power is necessitated by the tenderness of the children's age, does it not make parents infringe into children's freedom which is natural to them as human beings? Does the power-obedience relationship not subordinate children under their parents and thus contradict the natural equality among human beings? John Locke, referring to the divine source of human beings, maintains that Adam and Eve as the first human beings were created free and equal but the rest of humanity were created and born to be free and to be equal (Locke, 2005: 88). This is our interpretation in order to clarify the coexistence of natural freedom and subjection under parents. The interpretation also helps make a difference between the freedom of Adam and that of the other human beings. Tuckness (2010: 633) shedding light on the same, maintains that although human beings are born free and rational, they do not have actual ability to exercise them until age allows them. For him, freedom and equality go hand in hand with knowledge of the laws of nature which comes with age (Tarcov, 1999: 73). Adam and Eve who were created adults were equal and free right from the beginning because right from the moment of their creation they knew the laws of nature which guided their lives.

Children, on the other hand, interpreting the thought of John Locke though are born free, their freedom is limited by their tenderness and thus are born to be

free and to be equal to their parents with age (Locke, 2005: 88). We interpret John Locke's thought as children not being actually free because due to their tender age they do not know the laws of nature which guide human life (Locke, 2005: 88). Without this knowledge, children cannot will for themselves and therefore cannot be deemed free. It is parents who will for children, and it is here that parental power comes into play in order to will for children leading them to freedom. Parental power therefore, is not parents' infringement into children's freedom because the latter are not free, and it is meant not to destroy but to preserve, nourish, educate and to orient children's potentiality towards freedom and equality(Ashcraft, 1991: 15-16).

Features of paternal power

As maintained above, parental power is divine in origin and therefore it is not a human institution. Human persons become aware of it both through divine revelation and through natural light of reason. These two sources from which human persons know paternal power are not mutually exclusive because they both have God as their common author (Locke, 2005: 88). From what I have established above, I make an inference that parental power has both divine and natural aspects. It is divine both in the mode it is revealed through the scriptures (Locke, 2005: 87) and in its origin as a dimension of the divine mandate given to Adam and Eve to fill the world and subjugate it (Tarcov, 1999: 147). It is natural in itsother mode of being known through the natural light of reason which comes with age (Locke, 2005: 89).

   Both in its divine and natural dimensions, paternal power is both an obligation and a right. It is an obligation in the sense of being a mandate from an authority (Locke, 2005: 88). In the thought of John Locke, this power is an obligation due to its nature of being a mandate from God (Locke, 2005: 88). While it is a mandate of exercise on the side of parents, it is a mandate of obedience on the side of children (Locke, 2005: 93). Parental power is a right in the sense of being ordered either to exercise it or to receive it. Due to their tender age, children have a right of being under the paternal power of their parents who have to will for them in their tender age, to preserve them, to nourish them and educate them (Locke, 2005: 88). While children have a right to parental care in the form of paternal power, parents on the other hand have a parental right to exercise it on their children (Grant, 1991: 59).

   But if parents have a right to exercise paternal power on their children, do they have a right to receive it from God? According to John Locke, God whom

he conceives as the creator of all gave this power to parents as a privilege and as a forum of their parental obligation (Locke, 2005: 90). This privilege is rooted in God's freedom to create and His free determination of how human beings are to start existing (Locke, 2005: 95). His act of creation is free and all that pertains to it is free on His side but a mandate or a privilege on the side of creatures in relation to their creator (Parker, 2004: 139). While He created Adam and Eve as adults with full knowledge of the laws of nature and therefore needing not being under paternal power, He created the rest of humanity as infants needing paternal power to guide them. Just as He created Adam and Eve as adults, He could freely create the rest of humanity as adults. If God creates freely, it logically follows that paternal power as part of His creation is given freely and therefore parents are not to take it as their right before God.

Paternal power having been given freely by God to parents makes it to be limited on the part of parents. By being limited, parental power is not absolute (Locke, 2005: 87). It is not absolute in the sense that parents exercise it in the name of God who created it and who creates children upon whom it is exercised. Since God is the master of all: parents, children and parental power, He gives this power to parents who are to account for it (Horris, 1998: 230). As stewards, parents therefore exercise paternal power within limits set by God to whom they are to render account for it (Locke, 2005: 88). Paternal power is not regal as well in the sense that it is not for lording it over children but rather for preserving, nourishing and educating children leading them to freedom and equality (Locke, 2005: 88). Denying it a regal aspect, John Locke exposes it in the background of opposing absolute monarchy in which the absolute power of the king was claimed to be transmitted to the princes and thus making the latter a prolongation of the absolute power of their father (Parker, 2004: 115).

Another feature of paternal power is that it is temporary and transitory (Locke, 2005: 88). This means, parents are mandated to exercise it over children in their tender age in which they are not capable of willing for themselves as they do not know the dictates of the laws of nature (Locke, 2005: 88). When children reach an age of reason they are left on their own to be as free as their parents (Locke, 2005: 88). But if this power is not absolute and yet temporary and transitory, what factors determine maturity of children? Is it logically tenable that reaching a specific age is a guarantee of knowing the laws of nature? Does it follow that knowing the laws of nature guarantees living according to them?

John Locke does not specify an age at which a child is presumed mature enough to will for himself/herself. He still gives a hint that maturity comes as

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well with education from parents. For him, the combination of the two: age and education leads to maturity. The definition of parental power entails that a child's maturity goes hand in hand with knowledge of the laws of nature. But does this knowledge come with biological growth or growth in education? He resolves this question by citing examples of children who biologically are of age but still incapable of willing for themselves (Locke, 2005: 89). With this therefore, a mere biological growth does not guarantee maturity for one to will for himself/herself. Growth which comes with both biological maturity and educational maturity is what leads one to the state of willing for oneself. While biological maturity comes with a natural course of growth, educational maturity on the other hand presupposes knowledge and ability to transmit it on the part of parents (Locke, 2005: 89) and the ability to assimilate it on the part of children (Locke, 1996: 33).

My question of investigation in relation to what is established above is whether such education and the ability to transmit it are divinely given to parents or they receive it from their parents. If I have previously established that paternal power has a divine origin, does it not follow that education and the ability to transmit it and its component parts are divine in origin? In the light of John Locke I argue that parents are divinely given paternal power and are divinely mandated to exercise it (Locke, 2005: 90). Children as well are divinely mandated to submit to their parents (Locke, 2005: 87). The divine origin of the paternal power and of the filial obedience extends to the ability to transmit it and to the aptitude to assimilate it respectively. This is justified by what John Locke describes of parents as having "suitable inclinations of tenderness and concern" – the qualities which are divinely given to parents for the education of their children (Locke, 2005: 123). It is by such qualities that parents are naturally inclined to be concerned for the wellbeing of their children (Locke, 2005: 89).

Children on the other hand, are naturally endowed with the aptitude to assimilate formation from their parents. Parents in their paternal power are presumed to be knowledgeable as to what and how they are to educate, preserve and nourish their children. Although paternal power is divinely given and its purpose is determined by God, the content of education and the manner of transmitting it to children is left to the free discernment of parents (Parry, 1968: 31). In their state of freedom parents are to determine what is fit for the growth of their children and have to determine the mode of transmitting it. If parents were to be divinely instructed of what and how to educate their children as an exercise of their paternal power, then they would be as immature as their children and they would not be in use of reason (Locke, 2005: 88). Knowledge

of the content and the mode of exercising one's paternal power as dimensions of maturity therefore, come with age rather than being divinely infused or instructed. Just as Adam got neither divine nor human instruction as of what it means to be free and as of the limits of his freedom, so also parents as mature persons receive instruction neither from God nor from a human source as of what and how they are to instruct their children.

But if mature age is a criterion for one to be presumed of being able to use rightly his/her reason, does this not lead humanity into subjectivism and relativism in the sense that each parent educates his/her children the way he/she pleases and according to historical, geographical and cultural factors? To resolve this question, we make recourse to John Locke's doctrine of associating paternal power and his concept of political power (Parry, 1968: 65). As already maintained, for John Locke paternal power is not absolute. Not being absolute, makes paternal power limited and thus needs other types of power to complement it. It is against this background that John Locke's political doctrine of Separation of Powers comes into play. He contends for the split of power into administrative, executive and legislative divisions (Locke, 2005: 114). With this notion of separation of powers, paternal power is only administrative and not legislative nor executive (Locke, 2005: 93-94). With this limitation of paternal power, the role of the state comes into play to set rules and regulations which guide parents in their exercise of paternal power and thus eliminating subjectivism and relativism.

If paternal power were to be absolute and thus encompassing all administrative, executive and legislative aspects, then in the thought of John Locke, parents would transgress into others' freedom and rights and would result into conflicts and insecurity (Epstein, 1984: 129). With the split of power which is the result of voluntarily forming what John Locke calls a commonwealth, (Locke, 2005: 100) parents as mature persons voluntarily consent to entrust their power to the commonwealth which in its legislative and executive powers leads the whole commonwealth to the right end of humanity (Locke, 2005: 100-101). In its legislative and executive powers, the commonwealth sets regulations and executes them for the good of all and therefore eliminates chances for each parent to educate his/her children the way he/she pleases (Parry, 1968: 130).

Being limited to the administrative dimension which encompasses education, nourishment and preservation of children until they come of age, and the age of reason being a criterion for freedom, paternal power is transient and temporary (Locke, 2005: 88). Making a reflection on its transient and temporary nature, the

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question before us is at what exact age a person is presumed mature enough to will for himself/herself and thus be left free? Is this age to be set by parents, by the state or it is naturally fixed? If the age of maturity were naturally fixed, the role of parents to educate their children would be superfluous and there would be uniformity of maturity among people of different cultures and countries, but this is not the case. If it were to be fixed by parents, families would succumb into relativism and subjectivism as the same person could be deemed a child to some people and an adult to others. Basing ourselves on John Locke's understanding of the origin and finality of the commonwealth, we take determination of the age of maturity as one of the prerogatives of the commonwealth which aims at the good of all citizens (Locke, 2005: 90).

Social implications of paternal power

Basing on the concept of paternal power in its meaning, its features, its source and its relation with the whole spectrum of John Locke's philosophical thoughts, I am now in a position to give a critical analysis of its implications and impact in the social life both in the time John Locke and in our time. I will focus my critique on its relationship with maternal power and filial duty.

Paternal power vis-à-vis maternal power

As John Locke poses the question, does the term 'paternal' in reference to paternal power exclude the mother in the responsibility of parents over children? For him, however, paternal power is equivalent to parental power (Locke, 2005: 123-124). The word 'paternal' in its Greek and Latin roots, literally means 'father'. But in its Latin usage, it was much more of the social sense meaning a parent, head of a household rather than a mere biological sense of a male parent (Andre, 1979: 487). John Locke, therefore, takes 'paternal' to mean 'parental' rather than confining it to the father at the exclusion of the mother (Locke, 2005: 87). But what was an interest of John Locke to go into the etymological analysis of the word 'paternal'? Was gender and parental inequality an alarming issue at his time to an extent of calling for a need of clarifying the term as embracing both the father and mother?

Although gender and parental inequality were not issues calling for special attention, John Locke's critical analysis of the term 'paternal' is in the background of what prompted him to write the Two Treatises of Government in the year 1689. In 1680, there was a posthumous publication of Sir Robert

Filmer's work entitled *Patriarcha* in which he advocated absolute monarchy and people's unconditional subjection defending the kings' divine right to rule. In this book, Sir Robert Filmer maintained that a family under the authority of a father is divinely instituted and that it is the model of all authentic governments. For him, the authority to head the family is given by God exclusively to the father just as it was given to Adam. This authority is absolute over property and over people's life and death. From Adam this power was inherited by Noah and finally by his sons Shem, Ham and Japheth. From these patriarchs kings inherited the absolute power to exercise it over their families, their subjects and over all property.

In a negative response to Sir Robert Filmer, John Locke objects the monopoly of the father over the family and children. John Locke's motive for this contention is much more to object the claimed absolute monarchical power rather than to promote gender equality in the family. His contention that the mother in the family has a role to play (Locke, 2005: 87) creates bases for the promotion of his political doctrine of division of powers rather than to promote gender equality. He justifies his contention of 'paternal power' being synonymous to 'parental power' by making recourse to the mandate given to children to obey parents rather than obeying fathers (Locke, 2005: 87). He also equates the term 'paternal' to 'parental' in order to rule out Sir Robert Filmer's claim of equating paternal power with regal power which is absolute and is to be transmitted from the monarch to his descendants (Locke, 2005: 7-8).

But if John Locke takes paternal power as synonymous to parental power, it presupposes children. Does this power pertain to human persons in as much as they are human persons or rather in as much as they are parents? If it pertains to them in as much as they are human persons, are we not justified to affirm that each human person has it even if he/she has no children? But if being a parent is a relational concept can one be a parent without children? If on the other hand, parents have paternal power in as much as they are parents, is it tenable that those without children do not have it?

To resolve the questions posed above, I make recourse to what John Locke maintains as for the meaning, the origin and finality of paternal power. This power is that ability of forming, educating and orienting children to the understanding of the laws of nature and moral principles (Locke, 2005: 123-124). It has a divine origin and its finality isto lead children towards maturity and thus rendering them have a right use of reason, to be free and responsible. When children pass from the age of childhood to maturity they become

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responsible for themselves and capable to educate and orient their children as they were treated by their parents.

Paternal power is one dimension of human maturity and therefore come with age and experience rather than with the fact of begetting children (Locke, 2005: 65). I therefore affirm that human persons get paternal power in as much as they reach the age of right use of reason. Being a dimension of human maturity every mature human person has it whether he/she has children or not. The relational aspect of parental power as an endowment of every mature human person in the context of John Locke's socio-political philosophy, rather than being for the necessity of having children, contributes to his rejection of the monarchical absolutism. In his thought, if all mature human persons are endowed with paternal power, there are no grounds of claiming it as an exclusive prerogative of monarchs and their descendants. Paternal power as the ability of parents to guide children to maturity leads us to a critical analysis of the response from children in the form of filial obedience.

Paternal power vis-à-vis filial obedience

As established already, paternal power has a relational dimension of the ability to guide rather than actual having of children. When this power is exercised, it coincides with its relational counterpart of obedience from children. John Locke describes children's response to paternal power as filial obedience and duty entailing respect, gratitude and assistance (Locke, 2005: 90-91). But if paternal power is not absolute as we have exposed, does this give us a firm ground to affirm that filial obedience does not entail absolute submission to parents? If the answer is in the affirmative, there must be another source of formative power which provides for what parents are not entitled to. If the answer is in the negative, then there are aspects of children's life in which the role of parents is superfluous. Attempting to resolve this question, I make an appeal to John Locke's work in which he describes paternal power saying:

> But this is very far from giving parents a power of command over their children, or an authority to make laws and dispose as they please of their lives or liberties. It is one thing to owe honour, respect, gratitude and assistance; another to require an absolute obedience and submission (Locke, 2005: 91).

Making reference to this quotation, paternal power does not entail absolute obedience and submission from children. Limitations inherent to the nature of its

exercise are the same limitations that deny it prerogatives of receiving obedience in matters it cannot dispose. John Locke specifies areas of powers excluded from parental power. These are legislative power and executive power, (Locke, 2005: 92) which according to him, pertain to the civil authorities (Parry, 1969: 124). They pertain to the civil society as a commonwealth, that is, a sovereign society entrusted with power for the good of all (Locke, 2005: 100-101). If such powers were to be in the hands of parents, the role of the civil society would be undermined and its role of keeping order for the good of all would be superfluous as each parent in his/her household would exercise all powers at the expense of others' rights.

If the civil society has a role to play on the growth of children while complementing paternal power, is Sir Robert Filmer not justified to take filial obedience as the same as subjects' obedience and submission to the monarch? (Locke, 2005: 7-8). According to John Locke, paternal power is not the same as monarchical power and therefore subjects' allegiance to the monarch is not the same as children's obedience to parents. He justifies this by maintaining that while paternal power and its corresponding filial obedience are divine in origin; monarchical power and subjects' allegiance to it are divine in origin (Locke, 2005: 78). While parents are divinely endowed with the ability to guide their children to reach discernment and maturity, and children are divinely mandated to obey their parents, (Locke, 2005: 89-90) the monarchy on the other hand is purely a human institution rooted in the consent and contract of people (Tully, 1993: 37).

As paternal power is divinely instituted, its relationship with filial obedience has a divine origin and carries with it accountability before God (Locke, 2005: 88). The relationship between monarchical power and subjects' allegiance on the other hand, as it is a human institution directly bears accountability to the society and indirectly and in isolated cases to God. For instance, for children who in their tender age happen to lose their parents, the society chips in to give them guardians to play a paternal role with paternal accountability (Locke, 2005: 89). This however provokes another question: if orphans in their tender age are given guardians to guide them, are mature people without children to be given children from whom they may get filial assistance?

For John Locke, both paternal power and filial obedience are for the good of children and not for that of parents (Locke, 2005: 57). Due to their tender age, children necessarily need paternal guidance. Obedience from children in their tender age as a positive response to paternal duty makes paternal power realize its finality of leading children to maturity. Parents therefore, do not achieve

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anything for themselves through exercising paternal power but rather, children achieve maturity through obedience to their parents' paternal power. But still as John Locke maintains, while paternal power is temporary (Locke, 2005: 88-89), filial obedience is perpetual (Locke, 2005: 91). This means, while parents exercise paternal power when their children are below the age of reason, children on the other hand are to obey their parents both in their tender age and in their mature age (Locke, 2005: 91). Here, we differentiate tender age filial obedience from mature age filial obedience. While the former is for guidance towards discernment and maturity, the latter is the concretization of maturity in the form of gratitude (Locke, 2005: 92). While tender age filial obedience is a right of parents in order to realize their parental power, mature age filial obedience is a right of parents primarily not for their need but for gratitude (Locke, 2005: 92) . An aspect of assistance and support which parents may get from their mature sons/daughters is not necessarily filial nor is it necessarily obediential. This gives me a basis to make a conclusion that while orphans need guardians to guide them to maturity, mature persons without children do not necessarily need a supplement of adopted children. The social implications of the concept of paternal power as exposed above bring us to the political implications of the same as explicated in the following section.

Political implications of paternal power

As John Locke developed the concept of paternal power as a part of his philosophical thought in general, it bears some political implications. In the following subsection, I will carry out a critical analysis of paternal power as opposed to monarchical power and its relation with the concept of freedom and finally, the way it implies separation of powers.

Paternal power vis-à-vis monarchical power

Being an opponent of absolute monarchy, John Locke advances his socio-political philosophy in response to Sir Robert Filmer whose socio-political thought advocated absolute monarchy (Wootton, 2002: 92). While he agrees with Sir Robert Filmer that paternal power has a divine origin (Locke, 2005: 90), he radically differs from him by denying conceiving monarchical power as an extension of paternal power (Locke, 2005: 93). For John Locke, paternal power is limited as it is only administrative and temporary in the sense of guiding and educating children only in their tender age. Since this power is meant for the

education and for guiding children before they reach the age of reason, there cannot be a justification of extending it to adults who have full use of reason. Still, if in creation God gave limited power to the human person, there are no grounds for the same human person to claim having it absolutely. If paternal power were to be continued in the form of monarchical power, then every parent would have a right to be a monarch. Hence, paternal power is not political power (Ashcraft, 1991: 34) and absolute monarchy is absurd. Still, if monarchical power was to be traced back to Adam as its proponents claimed, still every human person as a descendant of Adam would have a right to be a monarch.

If all human beings were naturally not free, needing an absolute monarch to rule them as Sir Robert Filmer maintained, then even the monarch would need another monarch over him, hence the absurdity of absolutism in monarchical politics. Conceiving paternal power as limited in application only to children and as a duty for every parent, John Locke waters down the claim of the princes' and princesses' natural right to rule (Locke: 2005: 78). Advocating education and formation as integral dimensions of paternal power, John Locke takes it to be a parental obligation of whoever is a parent: be it a monarch or a subject. Being a parent therefore, a monarch is to educate and guide his own children like any other parent. John Locke bases this contention on his epistemological doctrine that all human beings are born with plane minds (Locke, 1996: 33). This doctrine rules out the claim that princes/princesses are born with infused qualities to rule, and it proves absurd giving a person responsibility over something he/she does not know.

John Locke's contention that paternal power is divine in origin and that monarchical power is human in origin provokes a question. In his thought, he takes as the prerogative of the civil society vested with political power which is human in origin to determine and direct some aspects of paternal power which is divine in origin. How does he justify what is human to direct and control what is divine? This question leads us to a critical analysis of the split or Separation of Powers as exposed in the following section.

Paternal power and the separation of powers

By the separation of powers, John Locke means entrusting different competencies to different persons or to organs with an aim of maintaining a just pursuit of the finality of a commonwealth, that is the preservation of property (Tully, 1993: 36). Keeping the human persons in the state of nature, each with a right to self-preservation and to execute the laws of nature would result into

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anarchy (Locke, 2005: 75-76). It is this situation which necessitates formation of a civil society through a consent which results into separation of powers which each human person had in the state of nature. In the separation of powers, legislative and executive powers are entrusted into the hands of the civil authority for the good of the whole commonwealth (Locke, 2005: 78).

By his theory of the origin and finality of society and by his concept of consent, John Locke justifies the role of civil power which is human by origin, in some aspects to control parental power which is divine by origin. Civil society and its respective power are a result of the consent given by people, and thus entrusting some of their natural powers to the civil authority for the preservation of what John Locke collectively calls property (Locke, 2005: 108-109). Civil authority which is established through human consent is meant to establish law and to execute it for the good of all, hence it is for the legislative and executive powers which supplement paternal administrative power (Locke, 2005: 109-110).

As an answer to our question, civil authorities which are human by origin, by the consent of people for their own good and for the good of the whole commonwealth, are given power to control paternal power which is divine by origin. We deem this as not contrary to the will of God because a voluntary consent of entrusting their rights to the hands of civil authorities contributes to the proof of human wisdom of promoting and maintaining order which makes self-preservation realizable.

But if John Locke advocates the legitimacy of power: be it paternal or civil, how does he consistently maintain his philosophical tenet that every human person is free while power is necessarily directed to some people as its subject? My interest in this question is to investigate as to how parents are naturally invested with paternal power while *ipso facto* not infringing into the freedom of their children. This is the central point of discussion in the following section.

Paternal power and the concept of freedom

John Locke expounds his concept of freedom in relation to his opposition to the absolute monarchy (Tarcov, 1999: 9-10). Sir Robert Filmer who advocated the absolute monarchy claimed that human persons by their nature are not free (Locke, 2005: 7-8). It is against this background that John Locke develops his concept of freedom both in its negative and positive dimensions, while making a difference between mature human persons and children rather than taking human persons in general. For him, freedom in the negative sense meansthe

absence of constraint and violence from others (Locke, 2005: 88). In the positive sense, he defines it as: "liberty to dispose, and order as he lists, his person, actions, possessions, and his whole property, within the allowance of those laws under which he is" (Locke, 2005: 88).

Both in its positive and negative senses, John Locke understands freedom to be within the bounds of the laws of nature. It is against this background that John Locke conceives human freedom as not absolute. In this sense therefore, transgressing the laws of nature is not only infringing into others' freedom but also enslavement of the self under the pretext of being free (Locke, 2005: 88). For John Locke, freedom both in its positive and negative dimensions necessarily requires maturity which goes hand in hand with knowledge of the laws of nature (Tarcov, 1999: 73). It is against this background he makes a difference between Adam and Eve on one hand and the rest of humanity on the other maintaining that Adam and Eve, created as adults, were created free as they knew the laws of nature (Locke, 2005: 88). The rest of human beings are born as infants, ignorant of the laws of nature and therefore not as free as Adam and Eve. Interpreting his concept of being born free, the actuality of human freedom does not come with birth as such but comes with age and maturity (Locke, 2005: 88).

Our interpretation that human beings are born to be free implies the aspect of growth into, and guidance towards freedom. This guidance towards maturity which entails freedom, in the thought of John Locke is given by a person who is mature and thus who knows what it entails to be mature. This is the role played by parents in the form of paternal power. Paternal power therefore, does not infringe into children's freedom because they do not have actual ability to exercise it. It rather nurtures and leads children to actual freedom through educating them on the laws of nature, the knowledge of which makes them actually and actively free.

If he takes freedom as necessarily associated with knowledge of the laws of nature, does the same contention rule out a mere biological maturity to be criterion of freedom? And if freedom goes with responsibility, what are the grounds of holding responsible a person who is biologically of age but ignorant of the laws of nature? For John Locke, a mere biological attainment of the age of reason is not enough for one to know the laws of nature (Locke, 1996: 14). The mere biological attainment of the age of reason may be due to the natural incapacity (Locke, 2005: 89) or lack of guidance by paternal power (Locke, 2005: 89). As for the first case, a human person who biologically reaches the age of reason, but naturally incapacitated to know the laws of nature, remains under

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the paternal care of parents (Locke, 2005: 89). Since the concept of freedom and what it entails do not apply to such a person, his/her parents in the capacity of their paternal power remain responsible for his/her actions (Locke, 2005: 89).

As for the second case, if children do not have parents to guide them, the civil authority finds guardians for them (Locke, 2005: 89). But if the civil society does not find guardians for such orphans, are they not able to learn the laws of nature by themselves and apply them without depending on paternal guidance? Making recourse to John Locke's epistemology, the laws of nature are neither innate (Locke, 1996: 10) nor self-evident (Locke, 1996: 18). They are not innate in the sense that they are not imprinted on the human mind at the moment of creation, and they are not self-evident in the sense that they are known through being exposed (Locke, 1996: 18). Denying the Cartesian *innatism*, human beings are not born with imprinted ideas and principles. They get them by experience. By experience he does not mean a mere living up to the age of reason but being exposed to truth by a person who knows it. In relation to this research, knowledge of the laws of nature which is necessary for human persons to be deemed mature comes with experience in the sense of those laws being exposed by other persons who know them (Tarcov, 1999: 73). With this therefore, he proves that for children to know the laws of nature paternal power is necessary.

Evaluation

Paternal power is one of the key concepts in John Locke's socio-political and moral philosophy. It is also related with his epistemology in which it plays an important role of guiding children to knowledge of the laws of nature. In this final section, I evaluate it in its strong and weak areas and thus highlight areas that call for further research together with its rightful place and relevance in the contemporary world.

Appraisal of John Locke's concept of paternal power

John Locke's concept of paternal power is subject to appraisal in what it is and its application to, and implication in the socio-political and moral dimensions of the human existence. I deem it strong and recommendable as he conceives it as naturally indispensable for children's responsible maturity. As he takes it a necessary factor for guiding and orienting children, it is necessary not only for children who are guided through it but also good for the society at large.

Authentic freedom, justice and order in societies which contribute to responsible citizenship are possible only if citizens are well guided and formed from their infancy – a formation which is done through paternal power. His criteria of maturity and its implications make part of the strong areas of his philosophy. He contends for the ability to use the faculty of reason as one of the criteria for maturity, freedom and responsibility. With this he rules out the Cartesian *innatism* and a mere biological maturity as criteria of knowing the laws of nature which guide human life. We take this contention as strong and recommendable in his philosophy in the sense that maturity and its implications of freedom and responsibility must be backed by a right use of reason rather than being based on a mere attainment of a specific age.

Taking God as the creator and master of all is another area of strength in his philosophy. He expounds his concept of paternal power by referring it to Holy Scriptures as its source. Although his empirical approach to reality limits his understanding of God and His rightful role, we give him a credit of not ruling Him out and of not reducing all existence to a natural mechanism. Another strong feature of the concept of paternal power is to associate guidance with power. In this way of thinking, while guiding children, the parents' role of guiding children is not subject to voluntary acceptance or refusal, but rather, it is a mandate. Parental guidance therefore, realizes its finality if it is backed by power. We deem it a strong area of advocating paternal power as opposed to Cartesian *innatism*. Putting it in its rightful context, all children, of royal and common origin alike, need paternal guidance to maturity rather than presuming the former to have innate qualities even of ruling others.

Despite its strength, paternal power is not without setbacks. His empirical approach to reality in general and to the human person in particular, makes him use interchangeably what is divine and what is natural (Grant, 1991: 21). Although he takes God to be the author and master of nature (Locke, 2005: 72-73), he does not make a difference between what is natural and what is supernatural. It is against this background that though he conceives paternal power as divine in origin, he takes it to serve natural purposes of leading children to know the laws of nature. His empirical approach leads him to phenomenalism and thus deprives realty its metaphysical foundation.

As another weakness, he does not specify the age of reason at which the application of paternal power has to cease. Leaving this age unspecified creates a possibility of subjectivism and relativism among civil authorities of different societies in which one society may claim its citizens to have reached maturity while the same persons deemed children by other societies. If he had to specify

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it, still it would have been difficult to have an international and intercultural viability as formation and education of children in different societies are not the same for they depend on cultures, socio-political settings and historical backgrounds.

I question John Locke's consistency as he maintains that paternal power is temporary but its corresponding filial obedience is permanent (Locke, 2005: 88). In his empirical approach to reality, he takes the parent – child relation to be guided by the laws of nature in the sense that it changes with age. With this approach, he denies this relationship a permanent parental sentiment which transcends age barriers. He conceives filial obedience in adulthood as not filial subjection to parents but as a form of gratitude and assistance to parents. I question this understanding as to whether there can be obedience of whatever form without its corresponding power. The root of this inconsistency is his narrow concept of paternal power as confined to coercive guidance rather than taking it as extended to moral authority. He would be more consistent if he had maintained that after the age of reason, as filial obedience changes to filial duty of gratitude, so also paternal power cease to be coercive power of guidance and permanently continues to be paternal moral power of respect, knowledge, wisdom and exemplarity. If John Locke were to extend the concept of paternal power to retain moral authority to sons and daughters in their adulthood, then he would have eliminated a moral vacuum which he creates by conceiving adults as mature enough of not needing moral guidance. John Locke's concept of paternal power has bearing and relevance in the contemporary world. Some philosophical questions it provokes call for further research in the contemporary world and some of its implications are relevant and applicable to various situations of our time as exposed in the following section.

Relevance of John Locke's paternal power in the contemporary world

I deem it viable and valid that parents should play a formative role to their children leading them to free and responsible maturity. In the contemporary world in which the concept of freedom is blurred by relativism, the role of paternal power becomes more relevant in order to form children as regards the meaning and implications of freedom. In the contemporary world, there still exists the fluidity of the exact age of maturity. It remains difficult to determine whether biological adulthood based on age necessarily coincides with social and political maturity which imply one's responsible and rightful place in his/her society. The question before us is whether maturity should be based on the

natural biological course or on experience and paternal formation. Today, according to various countries and institutions late teenage or early twenties is deemed the age of maturity at which a person is deemed competent for a variety of eligibilities such as marriage, employment, legal prosecution, smoking, drinking of alcohol, driving, active voting in politics etc. (Jacobs, 1989: 174; Maisel, 2004: 79; Stark, 2005: 24). It is here that we recommend further philosophical investigation as to what criteria are to determine maturity.

At the time of John Locke, Sir Robert Filmer had taken an extreme of maintaining that by nature human persons are not free (Parker, 2004: 90). From the time of enlightenment to the contemporary world there have been some theories for another extreme of absolute human freedom (Wright, 2002: 33). In the light of John Locke, we recommend as relevant in the contemporary world that freedom has limits (Locke, 2005: 87). People therefore, are not free to do what they want to do, but are free to do what is according to reason within the bounds of the laws of nature (Parker, 2004: 70). Relating freedom with the role of paternal power, John Locke's concept of freedom is interpreted as coming with age and formation. In this sense children are not born free as such, but rather, are born to be free in the sense that they are to be guided to be free (Parker, 2004: 139). Basing on this contention, if paternal power is essentially for the formative guidance of children, is it justifiable to involve children in activities which are currently deemed dimensions of freedom such as strikes and demonstrations?

Conclusion

For John Locke, human beings are not born free, but are born to be free. The paternal power plays an instrumental role in nurturing the freedom potential, preparing children in their tender age to be responsible free citizens. With an empirical stance, people are what they are not by nature but rather by the formative experience they pass through. Social places and roles that citizens vie for should be experience-inspired and should be on experience-merit which partly come with formative experience. John Locke's concept of paternal power gives parents a parental right and duty to orient future of parents. It also gives children a filial right and duty to docilely be receptive to formation.

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Women's participation in TASAF initiated activities and their economic empowerment: A case of Morogoro District, Tanzania.

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Abstract

Women in Tanzania play important roles in activities that contribute to national economy. However, it is not well known whether their participation in development activities such as those initiated by TASAF projects empower them economically and to what extent. This study was conducted in Morogoro District to explore women's economic empowerment among women involved in TASAF initiated activities. The study adopted a cross-sectional research design whereby data were collected once, and it involved 160 respondents, five key informant's interviews and four FGD's with 8-10 participants. Women's economic empowerment index scales were developed to gauge the level of women's economic empowerment in different spheres; cumulative empowerment index was computed to gauge the overall women economic empowerment. The binary logistic regression analysis was run to determine factors for economic empowerment among women participating in TASAF project activities. It was found that majority of the respondents (71.6%) were categorized into empowered level. Participation in TASAF activities, participation in women organizations and woman's age were important predictors for their economic empowerment (P<0.05). The study concludes that TASAF initiated activities have a great potential to empower women. The study recommends to the TASAF project officials and Local Government Authorities to support and expand the coverage of the TASAF initiated activities.

Keywords: Participation, TASAF activities, women economic empowerment.

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Introduction

Women's economic empowerment is an important element for attaining sustainable development (Kabutiei, 2013). Around the world women face a wide range of constraints that restrict their ability to fully benefit from activities that would empower them economically For example, across the globe women lack access to credit, capital and productive resources, thus limiting women to benefit from economic opportunities (USDP, 2016). The global initiative to attain women's economic empowerment is among the key issues for Sustainable Development; it is ranked as fifth among the goals in the sustainable development that aims at ensuring gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls by eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence, and to ensure equal access to opportunities and resources (Ortiz et al., 2016). Despite the global initiative to empower women, the level of their economic empowerment is still low; for example, it is estimated that about 70% of women globally are living on less than 1.25 $ per day and their overall economic level is low (USAID, 2015).

Women in developing countries are engaged in many economic activities in order to earn extra cash that can be used to meet their households' daily requirement as well as making some saving that can be invested in other productive activities (Sheheli, 2012). Generally, they earn income through selling farm produce in the local markets or by selling their non-farm produce as a strategy for survival (Okomba, 2014; Matekere, 2015). The Government and Non Governmental Organizations have introduced many initiatives in order to support women's effort to empower themselves economically (Ahmad et al., 2015).

Among these Government initiatives is the TASAF (III) projects that have been initiated specifically to support vulnerable groups (e.g. women). TASAF (III) was established in June 2012 as a national safety net to incorporate conditional and non-conditional cash transfers and enhancement of livelihoods in order to increase incomes of women and other vulnerable people through community savings and investment (Kamagende, 2015). The project anticipated to reach about 47% of women who are living in rural areas (TASAF, 2011). The project has succeeded in attracting many women to participate in TASAF initiated activities. However, despite this higher involvement of women in different development activities it is not known whether and how their

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participation in activities such as those initiated by the TASAF project impact on their economic empowerment.

Methodology

The study was conducted in Morogoro District which is one among the six districts in Morogoro region in Tanzania. The district covers 19,056 square kilometers (7,358 sq meters). It is bordered to the north and east by the coast region, to the south by Kilombero district to the southwest by Kilosa district and the west by Mvomero District. According to the national census, the district population is 263,920. The district was selected because it has many women living below 1 $ dollar per day and suffering low economic empowerment as compared to all other districts in Morogoro Region (Kamau 2012; URT, 2012).

The study adopted cross-sectional research design whereby data were collected only once. The study populations were women beneficiaries of TASAF projects. Two divisions were purposively selected based on the criteria of having many TASAF beneficiaries as compared to other words in the District, and three wards from two divisions were randomly selected. Furthermore, four villages were randomly selected and 40 respondents were selected from the village lists of TASAF participants using systematic random sampling technique for a total of 160 respondents. This sample size was considered adequate for the study as suggested by MacCallum et al. (1999) who argued that in social science research a sample size with 100 cases is enough for assessment of relationships of research variables. The unit of analysis was individual women who participated in TASAF projects.

Both primary and secondary data were collected; secondary data were collected from different publications and TASAF office records at district level and village level. The primary data were collected by using structured questionnaire, FDGs, key informants interview schedule. A structured questionnaire was the main tool for data collection which was used to collect information on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, activities initiated by TASAF projects and the level participation in TASAF activities. The FDGs were conducted with 8-10 participants. The members in FGDs and key informants were purposively selected according to their experience in the local area, livelihood issues affecting men and women, and level of participation in TASAF activities. Key informant interviews were conducted to collect qualitative data using the checklist guide consistent with the main objective of

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this research. Qualitative data were analyzed through ethnographic content analysis techniques whereas quantitative data were analyzed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistical analysis was computed to identify socio-demographic characteristics. The level of women empowerment was computed by developing a Women's Empowerment Index (WEI) in several women empowerment spheres (Verghese, 2011). Five different spheres of women's empowerment were measured: Personal Autonomy Index (PAI), Household Decision-making Index (HDMI), Economic Contribution to Household Income (EDCI), and Freedom of Movement (FMI). Cumulative/Composite Empowerment Index (CEI) were constructed based on the WEIs from different spheres in order to establish an overall women's economic empowerment.

In all five spheres of women empowerment assessed in this study, the women empowerment index scale was developed using a set of indicators. The Composite Empowerment Index (CEI) was developed to aggregating the scores from all the indices. This procedure has been also recommended by other scholars and organizations in measuring the level of empowerment among women (Tayde and Chole, 2010; Verghese, 2011).

The binary logistic regression model was used to estimate the determinants of the women economic empowerment. The model specification is as follows:

$$\log\left(\frac{y}{}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \ldots\ldots + \beta_8 X_8 + \varepsilon,$$

Y   Women Economic Empowerment (1=Empowered; 0= Not empowered)
β   Regression Coefficients.
β_0 Intercept
X_1 Age of respondent (Age in years)
X_2 Household size (Number of household members)
X_3 Participation in women organization (1=Participate, 0=Otherwise)
X_4 Duration in TASAF (Duration in years)
X_5 Participation in TASAF activities (1= Yes, 0= No)
X_6 Years of schooling (in years)
X_7 Ever participated in training (1=Yes, 0= No)
X_8 Marital status (1=with spouse, 0=without spouse)
ε   error item

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Results and discussion

Social demographic characteristics

The socio demographics characteristics of the respondents in the study were age, education level, marital status, household size and occupation. The findings on demographic characteristics are presented in Table 1.

Findings for socio-demographic characteristics show that the majority of women were aged between 45-54 years thus were matured to provide important information for the study about the activities initiated through the TASAF project. The education level of women beneficiaries in TASAF was generally low since more than a half of respondents have no formal education, hence, they could not stand a better chance to negotiate and participate in decision making especially in the formal organizations that do not specifically target grassroots societies (Nikkha et al., 2010; Pambe et al., 2013). One's occupation is an important aspect in measuring quality of life, the study findings revealed that the main occupation of the women was farming and other income generating activities which was also the target of TASAF beneficiaries. An improvement in these activities which are also the source of income and food for their household is more likely to impact on their economic empowerment (Yusuph et al., 2015).

Table 1. Social-demographic characteristics of respondents (n=160)

Characteristics		Frequency	Percentage
Age of respondent	25-34 years	1	0.6
	35-44 years	15	9.4
	45-54 years	106	66.3
	Above 55years	38	23.7
Education level	No formal education	108	67.5
	Primary education	51	31.9
	Secondary education	1	0.6
Occupation	Farming	151	94.4
	Livestock keepers	7	4.4
	Business women	2	1.2
Marital status	Married	55	34.4
	Separated	20	12.5
	Divorced	9	5.6
	Widow	75	46.9
	Single	1	0.6
Household size	1-5 members	81	50.6
	6-10 members	73	45.6
	11-15 members	6	3.8

Source: Field data 2017

It is also argued that women's type of occupation is associated with their economic empowerment with increase in decision making power, increase in income, and improvement of children's health (Aslam, 2013). Marital status is one of the most important factors which influence economic empowerment among women. The study found that majority (46.9%) of the women were widows and more than a quarter (34.4%) were married. The large percentage of widows may imply that they lack support from their deceased spouses which may affect their TASAF project activities. However, being a widow does not translate into being less empowered. For example, it is argued that widow and divorced women are more likely to be empowered than their married

counterparts due to increase in autonomy in decision making about their resources as well as increase in freedom of movement (Nikkhah et al., 2010). The findings further show that the household size of surveyed area was in the range of 1 to 15 with the mean size of eight household members; this implies that women have a burden of duty since most of the household members were dependents and that leads to low economic empowerment. This is in line with Ushma and Karasek (2012) who reported that women with large family size had less chance of being empowered economically.

Level of women's economic empowerment: Five aspects

Among the five spheres of women empowerment that were estimated in the study, it was found that women have achieved some level of empowerment in different spheres which were reflected in: increase in income, asset ownership, freedom of movement, decision making and contribution to family issues (see Table 2). The levels of women empowerment were relatively higher in three spheres, namely, decision making, freedom of movement, and contribution to family. Women were not empowered in two aspects, namely, assets ownership and increase in income.

Table 2. Level of women's empowerment (n=160)

Spheres	Empowered	Not Empowered
Contribution to family issues	144(90.0)	16(10.0)
Asset ownership	61(38.9)	99(61.9)
Freedom of movement	148(92.5)	12(7.5)
Decision making	151(94.4)	9(5.6)
Income increase	70(43.8)	90(56.2)

Findings as presented in Table 2 further revealed that women were empowered especially in the ability to contribute to family: buying of food (3 meals per day), clothes, paying school fees and medical bills. This implies that empowered women in TASAF projects were able to support their families in basic human needs. This finding is similar to what has been reported by Hassan et al. (2015) in Bangladesh where empowered women increasingly contribute to family

incomes as they spend much of their income to support children in the family. The study also shows that the majority of women were empowered by the freedom of movement in many issues including attending training, visiting relatives, going to market and visiting medical facilities. This implies that women participating in TASAF projects were able to move from one place to another. A similar trend of findings have also been reported by Msafiri and Jeckoniah (2015) who argue that economically empowered women who have access to credit enjoy increased freedom of movements.

The findings also revealed that the majority of the women interviewed (94.4%) were empowered in decision making at the household level. This implies that engagement in TASAF project activities has enabled women to increase their power in decision making in many areas such as purchasing food, purchasing land and selling assets at the household level. Similar findings have also been reported by Haneef et al. (2014) who found an increase in women ability to influence family decision making and hence their economic status. Furthermore, the findings show that more than half of the women were not empowered in income since the income received from TASAF initiated activities was below the mean which is TSH (Tanzanian shilling) 70,731/= per month. This level of income is too low to establish and sustain a business that can generate enough income to meet the household expenditures given the big average household size of eight as established in the study area.

Generally, it was found that the majority of women in the study area were empowered economically (Table 3). This implies that the funds received through TASAF project activities enabled women to improve their empowerment outcomes as reflected in the three spheres of contribution to family, decision making and freedom of movement. This finding is similar to that of Katto & Katzer (2013), that is, women engaged in income generating activities have more power in decision making, self-confidence, and increase in income. Similar findings were reported by Wambua (2013) in Kenya where the majority of women (54%) do not own assets of their own because the husbands are the sole owners. This is due to lack of money to purchase assets but also to the fact that culture gives husbands an upper hand to control all the assets in the homestead.

Table 3. Cumulative empowerment index (CEI) (n=160)

Level of empowerment	Percentage
Empowered	71.7
Not empowered	28.3

Women's participation in TASAF project initiated activities and economic empowerment

The findings from the binary logistic regression analysis revealed that the correlation (Pearson) was statistically significant among women participating TASAF initiated activities (P<0.05). This indicates that the presence of relationship between the dependent variable (women's economic empowerment) and combination of independent variables was statistically significant. Results in Table 4, further show that the Negelkerke R^2 which represents the adjusted Cox and Snell R^2 statistics for the study sample was 0.429 which implies that 42.9% of variation in women's economic empowerment was explained by combination of independent variable entered in the model.

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Table 4. Factors influencing women's economic empowerment

Variables	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for EXP(B)	
						Lower	Upper
Age	.041	.020	3.986	.046*	1.041	1.001	1.084
Household size	-.156	.101	2.392	.122	.855	.702	1.043
Marital status	.398	.495	.646	.422	1.489	.564	3.928
Years of schooling	.008	.087	.008	.930	1.008	.850	1.194
Duration in TASAF project	-.637	.580	1.206	.272	.529	.170	1.649
participation in TASAF Activities	3.930	1.176	11.160	.001**	.020	.002	.197
Participation in Training	-.547	.467	1.372	.242	.579	.232	1.445
Participation in women organizations	2.210	1.061	4.342	.037*	.110	.014	.877
Constant	2.374	2.210	1.154	.283	10.741		

*significant at 5% ** significant 1%

The result of the binary logistic regression model (Table 4) revealed that age, household size, duration in TASAF, participation in training, years of schooling, marital status, participation in TASAF initiated activities and respondents' participation in women organizations are important factors for women's economic empowerment in Morogoro District (P<0.05). Among the eight factors only three factors were related to women's economic empowerment (participation in TASAF initiated activities, participation in TASAF training and duration in TASAF).

The study revealed that participation in TASAF activities is statistically significant (P=0.001) hence unit increase in women participation in TASAF initiated activities leads to the increase odds of women's economic empowerment by 3.930 when other factors remain constants. This implies that as women's participation increases so does women's economic empowerment. This may partly be explained by the fact that cash received from TASAF project

activities has been used in solving family issues like paying school fees, buying food, paying payment of medical bills which all lead to economic empowerment. This study is in line with Purvin et al.'s study (2005) in Bangladesh which revealed that women participation in Rural Women Employment Creation Project (RWECP) through income generating activities has positive influence on women's economic empowerment.

   Age of the respondents and the chance of being categorized into being empowered was found to be statistically significant (P=0.046). This implies that a unit increase of age (years) will lead to an increase of odds of women's economic empowerment by 0.041 when other factors remain constant. This implies that as women's age increases the economic empowerment also increases; this may be partly explained by the fact that a matured woman is aware of the utilization of funds, better ways of managing marital conflicts as well as better management of household resources and participation in training that lead to economic empowerment. Similar findings have also been reported by Rehman et al. (2015) in Pakistan where it was found that age of women household has positive significant impact on women's economic empowerment since matured women work hard to support their children.

   Women's participation in women groups initiated activities was significant (P=0.037) and positively associated with women's economic empowerment. This implies that unit increase in women participation in women groups leads to increase in women's economic empowerment by 2.210, other factors remaining constant. Therefore, the hypothesis that the level of participation in TASAF project activities does not relate to women's economic empowerment was rejected. The above partly may be explained by the fact that women who participate in different women's group are more likely to benefit through training, awareness created and some financial assistance from the group members compared to the non-participants. Also, the study observation is similar to that by Wambua (2013) who also reported similar findings in Kenyan where it was found that women's participation in female groups has impact on their economic empowerment. This was shown through increasing their skills and technologies as a result of trainings conducted by group members.

Conclusion and recommendations

Women participation in TASAF initiated activities has the potential to empower them economically. The empowerment outcome among those involved in TASAF initiated activities increases women contribution to family, decision making power and freedom of movement. The study recommends to the TASAF project officials and Local Government Authorities (LGAs) to support and expand the coverage of TASAF initiated activities so that more women are empowered economically. The LGAs should assist women to access other sources of finance to fund their economic activities such as formal financial institution as well as non-formal financial institution such as VICOBA.

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The role of perceptions of empowerment and supervisory support on religious women's performance in Tanzania

Thadeus Mkamwa[1] and Sylvester Jotta[2]

Abstract

This study examined the relationship between perceptions of empowerment among religious women and their overall performance in Tanzania. Specifically, the study explored how women religious perceive empowerment and supervisory support and their impact on performance. The main research questions were to what extent do women religious feel that they are empowered and how does greater sense of empowerment affect their overall performance? The study consisted of a descriptive survey among religious women working or studying in five higher learning institutions in Tanzania. In total, 300 questionnaires were distributed to targeted nuns. The response rate was 35% which meant that one in three targeted nuns responded to the survey. Overall, correlation results suggest that a greater sense of being empowered is positively related to perceived supervisory support and overall performance as hypothesized. On the other hand, regression analysis results showed that empowerment and supervisory support as independent variables explained variance in overall performance as hypothesized. The study concludes with a discussion on theoretical and practical implications related to people's understanding of the issues and challenges that African religious women face in the process of increasing their workforce's capacity and the ways they use in coping with the challenges.

Keywords: Empowerment, religious women, supervisory support, overall performance

1.1 Background

The idea of empowering a person has been taken both positively and negatively by various people from various walks of life. According to Marquet (2012)

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empowerment brings paradoxical sentiments when one considers who has to empower the other and what happens after the empowerment. Marquet also challenges the traditional literature which for quite sometimes has regarded empowerment as being related to a leader-follower approach in managing organizations. Marquet calls for a leader-leader role in empowering any person in any organization or walk of life. According to him, everyone has to be a leader of his/her own life and workplace to be able to be creative and innovative members of their community or organization. Yet, despite this challenge on whether it is correct to speak of empowering women as if they have no way to lead themselves, it is quite clear that the world sees women being subjected to suppressive laws and environment which make them vulnerable to many things such as unequal treatment in job opportunities. In the UN Sustainable Development Goals, empowerment of women and gender equity are referred to as part of the millennium challenges in the goals of rescuing the continent of Africa from poverty and other woes which beset the continent. It is likewise stated in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 that the aim of the vision is to make Tanzania a nation imbued with high quality livelihood, peace, stability, unity, and good governance, a well-educated and learning society. Further the Tanzania Development Vision envisions a nation with a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits. It is therefore, time to question whether the terms and qualifications which are made in reference to women development make sense in our contemporary world.

In the agenda for women development in the world, non-governmental organizations such as Vital Voices have established programs to support women by unleashing their leadership potential. In their website, Vital Voices explains what they do for women, "We search the world for a woman leader with a daring vision. Then we partner with her to make that vision a reality. Through long-term investments that expand her skills, connections and visibility, we accelerate her efforts, improving the world for us all" (https://www.vitalvoices.org/who-we-are/paragraph1). There are many such organizations which are meant to build capacity of women in various ways and for different purposes. In Africa, religious women have a high chance and role in changing their lives and changing people's lives. Different organizations such as the African Sisters Education Collaborative (ASEC) have been established with programs designed to support religious women in education initiatives. For example, ASEC's mission explains the scope of such initiatives as provided below:

> To contribute significantly to increased access to education in Africa by helping to educate women religious and enabling them to acquire necessary credentials for teaching, healthcare, spiritual, or social service ministries in their countries. ASEC outreach currently extends to six sub-Saharan countries: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Nigeria and Ghana. ASEC believes that capacity-building, creative use of technology, and training and educational programs are effective pathways for responding to the educational needs of African Sisters (www.asec-sldi.org).

The impact of such initiatives includes allowing sisters to participate in various programs where colleagues and co-workers are mentored and also included in different types of training workshops. The impact of such training is expected to be felt by religious women in their ministries, and surrounding communities and their countries at large. ASEC for example, has established a program "The Higher Education for Sisters in Africa (HESA) which is committed to empowering African girls and women to become responsible leaders and citizens in their communities and in society (www.asec-sldi.org). Educating sisters is one aspect of empowering women since increasing access to higher education for women in Africa is still wanting.

It is also important to research religious women's attitudes towards their empowering agents, i.e., those who are in supervisory positions. Empowering agents also include their religious congregations, higher education institutions where they are sent for training, the dioceses where their congregations are located, family and other people of good will who support them in their academic journey. The purpose of this research was to examine the role of empowerment among religious women in Tanzania with a specific focus on how they perceive supervisory support in the relationship between empowerment and overall performance. For some years, researchers have developed paradigms which take individuals to be the primary unit of psychological analysis, forgetting that individual's attributes are affected by the groups to which they belong (Haslam, 2001). In this regard, the study of religious women is more than a study of individuals as they are individuals; rather it is a study of individuals as they exist in their social identities. 'Religious women' is a social identity group or social identity category.

The contribution of this research includes allowing for an enhanced understanding of the issues and challenges that African religious women face in the process of increasing their workforce's capacity and the ways they use in

coping with the challenges. The study uses social identity theory as a lens to explaining how religious women come to be a social group which is unique in the workforce compared to others.

1.2 Study objectives

The main research objective was to assess the extent to which religious women are empowered in order to fill skills gap in Africa.
Specific objectives include:
(i) To assess religious women's sense of empowerment
(ii) To find out the role of supervisory support in religious women empowerment
(ii) To examine the relationship between religious women' perceptions of empowerment and their overall performance

1.3 Research questions

(i) To what extent do religious women perceive that they are empowered?
(ii) Does greater sense of empowerment affect religious women's overall performance?

1.4 Justification of the study

Women religious form a specific group of people who cannot be excluded from socio-political and religious interests when the issue of empowerment is discussed for good or for bad reasons. This assertion is made possible by the emerging servant-leadership model across cultures where religious people can be considered to be in a servant-leadership altruistic approach of leadership that focuses on the commitment to serve other people (Pekerti and Sendjaya, 2010). It is not the intention of the researchers to expose the extent to which women religious are either empowered or not empowered. The intention is to study 'how' religious women as members of religious institutions (who have their own voices) succeed in overcoming challenges of empowering their workforce amid forces and demands for bridging skills gap in the region.

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1.5. Rationale for the study

Religious orientation and religious beliefs shape people's personality, behavior, ethical sensitivity, moral character, and value systems of individuals to varying degrees (Fernando and Jackson, 2006; King, Bell, and Lawrence, 2009; Pekerti and Sendjaya, 2010). As a specific group of people, a study of religious women empowerment is reasonable and important due to the nature of religious life they choose and the nature of the religious congregations they are identified to. In this regard, attitude to empowerment in the job, perceptions on supervisory support and overall performance form the main concepts which highlight the extent to which women religious as individuals and as a corporate body measure in the personal development goals.

It is good to note that studies on skills gap in East Africa indicate that when the local talents return to their workplaces after training, whether they are trained in the country or outside the country, they not only do a better job, but also serve as encouragement among staff, they transfer the skills they have learnt to their colleagues and show high level of corporate pride (Bagalwadi, 2015: 439). That is why, reference to Pope Paul VI's exhortations are important and should be applied to foster Africa's development agenda. His exhortations reflect the role of Catholic Church and its institutions such as Universities in advancing the call for political, economic and social justice, fairness and equality among their citizens. Pope Paul VI further instructed that those who are the target for empowerment (students) have to be aware of their responsibility towards those who are suffering physically and spiritually. This responsibility begins with the academic community (Evangelii Nuntiandi, nn. 18ff, AAS 68, 1976: 17-18). In this regard, development of Africa cannot be reached by excluding the educated community. In order to achieve sustainable and millennium development goals, everyone (men and women) should be involved in the empowerment process (Fukuda-Parr and Sakiko, 2004).

2. Review of literature

This study is guided by the social identity theory which was propounded by Mead (1934) and Turner and Tajfel (1986). It explains the process by which individuals identify with particular groups (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Furthermore, social identity theory suggests that individuals recognize their own membership in groups by defining the social boundaries surrounding particular groups, and then self-categorizing themselves as either belonging or not

belonging to them. As individuals begin to identify with a particular group, they are able to answer the question, 'who am I?' with a clear response, 'I am part of this group.' This process of identification is well practiced in religious life. In clarifying congregation houses as one kind of group, Ashforth and Mael's (1989) work made social identity theory accessible to management researchers and provided practical implications of the theory to organizational behavior phenomena.

According to Stets and Burke (2000), Social Identity Theory, is a person's knowledge that he/she belongs to a social category or group. A social group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category. Through a social comparison process, persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labeled the in-group; persons who differ from the self are categorized as the out-group. In early work, social identity included the emotional, evaluative, and other psychological correlates of in group classification. Later researchers often separated the self-categorization component from the self-esteem (evaluative) and commitment (psychological) components in order to empirically investigate the relationships among them.

The two important processes involved in social identity formation, namely self-categorization and social comparison, produce different consequences (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). The consequence of self-categorization is an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members, and an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and out group members. This accentuation occurs for all the attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization. The consequence of the social comparison process is the selective application of the accentuation effect, primarily to those dimensions that will result in self-enhancing outcomes for the self. Specifically, one's self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and the out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to be judged positively and the out-group to be judged negatively.

Hogg and Abrams (1988) delineate that, the social categories in which individuals place themselves are parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories (for example, black vs. white); each has more or less power, prestige, status, and so on. Furthermore, these authors point out that the social categories precede individuals; individuals are born into an already structured society. Once in a society, people derive their identity or

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sense of self largely from the social categories to which they belong. Each person, however, over the course of his or her personal history, is a member of a unique combination of social categories; therefore the set of social identities making up that person's self-concept is unique.

We can conceptualize a group, in this sense, as a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it. Social categorizations are conceived here as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action. But they do not merely systematize the social world; they also provide a system of orientation for self-reference: they create and define the individual's place in society. Social groups understood in this sense, provide their members with an identification of themselves in social terms. These identifications are to a very large extent relational and comparative: they define the individual as similar to or different from, as 'better' or 'worse' than, members of other groups. Religious women by and large form a social group which bears much of the features discussed above. In the process of self-identification and self-categorization, as a group, religious women face theoretical and practical questions which need answers in terms of the extent to which their perceptions of themselves affect their identity and their overall performance.

Our broader theoretical approach in this research is inspired by how women employ religious doctrinal organizational tools in their struggle for self-determination, equity, equality and advancement. This literature attempts to show how women when empowered can transform their lives and the lives of those they serve as leaders. In other words, religious women have the capacity to use available resources and interpret religious goals to enable and promote themselves as agents of women's voice and empowerment (Agadjanian, 2015).

The idea of women's entry into leadership positions was historically more common in non-mainstream religious movements, such as Quakerism, Shakerism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, and Theosopy which are typically characterized by deemphasizing a masculine deity and the doctrine of the Fall, denial of the need for formally ordained clergy, and asserting women's roles outside the sphere of marriage and mother-hood (Larson, 1999; Plant, 2003). During the age of Augustus (30 B.C - A.D.14), for example, Roman women had a share in domestic and public religion. They were given special attention besides their main role in the process of procreation. In the beginning,

aristocratic women were not included in all their husbands' activities except accompanying them to public entertainment. The kind of education women got with rare exceptions lacked the training for public life that their brothers needed. They were allowed to read lighter types of literature, sing and dance. Later in the age, they got political and religious recognition. Mark Anthony (40-39 B.C), for example, even put the heads of his two wives Fulvia and Octavia on some issues. Women's rights and freedom of choice were also recognized by jury and other political entities when it came to family life and community issues at large. For example, in some cases, women could decide on whom to marry or divorce when it was necessary to do so. Some classes gave women some choice of lifestyles, including sexual liberation. In short, there was some sense of empowerment among women during the time of Augustus (Treggiari, 2005). Even though Augustus enacted some repressive laws for women in Rome's history and excluded his own women from his reign, he however, had four exceptional women who exerted a great impact on Rome than would have Augustus ever imagined possible. Cleopatra, Livia, his sister Octavia, and his daughter Julia played a great role in his personal life and that of Rome (Kleiner, 2005: 199).

In contemporary Pentecostal churches, despite these churches' generally conservative, patriarchal theological and social narratives, women often rise to positions of considerable influence and authority through charisma invigorated by God's calling, especially in churches with no fixed ordination rules (Lawless, 1993). On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church has historically banned ordination of women as priests and this ban has persisted despite a growing critique from both within and outside that denomination. Yet even the Catholic Church has seen dramatic expansion of laywomen ministry (Ecklund, 2006; Flinn, 1996). Catholic women's rise as de facto congregation leaders has become possible in part due to an increasing shortage of priests (Wallace, 1992). It is important therefore, to note that the role of women in the socio-cultural context is broad and should not be overemphasized. We are all aware that many of the well-known and admired African leaders are women. The examples include Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gboweee, Wangara Maathai, and Mamphela Rampele (Reid, Roumpi and O'Leary-Kelly, 2015: 265). According to Agadjanian (2015), Western scholarship on religion and gender has devoted considerable attention to women's entry into leadership roles across various religious traditions and denominations. Nevertheless, little is known about the dynamics of Catholic women' religious authority and leadership in developing

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settings, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, a region of powerful and diverse religious expressions.

When Pope Paul VI visited Africa for the first time, like St. Paul, his visit to Africa echoed these words: 'Come to our aid. Now is the time. Do not delay, for we are ready to receive you' (Acts 16:9). When he was in Uganda he said: "Our prayers today rise to God that Africa may flower forth with all the riches of its culture and noble traditions, advancing with ever longer strides upon the road of progress, 'Attracted to adopt new ways of life, introduced by science and technology' (Entebbe International Airport Thursday, 31 July 1969, Africae Terrarum, No. 13)." His messages, doctrines and exhortations show his solidarity with the poor - Africa. In 1960's Africa, some states were still struggling to extend access to secondary and higher education since colonial powers still placed boundaries and limitations in their subjects' access to secondary education (Nugent, 2004: 15). This scenario did not exclude the view that most of the religious organizations if not all were and are still in dire need of filling in the skills gaps among its members. The skills gaps have been enlarged by the effect of science and technology, but also by globalization.

Using the social identity perspective and a survey among religious women in Tanzania, this research analyzes religious women's perceptions on issues which are related to self-development and acquisition of necessary qualifications to entry into religious leadership, positions of power and influence in the broader societal changes that promote this entry. It is quite clear from ordinary practices in the many religious congregations in Tanzania that religious superiors plus the local ordinaries in the respective dioceses, have been identifying skills gap among their members. The identification of skills gaps among religious women which need to be bridged has necessitated the congregations and the Catholic Church in Tanzania to invest in educating and training the religious women in various programs and educational levels. Higher education institutions form one of the levels of training that the Catholic Church in Tanzania has identified to positively contribute to the empowerment process of the religious members. The aim of educating and training the women religious has always been to nurture them so that after their studies they should be able to return to their congregations, do a better job, be of right attitude to performance and thus transform the society at whatever level they are involved as a Church workforce. In this regard, this study is set to establish the extent to which religious women perceive the support which they are accorded by their religious superiors in the process of their empowerment. The study therefore hypothesizes that:

H1: There is a relationship between empowerment and overall performance.
H2: There is a relationship between empowerment and perceived supervisory support.

According to Raub and Robert (2010), empowerment can have a significant impact on many organizational contexts. Empowerment is associated with leadership effectiveness and efficiency, job satisfaction, creativity, team performance, and negatively related to strain and turnover intentions. Pope Paul VI's efforts to achieve literacy in Africa and outside Africa in the late 1960s were rooted in his firm belief that "an illiterate is a person with an undernourished mind" (Populorum Progressio, Number 35). He further suggests that one needs knowledge to recover confidence and be of service to the human development process. Empowerment is therefore about regaining confidence and being passionate of what one is doing in the development process. Empowerment should prepare people to face challenges that exceed their current skills. Empowerment entails one being prepared to do things which one has not yet been able to do (Duckworth, 2016).

3. Methodology

3.1 Sample and sampling procedures

This paper is based on data collected through a survey of religious women working and/or studying in five Catholic higher learning institutions in Tanzania. Since the target group was specific in terms of the number of religious women in each college, 300 questionnaires were sent and distributed to religious women respondents. We requested (by phone calls and emails) the Principals and Directors of the Colleges to facilitate the distribution of the questionnaires to religious women who were either working or studying in the colleges. It was important to involve the principals and directors since they had to permit the religious women (students and staff members) to participate in the study. The principals and directors were however not involved in the completion of questionnaires. This request for facilitation was followed up by emails and telephone calls to the colleges after one week to confirm that the questionnaires were distributed to the targeted respondents. After three weeks, we asked the leaders/heads of religious women in the colleges to collect the questionnaires. Out of 300 questionnaires which were distributed, 104 usable questionnaires were returned. With this number we had a response rate of 35% which is

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acceptable as sample representatives in this type of study. In this regard, one out of three religious women completed the questionnaire. There was no threat of non-response bias which occurs whenever a significant number of targeted population fail to respond (Moser and Kalton, 2004; Ostroff, Kinicki and Clark, 2002). In this regard, the researchers did not carry out a test for non-response bias which would estimate the effects on non-response error (Armstrong and Everton, 1977; Moser and Kalton, 2004).

Of the sample, 58% had attained high school education, 28% had attained a BA or BSc degree, and 12% had MA or MSc. Degree. Six percent had attained a PhD degree. Table 1 below provides the frequencies for age distribution of the sample.

Table 1: Frequencies for Age Distribution

Age Group (years)	Frequency	Percent
18-25	4	4
26 -35	30	31
36 - 45	43	44
46-55	17	17
Above 55	4	4
Total	98	100

In terms of work experience while 26% stated that they have no work experience, 74% stated that they had work experience before their current workplace. In the same manner, 44% of the respondents stated that they had work experience in full time position for a period of between one to six years. On the other hand, 26% had full time working experience of between 7 to 12 years. 30% of the sample reported that they had full time work experience of more than 13 years. In terms of part time working experience, 80% stated that they worked as part timers between one to six years.

In terms of the nature of their jobs, out of the sample, 7% identified themselves of working or having worked on clerical duties, 10% work on supervisory positions, 7% managerial positions and 59% were on either technical or professionals jobs. 17% worked on other job aspects different from the above. On the sample, 90% of the respondents reported that they work in a team.

3.2 Data analysis procedures

After data input in the SPSS package, we employed Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) as a data reduction strategy. The main analytical procedures that were employed in this study include correlation and multiple regression analysis (Ordinary Least Squares, OLS).

3.3 Measures

3.3.1 Empowerment at work

Empowerment was measured adapting 'Empowerment at Work Scale' developed by Spreitzer (1995) and extracted from Fields (2002: 113). The measure describes the extent to which employees believe they are empowered in their jobs. According to Spreitzer (1995) empowerment results from four cognitions which reflect an individual's orientation to his or her work role. These four cognitions related to meaning, competence, self-determination and impact. The measure asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they are empowered in terms of meaning, competence, self-determination and impact. Items for the measure included such statements like, "The work I do is very important to me," and "I can decide on my own how to go about doing my work." The measure was put in a 7-point Likert type scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.

When an exploratory principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted, it yielded four factors with initial eigenvalues greater than 1. The Total Variance Explained was 70.4%. The four factors extracted correspond to the nature of the original measure. The original measure assesses four areas of empowerment. Thus in this study, meaning (alpha .75), competence (alpha .76), self-determination (alpha .68) and impact (alpha .74) were established. Consistent with the original scale, the four factors/dimensions were combined to form the measure of empowerment at work. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the measure was .83. Table 3 below provides details for factor on the empowerment measure.

Table 3: Factor Loadings: Empowerment at Work Scale

Items	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**
I am confident about my ability to do my job	.81			
I am self-assured about my capabilities to perform my work activities	.80			
I have mastered the skills necessary for my job	.71			
The work I do is meaningful to me		.91		
My job activities are personally meaningful to me		.78		
The work I do is very important to me		.75		
I have considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how I do my job			.80	
I can decide on my own how to go about doing my work			.77	
I have significant autonomy in determining how I do my job			.76	
I have significant influence over what happens in my religious congregation				.8
I have a great deal of control over what happens in my religious house				.7
My impact in what happens in my religious house is large				.5

3.3.2 Supervisory support

Supervisory support was measured by adopting Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) 9 item measure which assesses employee perceptions of the extent to which they receive supervisory support in their job. This measure in general may include career guidance, performance feedback, challenging work assignments, and work opportunities that promote employee development

(Fields, 2002: 108). Responses for the measure were obtained by using a 5-point Likert type scale where *5 = strongly disagree, 4 = disagree to some extent, 3 = uncertain, 2 = agree to some extent, and 1 = strongly agree.* Items for the measure included such statements like, "My religious supervisor cares about whether or not I achieve my goals," and "My religious supervisor gives me helpful advice about improving my performance when I need it."

When an exploratory principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted, it yielded three factors with initial eigenvalues greater than 1. The Total Variance Explained was 67.45%. The three factors extracted correspond to the nature of the original measure. The original measure generally assesses up to four areas of supervisory support. Thus in this study, career guidance (alpha .73), performance feedback (alpha .71), and work opportunities (alpha .58) were established. Consistent with the original scale, the three factors/dimensions were combined to form the measure of supervisory support in the job. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the measure was .75. Table 4 below provides details for factors on the 8 item measure of supervisory support.

Table 4: Factor Loadings: Supervisory Support Measure

Items	1	2	3
My religious superior cares about whether or not I achieve my goals	.82		
My religious superior takes the time to learn about my career goals and aspirations	.81		
My religious superior provides assignments that give me the opportunity to develop and strengthen new skills	.73		
My religious superior gives me helpful advice about improving my performance when I need it		.86	
My religious superior gives me helpful feedback about my performance		.78	
My superior keeps me informed about different career opportunities for me in our congregation		.70	
My religious superior makes sure I get the credit when I accomplish something substantial on the job			.85
My religious superior assigns me special projects that increase my visibility in our congregation			.77

3.3.4 Overall performance

The measure of overall performance was based on global performance measures. It is a 10 item measure to assess the extent employees rate themselves in terms of performing activities related to their work. Responses for the measure were obtained by using a 5-point Likert type scale where 1 = *strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = not sure, 4 = agree, and 5 = strongly agree.* Items for the measure included such statements like 1. "I feel that my performance directly reflect my ability," 2. "I perform well on my task because I put in the effort," 3. If I fail to perform at the expected level, it is because I lack skills in that area."

Factor analysis for the measure yielded four factors with initial eigenvalues greater than 1. The Total Variance Explained was 65%. The four factor extracted were combined to form the measure of overall performance. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the measure was .58. Table 5 below provides details for factor on the 10 item measure of overall performance.

Table 5: Factor loadings: Overall performance

Items	1	2	3	4
Lack plays a big role in my success	.86			
How well I do my task depends on luck	.83			
When I get a good grade on a course, it is because the instructor is an easy grader	.55			
If I don't do a good job, it is because I do not try harder	.50			
I perform well in any task because I put in the effort		.88		
I feel that my performance directly reflects my ability		.80		
Organization environment plays a big role in influencing my job performance			.87	
Many times my job performance is not under my control			.56	
If I fail to perform at the expected level, it is because I lack skills in that area.				.91
If I do well in a job, it is because I have the skills to succeed				.68

4.0 Results and discussion

4.1 Correlation results

Table 6 below presents the findings which are based on correlation analysis performed in this study. The table contains Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations among the variables in the study. This study showed that self-determination and impact as dimensions of empowerment were positively and significantly correlated with overall performance (r = .29, p < 0.01 and r = .35, p < 0.01). Likewise supervisory support was positively correlated with overall performance (r = .36, p < 0.01) as hypothesized. The bold data in the diagonal indicate the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the measures.

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Table 6: Means, Standard Deviation and Pearson Correlations[a,b,c]

	Mean	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Age	2.9	.89	98												
Work Experience	1.3	.44	61	-.49**											
Full Time	1.9	.86	46	.70**	-0.16										
Part Time	1.2	.41	15	0.41	.b	0.27									
Teamwork	1.1	.29	43	0.11	-0.06	0.07	-0.15								
Nature of Job	3.7	1.09	42	0.03	0.21	0.26	-0.01	0.24							
Meaning	4.3	.59	69	-0.1	-0.08	-0.18	-0.03	-0.19	-0.09	.75					
Competence	4.3	.74	70	0	0.19	-0.08	0.41	-0.05	-0.23	.34**	.76				
Self-Determination	3.7	.69	69	0.06	0.04	-0.06	0.20	-0.10	0.03	.30**	.33**	.68			
Impact	3.7	.79	69	-0.07	0.03	0.03	0.15	-0.13	-0.06	.45**	.37**	.42**	.74		
Supervisory Support	3.9	.61	102	0.04	.27*	0.03	.51*	-0.004	-0.06	.23*	0.16	.23*	.20*	.75	
Overall Performance	3.3	.51	102	0.05	0.14	-0.13	0.33	-0.03	0.02	-0.04	-0.01	.29**	.35**	.36**	.58

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed). b Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant. The bold data in the diagonal indicate the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the measure

4.2 Regression results

Multiple regression analysis was used as the primary test of the research question. The main purpose was to find out the extent to which empowerment and perceived supervisory support explain overall performance. Regression results are presented in Table 7. Model 1 and 2 present results related to the extent control variables (Model 1), four dimensions of empowerment and supervisory support (Model 2) explain overall performance.

Model 1 (control variables) accounted for 7 percent of the variance on overall performance [$F(7,95) = 1.027$, however p was not significant (0.42) ($†p < .10$)]. The addition of independent variables which are the four dimensions of empowerment (meaning, self-determination, competence and impact) and supervisory support (model 2) to the regression accounted for 27 percent unique variance above the variance explained by control variables ($\Delta F = (5,90) = 7.33$, $p < 0.001$). These findings show that only self-determination and impact as dimensions of empowerment and perceived supervisory support as independent variables to some extent explain variance in overall performance. These findings support   the   study   hypothese

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Table 7: Multiple regression analysis to test for the variance accounted for by empowerment and supervisory support on overall performance

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
	Overall Performance	
Step 1: Control Variables	β	β
Age	.10	.09
Education	-.03	-.07
Work Experience	.23	.11
Nature of the Job	.02	.01
Full Time Experience	-.17	-.20
Part Time Experience	.5	.22
Team-Working	-.04	-.05
Step 2: Independent Variables		
Meaning		-.27[*]
Self Determination		.15[*]
Competence		-.14
Impact		.31[**]
Supervisory Support		.25[*]
ΔR^2	.07	.27[**]
Model R^2	.07	.34[**]
Adjusted R^2	.002	.25[**]
Model F	1.03	3.85
N	104	104

Note: **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05, †p < .10; all tests are one-tailed.

4.3 Discussion

As it has been highlighted in various policy documents, the empowerment of women is a crucial issue in the whole process of fulfilling the UN Sustainable Development Goal 5. The empowerment of women and gender equity are referred to as part of the millennium challenges in the goals of rescuing the continent of Africa from poverty and other woes which beset the continent's problems. It is likewise stated in the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 that the aim of the vision is to make Tanzania a nation imbued with high quality

livelihood, peace, stability and unity, good governance, a well-educated and learning society, a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits. The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 cannot leave women behind in the course of implementing its vision. Based on our study findings among religious women in Tanzania; empowerment impacts on their sense of supervisory support and overall performance. This is evidenced by correlational results.

The study further showed that strong sense of being empowered in particular on self-determination and impact and attitudes towards supervisory support positively predicted overall performance. As a special group of women who are identified by their religious motives, charisma and mission of their founders, working as a team is part of their characteristics. This study finding has also supported this phenomenon whereby 90% of the sampled religious said they enjoyed working in a team. Likewise, the study showed that about 60% of the religious women identified themselves as working either as professionals or technicians.

These findings have theoretical significance because studies show that women who succeed in various professions have always come up from rare professions among which were reserved only for men. The story of Patricia Barker (2009) is an example of a woman who pioneered the experience of being the only female working on many assignments including technical financial reporting on an environment which was mostly dominated by male environment. Her conclusion was that "it is more difficult for women than men to attain and retain elite positions" (Barker, 2009: 5). Her position and objective on exposing her experience was on a positive manner. She wanted to show "why some women do achieve elite positions" (ibid. pg. 6). Religious women are an example of socially identified groups that achieve in empowering their members.

Currently, Tanzania is working on/and implementing the Five Year Development Plan (2016/2017-2020/2021), with the slogan "Nurturing Industrialization for Economic Transformation and Human Development." This comprehensive development plan urges Tanzanian citizens to participate, prepare, and implement plans for the national development through transforming Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) into viable and sustainable business entities capable of contributing up to 50% of manufacturing GDP. The government argues on the need to incorporate gender and women empowerment in all the development agenda. Tanzania has been somewhat successful on women empowerment by increasing the proportion of women in senior positions

in different levels of decision-making from 33% during 2010/2011 to 41% during 2014/2015 (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2016).

The study findings have affirmed the hypothesis 2 that there is a relationship between empowerment (self-determination and impact) and perceived supervisory support. Semantically, this study shows that empowerment and supervisory support lead to increase in the overall efficiency and performance of an organization. As insisted by Raub and Robert (2010), empowerment can have a significant impact on many organizational contexts such as leadership effectiveness and efficiency, job satisfaction, creativity, team performance, and negatively related to strain and turnover intentions. This study finding has supported this proposition whereby 73% of the sampled religious women said religious superiors provide assignments that give them the opportunity to develop and strengthen new skills.

4.4 Implication for practice

The study findings contribute to our understanding of how performance varies depending on how empowerment and leadership supervisory support are cherished. There is a high chance of good performance to a job for religious women whose superiors take the time to learn about their career goals and aspirations. These variations must be considered in appraisal instruments especially in organizations operating under different cultural background whether in religious or secular contexts.

4.5 Implication for research

The results of the study are not without limitations. It was difficult to make a direct contrast between charisma and mission from diverse religious congregations. Ideally, these contrasts would assist the researchers in pinpointing charisma or mission-specific factors. Likewise, performance is a multi-dimensional concept. In this regard, our conclusions on overall performance should be taken with caution since it was not a hundred percent measure for it. The results however suggest that religious congregation charisma or mission might influence both perceptions and attitudes to performance.

5. Conclusion

Despite the importance of religion in social and economic development, gender themes have been marginalized within the religious studies (Avishai, Jafar and Rinaldo, 2015). This marginalization is particularly practiced in developing countries. This study used Western scholarship as a point of departure to examine women's involvement in leadership as a result of empowerment and leadership supervisory support in formal organizations to enhance the overall performance and excellence in Africa (Wessinger, 1996: 6).

With regard to the question on how religious women as members of religious institutions succeed in overcoming challenges of empowering their workforce and bridge skills gaps in the country, it is clear that the quality of education they are getting and the numbers of religious women in higher education institutions are geared at achieving that goal. Most of the empowering agents such as religious congregations, higher education institutions and dioceses, have been able to bridge skills gap of their employees by sending majority of women religious for training in various colleges and Higher Educational Institutions.

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Climate change and the need of adjustments in Tanzanian agriculture

Jerzy Gilarowski[1]

Abstract

In this study, I tried to find out how residents of different regions of Tanzania perceive symptoms of climate change. I focused on the change of air temperature and the change in the availability of water (precipitations, water flows in the rivers, span of wet/dry season). After that, based on observations and literature, I presented my ideas of how Tanzania should adjust its agriculture to changing climatic conditions.
Keywords: Climate change, Tanzania, agriculture, adjustment

Introduction

Natural climate change is an ongoing process but in the last 150 years the average temperature of the Earth's lower part of the atmosphere has been growing as a result of the greenhouse effect caused mostly by an addition of carbon dioxide to the atmosphere from burning fossil fuels. Many scientists agree that global warming takes place mostly in high latitudes. Figures show that the highest rise of temperature in the period from 1970 to 2014 was in central Asia, Middle East, Northern Africa, South-Western Europe and western part of USA and Canada. Also, it is shown at the figure below, that Western Tanzania experienced higher rise of temperature than the eastern parts of the country. In Western Tanzania the temperatures have risen within this period of about 1 to 2°C, while in Eastern Tanzania about 0.2 to 1°C.

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Fig. 1. Changes in surface temperature 1970 - 2004
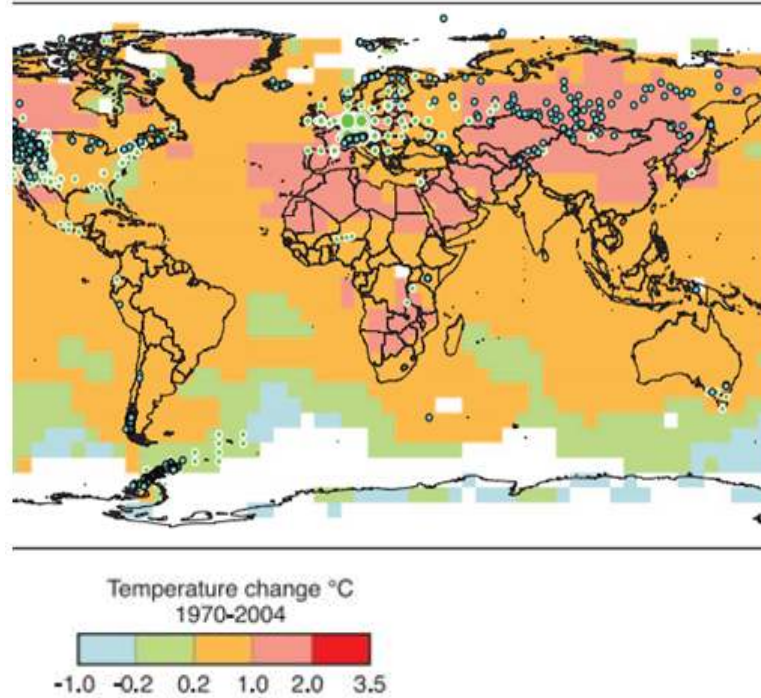
Source: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2007

Research methodology

This study of perception of climate change in Tanzania was made through a questionnaire that involved 140 students from the University of Dodoma who were attending my lecture on Climatology. The study took place in 2010 in the middle of the second semester, during the Easter break[2]. Before the break, I discussed with the students in details the content of the questionnaire and each student was given one printed questionnaire. Students were asked to interview their parents and grandparents. My intention was to have elderly people as

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[2] In 2013, I repeated the same survey using the same questionnaire to confirm results from the 2010 while at the University of Iringa. I will write about later in the article.

respondents who should have, theoretically, better knowledge about climate change. Each questionnaire contained only three questions that focused on climate changes that have occurred (or not) in the last 30 years in the places of residences of my students, i.e. their respective administrative regions. Responding to a question (on a basis of received answers from relatives) students had a choice of selecting one of the three following options: 1-Yes – changes have taken place, 2-No – changes haven't taken place or 3-I don't know.

Students were instructed that it is advisable to select the last option if the questioned person was not sure if the changes did or did not take place. I wanted, in this way, to get information or views about the specific changes that have occurred (or not) in a particular place, rather than getting general knowledge of respondents about the ongoing climate change. Students were instructed that if they selected a positive answer (Yes – changes have taken place) they will have to describe shortly these changes giving concrete examples. The three questions included in questionnaire were:

1. Have you observed any changes in the water levels in lakes?
2. Have you observed any changes in water flows in local rivers/streams?
3. Have you observed any climate changes in relation to precipitations, temperatures, and the span of wet/dry season?

Students came from nearly all administrative regions of Tanzania, but most of the questionnaires were filled in the regions of Iringa, Kagera, Kilimanjaro (respectively 21, 16, and 14 questionnaires). The least represented regions were Lindi, Mtwara, and Tabora (only one questionnaire filled for each region).

Findings

Questionnaires filled out by students provided 420 responses to the three questions. Considering all regions of the country and all of the above three categories of environmental change, 310 responses were positive (Yes - the changes have taken place), which is 73,8% of all responses, 47 negative (11,2%), while 63 responses (15%) were neutral (the responders didn't have any knowledge on the given subjects).

Taking under consideration the whole country (all regions), the first question (regarding changes in the level of water in lakes) was positively answered by

62,9% of respondents, the second (changes in the flow of water in rivers) 72,9%, and the third (changes in climate elements) 85,7%. Table 1 below shows all responses.

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Table 1: Comparison of responses to asked questions by administrative regions of Tanzania.

Region	Number of responses to individual questions									The total number of responses for the region and for a whole country			
	1			2			3						
	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	Tot	Y	N	?
Arusha (9)	4	3	2	6	1	2	7	0	2	27	17	4	6
Dar es Salaam + Pwani (8)	1	7	0	4	2	2	4	3	1	24	9	12	3
Dodoma (3)	1	0	2	2	1	0	3	0	0	9	6	1	2
Iringa (21)	12	1	8	17	1	3	17	2	2	63	46	4	13
Kagera (16)	14	0	2	14	0	2	12	1	3	48	40	1	7
Kigoma (7)	5	0	2	6	0	1	7	0	0	21	18	0	3
Kilimanjaro (14)	9	1	4	12	0	2	13	1	0	42	34	2	6
Lindi (1)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	1
Manyara (3)	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	9	9	0	0
Mara (6)	6	0	0	5	1	0	6	0	0	18	17	1	0
Mbeya (12)	7	2	3	10	0	2	11	0	1	36	28	2	6
Morogoro (6)	3	2	1	6	0	0	6	0	0	18	15	2	1
Mtwara (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	0
Mwanza (12)	11	0	1	3	4	5	10	1	1	36	24	5	7
Rukwa (2)	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	6	5	1	0
Shinyanga (2)	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	6	4	2	0
Singida (4)	4	0	0	2	2	0	4	0	0	12	10	2	0
Ruvuma (5)	1	2	2	3	0	2	5	0	0	15	9	2	4
Tabora (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	0
Tanga 4	3	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	0	12	8	4	0
Zanzibar + Pemba (3)	0	1	2	1	0	2	3	0	0	9	4	1	4
Tanzania (140)	88	23	29	102	15	23	120	9	11	420	310	47	63

(9) – the number of completed questionnaires in the region
Y – Yes, changes have taken place
N – Non, changes haven't taken place
? – I don't know
Tot – the number of questions asked in the region
        (number of completed questionnaires x 6 questions)

Source: Students' field studies 2010

As to the first question, the most positive responses (over 80%) were in the following regions: Kagera, Manyara, Mara, Mwanza, Rukwa, Singida and Tabora. No positive response was noted in the regions of Lindi, Shinyanga, and Zanzibar, which is likely due to the simple fact that in these regions (i.e. in the districts inhabited by responders), there are no lakes (this was emphasized by respondents in the comment). Those who positively responded to this question (Yes - changes have taken place) mainly emphasized the fact that as a result of intensive irrigation (catching the water from rivers) less water flows in rivers and streams and as a result less water enters into the lakes. Some also pointed out that that may be due to the decrease of precipitations (rainfall) in the last 30 years. Most respondents gave examples of decreased level of water not only in small bodies of water (such as Lake Babati in Arusha region, Lake Ikimba in Kagera region, Lake Jipo in Kilimanjaro region, Mtera in Iringa region), but also in a large-area lakes as Victoria, Tanganyika, Malawi, Rukwa, Manyara.

In Kagera region, 10 respondents (out of 16) noticed a marked reduction of water in Victoria Lake, while in Mara region 2 respondents (out of 6) noticed the same phenomenon in the same Lake (Victoria). Respondents stated that the former lake level is clearly marked on the shore, especially in the quays of the port cities in Bukoba and Mwanza. A similar situation occurred in Lake Tanganyika. Former water level is marked on the quays in ports in Kigoma and Ujiji. Several respondents wrote that on Lake Tanganyika, near the town of Kibirizi, one can see at present some rocks above the surface of the water, where 20-30 years ago one could not see them, and on the Lake Victoria, in the Sengerema district, some offshore islands joined to the mainland.

To the question concerning changes of water flow in rivers, more than 80% of positive answers were in following regions: Iringa, Kagera, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Lindi, Manyara, Mara, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, Shinyanga and Tabora. Only in the regions of Mwanza and Zanzibar positive response rate was less than 50 (respectively 25% and 33%).

As in the case of lakes, respondents gave examples of decreasing water flow in small and big rivers. The main reasons for the decrease in water flow in rivers are irrigations and deforestation. A spectacular example of the decreasing amount of water is the Great Ruaha River. I have had the opportunity to observe personally this phenomenon for several years. Not only does this river carry less water, but it also dries up the swamps in its basin. One of the consequences of the decrease in the flow of water (and drying of smaller streams) is the lowering

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of the groundwater level. This phenomenon is especially present in the dry central part of the country (the respondents wrote about the lowering of the water level in wells in Dodoma and its surroundings). See the table (3) below.

Table 3: Rivers and streams in which the respondents observed a change in water flow.

Region	River/stream
Arusha	Rau, and streams near Karatu
Dar es Salaam + Pwani	Mbezi, Msimbazi, Tegeta
Dodoma	Streams in vicinity of Dodoma
Iringa	Great Ruaha
Kagera	Kagera, Ngono, Kabalobi
Kigoma	Muhanga, Mtunguruzi, Kumwambu
Kilimanjaro	Kikafu, Mwanjo, and streams flowing down the slopes of Kilimanjaro
Lindi	Rondo
Manyara	Bubu, streams in districts Babati and Kondoa
Morogoro	Kilombero, Ruhembe
Mwanza	Mwongo
Rukwa	Nzovwe, Kisa, Mtovisa
Shinyanga	Homs
Ruvuma	Ruvuma

Source: Students' field studies 2010

The increase of temperature has also been registered by weather stations. According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007) the temperature in Africa within the 20th century has risen by 1°C. According to the same source, as it has been mentioned already, in the period between 1970 and 2004 in the eastern part of Tanzania, the increase in temperature was between 0,2 and 1°C, and in western Tanzania between 1 and 2°C (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). The higher air temperature increase that occurred in the western part of the country has a partial confirmation in respondents' comments to positive answers to the third question. The third

question, regarding the observed climate change, received the most positive responses from all the questions (85.7%). In most regions, the positive responses accounted for over 90% of all responses. However, in the region of Dar es Salaam, there were only 50% of positive answers. In Lindi region, where only one questionnaire was filled, the respondent picked the answer 'I do not know'. The temperature increase is observed especially in higher altitude areas, for example, Iringa, and Mbeya. Respondents wrote that nowadays winter is not as cold as it used to be, and one of the consequences is an increase of mosquitoes, thus an increased incidence of malaria. The increase in the occurrence of malaria was also observed in the regions of Kigoma and Manyara. Projections to 2030 indicate that East Africa will get more rain but will become drier as temperatures rise[3]. For Tanzania, the predicted increase in temperature is between 2.5°C and 4°C (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). Parts of the country are projected to receive more rainfall, while the rest of the country, including the drought-prone southern areas, will receive less.

According to the respondents, the visible consequences of the decrease in precipitation so far are: decline of yields (Singida), single maize harvest during the year instead of two harvests (Rungwe), replacement of maize with other crops which require a lower amount of water (Songea). The figure (2) below shows decrease of cereal crop yields in Dodoma region in the period from 1981/82 to 2011/12.

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[3] According to the respondents there was a rainfall decrease during last 30 years, but according to meteorological data the precipitation remained the same (in general, taking under consideration the whole territory of the country). Higher temperatures, however, intensified the evapotranspiration, and as consequence less water was available. That's why in opinion of respondents there was a rainfall decrease.

Fig. 2. Cereal crop yields per hectare in Dodoma region.
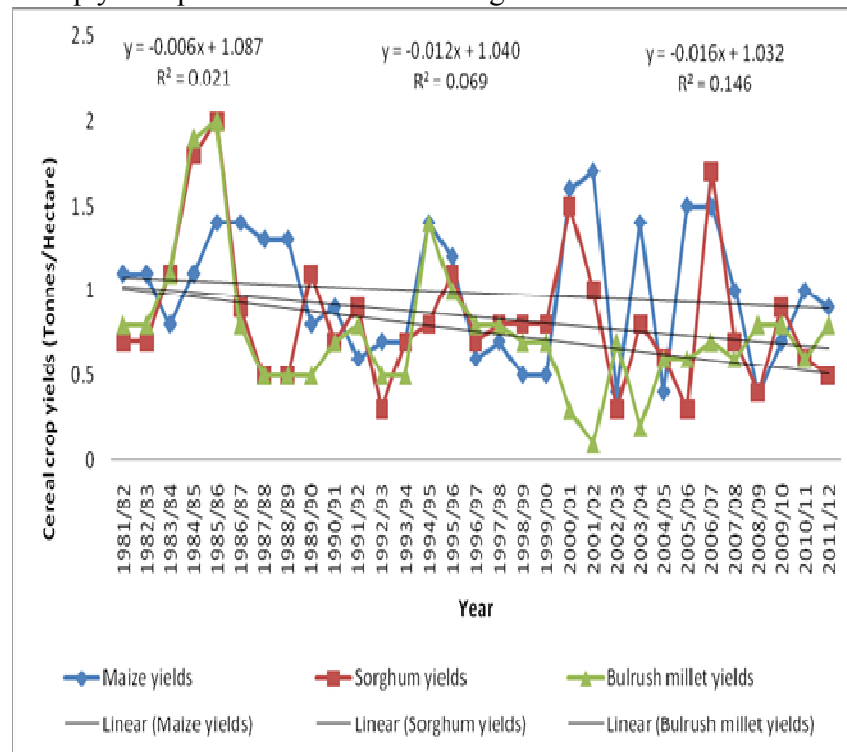
Source: Myeya and Kisanga (2015). Influence of climate change on cereal crop yields in semiarid areas of Dodoma region, Tanzania.

A spectacular consequence of climate change is the gradual melting of the snows on Mount Kilimanjaro and, as mentioned earlier, the reduction of water flow in rivers and streams flowing down its slopes. Several respondents highlighted the fact that the climate is becoming more unstable and unpredictable, for example, droughts (Iringa, Kagera) and floods (Iringa, Morogoro) are more frequent. Despite the fact that the amount of rainfall (per year) in some places remains the same, the shorter rain season causes more torrential rains, which leads to frequent floods. The following table (4) shows the share of positives answers (Yes – changes have taken place) to the three questions in different regions.

Table 4: The percentage of positive answers by administrative regions.

Region (the number between the brackets indicates the number of respondents/questionnaires per region)	Question			Percentage of positive answers to all questions (an average of 3 questions)
	1. Lakes	2. Rivers	3. Climate	
Arusha (9)	44,4	66,7	77,8	**63,0**
Dar es Salaam + Pwani (8)	12,5	50,0	50,0	**37,5**
Dodoma (3)	33,3	66,7	100,0	**66,7**
Iringa (21)	57,1	81,0	81,0	**73,0**
Kagera (16)	87,5	87,5	75,0	**83,3**
Kigoma (7)	71,4	85,7	100,0	**85,7**
Kilimanjaro (14)	64,3	85,7	92,9	**81,0**
Lindi (1)	0,0	100,0	0,0	**33,3**
Manyara (3)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100,0**
Mara (6)	100,0	83,3	100,0	**94,4**
Mbeya (12)	58,3	83,3	91,7	**77,8**
Morogoro (6)	50,0	100,0	100,0	**83,3**
Mtwara (1)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100,0**
Mwanza (12)	91,7	25,0	83,3	**66,7**
Rukwa (2)	100,0	50,0	100,0	**83,3**
Shinyanga (2)	0,0	100,0	100,0	**66,7**
Singida (4)	100,0	50,0	100,0	**83,3**
Ruvuma (5)	20,0	60,0	100,0	**60,0**
Tabora (1)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100**
Tanga 4	75,0	50,0	75,0	**66,7**
Zanzibar + Pemba (3)	0,0	33,3	100,0	**44,4**
Tanzania (140)	**62,9**	**72,9**	**85,7**	**73,8**

Source: Students' field studies 2010

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Table 4 above shows that in Tanzania 73,8% of all questions about observed symptoms climate change were answered positively. As can be seen from the table, the most altered regions in terms of climate change (taking into account the percentage of positive answers) are: Manyara, Mtwara, Tabora (100% of positive answers)[4], Mara (over 90 %), and Kagera, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro, Rukwa, Singida (80%). The regions with the slightest changes are: Lindi (33,3%), Dar es Salaam and Pwani (37,5%), Zanzibar and Pemba (44,4% of positive answers).

   In 2013, I repeated the same survey using the same questionnaire to confirm previous results from the 2010 while at the University of Iringa. The study involved all 90 students of the Faculty of Science and Education who were attending my lecture on Climatology. As in the case of Dodoma, students were attending my lecture on Climatology, and the study took place during the Easter break. In the meantime, Tanzania had changed the administrative division of the country with two new regions created out of the division of some pre-existing ones. The new regions were taken into consideration. This time, however, questionnaires were filled only in 19 regions. Because of that, we cannot compare the results of 2010 and 2013 surveys in all regions. The results of the 2013 survey are shown in the two tables (5 and 6) below.

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[4] It should be noted, however, that in Mtwara and Tabora the only one questionnaire was filled.

Table 5. Comparison of responses to asked questions by administrative regions of Tanzania (students from the University of Iringa)

Region	Number of responses to individual questions									Total number of responses for the region and for a whole country			
	1			2			3						
	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	Y	N	?	Tot	Y	N	?
Arusha (10)	3	1	6	7	3	0	8	1	1	30	18	5	7
Dar es Salaam + Pwani (3)	1	1	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	9	6	1	2
Dodoma (2)	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	6	3	0	3
Geita (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	0
Iringa (9)	3	4	2	5	0	4	5	3	1	27	13	7	7
Kagera (3)	1	0	2	1	0	2	2	0	1	9	4	0	5
Kigoma (2)	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	6	5	0	1
Kilimanjaro (8)	4	2	2	7	0	1	7	1	0	24	18	3	3
Manyara (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	0
Mara (3)	3	0	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	9	7	0	2
Mbeya	13	6	3	18	1	3	18	2	2	6	4	9	8

(22)										6	9		
Morogoro (3)	1	1	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	9	7	1	**1**
Mtwara (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	**0**
Mwanza (4)	3	1	0	4	0	0	3	1	0	12	10	2	**0**
Nyombe (3)	1	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	1	9	6	0	**3**
Rukwa (1)	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	**0**
Ruvuma (5)	3	2	0	3	2	0	4	1	0	15	10	5	**0**
Shinyanga (2)	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	6	2	1	**3**
Tanga (7)	4	0	3	7	0	0	6	1	0	21	17	1	**3**
Tanzania (90)	**47**	**19**	**24**	**68**	**6**	**16**	**72**	**10**	**8**	**270**	**187**	**35**	**48**

(10) – the number of completed questionnaires in the region
Y – Yes, changes have taken place
N – Non, changes haven't taken place
? – I don't know
Tot – the number of questions asked in the region (number of completed questionnaires x 3 questions)

Source: Students' field studies 2013

Table 6: The percentage of positive answers by administrative regions (students from the University of Iringa)

Region (number between the brackets indicates the number of respondents/questionnaires per region)	Question			Percentage of positive answers to all questions (an average of 3 questions)
	1. Lakes	2. Rivers	3. Climate	
Arusha (10)	30,0	70,0	80,0	**60,0**
Dar es Salaam + Pwani (3)	33,3	100,0	66,7	**66,7**
Dodoma (2)	50,0	0,0	100,0	**50,0**
Geita (1)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100,0**
Iringa (9)	33,3	55,6	55,6	**48,2**
Kagera (3)	33,3	33,3	66,7	**44,4**
Kigoma (2)	100,0	0,0	50,0	**50,0**
Kilimanjaro (8)	50,0	87,5	87,5	**75,0**
Manyara (1)	100,0	33,3	100,0	**77,8**
Mara (3)	100,0	33,3	100,0	**77,8**
Mbeya (22)	59,1	81,8	81,8	**74,2**
Morogoro (3)	33,3	100,0	100,0	**77,8**
Mtwara (1)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100,0**
Mwanza (4)	75,0	100,0	75,0	**83,3**
Nyombe (3)	33,3	100,0	66,7	**66,7**
Rukwa (1)	100,0	100,0	100,0	**100,0**
Ruvuma (5)	60,0	60,0	80,0	**66,7**
Shinyanga (2)	0,0	0,0	100,0	**33,3**
Tanga (7)	57,1	100,0	85,7	**80,9**
Tanzania (90)	**51,1**	**75,0**	**80,7**	**68,9**

Source: Students' field studies 2013

Comparison of the results of the research conducted at the University of Dodoma and the University of Iringa (Table 7) gave a fairly similar picture of

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climate change. The percentage of positive responses to all questions about environmental change in the whole country was 73,8% for the study of 2010 and 68,9% for the study of 2013. However, slight differences can be seen when comparing the results of the research for the same regions.[5] This is mostly due to the fact that the number of filled questionnaires in each region varied and respondents in many cases came from different, often distant, districts within the same region. Also in both surveys in several regions, only one questionnaire was filled.

Table 7. Comparison of the results of research conducted with students at the University of Dodoma and the University of Iringa

| Region	Percentage of positive responses to all questions about the changes in the region	
	University of Dodoma	University of Iringa
Arusha	63,0	**60,0**
Dodoma	66,7	**50,0**
Iringa	73,0	**48,2**
Kagera	83,3	**44,4**
Kigoma	85,7	**50,0**
Kilimanjaro	81,0	**75,0**
Manyara	100,0	**77,8**
Mara	94,4	**77,8**
Mbeya	77,8	**74,2**
Morogoro	83,3	**77,8**
Mtwara	100,0	**100,0**
Mwanza	66,7	**83,3**
Shinyanga	66,7	**33,3**
Tanga	66,7	**80,9**
Tanzania	**73,8**	68,9

Source: Students' field studies 2010 and 2013.

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[5] Apart from Kagera and Shinyanga, where differences in results are quite significant, but it should be noticed that in both regions in 2013 the share of the answer – "I don't know" – was very high.

Discussion

The main aim of this study was to get information about how elderly people, who should have theoretically better knowledge about climate change, perceived climate change in Tanzania within the last 30 years. The research showed that around 70% of elderly people perceived various symptoms of climate change, especially the rise of the air temperature, decreased flow of water in rivers and decrease of water level in the lakes. It should be emphasized that the perception presented by respondents about the symptoms of climate change in Tanzania reflects the global climate change patterns.

Globally and locally, irregular rains decrease the amount of accessible water. Global warming will produce significant changes in evaporation and precipitation, and, as a result, the hydrological cycle will be more unpredictable. Higher air temperatures will increase evaporation from the oceans, and evaporation from land, and therefore less water will be available in soils, lakes and rivers. These changes will modify rainfall patterns and will produce more extreme weather events, including floods and droughts. Decreasing amount of accessible water is a phenomenon that the whole world is faced with. It is also connected to the increase of population, which is taking place mainly in poor countries, and with a lack of investments in irrigation and water infrastructure in general, of which Tanzania is an example. The decrease in the amount of accessible water in the world is presented in the following graph (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Decrease in the amount of accessible water per person in the group of chosen countries in the years 1950 – 2000.

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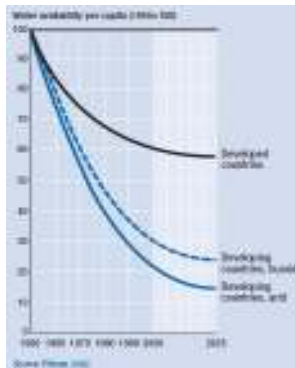
Source: UNDP, 2006

The Human Development Report (2006) foreshadows that the amount of population will lead to increased water scarcity in all the poorest regions of the world. For instance, in 1990 in Sub-Saharan Africa 100 million people lived under conditions of water shortage. In 2005 this amount rose to 300 million but it is estimated that in 2025 it will reach to 750 million.

How, and at which degree, will this water shortage influence development in the world's poorest countries? In African countries with subequatorial climate there is a close relationship between rainfall amount and Gross Domestic Product. This results mainly from the dependence of those countries' economies (which mostly rely on agriculture) on water supply. In Sub-Saharan Africa, only 3% of land under cultivation is irrigated and in Tanzania about 5-10% (UNDP, 2006). The remaining 90-95% of farmland depends merely on climatic conditions. The figure below (4) illustrates the dependence of agriculture in Ethiopia (national economy in general) on the rainfall regime, but the same situation and the same mechanism can be observed in other countries of the Sub-Saharan African region.

Fig. 4. GDP mirrors rainfall regime in Ethiopia
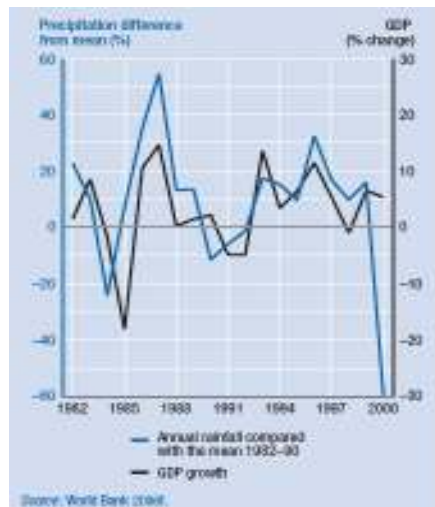
Source: UNDP, 2006

As stated above, according to the respondents, the main consequences of climate change so far are: decline of yields, single maize harvest during the year instead of two harvests, replacement of maize, which require a bigger amount of water, by other crops with less water needed. The figure below (5) presents the relationship between climate change and cereal productivity in Africa. As can be seen on the map, the most significant fall in productivity in Tanzania, in the period 2000 – 2080, will be in Tanga, Iringa, Njombe and Mtwara regions. The productivity will decrease also in the southeast, west and northwestern parts of the country. Because of the decrease of the available water for crop production, maize productivity is projected to fall in Tanzania by 30% by 2030 (Murray and Orindi, 2005).

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Fig. 5. Climate change and cereal productivity in Africa
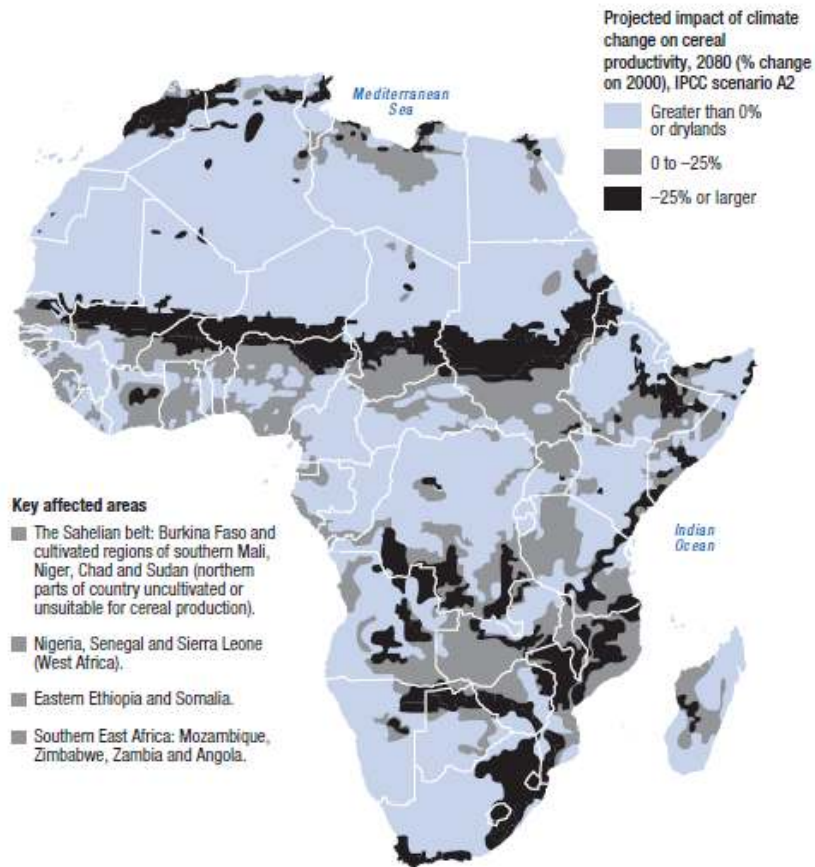
Source: Fisher et al. (2005) in, UNDP, 2006

Conclusion

Taking the data and other figures under consideration in this article, the following question arises: what should Tanzania do to face the consequences of climate change, or more specifically, the decrease in productivity, and the shortage of food? In my opinion, and depending on my experience and observations, a set of actions should be undertaken. These are: to change/adjust the existing structure of crop production to climatic changes, to improve the

techniques of cultivation, to build well studied irrigation systems, and finally to create functional systems of food storage.

Adaptation of the structure of production to climate change should take place mainly in the areas, where, for various reasons, improved irrigation systems are less likely to be built (for example, for adverse topographical and geological conditions). Plants with less water and soil requirements should replace those with higher requirements (for example, sorghum instead of maize, and cassava instead of potatoes). Appropriate/optimal choice of crops should be carried out with the help of extension officers. With the change of cultivated plants, also production techniques will need change. The most important change will be to reduce evapotranspiration and retain water in the soil. There are many ways of doing that. The simplest and very effective one is a complete coverage (i.e. mulching) of the fields during the growing season with unused parts of crops from the previous harvest (leaves, stems) and increasing the amount of humus in soil which is an excellent water absorbent.

The biggest challenge is the construction of irrigation systems and water retention. All water projects must be coordinated with one another to avoid situations in which one system is running against another, for example, by depriving it of water. This will require not only carrying out the specialized researches/surveys (for example geomorphological and hydrological), but also it will have to take into account the existing technical infrastructure and functioning economic linkages. Finally, the demographic situation must be analysed so that the implementation of the projects does not lead to social conflicts.

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Factors affecting consumer purchase behavior of local products

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Abstract

Tanzanians are now enjoying a myriad of products to buy at their purchasing power disposal compared to the years prior to trade liberalization in the 1980s. This article identifies and examines key factors affecting consumer purchase behavior of local products for enhancing Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) development in Tanzania. It also explores the influence of social, psychological, and marketing factors for local products purchase. Non-probability sampling technique with purposive (judgment) sample was used for the study with a sample size of 150 respondents. The study was limited to the respondents within 'working age', that is, 15 to 64 years old in Nyamagana district, Mwanza, Tanzania, specifically on local garments consumption. Descriptive statistics was used to analyze the data. The study reveals that marketing factors are significant for consumer purchase decision of local products, and that the reference groups to which individuals belong affect their product choices and preferences as far as local products are concerned.

Keywords: Local products, consumer behavior, working age, reference groups, SMEs development

Introduction

Tanzanian Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) are pivotal in helping the country to achieve some of its development objectives such as reducing poverty, assisting those the disadvantaged, providing linkages with suppliers and consumers, promoting a more flexible and innovative market (Olomi, 2003). SMEs have reached out to export market and are continuing to discover opportunities available for sale of local products overseas thereby bringing in foreign currency. According to the informal sector survey of 1991, micro

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enterprises operating in the informal sector alone consisted of more than 1.7 million businesses engaging about 3 million people, that is, about 20% of the Tanzanian labor force. It is estimated that about a third of the GDP of Tanzania originates from the SME sector.

Despite the aforementioned crucial role and contribution of SMEs in the country, empirical research has shown that SMEs are overwhelmed by numerous impediments. For instance Kuzilwa and Mushi (1997) conducted a study on credit needs for small businesses in Tanzania. The study was conducted with a sample of 120 SMEs. The study findings revealed that many of the problems faced by the entrepreneurs are not related to capital, but rather arise as a result of macroeconomic and institutional constraints. On the other hand, according to Keregero (2016) from 1980-1985, Tanzania experienced a shortage of goods including clothes resulting in local initiatives of producing local clothes (batik, tie and dye) but with a poor quality and unaffordable for many. Thereafter, importation of cheaper garments became rampant thus affecting negatively the growth of garments locally made (Kinabo, 2004).

What is a local product?

It is not uncommon to hear people refer to 'local' products, but the definition of 'local' can be complicated. There are a number of definitions for 'local' that either define 'local' in terms of distance from the production to the consumption point or refer to the country of origin of the product in which one resides. Generally, a local product is a product produced (grown or manufactured) and sold within one's place (village/district/region/country/state) of residence. In Tanzania, local brands such as textile fabrics, detergents products, dairy products, honey products, furniture, Maasai shoes and Makonde carvings constitute some successful stories of local entrepreneurs competing in the global markets.

Statement of the problem

It is an interesting paradox observing that the majority of studies on challenges faced by SMEs suggests that inter alia the major constraint SMEs encounter is of a financial kind. Interests to buy local products is not evident and there is limited literature which examines how commitment of local citizens to consume or not to consume 'Tanzanian made' affect the development of SMEs in the country. Marketing entails that consumers should be the focal point for the

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success of the organizations and benefit to the consumers (Kotler and Armstrong, 2001). This study therefore, looks at the consumer behavior and their attitude towards consumption of local products (garments locally made).

The rationale for drawing the sample from the 'working age' population (15-64) is that they belong to a large productive part of the Tanzanian population estimated to account for the 52% of the total population in the 2012 national census. In addition, the working age is presumed to have the purchasing power necessary to drive sales volumes of the local products, thus enabling to achieve the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 that envisions the country to become soon industrialized and a thriving middle income nation. Consumer behavior is governed by different and varied influences such as individuals' and society beliefs, attitude, past learning, experience, perception and expectations. These form the consumer's taste choice and product preference. There is therefore a need to examine these factors with a view to uncovering reasons behind the working age consumers' purchase behavior towards local products.

The general objective of this study is to explore the key factors affecting consumer purchase behavior of local products for developing SMEs in Tanzania. Specific objectives are outlined as follows:

   a) To ascertain social factors influencing purchases of local products
   b) To examine psychological factors affecting purchases of local products
   c) To establish the impact of marketing factors affecting purchases of local products

Literature review

Consumer behavior

Consumer behavior is defined as the actions and decision-making processes of buyers as they recognize their desire for a product or service, and engage in the search, evaluation, purchase, use, and disposal of that particular commodity (Rath et al., 2008). The study of consumer behavior is an interdisciplinary field of study that focuses on what goods and services people buy, and how and why they buy them. The objective of studying consumer behavior is to understand, explain, and predict consumer action under given circumstances. Furthermore, Solomon et al. (2006) assert that consumer behavior is a process and as such it involves many different actors: purchaser, user, and influencer of a product who may not be the same person.

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Theories of consumer behavior

At the heart of the scientific study of marketing are key insights about consumer behavior, i.e. why consumers buy and act the way they do. Theories of consumer behavior address important issues, such as how consumers purchase as individuals versus how they purchase in groups, the role of emotions in purchasing decisions, post-purchase attitudes, and the role of object utility. Understanding these issues enhances a marketing campaign's effectiveness and its impact on consumers. A number of theories have been used to examine consumer behavior, for instance, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) and the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein, 1980). According to Kotler and Keller (2013), there is a traditional theoretical framework for the consumer purchase decision making. This model is the most recognized model for consumer decision making process since the 1960s. This model contains five stages: problem recognition, information search, alternative evaluation, purchase decision and post-purchase behavior.

Factors influencing local product purchase

According to Al-Jeraisy (2008), three factors affect the consumers when purchasing local products: social factors, psychological factors and marketing factors. Kotler and Armstrong (2001) also suggest the same factors to affect purchase intention.

Social factors affecting local products purchase

A consumer is prone to be affected by his surrounding environment as well as demographic factors. Common social factors affecting local products purchase decisions are: culture, social class, reference group, age, educational level and gender. Marsiglia (2010) argues that consumer behavior is largely dependent on cultural factors consisting of mutually shared operating procedures, unstated assumptions, tools, norms, values, standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and communicating. Durmatz (2014) argues that consumers interact mostly with people of their own social class so that each class has about the same values and patterns of behaviour. Assael (2004: 106) states: "Involved consumers are more likely to be influenced by reference groups because a high-involvement product is likely to reflect the norms and values of the group".

Also, Khaniwale (2015) points out that wants and preferences change as the person's age change.

At every stage in life the needs and desires are different. The educational level or educational field also determine the behavior of the consumers. Generally, an educated person tends to make wise decisions as compared to an uneducated person. It is because they differ in the ability of collecting, processing and analyzing information. Livette (2007) also mentions that males and females may take different purchasing decisions.

Psychological factors affecting local products purchase

Human behavior is believed to be molded by internal factors. The internal influences that have effect on consumer behavior consist of an individual's perception, learning, memory, motives, personality, emotions and attitudes (Hawkins and Mothersbaugh, 2010). Rand (2011) found in his study that local agricultural produce are purchased because consumers have favorable attitudes towards supporting local economies, and because of personal connections with local farmers.

Marketing factors affecting local purchase decisions

Needs and wants are satisfied through the core marketing concepts of identifying them and anticipating their future demand. According to Phill (2010), promotion activities play a vital role to inform, differentiate, remind, inform, and persuade about the products that are offered. According to Al-Jeraisy (2008), marketing factors affecting local purchase decisions include: influence of salespersons, advertisements, product, and price. On the other hand, Buy-Local Campaigns have also been practiced by different organizations and nations. The study by the Institute for Local Self Reliance (ILSR), executed nationwide in the U.S., surveys consumer oriented independent businesses to track their year-to-year changes in sales. Respondents to the 2014 survey reported a strong annual sales increase of 5.3%, but the increase varied hugely based on one key factor, that is, a "buy independent/buy local" campaign run by an Independent Business Alliance. Similarly modeled organizations reported a 7.0% sales increase compared to just 2.3% in the areas without such a campaign.

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Proudly Tanzanian Campaign

The Proudly Tanzanian Campaign is the 'buy local' campaign coordinated by TPSF, Tanzania Bureau of Standards (TBS), Tanzania Trade Development Authority (TANTRADE), Confederation of Tanzania Industries (CTI) and GS1. It aims at addressing the issues of job creation, boosting local consumption and stimulating our economy, through local investment in local products, services and exports. The aim of the Proudly Tanzanian Campaign is to educate local and international consumers to buy local goods when doing their shopping. They also want to get businesses to procure locally and in so doing, they will be injecting money back into the country and the economy. By buying Tanzanian products, both consumers and businesses are making a personal contribution to nation-building.

Purchase intention

Consumers' buying decision is very complex. Usually, purchasing intention is related with consumers' behavior, perception and attitude. Purchase behavior is an important key point for consumers when considering and evaluating a certain product (Keller, 2001). Ghosh (1990) stated that purchase intention is an effective tool used in predicting purchasing process. Once the consumers decide to purchase the product in a certain store, they will be driven by their intention. However, purchase intention might be altered by the influence of price, quality perception and value perception (Zeithaml, 1988).

Local production and SME development in Tanzania.

Local production is showing improvement as the Census of Industrial Production (CIP) 2013 unveiled recently. The census also showed that there were 49,243 industries in the country, most of which are small-scale establishments. Findings of the census showed further that among the existing factories, 47,921 were small-scale industries (representing 97.3% of the total) whilst 1,322 were large-scale factories (2.7%). It states further that the number of industries surged to 50,656 by the year 2014. Tanzania earned Sh5.5 trillion from exports of industrial products in 2013 while products sold locally earned Sh10 trillion during the same year. The sector generated 264,223 jobs in 2013, led largely by the manufacturing subsector which created 166,888 jobs. Mining and quarrying followed with a total of 19, 159 jobs.

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Methodology

Nyamagana district in Mwanza was used as case study. A case study generally aims to provide insights into a particular situation and often stresses the experiences and interpretations of those involved. It may generate new understandings, explanations or hypotheses (Coe, 2002). Both qualitative and quantitative research strategies were used. Both primary and secondary data were collected. Primary data were obtained with a survey. Secondary information from published and unpublished documents and reports from SIDO, National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), Ministry of Trade, Industry and Investment and other relevant organizations were gathered to supplement primary data. Questionnaires were administered by mail, telephone, and personal interviews. The questionnaires covered all the variables under the study. These variables were captured on a 5-Point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'.

The sample size comprised of 150 individuals from the working age population in Nyamagana district, Mwanza, Tanzania. The geographical area was chosen because of its highly heterogeneous characteristics in terms of demographic, economical, social, cultural aspects. Non-probability sampling technique with purposive (judgment) sample was used to save time and money where investigator's personal judgment is used to choose cases that help answer research questions or achieve research objectives. The sampling frame comes from the total number of the working age living and working in Nyamagana, district. According to the 2012 National Census, Tanzania recorded a working age population of 23,466,616 (52.2% of the total country population of 44,928,923) with Nyamagana district recording a working age population of 212,453 (58.5% of the total district population of 363,452 people).

Data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Frequency tables computed in terms of percentage were used. The analysis of research questions were done using Kendall's tau Correlation test to establish associations between the variables in each question. Other methods employed during data analysis were percentages, summaries of data and information, and explanation building.

Findings and discussion

Of 150 participants, 56% were males and 44% female. It was revealed that majority (80%) of respondents admitted that reference groups play a vital role in

their purchase intentions. Similar results were revealed by Hoonsopon and Puriwat (2016) who investigated the impact of reference group on purchase intention. However, this study found that there are no correlations between the personal demographic attributes such as gender, age, marital status, number of children, income, and occupation to the purchase intention of local products. This goes contrary to some other studies, for instance Madahi and Sukati (2012) who investigated the effects of demographic factors on purchase intention.

Only the level of education was found to have a negative correlation with the purchase intention of local products. That is, as one's education increases his/her purchase intention of local products decreases and vice versa. This is contrary to some other studies, for example, by Srinivasan, Srivastava, Bhanot and Sandeep (2014) who investigated the impact of education on purchase behavior of luxury brands. Above all, social factors analyzed portrayed a very weak or no statistical significant correlation between purchase intention and customer loyalty to local products, unlike findings by Marsiglia (2010). Psychological factors revealed to have a weak statistical significant negative correlation with purchase intention. Similar results were obtained by Rand (2011) who investigated purchase intention toward local agricultural produce.

The study revealed that marketing factors have fairly strong statistical significant correlation with purchase intention. Majority of respondents (80.7%) are finding personal selling playing a vital role in deciding to buy local products than other promotion tools. Furthermore, 71.3% of the respondents admitted to have knowledge of the 'Proudly Tanzanian' Buy Local Campaigns and that they had purchased local products due to such initiatives. These findings on the impact of marketing factors support what was found by Al-Jeraisy (2008) and the ILSR consumer survey on the 'Buy-Local' campaign as described above.

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Table 1: Correlation

			Social Factors	Psychological Factors	Marketing Factors	Purch. Intention
Kendall's tau_b	**Social Factors**	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.038	.114	.142
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.605	.115	.055
		N	150	150	150	150
	Psychological Factors	Correlation Coefficient	.038	1.000	-.011	-.137
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.605	.	.882	.067
		N	150	150	150	150
	Marketing Factors	Correlation Coefficient	.114	-.011	1.000	.436[**]
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.115	.882	.	.000
		N	150	150	150	150
	Purchase Intention	Correlation Coefficient	.142	-.137	.436[**]	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.055	.067	.000	.
		N	150	150	150	150
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).						

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Conclusion and recommendations

It emerges from the analysis that marketing factors are significant in consumer decision to purchase local products, and that the way in which individuals are associated in their respective reference groups affects their product choice and preferences as far as local products are concerned. Remarkably, factors which affect the purchase intentions are unique towards consumption of local products and may apply differently to other products.

In light of the above, the following recommendations are put forward to enhance the consumption of local products particularly local garments: SMEs should plan their marketing strategies to avail the forces that are posed by reference groups and enhance salesmanship skills to drive sales volume of local products and consumer satisfaction through personal selling. Also, SMEs need to take the lead to address the issue of poor quality, standards improvement, and inadequate promotion of products which deny them the capacity to exploit the vast regional and internal markets.

If the government was to achieve its industrialization goals, promotion of SME's is vital. The government through Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) and the Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF) should build strong human capital with skills in different fields, including science, technology and innovation, given that these skill are inseparable from industrialization. The TPSF, the umbrella for business in Tanzania, should work hand in hand with SMEs and sensitize them to initiate 'Proudly Tanzanian' Buy-Local campaigns. These initiatives should not only be TPSF's burden. The government should enforce laws intended to develop SMEs in Tanzania. SMEs should constantly undertake marketing research to identify the most important sociological and psychological factors which affect consumers' taste and preference so as to develop a target marketing strategy for effective market exploitation. Marketing strategies should be employed, such as pricing strategy, brand strategy, promotional strategy, and advertising among others. Finally, the government should restrict the importation of goods that can be manufactured locally in sufficient quantities.

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Does gender matter in higher learning students' politics? A case of Mwalimu Nyerere Students' Organization (MASO) general elections, 2017

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Abstract
Female students experience the electoral process mostly as either voters or electoral candidates. This is of no exception at the Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy. The electoral market is usually informed by various factors which in turn affect the female students' participation in the election processes. The liberal theory is employed to explain the low turnover of female candidates in Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy Students Organization general elections 2017. The main objective of the study was to examine the factors which impede female students to participate as vote seekers. The study reveals patriarchal values to be perceived as being embedded in female students' mind that politics is a realm of men. The males' students also subjugate the female students through patriarchal values such as believing that females cannot be good leaders. The study has also found out that female students lack self-confidence and feel disempowered before their counterparts male students. It is thus concluded that the 2017 Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy Students Organization elections have depicted a gendered students` politics limiting female students' participation as vote seekers. Therefore, robust efforts are needed to combat the situation through female students' leadership programmes and having a functioning gender club for deliberating on gender relations and empowerment.
Keywords: Female, gender, elections, patriarchy, participation

Introduction

Politics is a multidimensional term but power is the key ingredient. Power in politics refers to the relationships between who controls or influences and who is controlled or influenced. Politics produces the leadership to manage the affairs of society (Sunseri, 2011), and leadership involves men and women. An analysis

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of the composition of men and women in politics and political leadership has the potential of depicting the social constructions of the two sexes (Butler, 1990). Gender relations in politics determine who is to be voted, who is to win, who is to vote and, above all, who should govern. These shape the electoral systems and governance institutions. The exclusion of women from collective decision-making organs and in particular political careerism is exacerbated through patriarchy. The male values have percolated all the circles of social and political lives (Squires, 2007). Feminism activists have critiqued the universalization of patriarchy by suggesting that in some communities matriarchy is in place instead (Lamphere, 2001). Brenner (2001) cites an example of Indonesia, where the trading in the market was seen as the domain of women. However, the general accepted truth is that patriarchy is a driving force which leads to disparities between males and females. The political power is concentrated in the hands of men and it is now becoming historic and socialized (Sunseri, 2011).

Communities in Tanzania are highly patriarchal to the extent that the intensity of female subjugation becomes socialized, evidenced, and acted throughout the national socio-political settings. The patriarchal values seem to have percolated into most institutions including the higher learning arena. The post-Beijing epoch has been influenced by the call to have an empowerment strategy in order to allow women to participate in decision making bodies (Nowrjee, 1995). The Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) diagnosed the women underrepresentation and robust efforts were set to promote women's voice in decision making organs. While, efforts are vivid at the national level, the meso level is yet to be unveiled. The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy Students Organization (MASO) general elections in 2017 saw female candidature being very low and the query rested on the Gender Department which could not see her female students aspiring for departmental representation in MASO Assembly. The MASO constitution provides equal chances to both male and female students with regard to competition for MASO offices. Female students, who engaged in MASO politics, were mostly engaged as cheerers and this follows the definition of politics by Leftwich (1997) who sees politics as an inherent activity in all levels of social interaction.

Using this meaning, female students would be counted as participants in the political process. The distinction between cheers and participants as candidates depends on the restrictive view of politics. In this study, the restrictive view of

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politics focuses on female students as contesters for presidency, representation of hostel halls and academic departments. The female students being reinforced to cheering function depicts politics to be the domain of men, in this case or male students. Female and male students without bias participated in different ways as cheerers and runners for various posts. The female who courageously broke the deadlocks was a first year student in Education Department.

Problem statement: The Tanzania government and non- governmental organizations have been working hard to promote gender equality and break the deadlocks of patriarchal values in the society. Social and political transformation begins with the institutional transformation. The higher learning institutions are expected to be the leading change agent in breaking the circles of injustice. The general trend at The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy (MNMA) in MASO general elections reveals a paradox between the efforts of stamping out patriarchy. Female students participated in MASO 2017 general elections mostly as cheerers but not as vote seekers. The few who dared to join the race lost miserably. The study descriptively examines the state of patriarchal values in students` politics at MNMA.

Objectives of the Study: The main objective of the study is to find out the perceived impact of patriarchy to female students engagement in MASO politics at MNMA. The specific objectives include: to assess the female students` perception of politics, to examine the MNMA`s community perception over female ability to lead, and to describe the way forward for changing the status quo with regard to female students engaging in MASO politics.

Research questions: Do female students perceive MASO politics as a domain of male students? How do members of MNMA community perceive the ability of female leaders in MASO organs? What are the measures taken to address the female low turnover as vote seekers and not simply as cheerers at MNMA?

Liberal theory and female students' participation in MASO politics

The study employed the liberal view of women participation in struggling for power. Liberal feminists consider women to have a mammoth moment with the existing socio-economic and political institutions. The main concern for liberal feminism is to re-do the practice of patriarch institutions to cater for women at

large. The struggle towards achieving gender equality at MNMA seems to be a paradox despite the number of female students being above the number of males in terms of admission figures in 2016/2017 with females at the 60% and males at the 40%. There was one female contestant for presidency and the rest stood at the back of men as vice candidates. The socialized and institutionalized patriarchal values are the sources of limited women involvement in politics and leadership in formal institutions. This study examined the perceived impact of patriarchy to female students' engagement in politics to be the glass ceilings cobwebbed by patriarchal values that individuals live with in society.

Female students' empowerment is still a necessary fact if the malpractices of male based institutions have to be reversed. Lest the status quo is undisturbed, the glorification of males over females will be perpetuated and become everlasting in institutions. This follows the general claim that when the mother cow chews the grass, the young ones watch its mouth for replicating. Hence, the fight for equality and equity at MNMA students' government needs to change the mind set of the entire community members and this is all possible through gender empowerment approaches. However, the theory is adequate and is still informative to our study variables.

Literature review

Patriarchy is a critical factor to keep women out of visible sectors. The phenomenon of patriarchy is global and women subjugation cuts across all human societies. Gender disparities in elective posts is vindicated to be a socialized norm as even in the so called great liberal democracy such as USA, the patriarchal language in the 2016 general elections was used against the Democrat presidential aspirant, madam Hillary Clinton. The same disparities and marginalization of women have found a fertile ground in Africa and particularly in Tanzania. In Tanzania, very few women come forward to offer their candidature for elective posts and fewer still mange to sail through their internal political parties' nominations. The rationality of political parties is to put forward in the electoral market a candidate with a potential of maximizing votes so as to capture the state power. In the alignment to this very choice, political parties cannot nominate women as they perceive women to be having various strides embedded on them by patriarchy. The magnificence of patriarchy

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is revealed through cultural practices, trivializing individuals through assassination of character with impunity, verbal abuse and physical abuse. These socialized and institutionalized patriarchal values lead the female candidature in elective posts to be very minimal in Tanzania. The effect is visible at the national level as well as at institutional levels such The Mwalimu Nyerere students' organization elections.

According to Goetz (2003) the nature of the society does shape the other sub institutions such as the political system. The socialized patriarchal values make the political institutions behavior and practice not only male dominated but also masculine in nature. Phillips (1991) argues that political norms and values scare women to seek for public office as they consider the political structures to be male favoring. Women vying for competitive posts are few and this is explained well by Meena (2005) who argues that the patriarchal structures develop glass ceilings which hinder women to propose themselves for leadership posts. The views of Meena (2005) are also shared by Tamale (1999) who argues that political institutions are male dominated whereby sexual harassment and objectification of women to sex become a norm. The patriarchal values which are socialized to public institutions cannot bring the transformation of women automatically but rather the efforts to change the status quo through de-socialization of patriarchy have to be intensively undertaken. The common trend of patriarchal behavior in public institutions is to allow women to vie for political leadership on the basis of male preferences (Phillip, 1991). Studies have depicted that various empowerment initiatives have been made since the Beijing Platform of Action 1999 through the Millennium Development Goals which all intended to empower women. Nevertheless, there has been an incremental change in political structures to create a conducive milieu of governance between the two sexes.

Methodology

Research design: The study employs a descriptive research design to examine the patriarchal stereotypes over female students' ability to exercise political power at MNMA. The strategy employed was the social survey. Questionnaires and interviews were used as main tools for primary data collection. Data collected was organized and analyzed quantitatively using descriptive statistics to produce percentages and frequencies.

Sample selection: The total respondents were 349 students and a random sampling was employed for questionnaires. Two female candidates were purposively selected because of their peculiar role in the MASO general elections 2017.The study used questionnaires and interview methods to collect the primary data. Questionnaires employed were close ended in order to guide the respondents' views pertaining to the focus of the study. Meanwhile, the open-ended interviews intended to capture information which the female candidates drew from their personal experiences and practices. The rationale for opting for a multi-method data collection strategy in this study was to increase reliability and validity of the findings. The following subsection explains the liberal feminism theory as a ground for addressing underrepresentation of female students in MASO organs.

Results and discussion

Female candidature and voters' concern about female political aspirations at MNMA

The respondents were to give their opinion on the leadership abilities which they considered a single female candidate vying for presidency would offer. The three runners for the presidential elective post were two males and one female. The representation by sex for the representation candidature in the Students' parliament through the MASO constitutional constituencies are divided into two categories, that is, residential constituencies and academic Departments' constituencies. The following gender disparities to both main constituencies were recorded.

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Table 1: Students representatives in parliament (SRP) by sex

ACADEMIC DEPERTMENTS	MALE	FEMALE
Economics	1	-
Social Studies	3	1
Gender Studies	2	-
Education	2	-
RESIDENTIAL CONTITUENCIES	MALE	FEMALE
Azimio	4	-
Mwongozo	-	1
Kizota	3	-
Off –Campus	4	-

Source: Field data 2017

The general trend of females vying for leadership at MNMA reflects a big disparity between male students and female students. The most hitting concern is the gender department whereby gender issues are domesticated but still no even any female dared to contest for the departmental representation. The dominance of male students in MASO general elections was to be assessed through the established questions to respondents about their opinion on the qualities a female leader can provide.

Table 2: Perceived female students' ability to Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy Students Organization leadership

Female have inferior ability	47.4%
Female ability similar to male	27.4%
Female superior to men	25.2%

Source: Field Data (2017).

The responses have depicted that there is a big challenge in terms of the socialized patriarchal values. The MNMA is a higher learning institution for social sciences. Gender issues are discussed in various academic lectures or public talks. However, respondents still perceive female fellows to be inferior in

leadership compared to men (47.4%). This shows that even females themselves do not trust themselves that they can be leaders and have the same qualities to overturn men in terms of leadership abilities. It goes without saying that the female students shying away from MASO electioneering elective posts is not by accident but rather by design. Only 27.4% of respondents felt that men and women have the same leadership abilities. The liberal setting of female seeking equality within the patriarchal structures is reflected through the MASO general elections. The females feel stifled by the MASO elections and therefore decide to participate as cheerers and not candidates. For example, it is not surprising that a female presidential candidate managed to garner 88 (8.8%) votes.

The other female student contested for representation of Mwongozo hall of residency and she passed unopposed though, the rule of the game demands for an unopposed candidate to be elected on Yes majority votes. Fortunately, she scored all the yes 63votes from Mwongozo electorates. The pairs for presidency who picked nomination forms were 9. Out of the nine, it was only one pair of a first year female student who aspired for presidency candidature. The screening of candidates was done and the three pairs for presidency were selected through a fair and just process under a well functioning election *adhoc* committee. Fortunately the pair of female candidates sailed through. However, the score line of the votes, revealed a gender gap in elections and this necessitated a need for a study of such conjectural phenomenon. The pair became the first from the bottom of the three competitors in the electoral results. The study examined carefully why such a trend at MNMA where there is a gender Studies Department, whereby every candidate at MNMA gains some skills on gender relations through different fora. However, this is what Tamale (1996) concluded as the political competition being fierce to women and thus making them scared to run for public offices. Another question asked the respondents if they would vote the females to MASO offices. The question asked: **"**Would you vote for a female?" The following table offers the responses of the electorates as regard to the willingness to vote a female candidate into MASO offices.

Table 3. Electorates and voting for female candidates

Yes	10%
No	90%

Source: Field Data 2017

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The responses from table 3 reveal how patriarchy has percolated the hearts and minds of the institution. The reflection of the above responses is the nature of the society. The society is imbued by patriarchy and hence operates in a manner that socializes inequality between men and women. The dominance of men is reflected through cultural settings of which a man is regarded naturally as a leader and to be having advantages over a woman. This objectification of a woman as a subordinate fellow to men begins at the micro sphere and passes through the meso institutions such as the higher learning institutions of which MNMA is not an exception. The only female for presidential candidate in an interview had the following to say: "My fellow women were highly criticizing me even more than men…They could laugh at me and sometimes shout at me like, do you think it's possible for you to win? Stop wasting your time, sit down and study". The anecdotal evidence from the interview confirms the general response of the respondents. This is followed by what was recorded in Tanzania during the 2005 national general elections, that is, "the greatest enemy of a woman is her fellow women and not men". Therefore, patriarchal influence is overflowed to MNMA and has made female students to be zealots to male gendered elections.

Nature of political campaigns and electoral results

The general trend of the campaign through respondents' views is that the campaign tended to be male dominated. The electorates listened to male candidates very seriously when they expressed what they had to promise to deliver. The respondents further accorded that female candidates were looked at as individuals who were escorting others. The general picture here is what Ahikire (2004) depicts as the patriarchal glass ceiling, which wants women to remain in their position, i.e. the marginal or invisible sphere. The campaigns were very hostile and sometimes nearly resulting to violence either among candidates or among zealots of the candidates. Violence, women studies agree, divorce women from politics (REDET, 2000). It could be ascertained that probably female students defied from MASO politics in fear of violence and associated character assassination through abusive language. A female candidate for presidency said: "Some students reached an extent of asking me if I am married or I have a boyfriend…I got angered by such trivial questions as they took me out my mood for campaigning".

Therefore, the nature of the campaign tended to remove the female contestant out of track and thus kept her as a mere escort in the election, hoping this experience would discourage other females from engaging in MASO elections. During the elections, there was a great deal of division among the students' electorates. The stiff competition was between two male presidential candidates. The general election results reflected the said campaign bias as the male candidates had a share of 89.6% votes whilst the female candidate scored only 8.8% (and 1.5% of the votes were spoiled). The reflection of the above vote scores indeed cements on how female representation at MNMA is constrained by male socialized values. At the Students Representatives in Parliament (SRP) level, female candidate for Mwongozo constituency passed unopposed. This is because there was no other candidate who aspired for the post in that constituency.

Sustaining and enhancing female students' participation in MASO elections elective posts seem to be facing numerable issues as the structures and processes are male biased. The enhancement and sustenance of female students in MASO politics require a comprehensive approach by the society generally and the institution of MASO in particular. The glass ceilings delimiting females from quenching their thirst of leadership potentials needs to be mitigated to change the status quo. According to Nowrjee (1995) the female practical platforms are yet to be established in public institutions. The established structures have oiled the gender gap instead of addressing it. This is reflected by the MASO constitution 2008, which has no provision on female special seats whereby female students would be at least gaining experience. The study found out that the share of the factors which hinder female students engagement in MASO politics are diverse and numerous. The following table reveals the share of such hindrances.

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Table 4. Obstacles facing female students in MASO elections

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Electoral structure	20	5.7
	Character assassination	184	52.7
	Violence, harassment and intimidation	102	29.2
	Public attitude	41	11.7
	Low self confidence	2	.6
	Total		
Total		349	100.0

Source: Field Data 2017

The data reveals that female students face a number of challenges which in a way tend to keep them out of MASO politics. Most of the respondents agreed on the character assassination to females who dare to enter into MASO at 52.7%. This behavior is a threat as it deters the females who could be having the leadership potentials from vying the electioneering posts. The stereotyped language and labeling of female students as unable tend to push out females from politics. Hence, male dominance in the MASO organs is highly socialized. The character assassination which females are afraid of may be regarded as a strategy of kicking away the female students from engaging in electoral politics of students' government.

Also, 29.2% of the respondents were of the views that violence, harassment and intimidation which go around during campaigns tend to send signals to female students that politics is a dirty game which requires hard muscles. Unfortunately, most females are socialized in masculine values whereby men are the ones believed to be violent and with masks for shielding intimidation. Hence, men tend to use that gendered intimidation in order to make the MASO politics a preserve of their own. One female student said "I cannot afford MASO politics as I heard some men saying female contestants are buying trouble at the cheap price". This message signals that female students are feeling insecure if they join politics. Hence, politics of students' governments at MNMA remains a preserve of male students.

Public attitude scored 11.7% and electoral structure scored 5.7 % as factors delimiting female students from engaging in MASO politics as vote seekers. The public attitude is construed through how public psychology and philosophy consider the power and status of women. The status of women is regarded to be low due to the social constructions. Hence, even in leadership positions female students tend to feel the structures to be not comfortable for them. The intimidation and perceived harassment which they consider to happen during campaigns make them whip out of students politics. Moreover, the lack of self confidence which counted for 0.6% cannot be forgotten as a factor which is socialized to society members and particularly to females. The girls from childhood are socialized to be loyal and always to listen to men. This is enculturalization of masculinity to females which in turn disempowers them. The lack of confidence therefore, should not be taken as natural to female students when aspiring for the competitive posts but rather as a socio-cultural setting which intends to create gender disparity in MASO leadership organs.

Conclusion and recommendations

The study examined the gender and elections in students' politics. The female participation in the 2017 has been more of cheerers rather than of vote seekers either as presidential contestants or as SRPs. The main reasons described to deter female students from engaging in electioneering for elective posts include mainly character assassination, masculine structures and the patriarchal socialized values. Female students shy away from politics at MNMA due to consideration of politics to be revolving around violence and harassment and intimidation by the zealots of the other contenders. Therefore, female students defy vying for various electoral posts and thus blurring the efforts of bridging the gender gap in decision making at every institutional level. The study concludes that female representation in MASO organs is obstructed by the patriarchy which is socialized and manifested through the structures and processes of MASO organs.

It is commendable that the MASO constitution places a need of special seats for SRPs in order to promote the training grounds for female students in MASO politics. The disempowered female students need a training ground so as to impart them with a positive thinking on politics and also their position as leaders

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in organizations. This would help bridge the gap between the males and females in MASO organs. The MNMA institution through Gender Studies Department should establish a leadership special training program for female students in order to orient them with skills, competencies and attributes needed. The approach should aim at empowerment that they may be able to participate in electoral processes in a hub of masculine values. This would not only empower female students to engage in MASO elections but also promote their readiness to utilize their leadership potentials for the benefits of institutions and the nation.

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African academic diaspora and the revitalisation of African universities

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Abstract

This article seeks to contribute to existing, albeit limited, knowledge on the engagement of the African academics in Germany in African universities in research, teaching and public service. Revitalisation of African universities appears to be the *raison d'être* of internationalisation. Inasmuch as revitalisation denotes development in its conceptualisation, it seems appropriate that a theory of development informs the current analysis. Building on the people's organisations development theory (PODT), a university revitalisation theory (URT) explains the centre stage which African universities occupy in the academic diaspora-Africa equation. The qualitative approach informs the analysis particularly through interviews in answering the research question, namely how Germany-educated African academics engage in the revitalisation of the African universities. The work employs Alan Bryman's steps in analysing data. This analysis indicates a modest engagement of African academic diaspora in revitalising African universities. The discussion redounds to URT construction, which is the main goal of this article. It culminates in articulating a methodological framework followed by practical and policy recommendations. Theory construction in this empirical study is informed by Strauss and Corbin's Grounded Theory (GT). The recommendations include the strengthening of the relationship between African academics, students, African universities and international universities, the establishment of an African academic diaspora association and the employment of a larger quantitative sample.
Keywords: University revitalisation, internationalisation, theory construction, academic diaspora, development

Introduction

The engagement of the African academic diaspora in African universities is probably the single most important intellectual remittance geared at revamping

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academic development in Africa given the qualifications of the academic diaspora. The available literature has for several decades focused on other types of remittances (Foulds and Zeleza, 2014: 16) and the recourse of the diaspora to revitalise African universities is recent (Oanda, 2015). The African Union (AU) Commission defines the African diaspora as peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union. The AU considers the diaspora to be the 'sixth' region of Africa (African Union Handbook, 2018).

The purpose of the current analysis is to debunk the engagement of the academic diaspora in revitalising the African universities. The study also seeks to identify and synchronise workable practices from numerous countries which may help various countries and universities meet their goals. The analysis redounds to the construction of a theory and methodology for revitalising the university-diaspora engagement because the development of universities depends upon, amongst other things, a vision and theory towards that end. The paper advances an argument that the engagement of the African academic diaspora with the African universities may be effective and sustainable if the latter take the initiative in identifying their needs, affirming their strengths and acknowledging their challenges. It is through this consciousness (Freire, 1970) that African universities can claim ownership. As the literature puts it, there is increasing agreement that the fundamental flaw in development theory and practice is the logic which has initiatives of the development process emanating from government or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) programmes being controlled by urban technical elites in alliance with international development agencies (White, 2004: 7). The analysis is informed by a people's organisations development theory (PODT) (Mutalemwa, 2015).

Literature review

The literature shows that academic diaspora engagement in Africa is rather "under-researched" (Foulds and Zeleza, 2014) and fairly new (Schmelz, 2009: 14) though improvements in the quality of education, research, technology and innovation as described by Juma (2016) are necessary. The revitalisation of African universities presupposes major reforms in the entire management of academic life at universities. This work appreciates the complexity of the concept diaspora as advanced by Zeleza (2004: 262) whereby the concept

denotes a process, a condition, a space and a discourse embodied in cultural, temporal and spatial considerations. Against the backdrop of this conceptual complexity, and for the sake of the present analysis, diaspora refers to former and current Germany-educated African scholars. Revitalisation is essentially a question of change or development which is sustainable in nature (Biekart and Fowler, 2012). That is why the current work borrows a theory from Development Studies and seeks to discuss the possibility of revamping African universities. Unless universities have a theory and vision for its future (Shivji, 2007), revitalisation may be impossible to achieve. Hence this paper attempts to provide this theory and vision and thus contribute to the extant literature because the role of the academic diaspora has been sidelined in the literature as pointed out above. This observation creates a research gap to fill

Data and methods

There is a connection between the research question and the methods for answering the question. The research question is how the engagement of the academic diaspora can and do revitalise African universities in the context of internationalisation. The 'how'-research question usually presupposes a qualitative approach in data collection and analysis. The literature shows that the qualitative approach is predominant in organisational contexts because so much of the research in this area is involved with gauging people's perceptions. People's views are subjected to investigator's interpretation. Such interpretation is intrinsically qualitative as Babbie (2013) and Kayrooz and Trevitt (2006: 109) aptly demonstrate.

   The researcher conducted interviews, both online and face-to-face, to 20 members of the academic diaspora and 20 university staff members in Africa and ten respondents from selected German institutions. Interview helps gauge ideas, opinions, feelings and views of the respondents (Babbie, 2013). Furthermore, the researcher reviewed documents dealing with the engagement between universities and members of the academic diaspora to assess the nature of the engagement, the history of the engagement, the available projects and memoranda of understanding. Only universities were included. Other higher learning institutions were purposely excluded due to time and financial management purposes.

   A review of documents comprised sources from third parties which, provided information regarding the engagement of the academic diaspora in a particular

university. The third party was considered to be more independent and thus probably capable of providing a more plausible appraisal of the engagement than both the universities and the academic diaspora which may have interests to protect. Third party here refers to public and private organisations interested in supporting the diaspora and their countries of origin.

The researcher employed purposive sampling to study members of the African academic diaspora as well as universities engaging in collaborative research, teaching and public service. The research included responses from scholars from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The choice of Germany was also purposive as Germany has been involved in supporting the diaspora and universities in Africa for a long time (Bonfiglio, McGregor and Siegel, 2015; Schlenzka, 2009). The researcher employed Alan Bryman's four steps in analysing qualitative data (Bryman, 2012) and informed by GT in which theory emerges from data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Findings and discussion

The results showed a pattern in the areas of university-diaspora engagement across sampled universities, similarities in the process and nature of the engagement of the scholars in African universities. There was a need for an improved process of the university-diaspora engagement in research, teaching and public service based on theorisation and a grand vision, informed by local demands as well as dictates of culture and reason while seeking to promote internationalisation across Africa. Although international co-operation between African universities and Germany is increasing, little co-operation between and amongst African universities exists. Furthermore, although some individual members of the academic diaspora support their home universities, lack of a formal diaspora association in Germany makes it hard to quantify the engagement of the academic diaspora in the revitalisation of African universities. The studies pursued in Germany were relevant to African universities and internationalisation was considered important.

> Mh, first of all I think I gained a lot by being recruited in Germany and of course also having had an experience from America, USA. I had also collaborations with my German colleagues in terms of research. …I remember like in 2009 my supervisors, two other colleagues and I we launched, we had a programme, a research programme, field study in

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Northern Malawi with students from five countries and I was one of their instructors. We had students from Germany, Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Malawi and I wish we could continue that. …the essence was also to mentor young scholars and out of that there were some small bursaries that were disbursed for four projects for such beneficiaries. And I know one opportunity, one, two continued to a doctoral level and one finished. Yeah (Research participant from the University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

It was a common phenomenon that African universities send students abroad depending on the availability of funds, which left students and management little room to plan ahead. Besides, the initiative for inter-university collaboration often originated from outside Africa. A participant from the State University of Zanzibar indicated that "once the Zanzibar government passed and endorsed the bill to establish the university (SUZA) in 1999, many Tanzanians, Zanzibaris in particular who live and work overseas started the initiatives to link SUZA with other higher learning institutions from the nations they live in or others…we started engaging with the African academic diaspora since the university started its operations in 2002" (Respondent from the State University of Zanzibar 2016). Lastly, weak governments in Africa accounted for brain drain, thus stunting development in Africa and stifling university revitalisation. However, the revitalisation of African universities could not succeed without being informed by research and theory as argued by Shivji (2007) as well as strategy and funding.

With regard to your question on the involvement of diaspora at institutional level in German universities, it's quite difficult to find a university which has a strategy to engage diaspora in their activities. Many universities and research centres employ African scientists but from my knowledge not in an institutionalised frame. These scientists are more or less involved in projects related to Africa but you will hardly find an institutional strategy behind (Research participant from the University of Yaoundé, 2016).

Funding, yeah, funding. For we local experts, I don't know how you feel on your part, but for us and now we are long-timers, I think we deserve a lot more to get funding so that we can attract much more youngsters but of course we are on the verge of leaving active service, Mhm, though we

are still energetic (Research participant from the University of Dar es Salaam, 2017).

As African universities engage in the internationalisation process with various international academic and professional institutions, African scholars including the African diaspora should form a kernel of the process because they know better both the western, particularly German culture and the African cultures. A Ghanaian respondent, suggests that such scholars and African diaspora in particular should visit Africa to exchange their knowledge, skills and competences: "Brain Movement can be one way to revitalise higher education in Africa, in that African Diaspora academics can arrange to share part of their academic time also in Africa in order to transfer and share acquired knowledge with Africans". As the diaspora play a major role, experts who studied in Germany for example the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) alumni working in African universities are instrumental for the sustainability of the engagement as the respondent suggests: "The sustainability stems from the presence of other alumni in these universities who previously studied in Germany… because African Universities are capable of transforming the continent by providing practice-oriented entrepreneurship education. As such they need to be capacitated to be able to execute this task" (Research participant from the University of Ghana, 2016).

University revitalisation theory

This section builds on the previous sections to highlight the insights gained from the discussion of the engagement of the African scholars with an experience of studying in Germany particularly those who pursued higher degrees or are still involved in this pursuit. One of the insights gained was a lack of a coordinated programme to engage the African academic diaspora in revitalising African universities. At the heart of this lacuna was the need for theorising and developing a vision on the process of university revitalisation and transformation, from localisation to internationalisation. This need is well articulated in the literature on African civil society (Shivji, 2007 and Hyden, 1995; White, 2008). One may argue, as this paper does, that the academia is part of the civil society (Commission for Africa, 2005) whose mandate is knowledge generation and sharing as a public good.

Consistent with the conceptualisation of the academia as part of the civil society, this work builds on PODT to explain the revitalisation of African universities. In addition and in relation to the conceptualisation of the academia is the objective of universities whose knowledge creation and dissemination eventually lead to the improvement of societal conditions (White, 2008), which is another way of conceptualising development. This improvement entails change and even transformation of individuals, institutions and societies socially, economically, culturally, politically and technologically.

This change denotes development. That is the reason why a theory of development is adopted to explain the revitalisation of higher education in Africa. Universities are actors in development: They take part in bringing about development. They are also indicators of development. PODT postulates that confronted with development challenges, individuals organise themselves in order to bring about change whose effectiveness depends on networking. It is a four-step process, which may be adopted to discuss the process of revitalising African universities. The following section illustrates the process of university transformation which has four interrelated main components. They consist of needs assessment, process institutionalisation, internationalisation and change or transformation. Transformation is both a process and goal of university revitalisation. The process is methodical and proceeds from micro, meso to macro levels and continues in a spiral. The following sections illustrate the methodological framework of the URT.

Step one: Needs assessment

Needs assessment is the starting point of the process. This process is crucial because it seeks to answer numerous questions underlying internationalisation. These questions include: what are university's needs for internationalisation? Which areas of internationalisation are essential for a particular university? What are the strengths of the university which can be used to attract and sustain international co-operation and under what circumstances? What are the weaknesses that can be mitigated or overcome through internationalisation? Which international institutions are actually or would potentially be willing and able to collaborate with a particular university? What are the vision and mission of the university? Does the university have a strategic plan? What are the goals and objectives of the university? To what extent can the university manage its affairs independently? Which external intervention is necessary? Is

internationalisation streamlined in academic programmes? These and similar other questions may be raised by individual staff members or individual units of the university. Findings show that such questions are not adequately dealt with at the university level.

In the engagement of the Germany-educated academic diaspora in revitalising African universities, the identification of needs, challenges, problems and issues confronting African universities is of paramount importance and it forms the starting point for each university in any collaboration with international institutions and indeed in university management as a whole. One of the questions universities need to keep on reflecting upon is the question of the existence of a university or the reason behind its existence. In answering such questions, a needs assessment is crucial in the management of a university. Decisions that are demand-driven are more likely to produce better results than supply-driven ones because the former ones are based on the needs on the ground rather than needs as defined by foreigners. Here the fundamental question is how African universities can effectively and sustainably tap into the brains of the African academics with an international background to revitalise African universities. This question presupposes an existence of *a priori* African epistemology that can inform international exchange discussions.

The literature shows that African institutions should be the driving forces in identifying needs and opportunities for engagement in internationalisation programmes as well as in providing to diaspora scholars and African institutions space to build and expand their scholarly alliances. The Carnegie Diaspora Fellowship Programme has introduced a model, which have African institutions as drivers of the structure of exchanges and engage the desire of diaspora academics to contribute to higher education across Africa, starting with Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Tanzania (Foulds and Zeleza, 2014).

Some of the major challenges that universities in Africa generally face is the creation and management of quality education, massification of students and unpredictable enrolments vis-a-vis space and facilities, state intervention, internationalisation, extra qualification and unsustainable financial flow. In this theory, universities are expected to identify and address these and other challenges. The African academic diaspora may well be disposed to help mitigate some of these issues given their African background. Universities may and should benefit from collaborations but first their needs and priorities should be identified and articulated. Staff and students can and indeed should be able to identify and articulate the needs of the university at this micro level.

Step two: Process institutionalisation

A university is an academic organisation. At this stage, universities through relevant fora, focus on how to address the issues raised by individuals both staff and students. University units, departments, faculties and management boards are eminently suited to address these issues. In university management, process institutionalisation consists in setting up concrete plans, devising effective strategies and appointing competent manpower to start, develop, maintain, improve and assess collaboration with members of the academic diaspora or scholars living in Germany or in other countries with the view to revitalising African universities. This constitutes the meso level whereby individuals' ideas give rise to university conversation, reflection and action.

It is in this step the need for collaboration assumes an institutional character. For example, process institutionalisation may lead to establishing an international office to specifically accommodate the diaspora and conduct a thorough needs assessment regularly and systematically. Several universities in Africa do not have such offices in place. This may curtail the process of internationalisation because of the absence of such fora. Universities can and should take the initiative rather than having initiatives originate from outside Africa.

The university as a whole gets involved at this level. It is at this level that relevant university organs turn individuals' questions into institutional agenda. To operationalise the agenda, a university develops a strategic plan for internationalisation. It puts in place structures to manage the process. It identifies potential partners and creates a team to manage internal collaborations. At this stage, setting up an international office would be an added advantage. If internationalisation is an important element in the university management, then universities should invest in its support by appointing qualified and interested personnel to man the office and furnish it with the necessary equipment and facilities. At this stage internationalisation is discussed from the point of view of the university concerned. It is the first concrete step to reach out to international partners.

In attempting to reach out to international partners, the engagement with the diaspora should be amongst the top priorities particularly by African universities. The concern that African universities do not have a programme or office dealing with the diaspora may be real and quite revealing. I concur with the argument that without a strategy to engage the diaspora and other African

academics abroad, little will be accomplished by the diaspora in relation to the revitalisation of African universities.

Step three: Internationalisation

The third component is internationalisation. This is the central focus in this theoretical framework. At this stage a university reaches out to other institutions across national boundaries. It is at this macro level, local and international institutions begin the conversation for co-operation and express interests for the same purpose. This often involves familiarisation visits and if all goes according to plan, involved parties sign a memorandum of understanding, detailing the terms of reference, limits, rights, obligations and, duration of the partnership. The content of the partnership would depend on the needs of the university and will be informed by the very needs, capacity and interests of the other partner institution or institutions. Involved institutions create monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to assess and see whether the process is going according to plan or whether the process could be improved upon. The vital questions to ask at this juncture are what is the purpose of internationalisation? How can one conclude or ascertain that internationalisation works and is relevant or otherwise? What are the internationalisation criteria or measures of success, effectiveness or efficiency?

The main argument in this analysis and the motif that binds the analysis together is that international engagement exists towards the revitalisation of African universities where revitalisation signifies change and transformation. This is the purpose of internationalisation and as such we come to the fourth and last component of this theoretical analysis. Change and transformation may be hard to measure especially in qualitative terms. However, change and transformation can be observed and measured, particularly in quantitative terms. In other words one can measure and quantify the output or product of internationalisation. For example, in terms of quality of education one can evaluate the assessment criteria, quality of programmes, lecturers' qualifications, quality and quantity of publications, conference participation, public service and curriculum development. As far as financial support is concerned, one can point to the amount of funding provided and the technical equipment supplied. Financial support presupposes regularity, stability, predictability and sustainability of funds and funding opportunities to a considerably great extent.

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Internationalisation refers to the process of reaching out to international institutions, including the African academics abroad to address the issues and priorities identified at the meso level, namely the institutional level while aiming to meet international standards. That is where the academic diaspora and indeed other African academics living abroad are identified and contacted. Depending on the response of the diaspora and other potential partners, negotiations and agreements may be made to start and maintain co-operation. Indeed as internationalisation gains ground in university management, focus should not only be between universities in the North and in the South but also between African universities and members of the academic diaspora largely with roots in the South. This collaboration would help mitigate the effects of the dependency theories and lead to more self-reliance and probably usher in the revival of Pan-Africanism.

It is at this internationalisation stage that the South-South and North-South relations become formalised. The major agent of internationalisation is networking. Through networking with the African academic diaspora, the advantages of educating and training Africans abroad can be felt in African universities and by extension African societies in general. In this way the relevance of the education and training received could be assessed vis-à-vis the needs of the African universities pointed out in stage one, namely needs assessment and articulated in stage two, that is, process institutionalisation. Thus internationalisation logically follows the previous two stages and is dependent upon them.

Networking and internationalisation may commence and develop between two individuals each affiliated to an academic institution. This kind of arrangement makes sense as a starting point. However, in order to ensure sustainability at an institutional level this kind of networking needs to be streamlined into university management procedures. This is to ensure that the principle of subsidiarity is adhered to. For example, rather than an academic scholar paying allegiance to his or her inviting counterpart, the scholar should seek to be part of the university answerable to a unit, department or faculty. This would also help give collaboration a formal and international character.

With several academics in Africa making an effort to reach out to the African academic diaspora a good number of the diaspora will be able to contribute towards revitalising higher education in Africa. More importantly though would be for university initiatives to seek collaboration with the African academic diaspora and nurture it through help of concrete plans to do so. For example the

State University of Zanzibar "has introduced the Advisory Board which consists of many Tanzanians living or who had lived overseas among its members. These meet once a year sometime in December" (Respondent from the State University of Zanzibar, 2016). This is an important strategy to engage scholars abroad for internal development. It is indeed a strategy for sustainability. "As I explained earlier, through the Advisory Board meeting, areas of engagement are made sustainable and when they cease from here they become activated" (ibid). Furthermore, academic networks and collaboration have multiplier effects. People who get such opportunities to engage in international academic programmes in Germany or in other parts of the world serve to create new networks. As a result institutions become stronger and students expand their knowledge, skills, competences and values.

Moreover, networking cannot be limited to academic scholars as individuals alone. It should extend to international academic associations, foreign universities, governments as well as international civil society organisations (CSOs). The potential for networking is almost unlimited. One may reasonably argue that the stronger the networks get, the greater the chances for change, continuity and development accrue to them, all factors remaining constant. As earlier pointed out, there are a good number of organisations in Germany working to promote and support collaboration with universities in Africa. Therefore, it is time Africa ceased the opportunity to build and sustain networks for the revitalisation of tertiary education.

There are various services that the African academic diaspora can render to African universities. The literature points out some of these as the provision of "short-term or summer teaching and research visitations; organising seminars, workshops and conferences; partnerships and collaborations on research projects both virtually and in-person; resource sharing -- providing access to funding, data, research and technology; serving as mentors and advisors; co-creating and reviewing teaching curricula and PhD training materials and investing in institutional advancement initiatives" (Ferede, 2013: 5). As a way of building up networks, the literature proposes regional collaboration as a useful strategy: "We should focus primarily on developing regional collaboration between African higher education institutions. Exchanges within (International Deans' Course) IDC demonstrate the importance of knowledge of developments in neighbouring countries and the potential that exchanges offer in the area of teaching and research" (Mayer, 2016: 1).

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The development of African universities entails a number of indicators. These indicators include but are not limited to capacity building for staff and students, academic performance, improved curricular, employability, modern and accessible infrastructure, equipment and facilities, research, publications, community service, quality management, internationality, financial stability, planning and demonstrated knowledge, skills and competences. Any assessment of change, transformation, development and indeed revitalisation should consider at least one of these indicators. It is here that African scholars and diaspora can and should play a significant role to change the status quo.

Step four: Change and transformation

The single most important goal of engaging the African academic diaspora in revitalising higher education in Africa is probably change or transformation. Transformation involves the previous three levels, namely micro, meso and macro. The questions to ask are why change and what kind of change. The answers to these questions can be found at stages one and two, namely needs assessment and process institutionalisation where individuals and universities realise that they cannot meet the challenges they face singlehandedly. They need external contacts and resources and they know where and how to engage or harness them. Suffice it to say that the academic diaspora and returning experts cannot be expected to solve all the problems confronting the African universities. However, the diaspora have the potential to bring about change in collaboration with host universities in Africa if there is a vision for implementation and a strategic plan to make the collaboration practical and sustainable.

Change and transformation may be evaluated against the backdrop of improved quality of research, learning, teaching, management, communication and community service; production of graduates who deliver in their places of work as well as development of sustainable programmes at university. The single and most important aspect of change in academic is probably attitudinal. Attitudinal change encapsulates a fresh mind-set and the willingness to recognise, appreciate and embrace new ideas. Change is at the heart of learning and learning is the transformative role of education. The following figure summarises the process of university revitalisation.

Figure 1: University Revitalisation Theoretical Framework

Source: Developed for this work 2018
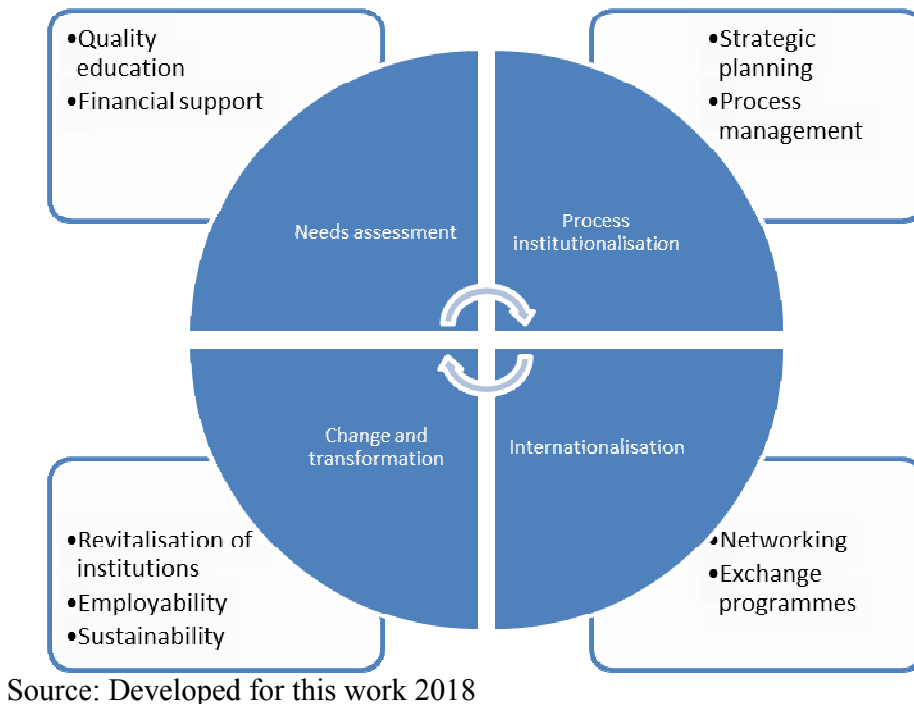
Relationships amongst concepts and theory construction

In order to construct a theory, there is a need to link the four main concepts described in the figure above and tease out their relationships. To begin with, needs assessment at the micro level gives rise to the need for process institutionalisation at the macro level because it is through the institutionalisation that problems may be articulated to acquire a formal character. This character originates from institutionalisation which gives it the qualification, mandate as well as opportunity to engage with other institutions locally and internationally. Such qualification is the *conditio sine qua non* for internationalisation at the macro level because networks in African universities are essentially formal in character.

Networking is essential in internationalisation. Without networking, internationalisation can hardly be developed and sustained. Internationalisation

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cannot be done for its own sake; it has its own ontological and teleological existence. At least two nations should collaborate in a common or mutually agreed venture. This common venture is not without purpose. The purpose is usually co-shared by the involved parties at regional and international levels as the literature indicates:

> Regional and international partnerships among various institutions are critical to support and develop joint programmes. …This could also serve as a vehicle for leveraging the expertise of Africans in the diaspora. Governments and private enterprises can help strengthen these partnerships by facilitating access to broadband infrastructure (Juma, 2016: 27-28).

Over and above having the development agenda and priorities exclusively determined by external development partners or governments, such agenda and priorities emanate from local universities which are then discussed within the context of collaboration. In this process, the needs, goals and vision of the universities become the guiding principles of collaboration. This is the essence of the theory which stands for development from below and from within. Conversely, development from above has decisions, agenda and priorities often emerging from western countries representing western values and yardsticks. At times such decisions come from governments and as such are often politicised. In this way, institutions in developing countries such as those in Africa become mere recipients and implementers of blueprints with little or no say or objection.

The above steps stem from the analysis of empirical data as informed by GTM as well as theoretical data with regard to the need of theorising (Shivji, 2007 and Hyden, 1995; White, 2008). The steps are concepts which are further systematically interrelated through what the literature describes as statements of relationship which denote a theory as illustrated by Strauss and Corbin (1988). In other words, once concepts are related through statements of relationship into an explanatory theoretical framework, a theory emerges. In this way, the research findings move beyond conceptual ordering to theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1988: 22). Similarly, the literature maintains that to explain and predict, a theoretical statement is critical, that is, a connection between two or more concepts (Hage, 1972: 34). Besides, a theory helps users to explain and predict events, thereby providing guides to action. The current analysis envisages the employment of the African universities revitalisation theory to explain the engagement of African scholars with a view to improving academic quality in

African universities and reconstructing the kind of internationalisation which respects local needs.

> Universities in Africa must try to deal objectively with the problems they investigate; they should analyse and describe them in a scientific manner; and from their accumulated knowledge they must suggest methods of dealing with them. But objectivity does not mean working in a vacuum. The university whether it likes it or not, is part of society. Both in the selection of the problems to be examined, and in the manner of dealing with them, this fact must be taken into account. It is part of that essential truth which a university has to promote (Lema, Omari and Rajani, 2006: 64).

The engagement of African scholars and the diaspora in revitalising African universities is analysed vis-a-vis the four steps which also form the criteria for the same analysis, namely pre-conditions for the engagement, strategies used in the engagement and the outcome of the engagement. The preconditions include a needs assessment on the side of the parties involved, commitment to the partnership and the sustainability of the envisaged north-south and south-south collaboration. The strategies include constant and regular communication between the parties in question, exchange programmes and regular assessment of the strengths and challenges of the engagement. Lastly, one has to evaluate the outcome of the engagement. This is best done against the objectives of the engagement.

The content, process and effect of engaging African scholars in revitalising African universities inform the analysis of the present work. In this context, content refers to the goals, issues, needs and programmes that form the kernel of the collaboration between scholars abroad and universities at home. The process involves the strategies, communication and exchange programmes while the effect is the outcome of the process. Furthermore in this process the people involved in the collaboration occupy the centre stage in initiating and driving the process to its logical conclusion. Thus content, process and effect are crucial in analysing the engagement of African scholars abroad in the internationalisation process. The three variables are the building blocks of theory and as such may help in understanding and assessing the revitalisation of African universities.

The more active the subjects involved, the greater the expected effect. Thus one may conclude that the greater the effect, the broader the network, and the broader the network, the greater the benefits to the subject and to the entire

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organisation or network. The literature propounds the need for a synergy between individuals and their organisations in attaining their goals (Grusky and Miller, 1981: 4). The emphasis of active members in spearheading the goals of an organisation provides an essential criterion in determining the success of the international collaboration towards the revitalisation of African universities. The failure in realising the collaboration objectives of university revitalisation can *ipso facto* be assessed on the same criterion. This means that the revitalisation process is likely to fall through if the people involved do not take an active role. This failure would be imminent even if the content or the process is scientifically and professionally grounded. In short, the role of active people in the collaboration is essential. An organisation or a university cannot function well without dedicated or committed personnel.

Internationalisation in particular can hardly succeed unless there are devoted people to drive its goals to maturity and fruition involving all parties in the collaboration. Myriad programmes for internationalisation, large sums of money and visits cannot bring about successful internationalisation unless individuals join hands to make collaboration work. The bottom line is that programmes and funding can neither replace people nor succeed them. In the revitalisation of African universities, members from both parts of the collaboration should possess the quality of active subjectivity (Mutalemwa, 2015).

If one part is active and the other part is not, collaboration will be negatively affected. Indeed, if both parts are inactive, then internationalisation will hit a nadir. Hence, officials entrusted with the responsibility of managing international co-operation are expected to possess the qualities, aptitude, work ethic and competences to actively create, maintain, sustain, improve and promote international partnerships. Eventually it is a network of active players which will have a lasting impact on the revitalisation of African universities demonstrated by knowledge production, dissemination as well as improved societal conditions, using various actors. The argument for involving various actors in development is also advanced in Hyden and Bratton (1992) and Juma (2016).

It is pertinent to emphasise that networking, as a process of strengthening African universities, is of paramount importance. In this theory, the more the networks get; the better. In fact, the stronger the networks built; the better and the more impactful the collaboration becomes. It is equally important to stress that collaboration partners should be transparent about the networks in which they are engaged, including the programmes and projects involved in the

collaboration. Such transparency would help other partners to identify areas which still need attention as well as areas which are not addressed at all. The aim is to optimise resources. This study builds on the literature, which sums up the goal and content of transformation as holistic development.

> How can our work as intellectuals and activists assist in the transformation of society, to develop human potential for self-emancipation from all forms of bondage and restrictions – mental, racial, economic, gender, social and cultural? This is the essence of an understanding of transformation, a tremendous change in social organisation, modes of thinking, as well as cultural and gendered practices. In this sense, transformation involves far more than legal changes, such as political independence or the transition from one mode of production to the next. Transformation involves a thorough change in society from top to bottom (Campbell, 2013: 35).

Having attempted to systematically link the concepts in the figure above through establishing the relationships amongst them, the author constructs a university revitalisation theory, which states that informed by an assessment of university needs for change and transformation by individual academics; universities attain revitalisation through process institutionalisation and internationalisation in a methodical way.

Summary, conclusion, and recommendations

The research question was how Germany-educated African academics engage in the revitalisation of the African universities. The data collected was adequate to answer the question. The main finding of the study was that the engagement of the African academic diaspora in revitalising African universities was very modest and individualised. There was a glaring lack of robust and concrete programmes for the revitalisation of African universities that could be counted on to bring about change in a sustainable way. Now, as a way of effecting change and as a contribution to the engagement for the revitalisation of African universities, URT was developed informed by GT. URT is essentially a result of the relationships of the concepts at the micro, meso and macro levels developed from the data. URT provides the academics with a theoretical framework through which the process of revitalising African universities can be analysed.

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   Various recommendations may help improve the engagement of the African scholars and the Germany-educated academic diaspora in revitalising African universities. These recommendations touch on four major categories of key partners in the internationalisation of higher education. These include students, universities, governments and other scholarship providers. To begin with, I make recommendations for students at both master's and PhD levels involved in study abroad programmes as well as those who aspire to study abroad, particularly in Germany have a special role to play and the way they play this role depends on them in the first place. In the second place, that role depends on other involved parties. Underlying the process of university transformation is the sustainability of the very process as well as the predictability of the output. This analysis builds on Shayo's (2014: 142) recommendation for carrying out comprehensive research which would inform policy on the establishment and sustainability of international academic programmes.

For African students and universities

African students studying abroad or planning to do so should have clear objectives of what they seek to accomplish and work persistently towards the achievement of the goals. Each student needs to have a high degree of independence. A student needs to ask oneself whether the kind of education one is pursuing has relevance to personal, national or international educational goals. Students studying abroad should be aware of and appreciate cultural differences between Africa and Germany. One of the cultural habits that promote education is time management and organisation. Lastly, Africans studying or working in Germany would do well to consider establishing a formal network of Africans which will give them a platform to discuss and assess the needs of the African continent. One of these should be the revitalisation of African universities.

   African universities should include in their strategic plans detailing the number and qualifications of staff who are suitable to study abroad in the medium and long-term arrangements. They should constantly assess the relevance of study abroad programmes. The universities should endeavour to evaluate the applicability of the knowledge, skills and competences. Universities should encourage students to return to their home countries to render their services there. This entails creating an enabling environment which motivates returning experts to support their home countries and universities. In this connection, African universities may establish diaspora units or departments to

cater for returning experts as well as to develop networks with African scholars living abroad. Contrary to this, universities may be paying lip-service to internationalisation and supporting unnecessary migration and fuelling the flames of brain drain. It should be emphasised that the main reason for African scholars to return to Africa is demand-driven.

Although focusing on education and theoretical development is essential for revitalising universities, African universities should reconsider skills training at the tertiary level. African universities should take advantage of internships and vocational training available in Germany and elsewhere. Africa needs ideas but also needs technical know-how. African universities and students should study from time to time entry requirements and scholarship conditions. As Africans living in Germany deliberate over the idea of establishing a network of Africans there, Africans who live in Africa would as well consider establishing a professional network of Africans living in Africa. A dependency syndrome on foreign aid is seemingly an endemic threat to ward off. Such networks should work towards financial autonomy and the development of a saving culture. Universities should also consider introducing or strengthening distance learning and online courses. For example the application of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) where students in Africa can benefit from online lecture modules. Finally, African universities should establish international offices with the purpose of linking their universities with international universities worldwide, including the African academic diaspora. The staff working in these offices should, *inter alia*, be well-versed in international co-operation, with demonstrable intercultural competences and strong communication skills.

German universities, government and scholarship providers

German universities should include in their programmes, particularly at the PhD level, skills for teaching, research and managing higher education. Here the assumption is that most of the students pursuing doctoral studies gravitate towards working in the academia. German universities should be guided by the spirit of mutual respect and co-operation with African universities whose students study in Germany. In order to ensure that prospective students at German institutions of higher learning succeed in their studies, the institutions may consider introducing examinations as entry qualifications. In other parts of the world, for example in the United States, certain good universities require postgraduate students to take the Graduate Record Exam (GRE).

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The German government should co-operate with their African counterparts to ensure that conditions in Africa are conducive for returnees even if the responsibility of ensuring a conducive socio-economic and political climate rests primarily with Africa. Besides, Germany may use its technological advancement to introduce or revamp digital education amongst universities in Africa as part of development co-operation. Scholarship and fellowship providers should do thorough vetting to ensure that scholarship and fellowship beneficiaries are eligible to study abroad and should try and assess whether their generous support to African scholars pays dividends by producing positive results in revitalising higher education.

African governments, academic diaspora and alumni associations

African governments should encourage and support their citizens to study abroad and return to serve Africa by creating an enabling environment to do so. Government loans and bursaries should be reasonably adequate and predictable. New international measures to restrict the mobility of their nationals by repressive governments (Teferra, 2015, 2010) should be discouraged while encouraging good leadership Africa. Good governance will not only encourage their citizens to return and work in their countries, but also will invite other members of the diaspora, academics and other development partners to invest in education and other development sectors. Hand in hand with good governance are budgetary considerations, which ensure fair allocation of funds according to national priorities. Education, including tertiary education should have its fair share in national budgets.

Governments should also evaluate the quality, process and outcome of study abroad programmes. This evaluation calls for conducting research and tracer studies to gauge the study conditions, students' performance as well as employability of students in their home countries or if necessary go beyond their national borders. Besides, African governments should stay in constant communication with foreign governments to assess the study abroad programmes and find joint efforts and strategies to maintain, improve or strengthen the quality of higher learning. Embassies and High Commissions should be more involved in forging and strengthening links between African countries and foreign countries. Indeed, governments and international organisations including the European Union, for example, may consider introducing mobile information centres to raise or increase awareness of the

benefits of internationalisation as well as the available funding opportunities. When necessary, young scholars who have studied abroad should be invited to share their experiences with their fellow countrymen and women in the mobile information centres.

Governments in collaboration with the academic diaspora and African universities should evaluate the performance of universities vis-à-vis the broader national development goals. Specifically, governments should guard against the commercialisation of public universities as the subversion of public institutions for private purposes (Mamdani, 2007). Indeed, private institutions should equally abide by their founding principles, aiming at offering education as a public good, with no strings attached. This is because commercial gains would compromise quality education and academic excellence to which universities aspire.

The Africans academic diaspora should bring to Germany the best of their cultural heritage from their own national cultures and bring back to Africa the best from Germany. They should keep in mind their role as 'ambassadors' of their own countries or even of the entire African continent and act accordingly. Other recommendations should be drawn from the Draft Declaration and Action Plan of the 1st African Higher Education Summit on Revitalising Higher Education for Africa's Future, held in Dakar, Senegal in October 2016.

The DAAD, Catholic Academic Exchange Service (KAAD) and other alumni associations and networks such as the African Good Governance Network (AGGN) should strive to make their presence felt by engaging their governments in Africa towards the revitalisation of higher education. They can and should reach out to local universities as agents of change and transformation. However, the responsibility for strengthening alumni associations depends above all on the members themselves. These associations need to demonstrate intellectual and managerial independence by taking initiatives to revitalise African universities.

In conclusion, the revitalisation of African universities can succeed if supported by a viable theory which takes cognisance of the local needs, local aspirations and international academic standards. Such theory should emerge from research and should inform the vision of the continent in its efforts towards internationalisation of African universities. The African academic vision presupposes that Africa can "act like one" borrowing the words from Chinua Achebe by taking the lead in developing conceptual, theoretical and practical arguments for the revitalisation of the African universities.

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The whole idea of revitalisation of African universities is a development one. That is why a theory of change has informed the analysis in this work. It is essential that Africans living in Germany consider establishing an intellectual network to address African needs, especially in higher education. The advantage of a network lies in the powerful voice that often characterises associations and unions such as the CSOs. The academic diaspora and academics in Germany should pull together their resources and garner concerted efforts as an entity to deal with common matters pertaining to the development of the African continent. One of the main issues should be the revitalisation of African universities.

Informed by the same URT, the African continent, African thinkers and academics should harness local and international resources to spearhead intellectual development in Africa. They should use their expertise, knowledge and experience to influence the internationalisation of education. This does not suggest that African scholars can or should work in isolation. No, they need to work alongside other thinkers from around the world. However, unless African scholars and governments invest in research and higher education development, the continent risks remaining dependent, fragmented, isolated and economically poor. All in all, African scholars whether in Germany or elsewhere should tell and retell the African story until it is understood within and beyond its borders.

Building on the above analysis, further research is needed to explain the engagement of African scholars in the revitalisation of African universities using a large quantitative sample. It is through the analysis of such a sample can one generalise results about Africa, the second largest continent in the world. The presentation of the URT is an attempt to stimulate theorisation on how African intellectuals can make the most out of internationalisation for the development of the academia.

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BOOK REVIEW

Shija Kevin Kuhumba

Amartya Kumar Sen: *Inequality Reexamined*
Harvard University Press, 1992
ISBN 0-674-45255-0

Inequality Reexamined is a book published in 1992 by the Indian Nobel Prize winner (Economics 1998) Amartya Kumar Sen. In this book Sen considers a different perspective to look at the notion of inequality. The basic question he asks is: inequality of what? He answers this basic question by advocating his preferred notion of equality which is based on the capability to function. While addressing the problem of equality Sen is concerned with two fundamental elements to rethink: (1) why equality, and (2) equality of what. For the first, the idea of equality is considered in its two dimensions of the heterogeneity of human beings and the multiplicity of variables in terms of which equality can be judged. Specifically, these components lead to divergences in the assessment of equality in terms of different variables. For the second question, Sen critically evaluates theories projected by other thinkers and theorists such as John Rawls, Thomas Nagel, Ronald Dworkin and Robert Nozick in an attempt to understand equality.

In making a re-examination of inequality in our times, Sen proposes a paradigm shift beyond what others consider as income equality and equality in distribution of resources. Sen incorporates the heterogeneity of human beings as an evaluative space for inequality. His perspective is about equality within a pluralistic society, with human, cultural and religious diversity. According to him, human diversities are the results of variations in human needs, capacities, capabilities and interests due to external characteristics and circumstances. Sen argues that:

> We begin life with different endowments of inherited wealth and liabilities. We live in different natural environments – some more hostile than others. The societies and the communities to which we belong offer very different opportunities as to what we can or cannot do. The epidemiological factors in the region in which we live can profoundly affect our health and well-being (1992: 20).

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By broadening the evaluative space of measuring inequality within society Sen recognizes personal heterogeneities and physical characteristics in sex, age, physical and mental abilities as focal variables for measuring inequality (1992: 20). Here, Sen confronts John Rawls equality of incomes by giving an example of a situation where a disabled man and able-bodied man are given equal incomes. The disabled person cannot function in the way the able-bodied person can. The able-bodied man has more functioning ability and well-being than the disabled man.

In fact, our global society has a great deal of diversity caused by cultural, religious, social and natural environment surrounding us. A human being is nurtured by these elements. So, these diversities according to Sen answer the question of 'why equality'. To understand Sen's claim here, we can think of any society where female children are denied formal education as a necessary tool for their empowerment. Thus, female children in such a society have fewer capabilities than female children in other societies where education is a priority for all children regardless of gender. Sen's approach on inequality has a wider evaluative space as it looks at the impediments to human beings achieving well-being and individual capabilities.

Sen critiques two main theories which have dealt with the problem of inequality, namely, the utilitarian theory and John Rawls' theory. The utilitarian approach was proposed by a British moral and legal philosopher Jeremy Bentham and developed by another British philosopher Stuart John Mill. In addressing equality the utilitarian approach has the merit of caring about people: it measures quality of life according to people's reported feelings about their lives. The utilitarian approach envisages that welfare could be realized as the achievement of a happy state of mind, or could be understood as utility in terms of satisfaction of desire. Bentham's principle of utility – the basis of his utilitarian model – advocates that in dealing with equality, policies should focus on promoting the greatest amount of happiness to the individuals in the society. Bentham's main concern is that the principle of utility would be useful in making judgments pertaining to the public policies directed toward reducing inequalities. In Bentham's view of the utility principle, before formulating any policy, policy makers must determine the sum total of pain or pleasure that the proposed policies suggest. Bentham suggests that pleasures, and the avoidance of pain, are the ends which the policy maker should take into account.

Sen advances that utilitarian approach on promoting equality has some limitations. Its account fails to capture other aspects that are beyond the satisfaction of individual desires, for instance, participating in the life of the

community. The utility account fails to capture dimensions of well-being whenever deprived people adapt their desires to their diminished circumstances and knowledge. For instance, a nation can get a very high average or total utility so long as a lot of people are doing quite well, even if a few people at the bottom of the social ladder are suffering greatly. Indeed, the approach justifies the infliction of a very miserable life on an underclass, so long as this strategy raises the average satisfaction level. Another criticism put forward on utilitarianism in regard to promoting equality is narrow consideration of satisfaction as a goal. Satisfaction is usually understood as a state or condition of the person that follows an activity; it is not itself a form of activity, and it can even be achieved without the associated activity. For example, a person can feel satisfied about an activity well done even though he/she has done nothing to realize that activity. Thus, Sen argues that utilitarianism tends to ignore what he calls agency freedom of individuals. It is one's freedom to bring about the achievements one values and which one attempts to produce (Sen, 1992: 57). Sen uses the term 'agent' in the sense of someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of his/her own values and objectives. Agency freedom views the removal of inequalities, injustices and un-freedoms so as to let people be free in contributing towards their well-being. Agency freedom is attributable to the role of the person as 'doer' and 'active' towards achieved functioning. In short, the utilitarian approach on equality undervalues freedom of individuals in realizing their satisfaction. Yet, for Sen, freedom to choose and act is an end as well as means for the satisfaction of our desires.

Another theory criticized by Sen on question of inequality is John Rawls' theory of justice. Sen criticizes Rawls' theory of the 'primary good' (such as liberties, opportunities, income, wealth, and self-respect) in *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls argues that justice should be a social virtue in any political community. Rawls advances two principles of justice, the 'liberty principle' and the 'principle of equal liberty'. Rawls' principles of justice have the merit of caring greatly about distribution since resources ought to be distributed equally among all citizens. In Rawls' understanding, if those aforementioned principles of justice are followed through formulated policies any society might reduce inequalities. According to Sen, this approach, encounters formidable objections. First of all, income and wealth are not good alternatives for what people are actually 'able to do and to be.' People have different needs for resources, and they also have different abilities to convert resources into proper functions. Some pertinent differences are physical: a child needs more protein than an adult for healthy physical functioning, and a pregnant woman needs more nutrients

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than a non-pregnant woman. Thus, a sensible public policy would not give equal nutrition-related resources to all, but would for example, spend more on the protein needs of children, since the sensible policy goal is not just spreading some money around but giving people the ability to function. Money and resources are just instruments to enable people attain their reasonable functioning or to function effectively as human being.

Another objection to resource based approach on equality is that some of the pertinent differences are created by persistent social inequalities. For instance, in order to put women and men in a similar position with respect to educational opportunity in a society that strongly devalues female education, we will have to spend more on female education than one male education. If we want people with physical disabilities to be able to move around in society as well as able-bodied people, we will need to spend extra resources on them. Amartya Sen then proposes that in order to reduce inequalities it is not only enough to distribute equal resources but to examine critically personal heterogeneities in people. For Sen people have disparate physical characteristics connected with disability, illness, age, or gender, making their needs diverse. For example, an ill person may need more income to fight her illness than a person without such an illness. While the compensation needed for disadvantages will vary, some disadvantages may not be correctable even with more expenditure on treatment or care (p. 64). Thus, a nation in its battle to reduce inequalities should take into account personal heterogeneities among its citizens.

After a critical evaluation of utilitarian and Rawlsian theories on the question of equality, Sen develops the idea that society should promote equality in the space of capabilities. The capabilities approach is based on real questions one must ask while dealing with the problem of inequality: What are people actually 'able to do' and 'to be'? What real opportunities for activity and choice has society given them? What are the social, cultural and religious impediments toward realization of equality in any society? What are the environmental factors hindering people to attain what they value most in their lives? How do political policies and institutions endanger attainment of equality in a given society? And finally, what are the economical factors hindering reduction of inequalities in any given society?

Sen, defines the capability of a person as that which 'reflects the alternative combinations of functionings the person achieves and from which he/she can choose one collection' (p. 31). For Sen, capabilities represent various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that a person can achieve or could have achieved. Capability is a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting a

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person's freedom to lead one type of life or another. These basic capabilities refer to the freedom to do some of the basic things necessary for one's survival or to keep one out of poverty. Sen considers capabilities as person's abilities to do certain basic things, such as meeting one's nutritional requirements, the ability to move and ability to appear in the public without shame. He suggests that the achieved functionings constitute a person's wellbeing, then the capability to achieve functionings will constitute the person's freedom – the real opportunities – to have wellbeing.

Another concept introduced by Sen is functioning, which is derived from verb 'to function', which generally means to be involved in activity. According to Sen, 'functioning is an achievement of people, that is, what they manage or succeed to be or to do' (pp. 50-51). The definition explicates very clearly that functionings, in fact, refer to the person's achievement in the effort to do something or to be somebody. Thus, functionings are physical or mental states (beings) and activities (doings) that allow people to participate in the life of their society. Functionings range from the elementary physical ones such as being well-nourished, being in good health, being clothed and sheltered, avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality, being literate, to the most complex social achievements such as being happy, taking part in the life of the community, having self-respect or being able to appear in the public without shame, participation in social and political life.

In conclusion, the question of inequality is a widely discussed matter these days. Many researches are being conducted to explore its causes, effects and role in hindering reduction of extreme poverty. For instance, the Oxfam briefing paper issued on 10 May 2016, titled "The Time is Now: Building a Human Economy for Africa" contributes to this discourse. The report stresses that inequality is harming the ability of growth to reduce poverty and deliver shared prosperity in Africa. It adds that inequality prevents the emergence of a new middles class. The report also indicates that with growth slowing, the need to tackle inequality is vital. It is vital to provide the opportunities needed for the millions of young people across the continent. The report shows for instance that there is no recognition of and support for reproductive and unpaid work that is mostly performed by women. Sen's proposals in *Inequality Reexamined* remain important even in today's society since he suggests that the problem of inequality should move beyond the distribution of equal wealth, opportunity and income to include expanding individual capabilities in terms of their freedom to realize whatever they value and whatever people have reasons to value. Sen suggests that our policies directed towards reduction of inequality should

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critically evaluate our social affairs, cultural and religious ethos. This critical evaluation should aim at eliminating cases of social exclusion tending to increase inequality in the society.

Sen tends to suggest that giving equal opportunities, income and wealth is not enough to reduce inequality. Rather, the policy makers ought to ask a very fundamental question: 'do these people have same capabilities to convert those resources into achieved functioning?' To give an example: most of Sub Saharan African countries have adopted education for all as a way forward to curb vicious cycle of poverty caused by illiteracy and ignorance. But there are other obstacles attached such as cultural traditions where in some tribes female children are denied right to education; also the quality of education in public school is still poor. This is a kind of formal opportunity. Sen argues for 'valuable choices' designating that capability approach as another alternative on question of inequality judges a person's extent of freedom based on what is immediately relevant and important in leading a meaningful life. I

Sen's book *Inequality Reexamined* is very important especially for poor countries in formulating developmental policies. Its relevance lies in the suggestion that any effective policy directed towards reduction of inequality should aim at realizing what he technically calls 'elementary functioning' of individuals such as being literate, being in good health and being well-nourished as much as more complex functioning such as participation in community life, having self respect, participating in public discussions.

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