

Change and Adaptations
towards Sustainable Development

AFRICA

IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Literature – Education – Religion – Politics

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Introduction

Arkadiusz Żukowski, Degefe Kebede Gemechu and Jerzy Gilarowski

This book is the outcome of a scholarly discourse among Tanzanian and Polish researchers and a recapitulation of findings during and after the 3rd Mkwawa International Conference entitled “Change and Adaptations towards Sustainable Development” held on 2nd-3rd November 2022 at the Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE) in Iringa, a Constituent College of the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

The content of this book, in particular, is the result of scientific cooperation between the Institute of Political Science, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, from the Polish side and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Mkwawa University College of Education in Iringa (MUCE), from Tanzanian side.

The authors of the chapters in this book, 24 in number, represent not only the two universities mentioned above, and especially from MUCE, but also other academic centres of Poland and Tanzania (University of Wrocław, Jagiellonian University, Sopot Academy of Applied Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam, University of Dodoma, Mbeya University of Science and Technology, Jordan University College in Morogoro) and other institutions, mainly educational (District School Quality Assurance Office in Ludewa and Department of Science, Rukuraijo Secondary School in Kyerwa-Kagera). In addition, one author represents the Our Lady of La Salette Seminary College in the Philippines and other is an independent researcher from Dar es Salaam.

Among the authors are scholars representing a variety of research backgrounds. In addition to experienced scholars, which is encouraging, young PhD students and postgraduates have prepared their scientific texts.

The authors represent a variety of disciplines and fields, primarily the humanities and social sciences, and use different theoretical and methodological approaches in their research, which enriches the content of the chapters in the context of a broad research perspective.

This book has an interdisciplinary character, which is in line with the contemporary challenges of science. It is divided into four parts: literature, education, religion and politics.

Part one of this volume constitutes four chapters, generally related to literature. The literary language manipulation which is supported by some legalese consequently giving them a heteroglossic nature is analysed by Emmanuel Kilatu in chapter 1. The author uses the concept of Mikhail Bakhtin's heteroglossia, a literary vision to examine Charles Mloka's poems and his collection titled *Status* as well as Tanzanian prose writer and poet, Mloka who used a legal discourse in the composition of some of his poems. The finding inspires this way of writing literary works as an element of desirable change in Tanzanian literature for general and specific readers.

The analysis of the phenomenon of nostalgia which is related widely to the time and place of peoples' experiences is discussed in chapter 2 by Judy Dickson Mankah. The research encompasses social locations, identification, emotional dispositional as well as attachments, to show how nostalgia plays a role in the literary field. It presents an inquiry into the role of nostalgia in the affirmation of identity in a disastrous environment. In addition, the study shows aspects of oral traditions, and storytelling lifestyle which highlights the nostalgic role beyond mere representation and extends to the way nostalgia is used to negotiate their present environment with that of the past.

Philpo John, in chapter 3, assessed the implementation of linguistic human rights as agreed in the 1948 UN Universal Declaration by member states in Tanzania. The research is based on indications such as, government documents, academic literature and the author's experiences on language use and practices in Tanzania. The author reveals that not only language policy in line with the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Linguistic Human Rights but also UNESCO frameworks on the use of mother tongue in childhood education was not implemented in Tanzania in contrary to other African countries like Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, South Africa, protect and promote their indigenous languages.

The problem of empowering people with albinism in Africa to improve their defenselessness is addressed by charitable plans from within and outside the continent has been discussed by Spemba E. Spemba in chapter 4. The author indicates the literary representations that take philanthropism and albinism as their key subjects and argues that in its depiction of the (im)possibilities for an agency in the child protagonist with albinism, Esmail's deployment of first-person narration portrays the albino figure as extremely vulnerable and whose well-being and exercise of agency rest on devised philanthropic agenda.

Part two of the book, which consists of five chapters, deals with various educational issues. In chapter 5, Andrea Lazaro, investigates students' roles as co-creators in the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course and how this has improved their teaching abilities as potential future educators. This finding involved four international doctoral students studying the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course in the Spring Semester of 2022 in the Faculty of Education at Shaanxi Normal University in China. The author's findings showed that the majority of students had a negative perception of learning sciences before taking the course which was influenced by pieces of advice they got from their peers, personal perceptions, and educational backgrounds. He concludes that in the process of studying the course, students changed their attitudes about the course and confirmed that it was relevant to them as teachers.

The study of peace education for peace maintenance in Tanzania is presented by Selina Mkimbili and Adella Raymond Mtey in chapter 8. The authors' findings show a broader project conducted in 2019 to Interrogate Peace Discourses in Tanzania in which 180 primary school teachers, 6 District Commissioners, and 1 Civil Society Organization (CSO) leaders participated. Their conceptual discussion was based on peace education to reveal that participants had a partial understanding of peace education. Furthermore, the outcome of their research was projected to be integrated into the primary school curriculum which is mainly focused on attitude, skills and knowledge of peace education.

The development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the importance of YouTube videos as a means of teaching and learning is investigated in Chapter 9, by Shukran Sanga and Hector Mongi. They correlated the expansion of the use of YouTube with the

COVID-19 pandemic. Their research concentrates on how videos provide a simple and integrated interface that allows users to interact and influences interest in using it for educational purposes, based on Dodoma and Msalato secondary schools in Tanzania.

The next part of the book deals with issues of religion and consists of four chapters. The exploration of the activity of the Pallottine Leadership Training Center (LTC), a Christian center run by the Pallottine Sisters in Poli Sing'isi (Arusha) near Tengeru in Tanzania is presented by Anna Rynkowska-Sachse in chapter 10. The assessment focuses on Polish war refugees who built the Tengeru camp during 1942–1952 and its long history and its services for different purposes up to the management of the center by Pallottine Sisters, who live here and carry out missionary activities in support of the local Christian communities.

The case of male circumcision scholarship in Tanzania and Africa, as well as its role in the prevention of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, has been examined by Shakila Mteti and Ashura Jackson Ngoya in chapter 11. They analysed rarely investigated reasons why many people especially in the Lake Zone and southern highland had no culture of male circumcision despite the presence of religions and cultural resistance. In line with this, they discussed the role of Islam and Christianity in the resistance to male circumcision in the Iringa region in Tanzania.

The circumstances of ingraining religious elements into secular educational activities and motivations generated within Jordan University College are analysed in chapter 12 by Tadeusz Jarosz and Jacek Górka. They paid special attention to the employment of the network theory of the Church, the horizon of human relationships, web of mutual interdependency and interaction through which suitable channels for the self-manifestation of the religious elements are created. They also discussed the key components of the motivation of individuals involved within the networks of ecclesiastical bodies to influence their way of thinking in the process of development.

Ashura Jackson Ngoya and Maxmillian J. Chuhila, in chapter 13, investigated the case of different beliefs associated with smallholder mining in the Geita Region in Tanzania. They tried to show how local beliefs have shaped mining activities and relationships with societies surrounding the mining areas. Apart from that, the authors pointed out how such

beliefs influence relationships with the environment, local knowledge systems in environmental sustainability, and an understanding of how societies behave to control resource management.

The last part of the book deals with political issues, both nationally and internationally. This part consists of six chapters. Anna Cichecka in chapter 14, examined the framework of the new Agreement which sets out broad areas of cooperation between the European Union (EU) and African Union (AU), concerning human rights, democracy, security and climate change. In this post-Cotonou negotiations, the author raises the issue of gender equality as one of the essential points of the new partnership and evaluates the outcome of the Post-Cotonou Agreement which recognised the gender agenda as critical in achieving sustainable development, growth and equity.

The principle of the modern nation-state, social legitimacy, its justification for existence and its legal action are explored by Claudia Gerald and Tadeusz Jarosz in chapter 15. The core of the study includes the social legitimacy of Tanzanian governmental institutions, enforcement of their competencies, mechanisms of the functioning of state institutions, and problems of clarity for politically organized citizens. In addition, the authors discussed aspects of the system of social communication that refer to the discourse of homosexuality, government communication policy, and the social legitimacy of the problem of the legal status of homosexuality in Tanzania.

In chapter 16, Tadeusz Jarosz indicated the potential development of the deepening crisis between the traditional nation-state model and the accumulation of power by alternative centers. The author also assesses the power relations instigated and fostered under the impact of globalization and tries to show the supremacy of the unfolding of conditions for development that could not be provided by the efforts of the nation-state and associates the acceleration of development taking place in Africa with political change.

The creation of the East African Community (EAC), its evolution, expansion, its foundation in 1967 by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda as well as its decline and revival in 1978 is investigated by Joanna Bar in chapter 17. The research reveals that the existing, East African Community (EAC) as a regional intergovernmental organisation is considered

to be the most advanced in achieving its integration goals across Africa extending its member states to seven countries such as: Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

The challenge of African security issue achieved by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and currently by the African Union (AU) is investigated by Degefe Kebede Gemechu in chapter 18. The study examines the AU security structure, approach, and its capacity to maintain peace and security in Africa. It also explores various aspects of security cooperation with the international community, such as the UN, EU, and other regional and international institutions.

The significance of borders in the context of the post-colonial African states, the African Union's attempts to establish an institutional infrastructure to tackle the border issue concerning promoting cross-border cooperation is examined by Arkadiusz Żukowski in chapter 19. The analysis includes the category of paradiplomacy as a concept of new foreign policy, the level of the research on paradiplomacy and its implementation in Africa.

The editors of this book intend to present an important slice of the state of research on key threats and challenges for contemporary Africa, and furthermore to encourage intellectual reflection on the title issue.

Part I. Literature

Chapter 1

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Examining the Thematic Thrust, Aesthetic and Relevance of Mloka's Heteroglossic Poems

Abstract: Guided by Mikhail Bakhtin's heteroglossia—a literary lens that sees a literary text as assuming a heterogeneous composition, that is, its capability of using more than one discourse or register, this chapter examines some of Charles Mloka's poems in his collection titled *Status* (2019). A seasoned Tanzanian prose writer and poet, Mloka, in this anthology of poetry uses a legal discourse in the composition of some of his poems. This study is purely library-based; its methodology was a purposive sampling of some of these poems and the study chose six of them out of the whole anthology. These poems were closely read for their literary language manipulation which is supported by some legalese thus giving them a heteroglossic nature. The analysis focused on language use, the aesthetic aspect of the poems, thematic underpinnings and their relevance to literary knowledge and the Tanzanian community in general. The chapter notes that whereas literary heteroglossia has been used to a great effect in literary creativity in other places in the globe, Tanzanian literary writers have used this way of writing to a smaller extent. Based on its findings, this study encourages this way of writing literary works as an element of desirable change in the Tanzanian literary frontiers as it exposes general and specific readers of literary works such as students of literature at different levels to texts that have vocabularies taken from different areas of specialisations. This broadens their vocabulary stock and their aesthetic appreciation of literary works.

Keywords: literary heteroglossia, heteroglossic, heterogeneous, legal discourse, aesthetic aspect, thematic thrust

1. Introduction

Literary works can be written in different ways when it comes to language aspect, traditionally, these works have been written by adhering to strict conventions such as observing language which is purely literary and should on average, be standardised. However, with the advent of modernism and post-modernism as milestones in the literary world, the writing of literary works with regard to the use of language became more or less stringent or rather relaxed. But this does not mean that standards of writing literary works were compromised when it came to language use; rather it was a new way of writing these works as a response to changes in the human beings' ways of life occasioned by advancement in science and technology, wars, economic and social conditions of human life in general (Khadka 2020). One of the ways of expressing modernist literary writing is literary experimentation. This is a way of writing literary works where a writer experiments with language by finding new and neutral means of expression (Ingale, 2013). Experimentation in poetry suggests that poets want to provide readers with a new point of view. They are not interested in walking on the same ground as poets and authors who wrote literary works before their time. Instead, what they want to do for readers is their willingness to take risks and try new things. Literary heteroglossia is a kind of literary experimentation. This kind of writing according to Bakhtin et al., (1982, 262) is "the internal stratification of any simple national language into social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargon, the generic language of generations and age groups". The stratification of language or field of discourse or register as it may also be called, according to Bakhtin et al., (1982) may be expressed in a field of specialisation such as law, medicine, business, politics and teaching. Therefore, one of the key aspects of literary heteroglossia as an experimental writing is literary aesthetics—that is, the pleasurable experience a reader goes through when reading a literary work (Attard 2018).

Functions of heteroglossia in literary as well as non-literary texts have been documented. In literary texts, it has been found that heteroglossic literary texts are a rich source of vocabulary for learners or readers. It is a way of adding a stock of vocabulary to one's mental lexicon. This can be achieved by creatively mixing the genres with other forms

of professional discourse. This results in what is called generic integrity that is, the focus put on understanding the role and function of genres in everyday life in which we are engaged (Volek 2014). As Volek claims, this is accomplished not only by linguistic competence but also by communicative competence.

It should be noted that literature knowledge is also sharpened through writing apart from reading different literary creations. This can be achieved in a form of essays and other writing activities such as writing books. On this, Padmanabhan (2014) reveals that readers or writers of literary works are usually exposed to multiple texts which they read to create their own.

Regardless of whether it is a literature class or any other subject, teaching and learning in the classroom can be achieved through heteroglossia. This can be achieved through what Abdulaal and Abdulaziz (2020) call translanguaging that is, multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage to make sense of the world by using the two languages they speak. This means that in the course of teaching and learning in a class of bilingual speakers, two languages can be used to complement each other. This use of two languages alongside each other in the classroom helps learners to construct their knowledge, socio-cultural and socio-emotional development as well as developing their identity. Abdulaal and Abdulaziz (2020) state that translanguaging can be achieved in the classroom through translation where the teacher translates a concept that is found in one of the languages into the other. The teacher does so, if, such a concept is not clear to learners. Then the teacher explains the meaning of that concept and finally, he or she models, that is, demonstrates how such a concept is used by simulating or creating contexts in which it can be used.

Abdulaal and Abdulaziz (2020) argue that it has been traditionally held that teaching learners to read and write the English language has been associated with monolingual bias and exclusive use of the English language in the educational setting. They further argue that this strict separation of languages can be problematic since it prohibits learners from using resources that they formerly acquired in other languages. This puts stress on learners in their learning as they are constantly forced to conform to something which sometimes exposes them to making terrible mistakes

in English. It should be noted that children learn language more successfully where the atmosphere is relaxed; that is, with few prohibitions being directed at them. Therefore, to make teaching and learning more meaningful and rewarding, the presence of another language to complement the other language is important. That is where heteroglossia comes in.

For the case of non-literary texts and examples, Barwell (2012) argues by giving examples that heteroglossia can be used to teach Mathematics in a multilingual Mathematics class where learners come from a diverse linguistic continuum. Using Pakistan where he gives his own example as a Mathematics teacher, he reveals that in teaching mathematics to a multilingual class with three languages: English, Urdu and Burushaski: he must use heteroglossia, he further clarifies what he had to do to make sure learners understood Mathematics topics:

In a classroom in northern Pakistan, Mathematics is taught in a mixture of English, Urdu and Burushaski. The school in which I taught was established by the local community to provide an English medium education. As such, parents pay relatively high fees and the children live close to the school. English is seen as the language of the elite and the ruling classes in Pakistan and widely used in higher education, the civil service and the army. Urdu is the national language and Burushaski is the local language. Mathematics textbooks are in English. Mathematics teachers in the school do not necessarily have teaching qualifications and are not necessarily highly proficient in English. Furthermore, if complex topics like the arithmetic properties of associativity, distributivity, etc are taught entirely in English, many students will not understand. Hence teachers use a mixture of three languages. English is at least used for key terms like associativity and sentences from the textbook, Urdu for more surrounding explanation and discussion and Burushaski for more informal discussion.

The example above highlights that in the communities where some learners do not have enough knowledge of formal languages of instruction such as English, local languages that learners are speaking may be used together with the formal languages of instruction to facilitate teaching and learning. This is a good example of heteroglossia.

Whereas studies on heteroglossic literary works have been done by literary scholars in other countries in the world (Barwell 2013; Ingale 2013; Padmanabhan 2014; Volek 2014; Abudulaal and Abdulaziz 2020); such studies within the Tanzanian context have been scanty if not non-existent. Again, heteroglossic literary writings in Tanzania have been few. Still, they have not been studied to uncover their importance as a way that may help students and other readers to learn vocabulary and many other benefits that can be accrued from reading works of such nature. It is out of this realisation that the objective of this study was to analyse Mloka's poems in the anthology of his poems titled *Status* (2010) by examining some of the poems in the anthology which have a heteroglossic nature. The analysis focused on language use, the aesthetic aspect of the poems, thematic underpinnings and their relevance to literary knowledge and the Tanzanian community in general.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

This study used Mikhail Bakhtin's literary heteroglossia situation where a literary work contains or uses more than one variety of language or register. According to Bakhtin as highlighted in Evans (2008), language is heteroglot, a plethora of intersecting social languages or voices, the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools and circles all of which are given space. The theory as such rejects language as the unitary system of linguistic constants and universals presented to readers in grammar books or traditional linguistic theory. This is because, language is versatile and adaptable, and therefore, it can be used according to the dictates of a given literary environment.

This theory was used in this study because it fitted in examining and analysing the selected poems given their nature since they contain the manipulation of both literary and legal discourses.

2. Methodology

This is largely a library-based study which relied on a close reading and textual analysis of the primary texts (poems), purposively selected from the collection of Mloka's anthology of poems titled *Status* (2019). This was the main source of the primary data collection method. It was supplemented with secondary sources. The secondary sources used were documentary reviews, mostly from critical works, such as books, journal articles, internet resources, dissertations, theses and essays. The collected data were analysed and presented as themes and quotations.

3. Results and Discussion

The findings of the study are presented and discussed exhaustively focusing on Charles Mloka's six poems selected from the anthology of his collection titled *Status* (2019). These poems are heteroglossic. They contain literary language as well as law jargon. These poems are *Ignorance of Law*, *No Law No Offence*, *Audi Alteram Partem Rule*, *Nemo Judex in Causa Sua Motive*, and *Mistake of Fact*.

3.1. Ignorance of Law

This poem starts with a Latin law technical jargon *ignorantia juris non excusat* which in English means "Ignorance of the law is not an excuse or defence". The persona argues that in the field of law when a person is brought before the law and accused of having committed a certain criminal offence, the law does not entertain any excuse as to why a person committed the offence including claiming that one was not aware that what he or she was doing was an offence. On this, the persona says:

Ignorantia juris non excusat
This is a Latin maxim,
Common in the legal profession,
Especially in criminal law,
When someone is charged

With a particular offence
(Mloka 2019, 3).

The maxim *ignorantia juris non excusat* which in English means “Ignorance of the law is not an excuse or defence” as highlighted in the above stanza reveals the importance of having such a provision in the law. This is because, if it were not there, anyone implicated in a crime of one kind or another would generally argue that when he or she did a crime, he or she did not know that such an act was a crime. This would make administering justice in our courts to be a very difficult exercise. It would make the whole universe chaotic. The law of the jungle would prevail (survival of the fittest), kangaroo courts would be the order of the day as well as mob justices. The persona has captured this in the last stanza of the poem where it is said:

Were this defence allowed by the law?
Everyone might have pleaded it,
And be acquitted of an offence,
Eventually, courts will not punish offenders
Leaving crimes being committed without fear
(Mloka 2019, 4).

Aesthetically examined, this poem reveals at least two basic things. first, it is written in a simple language that is likely to encourage any reader with a basic literacy in the English language to read and understand what it says. Although the Latin phrase *ignorantia juris non excusat* may pose a challenge to an average reader, this challenge has been taken care of by the poet translating it into English and giving enough examples to highlight its meaning and importance. Second, in the fourth stanza which has been highlighted above where the persona explains that everyone is assumed to know that engaging in crime is not a defence, has achieved a certain poetic rhythm, a kind of balance and disposition to treat all human beings at the same scale of their being or humanity regardless of their civilization as human beings—a bushman with his basically primitive way of life or a gentleman in the metropolis or a woman and a man regardless of the socio-economic status between them, all are shown to be answerable to uphold humanity in their treatment of each other. Even the babies or children and the insane are said to be held responsible should they engage in

crime the courts should weigh the circumstantial evidence and assess the amount of their incapacity or innocence before they are held responsible for their criminal acts and the extent to which they should be responsible for them. The poem also is replete with heteroglossic terms taken from the law jargon pertaining to crime. The persona produces some aesthetic language effect when he is comparing them in advancing his argument. Some of these are rape or manslaughter, housebreaking or burglary, fraud or perjury and sedition or treason. Thematically, the poem raises the issue of equality before the law and the need for abiding by the law of the land as inherently a human nature and responsibility regardless of one's status in life whether primitive or ignorant or highly learned or sophisticated in the modern ways of life. Regarding its relevance to Tanzanian society, the poem is highly applicable as a tool that can be used in civic education on the importance of observing the law. It can be read and understood by whoever cares to read-students and non-students both young and adults. It produces law knowledge at relatively very affordable costs. That is, it is written in a simple language that encourages reading and understanding it. What it costs is simply a little of one's time and simply holding a copy of the poem.

3.2. No Law, No Offence

This poem like the one just analysed above uses a Latin law phrase *Nulla poena sine lege*, which in English means "No law, no offence". It uses this phrase to advance the argument that if there is no law that has been enacted to address a certain issue or to contain some crime, no one can be taken by task or held responsible for one's acts which may appear to be undesirable. The persona advances his/her argument in the second and last stanza of the only two-stanza poem by saying:

In law, you cannot convict a person
If there is no in motion
The offender has broken.
This is a Latin maxim:
Nulla poena sine lege
In English, "No law, no offence"
(Mloka 2019, 5).

The subject matter and the main argument of the poem are that no one can be said to have committed an offence if there is no law in place to deal with what that person has committed. Thematically, the poem as such is an eye opener to the law enforcing agents to scrutinise various matters that would need some law enactments to contain some unbecoming behaviour in the community. It is the basis of justice in the community that a person should be accused of a crime or an offence for which law exists. Short of that a person is free to do whatever one wishes so long as that does not contradict any law. Aesthetically, the appeal of the poem lies in its brevity and simplicity of the language it uses. It is only a two-stanza poem but yet it raises grave matters that have to do with enacting some laws to contain crimes or undesirable actions. The poem is relevant to Tanzania as an element of human rights that people are to live free from fear of arbitrary arrest or mistreatment for doing things that have no legal impact because they are not termed as offences as such. Again, like the poem analysed above, it can be read by Tanzanians of different walks of life and others all over the world for its civic education component.

3.3. *Audi Alteram Partem Rule*

This poem carries Latin legal jargon as its title. In its English translations suggested in the poem means the right to be heard. It is natural justice for a person alleged to have committed some offence to be accorded a platform to be heard by a competent law. According to what the person says in this poem, no one should be judged for a wrongdoing if that person has not been given a chance to defend oneself. On this, the persona says:

Do not enter judgement,
Without hearing,
Orally or in writing
A party to dispute
To defend his or her case.
In a nutshell,
A person must not be condemned unheard.
(Mloka 2019, 6).

The poem echoes the need for observing law procedures in coming to a conclusion that so and a person has a case to answer or not to. One of such court procedures and conduct is to grant a chance for the accused person to defend himself or herself or through one's lawyer in the courts of law. No matter how culpable a person may appear, there is a way a conclusion can be reached to incriminate that person if the chance to be heard has not been granted.

3.4. *Nemo Judex in Causa Sua*

This poem with its title *Nemo Judex in Causa Sua* is a Latin phrase which means 'the rule against biases. It advances an argument that one cannot preside over a matter in which one has an interest. This is commonly known as a conflict of interest. This means that a person acting as a judge or a decision maker in some issues cannot be fair to others if one has vested interests in the very thing he or she expected to make a decision. On this, the persona says:

You cannot be a judge,
In your own case,
To avoid conflict of interest,
For example,
A magistrate,
Cannot preside over a case,
Where her or his son is prosecuted,
Or a minister,
Cannot make a decision,
In a case where he has pecuniary interest
Also a girlfriend,
Cannot decide a case
Where her boyfriend is at a party
As well as a tenant
Cannot judge a dispute
Where the landlord is a party....
(Mloka 2019, 7).

In these few lines, the persona insists on the need to be transparent in conducting our affairs especially when it happens that one has been

entrusted with some position of responsibility which needs that person to act fairly for others. As the persona says, it is difficult to be fair to others if we are given a chance to make some decisions on matters that touch our interests. Therefore, as a matter of principle and common sense, one is advised to refrain from taking some course of action in which he or she knows he or she vested interests. Thematically, the poem highlights the importance of transparency in our conduct such that when we give a decision which may affect others; they should not point a finger at claiming that we took a certain course of action because we had something to benefit from. Again, the poem highlights the need to avoid double standards in our dealings. Regardless of our affiliations or backgrounds; we should act fairly to others. Where it happens that we have some interest in some issues, this poem tells us to be honest and transparent so that we act honestly and responsibly.

Aesthetically, the poem appeals to the readers through the way it juxtaposes some words to explain how they are related to what is being presented. For example, the magistrate presiding over a case where his son is prosecuted; a minister cannot make a decision where he has some pecuniary or financial interest; a girlfriend deciding a case where her boyfriend is the affected part or has a stake and the tenant judging a case which involves one's landlord. The persona uses common examples that are a reality in our daily interactions. Couched in simple words, the poem endears itself to readers of different walks of life-students, academicians, politicians and laypeople. Its relevance to Tanzania is that it is important to avoid doing things or being involved in situations that will make us prejudiced or biased.

3.5. Motive

In this poem, the persona explains the meaning of motive as an act that moves a person to do something which may be good or bad. The persona uses two Latin phrases which are legalese to refer to the actions of an individual whether they are done in good or bad faith. For those acts which are done intentionally, the persona refers to them as *mens rea* or malice aforethought. That is, an individual intends to do something for example kill a person by walking with a knife in one's bag. Such a person, when

the situation presents itself, is likely to execute what one has planned. The act of executing the evil thing or act someone had planned before is called in Latin *Actus reus* that is, a wrongful act done to fulfill the planned mission. After explaining these two phrases, the persona explains that even the act of making someone who has been terminally sick by putting some poison in one's food or by other means making that person die will amount to a crime. On this, the persona says:

If you save somebody,
Patient belonged to your blood,
Whose health has been bad,
For many years of life,
Without getting relief,
When you take tablets,
Killing her to relieve her pains,
That she had long suffered,
It is prohibited in law,
Under those circumstances,
The moment she dies, my friend,
You will be arrested
And brought to justice
Charged with an offence.
(Mloka 2019, 10).

It would seem paradoxical and contradictory for a person, who, having taken care of a terminally sick person and who, out of sympathy, gives some tablets or poison to that sick person so that he or she dies to be prosecuted as having done a criminal offence. It should be noted that a terminally sick person is a patient who is suffering from an incurable disease and whose end is to die of that sickness. It should also be noted that some diseases that people suffer from and from which they cannot recover cause very great pain which may make them think that a better option is to die as a way of getting some relief. Another thing we should bear in mind is that terminally sick relatives may be sick for many years before they finally die. In all those years, those who are taking care of them will be incurring huge costs in terms of medication and other ways of caring for them. At the same time, these sick people may be

experiencing very great pains in their bodies. They may even complain about why they are still alive. Coupled with the costs involved in taking care of these sick people, one may be tempted to think this person will surely die and is going through a hard time due to pain, why not help that person die?' Much as plausible this way of thinking may appear, to law, it is an offence. We have no right to take someone's life even if one were a madman.

Thematically, the poem calls for the need of observing human rights, especially the right to life. No one is entitled to take the life of another person whatever the pretext. It reminds us that given a person is still alive no matter in what condition, one's right to life should be observed. Aesthetically, the poem appeals to the contradiction that it presents in its argument that no matter how sick a person might be or no matter how acute the pains are and no matter how a sick person may be wasted; no one has the right to take the life of that person or assist that person to take one's life. The relevance of this poem to the Tanzanian community is that everyone has the right to live and should be treated like a human being regardless of one's social or economic status as well as his or her physical condition.

3.6. Mistake of Fact

Unlike the last five poems discussed above which used some Latin maxims as part of law jargon, this poem uses the law jargon made of words of the English language. The persona opens the poem by giving the meaning of the legal term mistake of fact where he or she says that it is a situation where a person does something believing that it is the right one but which in actual fact is not. This can be a defence in law. The persona says:

This is a defence in law,
Effective in criminal law,
This can enable the accused,
Acquitted by court
Of committing an offence
If he honestly believed that
What he did was not wrong,

It is this conduct,
Referred to in court
As a mistake of fact,
Indicating that,
A wrongful act done
By a particular person
Was not done intentionally
(Mloka 2019, 8).

In the second stanza the persona, by using an example of a bicycle which is a common means of transport used by many people, explains the context where the mistake of fact may apply. He uses the example of two identical bicycles parked at a certain spot and it happens one of the owners comes and takes the bicycle which is not his but that he is misled by the bicycles being identical and thus posing a challenge to identify his. The person says that if accused of stealing of another person's bicycle, that person may find a defence in a court of law:

For example,
If I went to a pray in a church
And parked a Phoenix bicycle
Coloured black,
Outside the church
And somebody parks,
A similar type
Where I parked mine
Would it happen I came out
Mistakenly taking his bicycle
Leaving the church premises with it.
Honestly believing it was mine
Because of the way it resembles my bicycle,
Once a person brings me
Before a court of law,
For stealing his property,
I will plead this defence,
And the court,
On being satisfied,

With the evidence adduced
Before it
That I mistakenly took it
May acquit me.
(Mloka 2019, 8-9).

The main theme of this poem is the importance of having some basic knowledge of the law as a basic civic education. It highlights that in human interactions, some individuals make mistakes due to the limitations of human beings in judging or understanding things. This simple example of bicycles that are identical and where it happens that one of the owners takes the other's bicycle, and that he may be acquitted in a court of law if one defends himself; highlights the need for having some basic knowledge of law so as to defend justice for the interest of humanity. It again reminds us that where there is ignorance of the law; it may happen that an individual who takes the other person's bicycle believing that it is his, may be arrested and killed by being termed a thief. Therefore, knowledge of some law technicalities is important even to the layman. Aesthetically, the poem appeals to the readers due to its ability to paint some imagery in their minds in relation to the two bicycles and it happens that one of the owners picks the bicycle which is not his. The possible effect of imagery as portrayed in this poem is connected to the relevance of the poem within the Tanzania context that whenever we do things, we should be keen by examining them to know their real character. Even for nearly identical things; differences may still be identified. However, this needs a good ability to discern things and making some connections to come out with a keen decision.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter has discussed Mloka's six poems contained in the collection of his poems titled *Status* (2019). These poems contain some elements taken from other fields such as law to enrich human knowledge. Therefore, heteroglossia as coined by Mikhail Bakhtin' may be used to read or write literary works by combining different discourses within one literary text.

In the context of this study; Mloka's selected poems as used in this study are an example of literary heteroglossia. Literary heteroglossia is important for readers or writers of literary works because it helps them get new vocabularies which enrich their learning or the way they interact with others. Based on the poems used in this study, a number of issues have been addressed through the use of heteroglossic literary works. These are such as civic education, the importance of the rule of law and others. The study recommends that other studies focus on how other literary works by Tanzanian writers present or use heteroglossia in their works.

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Chapter 2

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Nostalgia for the Future: Oral Transition, Belongingness and Adaptation in Sierra Leone Post-War Fiction

Abstract: Prior researches have shown that nostalgia as a phenomenon has widely related to the time and place of peoples' experiences. It relates to social locations, identification, emotional dispositional as well as attachments. At a time when the phenomenon of nostalgia has widely given way to a sense of cultural aspect, this study aims to show how nostalgia plays a role in the literary field. It presents an inquiry into the role of nostalgia in affirmation of identity in a disastrous environment. Drawing on data from Ishmael Beah's (2014) post-war novel, "Radiance of Tomorrow", in which the aspect of the storytelling session represents a site for the path through which nostalgia plays a key role, I argue that Beah interrogates oral traditional practices of the past pre-war situation in a post-war environment in his fiction through nostalgia, where the present disastrous environment is understood through the past window that reflect the pre-war state of their homeland. This oral traditional aspect highlights the nostalgic role beyond mere representation and extends to the way nostalgia is used to negotiate their present environment with that of the past. Nostalgia, thusly is not just a mere feeling of longing but an actual practice of the past. He foregrounds the oral tradition of storytelling as a means to get back to their normal lifestyle. According to Nira Yuval-Davis (1978) belonging and the politics of belonging reflect on the nostalgic dimension. As a framework, it influences this chapter in the sense of linking the present displacement to the past desirable identity of a homeland. Within such insights, nostalgia in this study is established as a vehicle to secure back what has been lost.

Keywords: nostalgia, oral tradition, war, Sierra Leone

1. Introduction

People can ‘belong’ in many different ways and to many different objects of attachment. These can vary from a particular person to the whole of humanity, in a concrete or abstract way; belonging can be an act of self-identification or identification by others, in a stable, contested or transient way. Even in its most stable ‘primordial’ forms, however, belonging is always a dynamic process, not a reified fixity, which is only a naturalized construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations (Davis 1982).

Prior researches have shown that nostalgia as a phenomenon has widely related to the time and place of peoples’ experiences. It relates to social locations, identification, emotional dispositional as well as attachments. Although some scholars resist nostalgia as any form of affirmation (Howard 2012, 641) I frame it in this chapter as a path through which adaptation in a disastrous environment takes place. In this chapter, I will draw on Beah’s “Radiance of Tomorrow” debut text, which portrays complexities of war encounters regulating within the discourse of the pre-war state and the present post-war situation. Beah shows that war places the victim characters into confusion about managing the ruined present on one hand while living in the past pre-war on the other. In order to examine issues of adaptation, Beah faces the oral tradition of storytelling and the aspect of belongingness, a discourse which paves way for adaptation in particular ways. Oral tradition in Fee’s (1997, 25) observation is “commonplace in writing in English by indigenous people [...] as it plays off and with ideologies about orality and writing, as well as literacy practices. It asserts that this literature is distinctive and authentic because it is marked as coming out of a long-standing cultural tradition”. Beah depicts a story of tangled affirmation of identity which turns to belong in order to regain back their space. The oral traditional practice provides the characters a window for assistance, like the regular practice such as the storytelling sessions, as an aspect of the victim’s identity and attachment.

Instead of characters sobbing in the ruined environment, he presents nostalgia and longing in his fiction as crucial components of a politics of

harmony. Woodward (2002, 2) claims that “When we contemplate ruins, we contemplate our own future” meaning that ruins eradicate one’s own sense of mortality. While Howard (2012, 641) observes nostalgia as the kind of memory which at least appears to be a reliving of the individual’s phenomenal experience during those earlier moments, Stuart Tannock (2006, 453) observes nostalgia as a whole time “valuable way of approaching the past, important to all social groups”. Such observations make nostalgia an interesting concept in the literary displaced identity aspect, particularly, in areas that theorize home as a construct of belongingness.

It is expected that a home should give one a sense of belongingness of connectedness. Characters in “Radiance of Tomorrow” lack the connection to their home once they returned to their homeland after the war. Nostalgia plays a role through the engagement of characters in storytelling sessions daily as it used to for them to feel and bring back their homeness. Literature on home provides us with an “analytical gaze” into the ideas of belonging and unbelonging of people’s lives (David 2019).

2. Ishmael Beah: a Reminiscent Writer

Ishmael Beah, a Sierra Leone writer who resides in the United States, has published a “Memoir” before “Radiance of Tomorrow” but it is the last one which has soared to the best-seller list being his debut novel. Born in 1985 in Sierra Leone, Beah enters into the world of African third-generation writers engaging with African issues and concerns, although their location of writing is outside the continent. Beah relocates to the United States at the age of 18 and has since made the USA his home. He becomes an activist for the victims of the war to secure back their homes as a way of honoring his lost homeland. Ndlovu (2016, 133) posits that this identification marker used by Beah “denotes loss and nostalgia” for a Sierra Leone (and perhaps individual) that he left and never returned to in more than ten years. Through his writing, Beah negotiates his lost homeland and “interstitial position” of “exposure to different cultures, locales and languages” (Steiner 2008, 17). One can assume that Beah’s residential circumstances and processes of re-identification as a migrant

in the United States inform his fictional work of reminiscing identity. His reminiscence situation manifests the “lived experience[s] (Noxolo 2014, 295)” of contemporary African Diasporas. On this point, Motahane and Makombe (2020, 264) argue that Beah’s geographical location “affords the creative freedom” to write about Sierra Leone and its politics without reservations. In connection to this, Zeleza (2005, 10) in “The Politics and Poetics of exile: Edward Said in Africa” argues that the position of the writer in exile “becomes an elixir of freedom from the suffocating grip of national identity”. In other words, Beah is living and re-constructing an identity outside the margins of national prescriptions. The diasporic vision inspired by the melancholy of exile “becomes the shaping power that overwhelms the obsession with homeland” (Zhou 2015, 189). It is through creative writing that Beah is able to “speak” and shape the discourse on remaking a homeland.

3. Re-Constructing Home for the Future: Belongingness and Adaptation

This chapter therefore, presents an inquiry to show how nostalgia brings back a memory that becomes a frame with which characters read their new environment in a post-war context. To this extent, nostalgic memories are interpreted as sweet adaption means of securing back the pleasant past in times of crisis (Feldbruegge 2005). Nostalgia is manifested as loving in its re-creation of the past; it does not evoke the past only to bury it alive, instead, it proposes an eagerness to proclaim the futurity of the present and the future. It shares the belief in progress, which promotes futurity.

What is striking about Beah’s fiction is that his victim characters, who are terribly displaced by the war, do not give in to the pressures of lacking identity. On the contrary, Beah narrates reclamation stories, in which he administers elements of opposition towards the ruined environment that assist the returned characters to secure their homeland in their own ways. Nostalgia in this text performs adaptational acts in providing the characters with an imaginary, often idealised memory of the

past, which becomes the ground for establishing their homes again after the war. Beah presents a kind of nostalgia that allows returnees to settle back into a ruined environment.

At the time when the critique of post-war is built into the story, nostalgia provides a way for Beah's imposition of storytelling which runs across various locations accepting changes and movements. He establishes their storytelling session and its importance in countering the ruins around their homelands. Beah explains the feeling and the state of mind of victims that have been deprived of their identity. He presents ordinary victims trying to secure back their homelands in a difficult situation.

The short narratives in the novel demonstrate that usual traditional practices are possible in whichever circumstance the characters may find themselves in. Although the nostalgic dimensions exposed by characters such as in senses of sight, odor, taste and touch affect their sweet sentiments of the past, storytelling in the text is presented as a counterpart to such loss. A traditional practice enhances forging a human connection to their present homeland. More specifically the various spots of storytelling, offers essential reassurance to the otherwise displaced characters. It is these intricate and tangled connections between oral tradition, nostalgia and adaptation that this chapter seeks to explain.

The narrative portrays how 'characters' work towards community activities to secure communal attachment while at the same time, the hard times they face remain largely visible to the reader. What the narrative put forward is quite clear; however, there are the occasions where the displaced characters notwithstanding their struggle in remaking their homeland still face challenges from the war perpetrators. The narrative gives examples of Beah's criticism of the war perpetrators. In presenting the mining company overriding in the presence of the natives, it is a pointer to the torture that the natives are still facing even after the war is declared to have ended. Beah demonstrates here what torture and unfairness the mining company is doing to the native.

Storytelling as Davidson (2017), Rossiter and Garcia (2010) and Lucarevski (2016) observes, is an engaging old way of communication and a strategy structured in narration to render lessons in life. Their views of stories speak to my analysis of storytelling in this chapter that, it is a path to belongingness in a way of engaging the community. Gillian

King, Mary Lawn, et al. (2003) argue that “engaging in leisure activities such as storytelling is an important predictor of overall life satisfaction and wellbeing” (65). A question may be raised: how are satisfaction and well-being? It can be through nostalgia that this well-being is achieved. In that context, Beah sets a session for storytelling with an insight into belongingness. In quite a lengthy illustration, the narrator tells:

Once upon a time, when the world had a common voice for all things on the surface of the earth and beyond, the chief of the humans, a woman was a dear friend of the god of the water spirits. [...] In those days, no one drowned in rivers, as the water spirits aided everyone who swam in them....One night a callous young man, who had arrived very late on the other side of the river, decided he must cross into town immediately even though he'd been warned to wait just a few hours. [...] He struggled to row against the currents and one of the spirits, in the form of a girl decided to aid him. [...] She told of how in those days there were no guns or grenades, of how a small misunderstanding had changed the relationship between the humans and the water spirits (47-48).

The narrative depicts an aspect of reconciliation between two different worlds in that characters have been entangled. Ma Kadie, a village woman who returned home quite earlier than others, encounters moments that remind her of the painful sufferings of the war. She represents the elder women found in Imperi village who calls for peace and futurity. She is challenged by the environment and as an icon to the younger people she had to find a way to collect other victims of the ruins together. She turns away by calling for their past traditions of storytelling, a means to overcome the pain. As a tradition, it falls to the “social phenomena” of leisure and recreation that Cushman and Laidler believe “they are quality of experiences and a set of activities, respectively, organized for social purposes” (2). Her story emanates from her nostalgic reverie. For Ma Kadie, stories are the only way that will make people come back to life. She says, “I think stories and the old ways will bring them in contact with life, with living, and with godliness again” (51). In her nostalgia, she depicts what the environment looks like after the war. She then appropriates as a woman a catalyst in bringing harmony to the environment.

This brings attention to nostalgia as “an occurring emotion or affective experience”, rather than simply a fascination with the past. Elsewhere, the importance of this quotation is at the gathering of the people to listen to the story, a sign of wanting to move forward. This storytelling session is a structure to challenge the changes in the present time. Steiner (2008, 14) says, nostalgia is not only a longing for a place but also a “rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress”. A session is important because it also explains the source of complication and how savagery came into being. It points to particular issues of well-being and unity, a way for the characters to regain back their lost home and a sense of the future. When the younger ones are encouraged to pay attention to the storytelling, it is to instil traditions in them that will make them prosper like how it was done to the elders during their time. Nostalgia here, strategically, presents practices of the past tradition in facing the future. Steiner (2010, 126) in “Writing Wider Worlds” argues that getting an identity in an alien environment may create complications that one may begin to look for other alternatives. The feeling of belonging from this perspective is in collective voices. Nostalgia in such a kind of return tends to balance between positive and negative memories that are evoked from different corners.

When Ma Kadie meets Pa Moiwa, another elder in Imperi village, they seek past routines as a way to feel at home. In their exchange of greetings, they tell:

I do hope the other towns will come alive soon. I am fond of wandering down the path to another village or town at mid-afternoon to sit with its elders. Pa Moiwa surveyed the four paths that came in and out of town. Just as in the old days. You think all such simple things can become our lives again? Ma Kadie asked. They become quiet each thinking of the day their lives had been shifted in another direction that they were still trying to return from (10).

In this short tale about the neighbourhood, we learn of certain underlying memories that characters have carried along about their origin before the anguish had happened. The tale of returning to Imperi, firstly, by elders simply signifies the custom of respecting the elders that are cherished in most African societies. However, Beah could have possibly

presented other ages as beginners in returning. Lowenthal (1975, 16) notes that the elderly in particular, surround themselves with “keepsakes, mementos and other furniture of their memories” that in a way they shape the movement of a society. This act signifies the wishful value of the past tradition. The portrayal of the neighbourhood becomes crucial for nostalgic purposes. Neighbourhood in this story acts as an alternative aspect which carries alternative possibilities for the characters. Visiting the neighbourhood has been part of their leisure. Upon their arrival, they wish for those bygone times when war has taken along. Through nostalgia, such activity is brought to the surface. Reflections of past leisure times become a contribution to the re-evaluation of their present life situation.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore the theme of Belongingness in Beah’s “Radiance of Tomorrow” and how it connects to a reaffirmation of identity at the dislocation point. As illustrated above, the novel tries to give a way in which a home can be achieved in relation to displacement. It does however, create a fascinating fictional life world where we encounter migrant characters as the victims relocate from their homes at one point and come back to settle in a complex environment which is their own home. The discussion was based on the unhomeliness of the Sierra Leone war evicted space and the impact on the victims in an attempt to re-settle in their homes. For Ma Kadie, the actual home is “only the process of forming one” (Wise 305). Unlike many displaced characters, Ma Kadie denies the feeling of being disoriented and through nostalgia she reevaluates what home should be like.

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Chapter 3

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Tanzania Implementation of the 1948 UN Universal Declaration on Language Rights: Its Implications on Child's Language Literacy Learning

Abstract: This chapter presents an assessment on the Tanzania implementation of linguistic human rights as agreed in the 1948 UN Universal Declaration by member states. Evidence from government documents, academic literature and the author's experiences on language use and practices in Tanzania were used to build a case and the lines of argument. The discussion through assessment has shown that, hitherto, Tanzania implements language policy that is not only in line with 1948 UN Universal Declaration of linguistic human rights but also UNESCO frameworks on the use of Mother tongue in childhood education. Whereas other African countries like Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, South Africa, to mention a few, protect and promote their indigenous languages, Tanzania has neglected its ethnic community languages (ECLs). The chapter argues that since learner's first (L1) and second languages (L2) are interdependent, that neglecting ECLs in early childhood education has contributed to the dropping of literacy skills in Kiswahili among primary school leavers in Tanzania and an appropriate model for multilingual education should be sought. The chapter recommends for the government to protect ECLs to enhance child's language learning, literacy development and democratic citizenship of its people.

Keywords: ethnic community languages, linguistic human rights, language and literacy learning

1. Introduction

Languages are resources, properties, identities, and means of human interaction and communication regardless of their status, political influence, socio-economic attachment, colour of its speakers, their education, sex, religion or any opinion – national or regional. In socio-linguistics, all languages are equal as they equally cater for two common purposes: identity and communication. Due to these inherent features of human languages, they deserve protection and thus, their rights should be preserved and not violated. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 484), *Language Rights + Human rights = Linguistic Human Rights* in which fundamental human rights, the user of the language is imbedded. Both language rights and human rights have been brought together very recently to address the contemporary issues not only in language-in-education and democratic citizenship but also determining future of the linguistic diversity.

Tanzania is a multi-ethnic and multilingual country, home to approximately 150 languages (Tibategeza 2010); including Kiswahili the language that has been used both as national language and language of wider inter-ethnic communication in Tanzania. On the context of Tanzania, minority languages are all ethnic community languages (ECLs) except Kiswahili which is spoken as mother tongue by approximately 10% of the Tanzania population (Rubagumya 1990) and, according to Masato (2004); and Brock-Utne (2005) used as second language (L2) by 99% of the Tanzanian population, basically for *inter-ethnic* communication. Unfortunately, these ECLs used by majority of Tanzanians as their first languages (L1s) or mother tongues are strictly not used in school, media or in any other official domains, and do not have any official or formal status in Tanzania (Strom 2009, 229).

However, at international level, there are agreements, conventions, declarations and treaties that a country signs, among others, for the promotion and protection of ECLs. The first declaration is that made in the UN 1948 Declaration of Human Rights that insisted states worldwide to recognize the linguistic rights of the individuals and of their communities (Gusi 1998, 10). Other world important conferences held on

linguistic human rights were UNESCO (1953, 2001, 2003). For instance, in 2003, a group of linguists and language right advocates had worked in collaboration with UNESCO in order to formulate ways of assessing language vitality. In this conference, they published a set of guidelines, after submitting and discussing the findings in the International Expert meeting on UNESCO programme to safeguard *endangered languages*. The conference revived the commitment of the UNESCO to the survival of language diversity, as were earlier emphasized in the Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity in November 2001 (UNESCO 2001). The violation of language rights in many African countries like Tanzania has a long history, but in this chapter, I focus on the period from early 1980s because in this period World Bank and IMF imposed implementation of use of imperial European languages in education through structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that aimed at improving economies that had gone down in 1970s (World Bank 1995). This imposition adversely affected African countries' autonomy on policy-relevant formulations (Brock-Utne 2000). In this regard, Mazrui asserts that:

The World Bank's real position [...] encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa [...] the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole primary education and beyond as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalizing universities, for example, makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education [...] (Mazrui 1997, 39).

In essence, the World Bank's proposed educational configuration in Africa demonstrates the continued role of instruction in Euro-languages in creating and maintaining an economy dominated primarily by foreign economic interests and, secondarily, by a small aspiring African bourgeoisie (Mazrui 1997, 44).

It has also been argued that language rights are an integral part of well-established basic human rights widely recognised in international law, just as are the rights of women and children (Varennes 2001, 1). As a signatory to UN articles, Tanzania is both politically and morally obliged to not only observe the articles but also to enforce them for enhanced democratic citizenship and quality education delivery in early

childhood. Thus, the chapter argues that if Tanzanians desire to be part of the increasingly democratic world that respects human rights, then they need to have everybody to effectively participate in decision-making. Everybody here includes: the elite, the highly and lowly educated, those in cities and rural areas, members of large and small ethnic groups, the handicapped such as the deaf and blind, monolinguals and bilinguals, the youth and whoever concerned.

The observation of African children of preschool and primary school age in multilingual settings testifies to multilingualism as a natural behavioural pattern - playful code-switching are highly effective communication strategies that children in Africa grow up with in their peer groups (Khamis 1994 as cited in Ouane and Glanz 2011, 66). Anyone who has responsibility for planning and deciding on the linguistic aspects of educational policies would be well advised to view *multilingualism* as an important resource to be made use of as widely as possible. This is because it draws on children's prior experience, their already-established abilities, and relates directly to their linguistic, social, and cultural behavioural patterns in their out-of-school environments (Wolff 2000). Psycholinguistic and second language acquisition research over almost 100 years shows, however, that apart from pathological cases where children suffer from physical or mental deficits independently, bi- or *multilingualism* has never done harm to the mental and cognitive development of any child (Ouane and Glanz 2011, 66).

Furthermore, mother tongue-based *bi- or multilingual* education model uses the learner's first language, known as the L1, to teach beginning reading and writing skills along with academic content. In cases where two or more languages are spoken in the home or locality, schooling may be provided in one of the learner's home languages in another local language, or in a lingua franca; for lack of a better term for these contexts. The second or foreign language, known as the L2, should be taught systematically so that learners can gradually transfer skills from the familiar language to the unfamiliar one. *Bilingual* or *multilingual* models vary as do their results, but what they have in common is their use of the mother tongue at least in the early years so that students can acquire and develop literacy skills in addition to understanding and participating in the classroom (Benson 2004, 2).

A study by Pflapsen (2011, 2) presents six major benefits of mother tongue based (MTB) education. These are that MTB: improves access to education; improves reading and learning outcomes; facilitates learning a second or foreign language; improves internal educational efficiency; improves children's self-concept and identity; and supports local culture and parental involvement. This is to say allowing a child to learn in the mother tongue would easily link school and the home environment for practical purposes.

2. ECLs and the Language Rights in Tanzania

The fundamental questions to pose when talking about language rights in Tanzania include: Does the constitution of Tanzania talk about language rights? In what ways, if any, has Tanzania ever tried to safeguard language rights both in private and public use or domains? What are the prospects for language rights in Tanzania? The present discussion revolves around some of these questions to determine whether or not Tanzania safeguards language rights of both the majorities and the minorities through her language policy and practices.

Respect to language rights would give citizens of all sorts in the country not only to access relevant education in the improved literacy skills but also access information in the language they know better. This is because information is power and that information should be made available in a language they understand best – be it a minority or majority language. The languages' speakers should be appreciated and be given a chance to access information in their language. Such an approach would go a long way to respecting human and language rights (cf. Ogechi 2003, 278).

Talking about language rights in any society presupposes either a real or imagined existence of inequality among the language(s) used in a given speech community. One way of bringing about inequality in languages is when in a multi-ethnic setting like Tanzania there is some functional distribution of languages whereby one or some languages are functionally prestigious while others are not subjected to death (cf. Ogechi 2003).

Due to this, it is safe to claim that the languages in Tanzania are made to be not equal in terms of status they hold. Thus, there is reason to argue for protection of the language rights of their users. Usually, a language dies when all its speakers cease to live or stop using it and instead shift to using another language.

The majority and minority languages can be distinguished according to Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000, 41–42). Webb and Kembo-Sure, show that there are functional values of language that a language can signify and the prestige of a language both of which help in distinguishing the two terminologies. Whereas majority languages are the dominant and prestigious, made to possess high status and usually associated with material gains; minority languages are language made to have low status, useless because the system does not support such languages to acquire status that they would deserve otherwise.

3. Conceptual Framework

One of the main pillars of language rights is the UN's 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that, "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration (of human rights) without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, *language*, religion, political or other opinion, national, or social origin, property, birth or other status".

It is also true that language rights are enshrined in UN documents and scholars have researched and written about language rights (Blommaert 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas 1985, 1990, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins 1988; UNEP 2001; Varennes 2001).

A conceptual distinction ought to be drawn between the right to *private* and *public* use of language. According to Varennes (2001), *private use* of a language usually refers to the individual use of one's native language in family life, freedom of expression, non-discrimination or the right of persons belonging to a linguistic minority to use their language with other members of their group. Varennes, further explains the use of one's name or surname in their own language; private conversation in

mother tongue in public streets or in a public park as typical examples of private use of a language. It is further noted that:

The freedom for private individuals to use a minority language in private correspondence or communications, including in private business or commercial correspondence, by telephone, electronic means; to have private displays such as outdoor commercial signs and posters, commercial signs, etc. of a private nature; the freedom to print in a minority language; the freedom to use a minority language in the conduct of private business and economic activities; even the right to create and operate private schools teaching in a minority language are all language rights. But their very nature is anchored; they originate, from existing human rights (Varennes 2001, 5).

Failure to guarantee such uses of language amounts to a breach of an individual's language rights and can have adverse negative impact on child's learning.

On the other hand, language rights can be explained by distinguishing language use in *public*. This includes the use of a language that an individual understands well both in court proceedings and court documents as universally recognised in international law as a basic "linguistic" right based on a fundamental human right (Varennes 2001, 6). The language uses at this level are also understood to include uses by public authorities "[...] such as public education using a minority language as a medium of instruction, public radio and television broadcasting in a minority language, use of minority language by public officials in the provision of services to the public (thus, a major source of employment for individuals within the civil service) etc" (Varennes 2001, 6).

Concerning public education, for instance, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argues that if the UN's Education for All (EFA) is to be achieved, then basic education should be availed to all humanity. That education should not be education for education's sake; rather, it should be an enriching, rewarding and emancipating education. It should be systematically introduced and presented in a language that the individual knows well enough. By so doing, the individual learns to the maximum and not in piece meal. Skutnabb-Kangas' idea of linguistic rights calls for education not only in the global language (English) but also in indigenous languages.

Skutnabb-Kangas' line of argument tends to concur with Webb and Kembo-Sure's (2000, 8–10) thesis that democracy as a basic human right is incomplete if there is very little meaningful citizen participation in political and economic decision-making. The citizenry can participate in decision-making if and only if they have information. As Okombo (2001, 14–17) argues that the best languages for passing on information in Africa include not only the official and national languages but also the various indigenous languages - braille for the blind and sign language for the deaf. In brief, language rights as a basic human right advocate for policies and practices that take care of all the languages - be the majority or minority languages.

At the public level of using language, Varennes (2001) posits that public authorities must cautiously choose between a language of wider communication and a local language. They are obliged to use a local language in appropriate circumstances, such as the numbers and geographic concentration of the speakers. The public officials should also avail official documents and forms in the local languages in addition to bilingual documents. However, there is no violation of language rights where the concentration of a homogenous speech community is sparse and the public officials opt to use a language of wider communication.

4. Language Policy and Practices in Tanzania

The discussion draws from information available in various government and academic documents. Observations made from everyday language use and experiences of the author were also used to argue for socio-cultural change and colonial mind syndrome.

4.1. Language Use in Private Domains

In Tanzania, although ECLs are not stated anywhere for use and in which domains, in rural areas they are languages for wide communication. In homogeneous speech communities, for example: Sukuma, Maasai, Nyakyusa, Luguru, Haya, and Ha, these languages are widely spoken.

Farmers and Pastoralists in rural communities use their ECLs in their respective catchment areas for communication. Kiswahili is a language spoken mainly in urban areas for inter-ethnic communication. It is believed that soon after independence in 1960s, these ECLs or rather negatively tribal languages were implicitly banned or avoided and turned focus on Kiswahili the language that was considered symbol of national unity.

4.2. Language Use in Public Domains

Emphasis in this sub-section is laid on the policy and practices in education, the constitution, the national assembly, public administration, and judiciary. As earlier noted, the term “language” in the present discussion means not only the spoken language but also the signed and braille languages. Thus, considering that, to-date, Tanzania government language policy is not in line with UNESCO (1953, 47–48), which emphasizes that:

On educational grounds, we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best. This is because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and the school as small as possible.

The language policy does not state the place of ECLs nor recognize their existence. It is silent on that may be because these languages are not required by the government though its people are using them. That is, in rural areas ECLs are the major means of communication culturally valued and respected, while in urban areas, for inter-ethnic communication, people use Kiswahili. But old people in many Tanzania cultures including my own would like to see their grandsons and daughters when they go back home in rural from town to greet their grandparents in their ECLs to show respect to them because this cultural practice stand as a symbol for respect. Otherwise, they would not be accepted.

Furthermore, the constitution in force is silent on the role of these ECLs and there are no mechanisms put in place for their protection, promotion and development. This has perpetuated not only “linguicism” but also unnecessarily violation of rights for these languages and

their speakers. The state should respect and protect the diversity of languages of the people of Tanzania and promote the development and use of Kiswahili, ECLs, sign language and Braille. This will enhance democratic citizenship that respect linguistic human rights and appreciate diversity which is natural and Godly (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 214-215).

Moreover, in parliament, public administration and judiciary, only Kiswahili and/or English languages are used even in rural areas where majority people speak their respective ECLs; clients are forced to speak Kiswahili when seeking for social service from public or privately owned offices. The government of Tanzania should rethink and attend to the due basic linguistic human rights of its people that other fellow Africans in the states like Kenya, Zambia, South Africa, etc., are enjoying.

Furthermore, quality education in its total logic should be delivered in the language that learners understand better and its literacy should essentially be taught in childhood education. In line with this, Ouane and Glanz (2011, 76) boldly assert that:

Quality-oriented education for Africa must involve the development of both functional and academic multilingual literacy. Here, the sound pedagogical principle of proceeding from the known and familiar to the unknown or unfamiliar must apply; in other words, all learning must take place in the local/familiar language (mother tongue/first language), and literacy must also begin in this language. Knowledge and literacy skills can then, in due course, be transferred into other languages such as the foreign/official language.

5. Research on Language Rights and Education in Tanzania

For more than three decades now, 1980s to present, there have been debates that mainly centred on which language should be used as language of instruction (LOI) in Tanzania education system (cf. Mvungi 1982; Criper and Dodd 1984; Simmonds et al. 1991; Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997; Kadegehe 2000, 2003; Brock-Utne 2004, 2005, 2007; Galabawa and

Lwaitama 2005; Galabawa and Senkoro 2006; Qorro 2005, 2008, 2010; Vuzo 2010; Bryne 2014). Although these studies shed light on how an optimal LOI should be chosen by policy-makers, yet the problem of LOI in Tanzania has remained. In addition, these studies do not touch the issue of language rights violation. Only Kiswahili and English are favoured in these studies neglecting the role that other ECLs play in the society. Even the 1995 language policy that is in force does not take into account the ECLs nor the newly inaugurated Education and Training Policy of 2014.

6. Impacts Associated with Disregard of ECLs in Education

Uwezo, a non-profit organisation using a citizen movement based-approach to assessing literacy and numeracy levels in East Africa, in its three consecutive reports (Uwezo 2011, 2012, 2015) indicates that in Tanzania, primary school pupils are not learning literacy much as expected as they leave standard seven without ability to read or write basic story even in Kiswahili. The reports further show that literacy competencies in lower grades seem to be increasingly dropping, thus, calling for intervention. To be precise, in its recent report (Uwezo 2015 as cited in Hakielimu 2015, 11), on country survey, less than half the children in standard 3 were able to read a simple Kiswahili text. The problems in English were more glaring as only 1 in 5 children was able to read a simple text in English.

According to UNESCO (2007 cited in Bhalalusesa 2008), Tanzania was noted one of the countries at serious risk on literacy in Africa. The report further indicates that the statistical trend of *illiteracy* since independence to 2007 was: 1961 (85%), 1975 (37%), 1977 (27%), 1981 (20%), 1983 (15%), 1986 (10%), 1992 (15%), 2000 (32%), and by 2008 the literacy rate was estimated to be 69.4%. It also noted with concern that the literacy rate, which reached almost 90% in 1986, had dropped to 85% in 1992 and dropping was expected to continue at the rate of 2% annually (URT 2000).

EdQual, a consortium of six higher education institutions in the UK and Africa that was funded by the UK Department for International

Development (DFID) to carry out a five year (2005-2010) research programme on education quality mainly in low income countries, among others, the consortium recommended the following on language teaching for Ghana and Tanzania:

6.1. Language of Instruction and Mother-Tongue Education (LOI & MTE)

Learners learn better, and teachers teach better, in a language they speak well. In this way, Policy-makers were advised to prioritise and extend the development of high-quality education in the mother tongue (MTE) as the basis for education in Africa. Policy-makers should support advocacy and awareness-raising programmes aimed at increasing recognition of the educational value of MTE.

6.2. Teacher Education and Professional Development

The effectiveness of teacher training and professional development both for teaching in African languages and for teaching in a European L2 needs to increase. The quality of initial teacher education for MTE and the quality of specialised teacher-education for subject teachers working in European languages should be improved. In-service programmes for teachers teaching both through an African and a European language that raise awareness of how language is used in the classroom and the needs of second language learners should be designed and implemented.

7. Instruction in ECLs: Examples from Africa

The primary level of education is a critical level at which African languages should be used as media of instruction in the public-school system. Practices, however, can vary from country to country and from one language group to another. In general, the norm seems to be the use of African languages as medium of instruction in lower primary, i.e. the first three classes as in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, and Zimbabwe (Bamgbose *n.d.*, 9). Furthermore, although awareness on ECLs

literacy is minimal especially about the degree to which ECLs have already been turned into “written languages” in Africa, UNESCO (1985 cited in Ouane and Glanz 2011, 76) shows that about 10% of all African languages used as major languages in the catchment areas or regional have been turned into “written languages” given high degree of multilingualism, and nature of these languages being used as lingua-francas. The report further shows that some African countries have made commendable progress in developing orthographic systems of their ECLs and these countries include: Cameroon (38 ECLs), Nigeria (22), Ghana (19), Togo (13), Burkina Faso (12), Mali (9), South Africa (8), Kenya (7), Zambia (7) and Uganda (3) (Glanz 2011, 77).

8. Multilingual Model for Tanzania

Multilingualism is worth encouraging and facilitating (Vuzo 2006, 316). Thus, a change of paradigm from linguistic imperialism to the ecology of languages paradigm (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000) where multilingualism is embedded is imperative. This is because it is important for Tanzanian children to have the right to learn many languages and gain reasonable competence in several languages not just in the claimed Kiswahili and English only. A supply and demand theory would postulate that the current status of English may well be challenged in future (Graddol 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Note-worthy, there is a growing demand of other languages like Chinese, French, German and Arabic. Thus, struggling for monolingual or even bilingual education only would be fundamentally unrealistic!

Thus, following the above line of argument, a possible *Multilingual Model for Tanzania* is proposed, that: first, in *Standard I-II*, Lower primary – ECLs/Kiswahili literacy be taught in the respective community along with ECL/Kiswahili as MOI depending on the location: *rural/urban* respectively; second, in standard III-VII upper primary, Kiswahili be taught and used as MOI, and English taught as subject. Third, at secondary education at Form I, another foreign language be introduced as compulsory subject, (*let's say French*), whereas at Form III another

foreign language (e.g., *Chinese*) be introduced as compulsory subject; fourth, at advanced secondary education, two more optional foreign languages (e.g., *German, Arabic, Portuguese or Spanish*, etc.) to be introduced. In this model, Kiswahili should be strengthened as MOI from primary education to ordinary secondary education except in rural areas primary 1 & 2 where a certain ECL is dominant and so preferably agreed as MOI. Last but not least, from advanced secondary education to tertiary levels, English to be retained as MOI; and its communication skills subject to be improved. This model would enable a form six student graduate with; at least, five languages (*ECL/Kiswahili, English, French, Chinese and Arabic/German/Portuguese/Spanish*) mastered, thus, *multilingual education and language rights protected* in Tanzania. The Table 8.1 below presents this model.

8.1. Possible Multilingual Model for Tanzania

Primary education		Ordinary secondary education		Advanced secondary education	Tertiary education
Lower I-II	Upper III-VII	Form I-II	Form III-IV	Form V-VI	Colleges and Universities
ECL/Kiswahili literacy taught as subjects & ECLs/Kiswahili as MOI	Kiswahili & English 1 st FL taught as compulsory subject	2 nd FL introduced	3 rd FL introduced	4 th FL introduced (preferably two optional FLs)	Communication skills in English taught as compulsory course
		Kiswahili & English taught as compulsory subjects	Kiswahili & English taught as compulsory subjects	Kiswahili & English taught as Specialised subjects	Kiswahili & English taught as specialised academic subjects
	Kiswahili used as MOI	Kiswahili used as MOI	Kiswahili used as MOI	English used as MOI	English used as MOI

Source: Adapted by author with modifications from Vuzo (2007).

ECL = Ethnic Community Language; MOI= Medium of instruction;
FL = Foreign Language

Conclusion

This chapter assessed the implementation of 1948 UN Universal Declaration of language rights by Tanzania, while appreciating the linguistic advantages associated with ECLs both on child's language and literacy learning. The assessment reflected on a period from 1980s when the country adopted structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) as imposed by IMF and World Bank to date. The chapter using both theoretical and empirical evidence has argued that a society that guarantees language rights stands a better chance that enhances effective language and literacy learning of child's mother tongue and the subsequent languages. The chapter also postulates that the current problems associated with poor literacy learning in Tanzania primary schools may be attributable to the disregard of use and teaching of ECLs literacy in primary 1 and 2 especially in Tanzania rural areas.

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Chapter 4

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The Homodiegetic Narration and the Call for Altruistic Interventions: (Mis)Fitting of, and Albino Vulnerability in Nahida Esmail's *Living in the Shade*

Abstract: In discourses of empowering people with albinism in Africa to ameliorate their vulnerabilities, charitable plans from within and outside the continent take centre stage. In literature, this is reflected in literary representations that take philanthropism and albinism as their key themes. This chapter draws from notions and ideas related to vulnerability and disability studies to explore whether Nahida Esmail's *Living in the Shade* deployment of the albino protagonist's homodiegetic narration in relation to altruistic efforts impacts the agency of the child protagonist with albinism. Among other things, I argue that in its depiction of the (im)possibilities for an agency in the child protagonist with albinism, Esmail's deployment of first-person narration portrays the albino figure as extremely vulnerable and whose well-being and exercise of agency rest on devised philanthropic agenda. The agenda is represented by the novella's inclusion of generous characters with and without albinism that intervenes in the situation that frustrates the protagonist's exercise of social and personal agency. These characters' personal and collective efforts, the discussion ascertains, allude to virtues such as generosity and concern for others' welfare. I conclude that the novella endorses lessons which call for the collective protection of children with albinism in some African societies.

Keywords: albinism, altruism, Ubuntu, empowerment of persons with albinism, Africa

1. Introduction

As from 2000s, Africa witnessed an increased violence against people with albinism, which ranged from verbal and/or physical abuse; name calling, dismemberment and killing (Cruz-Inigo et al. 2011 as cited in Lipenga and Ngwira 2018, 1473). As a reaction to these barbaric acts, several individualized, non-governmental and governmental efforts were devised to ameliorate the suffering endured by people with albinism. These efforts included the provision of education about the condition to dismantle dangerous myths and stereotypes that created stigma and hatred against albinism and those living with the condition. Other initiatives were geared towards the protection and promotion of the rights of people with albinism which (once violated) brought about their endangerment. Thus, foreign organization such as Under the Same Sun and other localized organization including Tanzania Albino Society (TAS) took part to address several issues that concerned the welfare of people with albinism.

In addition to the said governmental and non-governmental interventions, literary artists and producers of cultural texts also saw literary representation of people with albinism and albinism as an important topic in their writing and cultural productions respectively. So for example, there were documentaries, news articles, and literary works such as novels, and auto/biographies, to mention a few, which were written or produced to reflect and/or recount experiences pertaining the plight of people with albinism and to provided literary-cum cultural intervention. Some of these texts were by authors from Africa, including Nahida Esmail's "Living in the Shade" (2011), Elias Mutani's "Human Poachers" (2016), Meg Vandermerwe's "Zebra Crossing" (2014), Petina Gappah's "The Book of Memory" (2015), Unathi Magubeni's "Nwelezelanga: The Star Child" (2016) and other texts by Western authors, such as Cristiano Gentili's "Then She was Born: Born to be different, surviving to make a difference" (2017), and Tara Sulvan's "Golden Boy" (2013) to mention a few.

Having read most of these texts, it is apparent that while some of them propose a model of interventionism to address problems facing people with albinism, others are more of a reflection of individualized,

governmental and non-governmental organizations' interventions devised to ameliorate the atrocities against people with albinism. Again, some of the texts do a combination of all these. For example, the texts by Gappah, Gentili, Sullivan and Vandermerwe mostly envision that familial relationship and individual efforts could address problem encountered by people with albinism. However, some writings from and about albinism in Tanzania, a country marked with overly pervasive notorious mistreatment of people with albinism, say for example, Esmail's "Living in the Shade" and Mutani's "Human poachers" problematize individualized, community based, and non-governmental steps taken to empower people with albinism or address the quandaries they face. Of interest, Esmail's "Living in the Shade", which is the focus of this chapter, is peculiarly, an outstanding text which features a perfect sync between individual, non-governmental, and governmental devised efforts to empower children with albinism and to address the atrocities they encounter.

"Living in the Shade" recounts the story of Tatu, a female child narrator with albinism who talks of her experience of living with albinism. She narrates about her supportive (unnamed) Mother and her loving, kind neighbour — Mama Mkubwa. These are among the few figures with whom she positively and closely interacts with. That is, Tatu lives in a community where she is caste out from society — a state that according to Garland-Thomson (2011, 602) linked with an individual being "denied full citizenship" in "the public sphere". As for example, Tatu recounts her school experience where she speaks of her bully teacher, MrsPili, and of her fellow pupils, including Neema and Grace, whose treatment of her impedes her efforts to achieve agency. She too recounts her threatened existence for she might be "harmed or even killed" by evil people who earn "money by selling body parts of persons with albinism"; the very thing that claimed the lives of several people with albinism in Tanzania and Africa at large (Burke et al. 2014, 117). Indeed, in the "Living in the Shade", Tatu is kidnapped by Juma's and his (unnamed) criminal partner who want to harvest her body parts but succeeds to escape the danger.

Esmail's depiction of Tatu is thus empowering one. As the narrative begins, Tatu's narration frames her as a helpless child narrator who is overwhelmed by several mistreatments and so appeals before others

[audience and potential audience] to solicit help. The narrative further signals that the moral, material and even psychological support that Tatu receives from characters such as Mama Mkubwa, Brother Karimu's and Sister Julianne (the latter two being the members of the TAS) were empowering and that these characters worked to create what Gambetti (2016, 28) called "a common world", the world that respects human diversity, and that which accommodates Tatu as a normal child amongst her peers, and where she enacts her personhood. Regarding this depiction, Esmail's novella centres on the theme of philanthropism and alludes to charitable plans devised by individual and collective efforts, made by people with and without albinism whose interactions with Tatu, the discussion will show, activate the later's agency by the end of the narrative.

Generally, Esmail's novella seems to suggest Tutu's amalgamated view of Christianity, namely that "God has made us so that we will need each other" and that "persons are ends in themselves only through the discovery of who they are in others" (81). This supposition echoes individual and collective efforts that contribute to Tatu's sense of self-worth and agency. Tatu's tale is thus one of the "stories" that the African literary critic, Ogot (1976) would say, "encourage and inspire the youth [...]" to act for their wellbeing and that of others" (24). This assertion unfolds as I discuss how the first-person narrative perspective voices the protagonist's appeals and how the motif of altruism signals the upliftment of the marginalised child whose identities — as a woman, and as a child with albinism — render her a victim.

2. Review of Related Literature

Various, literary and cultural critics have explored fictional portrayals of albinism and characters with albinism in Africa and from various perspectives. Regarding the subject, these scholars have explored a wide range of topics including the how albinism is perceived, fictional deconstruction of normalcy and dynamism in relation to stigmatization of albinism as well as how albinism is depicted as a cultural precarity (e.g., Baker 2007, 2008, 2010 and 2011; Nyakundi 2019 and Stobie 2020). In addition to

these scholars, there are scholars whose explorations are closely related with the current study.

Ndlovu has explored Gappah's fictional representation of the child protagonist with albinism focusing on how "human temporality is accentuated by [the protagonist's] feelings of being imprisoned by her albinism, her restricted movement as a child and her unjust literal imprisonment" (Ndlovu 2018, 46). Ndlovu also found that in its representation of the albino protagonist's, the novel's use of nonlinear plot entails that the figure is bound within time and her future is largely presented as bleak (Ndlovu 2018, 46). In simple terms, the study is as though it concludes that the protagonist is represented as lacking agency, the capacity to alter her past and influence her future life for she is overwhelmed with social exclusion.

Drawing from Cvetkovich's reading of trauma and McRuer's concept of 'compulsory able-bodiedness', Ncube and Mtenje (2019) examined Gappah's debut novel, "The Book of Memory" (2015), focusing on how Memory, "the protagonist-narrator and a woman with albinism, and Lloyd, Memory's adoptive father and a white, closeted gay man [...] were brought together" (Ncube and Mtenje 2019, 11) given the marginalizing context of post-independent Zimbabwe. It was argued, in their shared world of marginality, the two are brought together by their respective forms of marginalization" because [b]oth characters are rendered to the margins of Zimbabwean society" for albinism and being gay identities (in Zimbabwe) "are perceived as dirty and a contagion" (Ncube and Mtenje 2019, 11). The study further comments on the two's sexuality and "argue[s] that Gappah's novel depicts a refiguring of the marginalized body and the process, such refiguring destabilizes race as social constructs and cultivate sexual agency to homosexual characters and those with albinism (Ncube and Mtenje 2019, 11).

In their study, Baker and Lund (2017) dissect Jenny Robson's "Because Pula Means Rain" (1998) and Ben Hanson's "Takadini" (1997); to establish whether "fiction contributes to understandings and raises awareness of the human rights of [PWA] in Africa" (Baker and Lund 2017, 272). The critics "[contend] that fiction [has in the potential to shed light on] the multidimensionality of albinism, and related associations and organisations are beginning to recognize its importance in their advocacy for human rights" (Baker and Lund 2017, 272). The implied point here then

is that these texts are agent of change for they provide insights on the ignorance held by most of the societies in Africa, regarding albinism. They are thus instrumental in influencing the lives of people with albinism.

Also, Tagwirei's (2012) study analyses how "alterity is reworked" in Ben Hanson's "Takadini" (1997). He maintains that "Takadini" propagates "marginalising discourses" in its representation of characters with albinism, as well as women (Tagwirei 2012, 1-19). Although Tagwirei (2012)'s and mine's focus share a common ground – how cultural narratives marginalise albinism, the former's exploration concentrates on a text, "published in 1997 in a more tolerant era" (Tagwirei 2012, 1), and where ignorant on albinism was pervasive. To build on that, my research will add on Tagwirei (2012) by focusing on a currently produced text, which, I argue, create diversity in the perceptions of albinism in relation to cultural marginalisation of PWA and informs issues of agency as configured variously in the present-day age, where awareness on the condition is at least massive.

Another important study is by Lipenga and Ngwira, which explores "the representation of albinism in four African novels" and discusses how "albinism is presented as a bodily condition that intersects with other experiences on the continent, including indigenous epistemologies, gender, sexuality, and family relationships" (Lipenga and Ngwira 2018, 1472). What is vital for my study, is Lipenga and Ngwira's assertion on agency that:

Through the first person narrative mode, the novels achieve a level of intimacy that permits readers to get up close and personal with the experiences of people with albinism. [...] The result is that the albino 'disappears' in the narrative, save for a few instances where as readers we are reminded by society's reactions that the protagonists we are reading about are actually people with albinism. By drawing us into the protagonists' lives and intimate experiences, we are made to interact with protagonists that are human, just like any other despite their disability (Lipenga and Ngwira 2018, 1479).

The current research also focuses on the effectiveness of the use of first-person narrative mode but with focus other than how the perspective reminded readers that the protagonist they read "are human, just like any

other despite their disability” (Lipenga and Ngwira 2018, 1479), rather I examine the manner the child narrator uses the first person narrative mode to solicit and/or empathy of others [philanthropic characters and readers] to act as her proxy agents.

My exploration will build on the study highlighted by looking at how Esmail’s representation of the albino figure induces altruistic discourses of non-governmental and individual plans leads about the empowerment and cultivation of agency to bring about the inclusion of people thereby destabilizing an already established status quo that define people with albinism. Put differently, I explore how the depiction of the figure of child narrator with albinism might accord agency and empowerment those with albinism through its use of specific narrative modes and methods, including narrative perspective, tone and language use.

2.1. Theory

In Esmail’s novella: “Living in the Shade” albinism construct is depicted as a form of vulnerability and characters with albinism as vulnerable figures. Thus, the chapter’s discussion invokes notion from various fields including vulnerability and disability studies, proposed by scholars such as Butler, Garland-Thomson and Barker, as well as theoretical voices on narrative empathy and altruism to examine the effectiveness of the use of the vulnerable child narrator in according to agency to people with albinism.

According to Butler et al. (2016, 9), vulnerable subjects are always conceived as lacking agency and are framed as though “[they are in] need for protection or, indeed, philanthropy”). Such framing, Butler et al. (2016, 9) say, equates one’s vulnerability with “victimization and passivity” and suggests vulnerable figures as “invariably the site of inaction” (Butler et al. 2016, 1) which is arguably not always the case. Thus, as I examine Esmail’s depiction of the vulnerable narrator via the first-person narration, I remain cognisant of the fact that “vulnerability [can also be] imagined as one of the conditions of the very possibility of resistance” (Butler et al. 2016, 1). With that thinking, I consider whether the text studied here reinforces the “[contested] idea” that a vulnerable figure is incapable of acting for themselves and whether they always need [...] intervention, which is understood to be “the site of agency” (Butler et al. 2016, 1).

Also, the chapter refers to Garland-Thomson's notion of the "Misfit" to argue that Esmail's deployment of Tatu's first-person narrative mode successfully voices the way social and material disablement affect the agency of the child protagonist with albinism. Notably, the notion of the "misfit" entails the incongruent relationship between one's body and one's surroundings, and that this mismatch excludes disabled individuals from being part of a community and impedes their agency (Garland-Thomson 2011, 592-593). I deploy "misfit" to argue that the first-person narrative mode as used in Tatu's tale is evocative of the ideas that perils and disempowerment for child characters with albinism are heightened once these subjects are "rejected by others for [their] conspicuously odd, unusual appearance" (Garland-Thomson 2011, 564). Thus, I reason that the novella in question envisions for conditions to evade the situation in which children with albinism become misfits by suggesting the provision of "a material context of received and built things ranging from accessibly designed built public spaces, welcoming natural surroundings, [...] tools, and implements, as well as [accommodative] people" (Garland-Thomson 2011, 564), represented as affecting the agency of child characters with albinism. To explicate this point, I trace the motif of the charitable organisation and the depiction of altruistic characters' advocacy for inclusive society enables Tatu's agency in Esmail's novella.

Furthermore, I call upon Barker's ideas on children with bodily deviances as tropes of representation in postcolonial fiction. As Barker stipulates, in the postcolonial world, narrative representations of disabled and troubled children are always calibrated to aggravate "generous contributions from the public in times of need" (Barker 2011, 12). Although, such depictions, Barker prompts, may work for as the "powerful, universalizing symbolic order that effectively obscures the specificity of disabled children's experiences, denies their agency, and obstructs the [audiences'] engagement with the historical and cultural events that produce and perpetuate global disability" (Barker 2011, 12), I invoke Barker's idea to discuss whether Esmail's representations of altruistic ideas depict children with albinism in a fashion which (dis)empower their agency. I thus examine whether the depiction of altruistic agenda responds to the representational trope that takes human deviance, in this case albinism, as the marker of victimized and helpless individuals who need succor.

Lastly, in reading the texts, I reflect on whether altruism in the narratives inquired bears representations which “[promote...] cultural tolerance and appreciation of [human differences]” (Letseka 2012, 56), including albinism. I deploy the idea to argue that, in Esmail’s text, altruism is clearly emanating as an empowering device, which not only ensures her protagonist’s survival, but also creates an environment where a character with albinism stands as an agent of the self. In other words, I reflect on this African view of life as I inquire the acts of altruistic characters in the making of an inclusive society.

3. Methodology

My examination of Esmail’s “Living in the Shade” centers on matters of agency in relation to characters with albinism. Being a literary study, specifically, this study explores how the narrative use of the first-person narrative perspective effectively evokes matters of agency as aligned with an altruistic agenda. I argue that in imagining the vulnerable child narrator with albinism Esmail’s representations typify the figure with albinism as one who is overwhelmed by endangerment, so that her wellbeing and their ability to exercise personal and social agency depend on contrived philanthropic strategies or sympathetic characters to help them.

In the next sub-sections, I first inquire how the novella use of first-person narration and other rhetorical strategies complementarily function to suggest the narrators’ inner reflections as she deals with the socio-cultural and environmental conditions or rather ordeals that impair her agency, and the challenges she faces in achieving autonomy and personhood. I therefore examine how the narrative perspective and the theme of vulnerability complement each other to elucidate the protagonist’s understanding of her compromised position at home, at school and in other public contexts.

Furthermore, I consider how such clarification acts as the protagonist’s way of voicing her appeals to the public. Lastly, the chapter explores the motifs of philanthropic conduct as advanced by individual efforts and the deployment of the humanitarian NGO and its ideology of charity

as a technique of representation to explain Esmail's configurations of the personal and social agency of her child protagonist. I argue, Esmail imagines her protagonist as one overwhelmed by socially and materially imposed vulnerability. The narrative deployment of the vulnerable child narrator thus effectively voices an appeal to her public readership to identify with the altruistic characters who advocate for an inclusive society. Eventually, Tatu is reconfigured as a social agent and an agent of the self.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Narrating the Self, Voicing Appeals

"Living in the Shade's" deployment of the first-person narrative clearly implies its literary advocacy on behalf of children with albinism in their quest for agency. Regarding this technique, Esmail takes an already marginalised figure, a female child with albinism, Tatu, whose skin colour renders metaphorical and social invisibility and places her, to use Bal's words, as "a visible, fictive 'I' who interferes in his/ her account as much as s/he likes, or even participates as a character in the action" (Bal 2009, 17-18). As the character in the action of narration, Tatu not only narrates her situation but also connects with her readers. Consequently, she inserts several appeals to readers. Upon reading her story, the reader feels as though they are being directly addressed and/or provoked to empathise and/or even act on her behalf because the literary critic on narrative empathy asserts that our empathy "can be provoked by witnessing [...] other's emotional state, by hearing about [their] condition, or even by reading" about their situation (Keen 2006, 208).

For example, as Tatu's narrative begins, she immediately invites us to hear via her homodiegetic narration that she is an innocent child facing an existential crisis. Here, the reader encounters the voice of a child narrator crying out while having a nightmare: "Please, don't. Please, leave me alone! I haven't done anything to you. I am only a child!" (Esmail 2011, 1). Communicated here, via this "I"-narration, is an image of an innocent child character with albinism, who implores others to help

in reversing the ordeals that has created the challenging situation. The voice and the innocent tone as marked by the diction “I am only a child!” thus not only informs the reader that Tatu is a normal child with normal feelings such as fear, but also encourages readers to empathise with her situation. Evoking empathy is thus Esmail’s way of getting the reader to recognize Tatu’s suffering. More so, as one reads about Tatu’s ordeals, one experiences what Keen (2006, 209) calls “emotional contagion”. Such is an emotion state which stirs readers to imagine that which Tatu endures. Readers thus step into the shoes of the protagonist and identify with her situation.

The nightmare brings to mind an image of a vulnerable figure. The figure, as argued, is mostly imagined as “the suffering other” and as the helplessly “violated, or deprived body [that] demands affective” humanitarian responses (Sabsay 2016, 180). Accordingly, the readers’ awareness that is the overwhelmed by an ordeal she faces is thus summoned. This emotional identification is amplified, especially when Tatu tells more of what she dreams: a threatening manifestation of “a dark hand that held a machete in front of [her]” (Esmail 2011, 1). The fearful image is followed by yet another life-threatening declaration of the perpetrator: “I want your limbs” (Esmail 2011, 1). The rhetoric here alludes to real situations in which the humanity and personhood of people with albinism are discounted, through killings and mutilations of their bodies. Tatu is thus depicted as a “[the poster child who provokes meditation] on the politics of care and whose [vulnerabilities] generate suggestions for [...] a [re-]configured ‘healthy’ community” (Barker 2011, 26). The notion of a healthy community here requires people to cooperate, help one another, and proclaim a humanity that transcends differences.

Thus, since Tatu is a child, the act of narrating her homodiegetic narration not only frames her, citing Bal’s words again, as the “agent” who “relates a story” but also as a figure who is afforded the capacity to speak (Bal 2009, 5). She strategically exploits such agency to implore the readers to consider her situation. This is because, in children’s narratives, such a perspective is a means through which the character connects effectively with their readers. Via such perspective, a character pleads with “readers [...] to align themselves with [her] point of view” (Stephens 2002, 64).

For example, by voicing her perilous circumstances, Tatu via “her tearful eyes” (Esmail 2011, 1) conveys how traumatised she is and her plea, “I am only a child” (Esmail 2011, 1), positions her as a guiltless child, overpowered by her circumstances. This plea, sends the message that, besides having the condition of albinism, Tatu is just a child who knows her right to live, but she is overwhelmed by her circumstances and hence she deserves compassion. Here, Esmail implies a conformity between Tatus’ tale and narrative techniques used to depict vulnerable children. Such a technique, according to Barker “often rely for their impact on overdetermined associations” of bodily deviances – or “childhood – with helplessness and victimhood” (Barker 2011, 11), the purpose for this is to attract humanitarian assistance.

For example, the image of Tatu’s helplessness and victimhood is amplified by the description of the child crying before the hand holding a machete which threatens to chop off her “limbs”. A reader is fully alerted to the magnitude of the dilemmas Tatu might encounter and her fear. The image also signals that she has a limited capacity to act against these circumstances. She is “only a child”. She needs someone to act on her behalf, the point I shall return to as I discuss the motif of philanthropism, which I argue signals such a proxy agency.

In the meantime, I wish to focus on how Tatu’s homodiegetic narration reveals her social vulnerability, which impedes her agency. Much of the rejection that denies Tatu’s agency and disregards her humanity is narrated as she describes her circumstances at school where she reveals the levels of insult and discrimination, she must endure from both her peers and teachers. In describing her school, Esmail effectively paints an image illuminating the ghastly conditions of Tatu’s educational environment with its “shabby, worn down” appearance and “[b]roken and shattered windows” (Esmail 2011, 3). This ugly image features not only the school environment but also the people who undermine Tatu and inhibit her agency. She equates going to school with “getting ready to face a gloomy day” (Esmail 2011, 2). The melancholic expectation voiced here shows Tatu’s discontentment with the disabling school environment. She visualises how her school and classroom atmosphere, especially her relationship with her peers, Grace and Neema, all contribute to her predicament, as follows:

I don't have friends at school, but this is not because I don't want any. I really like Grace and Neema. I wish they would want to hang out with me. Unfortunately, they never want to be seen near me. I have a place in the class at the back near the window. No one wants to sit with me. They think I have got some sort of germs that can harm them. I don't know why they think that. If they knew me, they would realise I am just as human as they are (Esmail 2011, 2).

These quotations frame Tatu's classroom as a community that lacks the spirit of what Banda (2019, 210) termed as, "a good ground for human flourishing" such as "interdependence, communal support, communal networking and communal security that is needed for other people to thrive. Without such a ground, ones' agency is compromised, a person becomes a misfit. That is, the "world fails" one's "flesh in the environment one encounters" one is subjected to "injustice and discrimination" around her (Garland-Thomson 2011, 593-600). Indeed, Tatu's classroom atmosphere exposes this lack of support because in it "No one wants to sit with me [Tatu]". She thus is socially unsupported by her peers and her social agency is thwarted.

The unsupportive environment, according to Butler (2016, 15), impacts on one's "capacity to exercise most basic rights". Such is because it obstructs one from fully realising one's humanity. The point here is, without others, one's social agency is imperiled. For example, as the learners stigmatise Tatu's because of her skin condition, albinism, they too frustrate her social and personal capacity and inhibits her desire for friendship. Eventually, as she says, she has no one "to hang around with" (Esmail 2011, 2). Indeed, even within her small classroom, Tatu is relegated to its margin, at "the back near the window" (Esmail 2011, 2) — analogous to how people with albinism are pushed to the fringe of society.

However, regarding Tatu's homodiegetic narration of her classroom conditions one sees how the diction indirectly signals an appeal for someone to intervene in her situation. For example, she says: "If [my fellow pupils knew me and my condition], they would realise I am just as human as they are" (Esmail 2011, 2). Implied here is, once the learners have been educated about the condition, they would cease to subject Tatu to what she endures: name-calling and other forms of ill-treatment

because of her albinism such as when an older boy “punch[e]s her in the face” because she “refused to give him [her] food” (Esmail 2011, 7); when “the big girl near [her]” confronts her with “curious stares”; and lastly, when “[other girls] look at [her] and sneer” while whispering and nudging (Esmail 2011, 4).

Even so, what is important here regarding Tatu’s recalling of the abuse she endures and wishes to come to an end, is how Esmail signals that Tatu’s ill-treatment is being instigated by perpetrators who are “older” and “bigger” than herself, and how in any event, there is no one to rescue her (Esmail 2011, 7). So, when Tatu, who amidst these crushing conditions, resorts to saying: “No one helped me” (Esmail 2011, 7), she indirectly signals the need for a proxy agent who will act on her behalf to reform the social environment which disregards her individuality. According to Garland-Thomson (2011, 594), such recollections may infer Tatu’s “intense awareness of social injustice” resulting from her being a “misfit”. The expressions further demand for respect for persons with albinism irrespective of the circumstances they are in. The quote thus is the call for a state of correct harmonization of social disparities born of colour differences.

The said interpretation is likely to be so considering Tatu’s peers and the community she lives in are ignorant of her skin condition and that given a perfect sync with fellow pupils, she could be accommodated and make friends or amicably ‘hang with’ Neema and Grace, her favourites. Indeed, if these pupils were aware of the nature of albinism, they, may avoid using terms such as “stupid, blind *zeruzeru*”, “whitie”, “freak’, ‘ghost kid’ ‘diseased child’” and other labels employed to address Tatu (Esmail 2011, 6-7) and to frame albinism as being contagious, possibly thereby fostering the learners’ hostility towards Tatu and thus defeating her social and personal agency.

In the view of this study, Tatu’s expression that, “No one helped [her]” (Esmail 2011, 7) despite being at school, deserves further consideration. With this expression, Tatu questions the structures and perceptions that restrict recognition within the school context and leads to her exclusion because of her bodily particularities. By recalling Butler’s words that one needs “enough support for [him/her to] exercise [...] freedom”, I read the quote as one requiring us to think of the possibilities of intervening in

perilous conditions that vulnerable children do encounter (Butler 2016, 14). It is thus questioning the role of the authorities within Tatu's school so that her social wellbeing could be granted. Similarly, Garland-Thomson points out that people whose bodily conditions render them misfit are likely to fit in the space that "accommodate [...] the widest possible range of human variation" (Garland-Thomson 2011, 594). Reflecting further on the quote, it is plausible to say that Esmail's text evokes the failures of the social system in protecting the vulnerable child, Tatu, situation which further erodes her agency. The attitudes of people at school's towards Tatu thus signifies the prevalent attitude held by most people in African societies who look down at and stigmatise people with albinism based on harmful myths, such as when albinism is thought of as contagious.

Supposedly, a school is a place where good teachers help learners to become independent and responsible individuals in their lives. However, Esmail describes Tatu's teacher, MrsPili, as unfriendly, dehumanizing Tatu and undermining her agency as learner. In her inner reflection, Tatu substantiates this assertion when she says: "I don't like school much. If I didn't dream of becoming a teacher, I would've asked mother to stay home. MrsPili doesn't really like me" and she "picks on me and makes me uncomfortable". In this connotation, MrsPili, who should have signified the school as "a democratic public sphere" (Garland-Thomson 2011, 601), a place in which everyone fit, stands for an oppressive environment which hampers Tatu's learning competence. She is incapable of accommodating differences in learners' needs. For example, Tatu has weak eyesight and asks permission to move to a front desk where she would be able to copy notes from the blackboard, but MrsPili behaves inconsiderately, saying: "you stupid, blind *zeruzeru*, copy what you can and leave the rest" (Esmail 2011, 6). Additionally, she canes Tatu (Esmail 2011, 6), and this act evokes "giggles from the pupils" (Esmail 2011, 6). These details of atrocities signal that the figure who should endow Tatu with a sense of social harmony so that she can enact her citizenship among other learners is actually a perpetrator of injustice.

It is ironical that even within a trusted organization like a school, Tatu needs a proxy agent, someone other than her teacher, to intervene in the case of the so-called authority backed-up cruelty because authorities around her are incapable of promoting the appreciation and tolerance of

human differences and the situation in turn has compromised the agency of children with albinism, like Tatu, thus perpetuating their suffering. Dodds, talks of children's vulnerability highlighting that it could result from "circumstances where [...] children are in dysfunctional relationships with their [...] carers" (Dodds 2014, 192). The poor relationship between the two may lead to a situation where "the development of [the child's] capacities is neglected" and/or their "dependency is exaggerated" (Dodds 2014, 192). Indeed, this situation is alluded to in Esmail's tale.

For example, evidently, Tatu goes to school because she dreams of becoming a teacher. This desire shows her claim for agency, to become useful and independent. However, the perilous school environment sabotages Tatu's pursuit of her dreams for it is devoid of what Mabogo terms as "an understanding – a societal bond" and "the basis for consensus" (Mabogo 2014, 157) of harmonization of bodily differences and the very things that nurtures one agency and personhood. A social space which lacks these virtues has cornered Tatu into a state of hopelessness and with none to lean on or to endorse her agency.

This hopelessness is reflected in another narrative event where Esmail again gives us a discernment into Tatu's inner thoughts, making an appeal for the reader's sympathy. "What wrong have I done to be treated like this? Am I cursed?" (Esmail 2011, 7). She even appeals to a higher being in one of her moments of depression. She asks: "I am an African. I am a child. God, have you forgotten to bless me?" She then addresses the general listener or reader: "I feel that God has blessed Africa and its people but has forgotten me. Is that the reason I don't have any friends?" (Esmail 2011, 4).

The religious rhetoric here hints that Tatu is totally without recourse and that she succumbs to an internalised stigma. She has surrendered to the belief that God might have cursed or ignored people with albinism, the very popular belief in African context (Uromi 2014, 327). This rhetoric and several other appeals made by Tatu compel the reader to reconsider the urgent need of accommodating albinism as a form of human variation. Such an accommodation requires the restoration of social harmony by bring about social harmony where misfit has occurred. This could be done by doing the rearrangement of material and social conditions in Tatu's school and neighbourhood so that Tatu achieves that

which according to Garland-Thomson is a “positive way of being and positioning based on an absence of conflict” (Garland-Thomson 2011, 594). In the African context, social harmony is the condition that might enable “the self”, fundamentally, to be “a part of the community” and where “the self is dependent on other selves and is defined through its relationships to other selves” (Mabogo 2014, 157). The very point I return to in the next subsections.

As from several the preceding discussion, Tatu has successfully inserted her appeals into her readers via her homodiegetic narration. We can thus consider the novella as proposing that, since Tatu is too young to subvert the situation by herself, a reshuffling of social cultural practices is needed to reconstruct conditions which produce segregation, and which also undermine her. For Butler, such a reshuffle will require a “concrete social policy regarding such issues as shelter [...] and legal status” to negate, reduce or contain her vulnerability (Butler 2009, 13). Indeed, the task, as demonstrated in the coming section, needs resourceful agents and collective efforts capable of revolutionizing people’s attitudes towards albinism in Tatu’s neighborhood and at school.

Up until this point, we read Tatu’s narrative as revealing her insights into the quandaries of her social environment, proceeding to reveal how these dilemmas undermine her agency and to cast her as vulnerable. There is evidence in her narration that signifies her propensity for personal agency. She desires to break free from the restrictions that frame her as someone without the capacity to overcome her vulnerability. When she refers to her status as a child and her helplessness, she highlights her incapacity and the failure of others to help her.

That rhetoric implores those other characters who are able to do so, to intervene in situations facing children with albinism because, as Keen (2007, 69) asserts, “many readers report that novels in which child characters are subjected to cruel or unfair treatment evoke empathy” (Keen 2007, 69). Hopefully, this sympathy might urge readers to feel as though they are obliged to act on behalf of the subjected child. Indeed, for traditional Africans, their social wellbeing is threatened or “diminished when others are humiliated” “tortured or oppressed or treated as if they were less” of human beings (Tutu 1990, 35). A community is responsible for a healthy society. The point is evident in the following discussion.

4.2. Altruistic Intervention and the making of an Agentic Child with Albinism

As one reads “Living in the Shade”, particularly noticing how Esmail affords agency to her character with albinism, it is evident that the tale endorses ideas put forth by scholars such as Siebers (2008) and Garland-Thomson (2011) on the creation of a world where fitting for the misfits could occur. Such ideas demand social inclusion of marginalised and disempowered individuals as a prerequisite for their social and personal wellbeing. According to Siebers, inclusion of individual deemed misfits is possible once people’s attitudes and “the built environment” which “remain[s] as a survival of discrimination and an impenetrable barrier” to communal “participation of” people with albinism are revised (Siebers 2008, 234). Without the said alteration, minority individuals’ autonomy and agency remain restrained.

This latter idea resonates with Garland-Thomson’s observation that once a person is sustained by their environment, they “reasonabl[y] fit in” and can “navigate the world in relative anonymity” because they are “being suited to the circumstances and conditions of the environment, of satisfying its requirements in a way so as not to stand out, make a scene, or disrupt through countering expectations” (Garland-Thomson 2011, 595). Combined, the two scholars’ ideas presuppose that, for anyone to attain their humanity, they need a social intertwinement, a state of being immersed amongst others. For Metz (2011), the maintenance of harmonious interaction provides a social ground “for people to engage in mutual aid” and to “act in ways that are reasonably expected to benefit each other” (Garland-Thomson 2011, 538). The point here is that social cohesion is essential for social equality, the presence of which might enable affirmation of each other’s humanity. Such a supposition is reflected in Esmail’s narrative representation of Tatu’s agency as stimulated by the TAS member and efforts of individuals such as Mama Mukuru. This assertion is well discussed in the next subsections.

4.2.1. Non-Governmental Organisation, Altruistic Interventions and the Making of Tatu's Agency

In “Living in the Shade”, Tatu's social acceptance and her subsequent capacity to exercise agency are partly activated through her encounter with other informed characters, like Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu, who evoke humanitarian responses and contributions. The importance of these characters in Tatu's wellbeing is expressed in her reflection: “God had sent us help through these wonderful people” (Esmail 2011, 36). This rhetoric signals how interventions by these altruistic characters into Tatu's life might ameliorate her ordeals. Their interventions react to the situation in which Tatu considered herself unlucky or cursed because she lacked friends who could care, help, and support her during her encounters with prejudiced people. The two altruistic characters brings hope to Tatu's life, introduced as follows:

When I got up this morning, I thought it would be like any other day. Little did I know that today was not going to be an ordinary day. It would be a day that would change my life forever. It would change my attitude, my dreams, and the way I think. Today was the day we would have two special guests in our class. (Esmail 2011, 16)

The event foreshadowed in this retrospective telling, with its optimistic tone, marks a shift in Tatu's positioning as subject and the transformation which positively affects her agency. In the course of the narrative, although the passage does not specifically name those whom Tatu identifies as “two special guests”, we later learn of her encounter with Sister Julianne, a woman who “had the same skin condition as [hers]” (Esmail 2011, 23), and Brother Karimu. They are “special guests” at Tatu's school and eventually they become her friends and supporters.

Introducing Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne as the representatives of a local NGO, Esmail imagines these characters as fulfilling roles which directly respond to Tatu's entreaties and would result in financial contributions, which would help to limit the constraints to her agency and wellbeing. Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne's positive influence starts when they arm Tatu with more knowledge about her condition; this positive view is further developed when they educate the community on

albinism. Soon after Tatu met them at school, the two NGO representatives visit Tatu and Mother at home. On this occasion, Sister Julianne's explanations on the condition of albinism enable Tatu to understand: "I had a [genetic] condition called albinism" (Esmail 2011, 25).

Such awareness is preceded by another act of kindness, when Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne provide her with a parcel "full of goodies [...] long-sleeved T-shirts, a cap, a bottle of sun-blocking cream and a pair of sunglasses" (Esmail 2011, 23). This parcel, not given to the other children, signals Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne's NGO's attempts to improve Tatu's living conditions. The narrative explains that some of these things "will help to protect" Tatu's "skin from the sun" (Esmail 2011, 23). Through this incident, the narrative orchestrates the role of NGOs as enabling Tatu's mobility. The protective gear would allow her comfortably to navigate the world around her without being exposed to the damaging sun. Thus, Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne's compassion, provides their readers with a lesson about kindness and fair treatment of those with albinism.

Protective gear is not the only benefit Tatu receives from Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne. These characters' treatment of Tatu, to cite Wiredu words, echoes African moral practices which invest on the "consideration and enhancement of human well-being [...] dignity, respect" and appreciation of people irrespective of who they are (quoted in Mabogo 2014: 7). As Tatu reveals, Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne are but "friends who understood [her] and liked [her] for who [she was]" (Esmail 2011, 25). These characters are friendly, tolerant, and accommodating of human difference. With such qualities, they reinvigorate Tatu's confidence and self-acceptance. They also promise to change her bitter experiences at school, saying: "everything would be alright" (Esmail 2011, 25). This promise extends beyond the immediate and physical to suggest that they will accord Tatu protection from injurability, obliteration and discrimination. These characters' care and their encounter with Tatu denote an initial moment where, in the public space Tatu's is accepted, cared, protected and embraced despite having albinism.

As it is suggested, Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne have unconditional love for humanity. They do not stand for the injustices that Tatu endures. Tatu recalls that by these characters had an aim: to "create

awareness on albinism, as there was such a great misunderstanding about this condition” (Esmail 2011, 37). This representation reflects the campaigns of local NGOs, such as the Tanzania Albino Society (TAS). Even so, the NGO’s workers embody what in Garland-Thomson’s words could be conceived as a “minority rights movement” which seeks to reintegrate those marginalised by society (Garland-Thomson 2011, 597), like Tatu. This role is further implied when Esmail mentions other altruistic roles of the NGO: “to prevent children abuse” and “promote education for children throughout Tanzania” (Esmail 2011, 23).

As for the Africans, one’s full humanity depends on several factors. One of these factors is whether one “constitutes part of a social order” (Mabogo 2014, 157). With the characters of Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu, Esmail’s novella empowers disenfranchised people, including children with albinism. For instance, through the characters of Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu, a reader learns that despite her albinism, Tatu should be treated by others with justice and fairness for they recreate Tatu’s world and past experiences. This interpretation seems valid because the NGO, Tatu narrates, had “[c]onduct[ed] intensive workshops in [Tatu’s school and] neighbourhoods” and “people now understood about [Tatu’s condition and have] accepted it” (Esmail 2011, 52). This turn of events responds to one of Tatu’s entreaties, in which she longed for an environment where her bodily difference would be accepted. To cite Garland-Thomson’s words, I would say, Tatu is no longer a misfit for she is accepted, and granted “[a]ccess to civil and human rights” (Garland-Thomson 2011, 601); the precondition for one to exercise agency through social exchange and mobility.

Therefore, in her portrayal of Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu’s interventions, Esmail envisages a society in which the character with albinism, to cite Butler (2016, 14), would stand as an embodied subject. An embodied subject Butler (2016, 14) opines is agentic because he/she “exercises speech or moves through public space, across borders,” and is “free to speak and move without threat” of being injured. Indeed, because of the awareness brought by the two above-mentioned characters, misconceptions regarding albinism have been dismantled and the negative and discriminating attitudes held by MrsPili and other learners against Tatu and albinism generally are on the demise.

For example, the beliefs that a child with albinism is “cursed” and “brings bad luck to [others]” has been neutralised (Esmail 2011, 33) and the learners who stigmatise children with albinism by saying that they have germs or diseases that can infect them, have been rightly informed that albinism is a mere genetic condition and is neither skin deep (Esmail 2011, 33). Consequently, “Neema, and a few other girls”, who previously stigmatized Tatu, have accepted Tatu as their friend. They even “gesture [...] for [her] to join them” (Esmail 2011, 42). This change gives her agency to finally fulfil the desire to ‘hang around’ with Grace and Neema, a point well conveyed by the fact that, at school Tatu is no longer excluded by potential friends, rather she ‘inserts’ herself amongst her peers.

More so, after “conduct[ing] a workshop with all the teachers in Tatu’s school” (Esmail 2011, 37), Karimu and Julianne, Tatu narrates, have changed the teachers’ perception regarding albinism and those with the condition. Tatu annotates that now, Mrs Pili is “genuinely a changed person” because she “had stopped being mean to” Tatu and “had asked” her “to move and sit in the front row” (Esmail 2011, 38). Consequently, Tatu now participates during lessons in class. She gives her “opinion and hear[s] opinions of others” (Esmail 2011, 52). Exercising such agency, she says: “I [feel] like any other children in the class. It [is] really great to be accepted” (Esmail 2011, 52). Here, the tone of her words indicates an increased level of agency and her dream of becoming a teacher, which signals her desire for independence, which now seems feasible she now pursues her dream for she is now part of her school community. Quoting Garland-Thomson, I would say the social agency that Tatu enjoys come after Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu have “work[ed] toward building a sustainable environment that offers fits where misfits have occurred” (Garland-Thomson 2011, 600-601). As a result of these characters’ intervention, Tatu earns is an actor amongst his social circle.

4.2.2. Individual’s Altruistic Effort and Tatu’s Agency

Nevertheless, Esmail’s depiction of the NGO’s altruistic efforts, which brings changes in Tatu’s social life and personality, as demonstrated above, is complemented by the moral support she receives from other caring characters, such as Mama Mkubwa. Mama Mkubwa cherishes and

motivates Tatu to act as an agent of the self. For example, initially, Tatu's family is isolated by the entire community because of the belief that Tatu is "curse[d] and will [infect] them" (Esmail 2011, 33). Even so, Mama Mkubwa has always been close to Tatu's family. Her behaviour manifests some African morals being available to those in need and showing "concern for human flourishing" (Banda 2019, 206).

For example, as the only good neighbour, when Mama Mkubwa talks to Tatu, she always refers to folkloric elements and positive proverbs to cherish, comfort, and encourage the girl to have faith in herself. One of the folkloric tales Mama Mkubwa relays to Tatu is of a legendary Maasai warrior and a lion. This is a well-known educational tale in East Africa that teaches Maasai youths how to become warriors. According to Mama Mkubwa's story, when Maasai youths meet "a lion face-to-face" they "stare ... in his eyes. And the lion's strength and courage" will pass into them "through the eyes" (Esmail 2011, 45). Mama Mkubwa narrates this story as a way of encouraging Tatu to cope with the challenges and hurtful circumstances that she faces as incited by her skin condition. She ends the narrative by reminding Tatu: "if you ever meet a lion, remember to stare into its eyes and let its strength pass on to you" (Esmail 2011, 45). The moral of this story gestures towards future events in Tatu's narrative, offering a story that effectively demonstrates how positive intervention has impacted Tatu's sense of agency. It has strengthened her character, self-confidence, and self-sufficiency.

For example, when Brother Karimu and Sister Julianne take Tatu and other learners on a visit to the zoo, Tatu sees a real lion, "stare[s] at the lion" and proclaims: "I wanted it to pass its strength onto me so that I could fight the evil in this world". Later, Tatu remarks: "I had trapped its strength with my eyes", and when she slept that evening, she "dreamt the lion smiled at [her]" and "had accepted [her] as a powerful being like itself" (Esmail 2011, 47). The event foreshadowed by this legend suggests that Tatu has developed self-efficacy and the capacity to act for herself, to fight against the ills of the world. Here, Esmail implies that myths and stories, which are means of socialisation in Africa, can be influential on many levels – just as the myths and superstitions concerning albinism can undermine PWA, so stories and myths can also empower them. For example, soon after Tatu's encounter with the lion and her proclamation

that she could now confront evils, she is abducted by Juma and his friend. Interestingly, she does not flatter as she used to be at school, instead, she manages all by herself to escape. Her telling is revelatory:

I imagined the sadness that Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu would feel at my loss. Was I so weak that I couldn't do anything? What about the strength passed on to me by the lion? The strength of a Maasai warrior. Was I not going to use that strength to protect myself? Was I going to let a witchdoctor kill another innocent being for his benefit? I remembered a proverb: Pain is inevitable. Suffering is optional. I could put a stop to this suffering. I had to try to escape. I could get help. I had to get back home to Mother. Mama Mkubwa's advice crossed my mind, "Ask God for anything, and He will help you". That is exactly what I needed to do. At least this way I would have died trying. I felt a gush of power flow into my veins. Where did this force come from? Had it always been there, or was it passed on from the thought of the mighty lion? (Esmail 2011, 80-81)

In addition to this revelation, which clearly indicate how Mama Mkubwa's kindness and her storytelling, as well as Karimu and Julianne's interventions, have strengthened Tatu's personal agency, making her aware of her capacity to influence the quality of her life, Tatu's next remark was: "I wasn't going to despair; I wasn't going to let some dumb person kill me for nothing" (Esmail 2011, 82) mark how Esmail's imagining of the vulnerable child with albinism as being empowered to undo their enforced passivity or victimhood.

In the work: "Risking Oneself and One's Identity: Agonism Revisited", Gambetti asks: "Is there agency in suffering?" (Gambetti 2016, 29). Granted, as from the passage above, Tatu's courageous personality implies another one of Gambetti assertions, namely that "perils are constitutive of the acting self" (Gambetti 2016, 33). One then learns that although Tatu is vulnerable, yet she can be active, daring, and agentic in her striving for survival. These characteristics contrast with her initial view of herself as vulnerable, passive, and powerless, unable to act bravely in response to her problems. Conditions that brought Tatu's agential change are cumulative as factored in the next section.

4.2.3. An Empowering Environment Calls for Supplementing efforts from Caring Actors

As from the above discussion, one is likely to find out about Tatu's abrupt agential shift. The said inquiry thus calls for further consideration of the nature of efforts that the narrative tends to suggest with regard to children agency and empowerment. Dodds asserts that good carers, on whom young children depend, may assist marginalised children to become agents of their selves (Dodds 2014, 185). Her word seems relevant especially when one thinks of the socially mediated agency that Tatu achieves through Mama Mukuru, Sister Julianne and Brother Karimu's interventionism. Granted, Tatu's agential sense presupposes Dodds observation that "some kinds of social [...] responses", taken to ameliorate children's vulnerability, "can generate vulnerability, while others can promote resilience, autonomy, and recognition" (Dodds 2014, 182). Such cultivation of agency also reminds us of Metz (2011)'s claim in his study, "Ubuntu as a Moral Theory and Human Rights in South Africa", that "through other persons" one is challenged to develop one's own full personhood (Metz 2011, 536). Thus, with the help of other persons, one attains the confidence to act and influence one's own life, as Tatu's agential change reveals.

Indeed, because of Brother Karimu, Sister Julianne, and Mama Mkubwa's support, Tatu no longer calls for help. She has developed trust in her own efficacy and a belief that she can change things in her life. When she is abducted by Juma and his friend, she speaks and acts in a manner that displays her efficacy. In addition to her resistance: I will not "let some dumb person kill me for nothing" (Esmail 2011, 82), Tatu expresses her strength:

There was still hope. I'd to get out of the boot. I shuffled and tried to quicken my pace. I was determined to untie the knot on my feet. Finally, the knot loosened. I continued to wiggle forcefully. At last, I forced my hands through the rope. I'd done it! I was free. I felt a sense of elation only for a few seconds. I was still in the boot. If they opened it now, I was as good as dead. They'd tie me up again and there would be not enough time to for me to escape. They'd run after me, and there would be no chance of getting away from

these men. The quicker I escaped the better, as I would catch them off guard (Esmail 2011, 84).

These comments frame Tatu as a fine example of a child who fights for her own safety and life. She thus achieves self-realisation, she becomes an agent of the self. She appears capable of altering her situation to positively influence her life. She thus is no longer a passive target in her life circumstances or of others' actions. This depiction invites the consideration on the empowering manner Esmail's portrays a child with albinism.

Regarding the gradual development of Tatu's agency, Esmail's novella seems to suggest that children with albinism can enact their personhood and exercise agency once they have been freed from social or cultural constraints. Such freedom comes when different, caring actors collaborate to create a sustaining environment that would guarantee children with albinism self-empowerment. Citing Mabogo, the collaboration in the novella typifies a "communal orientation" of empowerment where "the self is dependent on other selves and is defined through its relationships to other selves" (Mabogo 2014, 157). As discussed, it is because of the combined efforts of individual characters and a civil rights organisation that Tatu's story ends with her emerging as an agent of the self, one who contributes to her society and who now fights for the wellbeing of other people with albinism as well. For example, she writes and reads her poem in a public space to educate the audience, to emphasize equality for all – regardless of impairment or disease. One part of the poem reads:

*We need to be loved and cared for
A human need for all
I am different only on the outside
The same as anyone of you, inside.
Respect me, love me, and care for me,
With my poor vision and glass frame
After all, God has created us all the same.
I need to be protected like a jewel
So please, oh please, don't be cruel* (Esmail 2011, 113, original emphasis)

With these words, Tatu resignifies herself as an agent who asserts herself and other individuals like herself, individuals living with albinism, as human, as unique persons and unique selves. She has thus acquired the voice to make claims for the betterment of the circumstances of other children with albinism. She demands that they should be loved, cared for, respected, and protected. These moral virtues articulate Tatu's desire for an inclusive society where people with albinism would live as humans and not as *zeruzerus*, ghost kids, or freaks (Esmail 2011, 7).

5. Conclusion

This study explored how *Living in the Shade's* deployment of the first-person narrative perspective effectively evokes matters of agency as aligned with an altruistic agenda. As established earlier, Esmail imagines the child with albinism as overwhelmed by peril, and as a child whose realisation of agency and autonomy depends on other actants. The study found that the homodiegetic narration deployed in the text clearly necessitated the narrative preoccupation with philanthropic agenda. Such is because the narrating voice of the narrator traumatized by perils necessitates the novella's deployment of considerate characters whose actions impact on the agency, personhood, and wellbeing of the child characters with albinism. For example, Esmail's altruistic characters (Karimu, Julianne, Mama Mkubwa) seem to reinvigorate Tatu, the character with albinism, to act as an agent of the self. They support Tatu socially, materially, and morally and motivate the girl, initially depicted as lacking agency, to act in her own behalf.

Thus, while Esmail's narratives aim to create awareness of the condition of albinism, it is important to note that the text was meant for the young reader and that they are educated by the text to recognize that a child with albinism is like any other child. More so, because much of children's literature is didactic (Achufusi 1995, 172), Esmail's *Living in the Shade* could be passing the lesson to its readers that an individual should be "open and available to others, affirming of others [...] and that a caring individual] is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished,

when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are” (Tutu 1990, 34). That way, Tatu’s story instills (to its readers) the moral of founding a hospitable community in which children, irrespective of their particularities, are accommodated.

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Part II. Education

Chapter 5

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Mentoring International Doctoral Students' Teaching Skills in Educational Programs: Students' Personal Experiences as Co-Creators in the Frontiers of Learning Sciences Course

Abstract: The purpose of the current study is to investigate students' roles as co-creators in the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course and how this has improved their teaching abilities as potential future educators. The qualitative research method was used, which was informed by the phenomenological research design. The study involved four international doctoral students studying the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course in the Spring Semester 2022 in the Faculty of Education at Shaanxi Normal University in China. Semi-structured interviews, observation and documentary review were used as data collection methods. The data were thematically analysed and followed Braun and Clarke's (2006, 87) six phases of thematic analysis of qualitative research data. The findings revealed that the majority of students had a negative perception of learning sciences prior to taking the course. This perception was influenced by advices they got from their peers, personal perceptions, and educational backgrounds. However, in the process of studying the course, students changed their attitudes about the course and confirmed that it was relevant to them as teachers. All doctoral students acknowledged that the course has strengthened their teaching skills in terms of teamwork, communication, self-management, assessment, lesson preparation, and presentation skills. Based on the results, the study recommends that faculty

members are responsible for ensuring that the doctoral curriculum for future teachers and researchers strikes a balance between the two aspects during training programs and avoids the assumption that teaching identity development happens automatically or naturally.

Keywords: mentoring, course co-creators, learning sciences, teaching skills, doctoral students, doctoral programs

1. Introduction

Doctoral students in education programs are expected to be teachers, teacher educators, and educational researchers. These students have multiple identities: on the one hand, some are already teachers, and others are expected to become teachers or teacher educators; on the other hand, they are studying to be researchers or scholars, and so they are students. As a result, doctoral students find themselves simultaneously as teachers and students, attempting to develop a new scholarly identity as part of their professional path. Arguably, while doctoral students in education programs achieve the primary goal of a doctorate by developing original knowledge and expanding the area of inquiry through high-quality scholarly research (Muller 2009), they also require great mentorship in teaching abilities. Individual students learn what it means to be an academic, what it takes to be an effective professor, how one improves as a teacher, educator, and researcher, as well as how to fit into the academic community (Haggerty and Doyle 2015, Kenny et al. 2014). According to Homer (2018), Doctoral students who teach are inherently motivated to seek out opportunities for work and skill development; they have the ability to create and maintain multidimensional professional relationships as both learners and teachers; they have the self-efficacy to take on new roles and challenges; and they maximize their scope for appraising and building upon their strengths and interests.

Doctoral students in education are likely to develop greater teaching and research competence and experience from introductory courses or classes that expose them to their field of expertise. A review done by Harvard University (2013) on humanities education identified introductory courses as critical turning points with respect to students' engagement in

their education and interest in pursuing further courses in a given discipline. Richard (2017) asserts that teaching as a postgraduate while in the beginning stages of a research career looks excellent on curriculum vitae (CV) and may be very beneficial when looking for employment because, even for research-based roles, the subject of teaching is frequently brought up during interviews. This entails completing teaching-related responsibilities while pursuing a doctorate, not just to obtain teaching skills for a future job, but also to assist doctoral students in becoming familiar with various research areas and gaining confidence in conference presentations and public involvement.

However, doctoral students who intend to work in academic institutions of higher learning may find it more challenging to strike a balance between learning, teaching and research skills. Most of the compulsory courses for doctoral students only improve research capabilities for little emphasis is placed on strengthening teaching abilities (Neumann 2005, Wulff and Austin 2004). The majority of doctoral students do not receive rigorous guidance and training in many facets of teaching, such as curriculum design or utilising technology in the classroom (Austin 2003). Research has dominated activities that might expose doctoral students towards improving their teaching abilities as future potential teachers or teacher educators. It is not surprising to find that even doctoral students in education programs who are expected to work in the faculty of academic of higher learning institutions lack sufficient exposure to teaching skills. Universities policies place a higher priority on research than on teaching activities (Geschwind and Brostrom 2015). Doctoral students during their studies are deployed to teach to fulfil respective departmental needs rather than as part of a structured program of teaching development (Probert 2014).

In the labour market, hiring managers for new academic faculty members frequently complain lack of necessary teaching skills among doctoral degree graduates (Keeley et al. 2020). Allgood et al. (2018) indicated that many graduates lack experience in front of students while some claim that they do not feel adequately prepared to teach. Keeley et al. (2020) termed these pedagogical challenges a discrepancy between the career aspirations of some doctoral students, institutional faculty requirements, and the learning outcomes of doctoral programs. Lack of adequate teaching

preparation skills, too-often, has made graduate students feel anxiety in first-time teaching experiences as primary instructors (Smollin and Arluke 2014). Additionally, doctoral graduates who start teaching at higher education institutions find the experience more stressful, which has a negative impact on undergraduates' enjoyment of learning and their interest in the subject matter (Smollin and Arluke 2014). Thus, there is a need for doctoral students to engage in teaching (even if it is unpaid) because the skills and experiences they gain are likely to be personally fulfilling and helpful in many other areas of their future careers (Richard 2017). This move will prevent such a negative experience on both doctoral graduates and undergraduate students.

One of the ways to strengthen teaching skills to doctoral students in education programs is by making them as course co-creators. Students as co-creators has gained much status within higher education system because it promotes student-centered learning and active engagement of both students and staff in the process of teaching and learning (Lubicz-Nawrocka 2018; Cook-Sather et al. 2014; Dunne 2016; Mercer-Mapstone et al. 2017). Cook-Sather et al. (2014) pointed out that students are co-creators when education is perceived as a shared endeavor where learning and teaching are done with students and not instructors. It is "a collaborative, reciprocal process of teaching and learning through which all participants have the opportunity to contribute equally, although not necessarily in the same ways, to curricular or pedagogical conceptualisation, decision making, implementation, investigation, or analysis" (Cook-Sather et al. 2014, 6–7). Bovill et al. (2016, 197) suggest that one way to conceptualise co-creation is to occupy the space in between student engagement and partnership, to suggest a meaningful collaboration between students and staff, with students becoming more active participants in the learning process.

Lubicz-Nawrocka and Bovill (2021) argue that co-creation processes require students to be given more responsibility for sharing decision-making about learning, teaching, and assessment. Throughout co-creation experiences, students' perspectives and contributions are valued, and the hierarchy structure between the teacher and students is reduced (Lubicz-Nawrocka and Bovill, 2021). Co-creation processes of working together based on shared values promotes stronger working relationships

between students and staff (Kaur et al. 2019; Lubicz-Nawrocka 2019). Thus, students as co-creators entails that both students and academic staff take responsibility. More so, it entails that academic staff believe in students' abilities and provide supportive learning environments that facilitate their resilience, inspiration, and success (Johansson and Felten 2014; Lubicz-Nawrocka and Bunting 2019). In other words co-creation contribute to transformation of students' learning, identity, and responsibility in relation to, and with, others (Lubicz-Nawrocka and Bovill 2021).

1.1. Motives for the Study

Peshkin (1988) argues that subjectivity in research is inevitable. Researchers should strive for the exploration and presentation of one's subjectivity explicitly on the page in research texts. Peshkin (1988) further reminds researchers that reflecting their own subjectivity throughout the research may create an awareness of how subjectivity shapes inquiry and outcomes. Similarly, Esterberg (2002, 9) suggests that three questions need to be addressed before a study is conducted: (i) Where are your own biases and preconceptions? (ii) What are your own investments in particular issues and in particular ways of seeing the world? (iii) What do you already think you know, and how do you know it? These three questions guided my subjectivity expression.

To begin with the first question, this is about my personal biases and preconceptions. Before the course's teaching and learning started, the course's principal instructor informed me to study the "Frontiers of Learning Sciences" course. My response was that it would be difficult for me to study the course because I had no better background in sciences and had only studied sciences in middle school. Thus, I had the perception that learning the sciences meant becoming knowledgeable in subjects like Chemistry, Physics, Biology, and other science-related fields. Through informal and formal conversations, the principal instructor encouraged me to study the course because I would learn many things that would be helpful to my dissertation writing and my future teaching career as a teacher educator. Additionally, I later realized that more two students under the supervision of the principal instructor were not willing study the course with the same reason that they had no better background in

learning sciences. Thus, my own perception and other students' perceptions about learning sciences inspired me to undertake the study to find out whether students' perceptions and understandings changed while studying the course.

The second question about my own investment in this particular issue was based on my personal experiences during my master's degree and the introductory course in my doctoral study training. Most preparatory courses focus on training doctoral students to undertake research, but little attention is paid to how doctoral students who are in education programs and aspire to be teacher educators are also trained in teaching skills. Also, in the process of writing this chapter, I shared my ideas with another professor, and her first question was why I was interested in exploring how doctoral students can strengthen their teaching skills in doctoral programs. After a long conversation, I tried to pose the question, "Why is there this assumption that doctoral students already know how to teach and that the task of doctoral programs is to train them how to do research only?" She stated unequivocally that the goal of doctoral education is to train students in research skills rather than teach them how to teach. This led me to conclude that studying the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course was a great opportunity to learn teaching skills, and it was necessary for the study to explore more about how the course has strengthened teaching skills for the students who studied it.

In regard to the third question: "what I already knew and how I knew it", my experience was that doctoral students are usually requested by their professors or instructors to serve as assistants in teaching undergraduate or graduate students' courses. However, this was my first experience taking on the role of co-creator with my fellow students. In studying the course, students actively participated in revising the course syllabus, choosing core readings, proposing the course evaluation procedures, planning common tasks for each student to be done after each lesson, and suggesting the types of projects to be completed by each student at the end of the course. Again, this motivated the researcher to explore doctoral students' perceptions of being course co-creators and how the course has strengthened their teaching skills.

Additionally, I was motivated to conduct this study because in studying the course students were co-creators. It is uncommon for teachers to

compel their students to co-create the courses they are taking in order to fulfil degree requirements. Traditionally, doctorate students get teaching experience by working as teaching assistants for more experienced faculty members (Von Hoene and Mintz 2002). According to Bovill et al. (2011), students' voices are frequently disregarded while designing teaching methods, curricula, and courses in higher education. But in the course *Frontiers of Learning Sciences*, students were given a voice because they participated in decision-making in revising the course and contributed ideas about how learning occurs or should occur (Cook-Sather 2006; Rennie Center for Education Research and Policy 2019). Therefore, the present study sets out to get a deeper understanding of each international doctoral student's experiences before, during and after taking the course, as well as how those experiences have influenced the growth of their research and teaching skills as course co-creators. Specifically, the study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What were or are the perceptions held by international doctoral students before, during, and after taking the course — the *Frontiers of Learning Sciences*?
2. How did international doctoral students strengthen their teaching skills as co-creators by studying the *Frontiers of Learning Sciences* course?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Perspective

The study was guided by situated learning theory (Lave and Wenger 1991). The theory was developed as a fundamental challenge to prevalent cognitive viewpoints on learning, which hold that learning is about acquiring objective knowledge and is best accomplished during training periods that are distinct from the contexts in which that knowledge would be used (Lave and Wenger 1991). The theory holds that learning happens when people are active participants in the diffusion, reproduction, and transformation of in-practice knowledge about agents,

activities, and artifacts in the communities in which they are acculturated (Lave and Wenger 1991). Situated learning theory suggests that learning is experienced and facilitated through relationships with community members or within a “community of practice” (Lave and Wenger 1991). Within a community of practice, group members jointly share and develop practices, learn from their interactions with group members, and gain opportunities to develop personally, professionally, or intellectually (Mills 2013).

The fundamental components of situated learning theory are participation, identity and practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that *participation* is central to situated learning since individuals develop their identities and practices according to the participatory opportunities available to them. Lave and Wenger (1991) view situated learning as participatory in nature and as a process of social participation, a process of growth through which learners dialectically construct their identities. It involves the way individuals understand, take part in and contribute to the social norms, behaviours and values of the communities in which they participate. In regard to *identity*, situated learning theory brings a renewed focus on identity that learning is concerned not only with developing ways of ‘knowing’ in practice, but also with understanding who we are and what potential we have (Lave 2004). Finally *practice*, in the context of situated learning, practice is social phenomenon (Wenger, 1998) and through participation, newcomers ‘gradually assemble a general idea of what constitutes the practices of the community (Lave and Wenger 1991, 95).

The implications of the theory in this study are basically reflected in how international doctoral students as co-creators in the “Frontiers of Learning Sciences” course, actively participated in its development by revising the syllabus, choosing the core readings, setting goals, lessons preparations and teaching process, setting assessment procedures and making other plans for the course such as projects to be done by students at the end of the course. Therefore, in studying the course and being course co-creators, students participated in revising the course (participation), shared experiences in the course (practice) and consequently develop identity as prospective teachers and researchers.

2.2. Students as Co-creators

Students' involvement in course design or planning can be traced far back to the pragmatist, progressivist, educator, philosopher, and social reformer, Dewey (1916) who insisted that students should share responsibility with their teachers for curriculum planning or design. Similarly, Bloom and Krathwohl (1984) suggested that doctoral students can learn knowledge and strategies associated with being effective classroom instructors by providing those students with quality opportunities with support from mentors or teachers. By making doctoral students as co-creators of teaching approaches, course and curricula design, mentors entail democratic approach to teaching and learning and hold greater expectations for students as well as challenge students to demonstrate more active engagement in teaching and learning (Bovill et al. 2011). Rudduck (2007) pointed that 'student voice' in teaching and learning should be invited for it shares their insights, which warrant not only the attention but also the response of educators. This echoes Hattie's (2008) arguments that student learning is deepest when students become their own teachers and when their teachers learn from them through feedback and other means. To this end, what matters in the co-creation process is that instructors must be more self-aware, highly flexible, knowledgeable, and sensitive to respond to student learning needs and the direction in which the students want to take the curriculum (Bovill et al. 2009).

Instructors may ask doctoral students to participate as co-curriculum designers, co-course makers, co-teachers, teaching assistants, or co-creators in a teaching practicum to improve their teaching abilities. In terms of teaching practicum, doctoral students work with mentors to choose and create instructional resources to satisfy course objectives, such as creating a syllabus and choosing academic course texts (Edwards et al. 2014). Doctorate students work with the mentor teacher to grade tests and papers, as well as other formative and summative assessments, to determine how well students grasp the course goals (Edwards et al. 2014). In terms of co-teaching, a doctoral student take part in the planning and execution of a course (Bouck 2007) that offer them an invaluable chance for mentorship while taking part in graduate training (Pomeroy and Steiker 2011). Students as co-creators, Bovill et al. (2011) listed three

ways in which students might participate in pedagogical planning: 1) as co-creators of teaching strategies; 2) as co-creators of course design; and 3) as co-creators of curriculum. Furthermore, Bovill et al. (2016) outlined a typology of four roles that students adopt in co-creation work: they work as representatives, consultants, co-researchers, and pedagogical co-designers.

Literature reveals that doctoral students as co-creators may participate in course design review committees (Rock et al. 2015), co-designing of courses and curricula (Bovill 2014), co-evaluating courses (Bovill et al. 2010), collaborate with students and staff in writing (Marquis et al. 2016), and they involve in teaching and designing academic development work (Kandiko Howson and Weller, 2016). As suggested by Bovill et al. (2011), academic developers should be seen as having a professional obligation to involve students in pedagogical planning since it is an important step in fostering deeper engagement in learning. When students collaborate with academic professionals to create instructional techniques, they get a new view and a greater comprehension of teaching (Bovill et al. 2011). Students' co-creators challenges higher education's traditional teaching hierarchies (Levy et al. 2011) which undermine students voice in learning process. Studies indicate that co-creation enhances student engagement, motivation, identity development, meta-cognitive understanding of learning and teaching, and self-authorship abilities and can lead to improved assessment performance (Cook-Sather et al. 2014, Lubicz-Nawrocka 2018). For instance, Lubicz-Nawrocka (2018) conducted an explanatory study on the benefits of co-creation of the curriculum and found that participants in co-creation of the curriculum perceive it to benefit both teachers and students by: (a) fostering the development of shared responsibility, respect, and trust; (b) creating the conditions for partners to learn from each other within a collaborative learning community; and (c) enhancing individuals' satisfaction and personal development within higher education. Similar findings reported before by Bovill et al. (2011) who reported that when students work as co-creators with their instructors, both gain a deeper understanding of learning experience, they enhance their learning engagement. The act becomes students' learning motivation, and enthusiasm, and more so, it encourages students and teachers to relate in different ways.

Furthermore, Bovill et al. (2011, 7) suggested the following for instructors to promote students' engagement as co-creators in curriculum or course design:

- Invite students to be partners to collaborate with academic staff in pedagogical planning. This challenge the traditional hierarchies and roles of the teacher and students.
- Support dialogue across differences of position and perspective, which yields fresh insights and deeper engagement in teaching and learning.
- Foster collaboration through which both academic staff and students take more responsibility for teaching and learning and adopt new views of both sides.
- Serve as intermediaries, facilitating new relationships between students and academic staff.

The above mentioned features imply that successive mentors should possess unique qualities, skills, or knowledge that a mentee can imitate (Pomeroy and Steiker 2011). Mentors are responsible to provide a learning opportunity to the mentee for them to adjust to the requirements of a new academic post after graduation (Svinicki and McKeachie 2011).

2.3. The Balance between Teaching and Research in Education Doctoral Programs

Researchers promote the formal inclusion of teaching in doctorate training programs and the widespread recognition of teaching as a crucial aspect of doctoral student training, socialisation, and employment (Jones 2013; Keeley et al. 2020). For doctoral applicants interested in academia, whether it be research or teaching-focused or a combination of the two, gaining teaching experience is particularly advantageous (Richard 2017). Edwards (2014) notes that doctoral training programs that teach students how to be successful and effective classroom teachers not only better prepare graduates for a career in teaching but also support the advancement of their profession and enhance their respective institutions' reputation as being able to produce well-rounded scholars. According to Wulff and Austin (2004), institutions must support doctoral students' skills in all areas of achievement, including teaching, in order to prepare the next

generation of academics for a career in academia. Academic faculty members are hired and promoted primarily on their research and teaching skills. Thus, doctoral students who want to work in academic universities must possess both teaching and research skills (Edwards 2014). For instance, Callahan et al. (2016) surveyed 279 doctoral graduates in the United States and found that 84% of them had to submit teaching evaluations, while 50% said they had to participate in a teaching demonstration or a discussion of their teaching philosophies as part of the hiring process. Thus, doctoral students need to demonstrate skills beyond carrying out independent research skills, given an increasingly competitive labour market because there are different incentives for widening their skill sets (Homer 2018) such as teaching skills.

It is critical to assist doctoral students in becoming effective teacher educators for their future careers (Edwards et al. 2014). Most academic posts consider high-quality teaching as a hallmark and a requirement (Ward and Wolf-Wendel 2004). Researchers advocate that in order for doctoral students to succeed in their future academic careers, they need to be given the opportunity to develop their teaching abilities during training (Kenny et al. 2014; Haggerty and Doyle 2015; Richard 2017; Homer 2018). According to Austin (2001), the graduate experience is the key period of time to assess whether students have been exposed to the kinds of skills and expectations they would likely encounter in the job. As Edwards et al. (2014) postulated, it is important that doctoral students have access to high-quality mentoring, direct instruction, and experiential opportunities to use effective teaching methods during their training because these students are likely to seek faculty appointments in academic settings after graduation, whereas teaching and research skills are fundamental for securing jobs.

Ernest Boyer in the early of 1990s criticised the narrow definition of scholarship that undermine teaching as part of doctoral training. Indeed, doctoral education emphasizes the scholarship of discovery but emphasizes the scholarship of teaching less (Austin 2002). In his prominent work, "Scholarship reconsidered: Priorities of the professoriate", Boyer (1990) remarks that the definition of scholarship should address four domains, namely; scholarship of discovery, application, integration, and teaching. In relation to the scholarship of teaching, Boyer (1990)

mentioned that doctoral is the way in which the necessary depth of disciplinary knowledge for university teaching is gained, along with an understanding of how new knowledge is created in that discipline. Boyer (1990) further asserts that teaching should be given a higher status and should assume a specialized role as one of the four types of scholarships engaged in by the modern academic. Boyer concludes that the scholarship of teaching is important in academia because one of the ways other people to understand what new knowledge is in the particular through teaching. Therefore, the scholarship of teaching and learning is committed to “more real co-inquiry, a more democratic intellectual community, and more shared responsibility for learning among students and instructors” (Hutchins and Huber 2010, xii).

Arguably, from a historical point of view, balancing between teaching and research in the institutions of higher education in the world, has been and continues to be a challenging task for educational leadership and policymakers (Khan, 2014). Wolyniak (2003) argues that the current structure of doctoral programs will not change significantly in the near future because they will continue to serve their original purpose of providing the next generation of great researchers to the academy and industry. Often times, teaching is viewed by graduate student advisors as an unnecessary distraction from one's thesis writing and may delay one's graduation (Wolyniak 2003). Thus, it has been a tendency for supervisors to discourage graduate students from taking on additional teaching opportunities, even if such opportunities could be helpful to develop further students' interests and become competent teachers (Wolyniak 2003). The fact is that some higher education institutions focus more on teaching than research whereas other universities focus more on research with teaching serving as a secondary function (Khan 2017).

Likewise, university regulations and policies that favour research over teaching as criteria for promotion and evaluation have kept teachers busy establishing their academic reputations through publications, funding, and research impact, while neglecting teaching-related activities (Enago Academy 2022). In the same vein, governments and other funding organizations prioritize the evaluation of research outputs over the caliber of instructional activities when allocating funds to universities (Young 2006; Keeley et al. 2020). It is a common thing that many

universities offer doctoral programs in education but lack the necessary short courses, seminars, and workshops to orient both academic staff and doctoral students on teaching skills. The available seminars and workshops often concentrate on raising students' knowledge of research, cultivating a good attitude toward research, preparing them for writing and publishing their thesis or dissertations, and creating interdisciplinary research teams. Eventually, doctoral programs in education tend to produce graduates who are lopsidedly, strong in research and weak in teaching skills. Many doctoral graduates who are hired in academic institutions feel unprepared for the tasks and demands of higher education (Austin 2002) because their doctoral training programs did not expose students to careers outside of the norm (Wolynia 2003). This calls a need for doctoral students to think about ways to supplement their education with experiences that directly advance their career goals if a research-based career is not their final goal (Wolynia 2003).

Cao et al. (2019) study: "Teacher educators' approaches to teaching and connections with their perceptions of the closeness of their research and teaching" pointed that it is important for teacher educators pursuing doctoral studies to keep a balance between research and teaching to enhance the research-teaching nexus. In academic university context, teacher educators not only work as teachers but also as researchers to enhance their academic role as professionals in the field (Lopes et al. 2014). Teacher educators are expected to teach research to their students and provide them with a research-orientation towards their work, an understanding of the relevance of theoretical knowledge in practice, and to develop their pedagogical thinking (Lunenberg 2010). Khan (2017) analysed the appropriate balance between teaching and research in institutions of higher education and recommended that educational managers should consider these two activities as complementing one another, rather than being competing forces or barriers to each other. He further recommended that educational institutions, regardless of their sizes, origins, and nature, be expected to do teaching and research as core activities in an effective and efficient manner to benefit all their stakeholders. Similarly, Gilmore (2010) in a descriptive study about measuring graduate students' teaching and research skills using self-reported data, reported that engaging in both teaching and research

roles was associated with the largest gains in skill development, and focusing on only one of these activities may limit graduate students' skill development in each of these areas. Therefore, it is important during doctoral training to strike a balance between research and teaching-related skills because academic faculty members are hired and promoted based on their research accomplishments, community involvement, and teaching skills (Edwards 2014).

According to Colbeck (2008), doctorate programmes and faculty should foster the development and integration of students' professional identities as researchers, instructors, and active public scholars. Programmes might include specific lectures, workshops, and events to illustrate the advantages of combining research and teaching identities in the course of study. Involvement in research activities aids doctorate candidates who aspire to be teacher educators to relate to the academic world's current traditions, practices, and written and unwritten regulations (Pennuel and Wertsch 1995). Similarly, Yehudi Elkana, president of the Central European University asserted that:

Leaders in the disciplines must understand the critical roles of curricula and pedagogical work in their field and how deeply these functions are affected by the same epistemological understandings that relate to the research role. They must recognize, empirically, that most of those who earn the doctorate will spend far more time teaching and engaging with a variety of publics—in industry, policy, and community settings—than they will at the frontiers of science. Doctoral education must equip students to work in these settings (Elkana 2006, 66).

The above quotation echoes Choi et al. (2021, 90) recommendation on doctoral students' identity development that faculty and organizational/institutional leaders must explicitly acknowledge students' identity development and purposefully incorporate opportunities for reflection and growth as part of the doctoral curriculum, rather than assuming that identity development occurs "naturally." It further implies that faculty members play a significant role in creating doctoral students' identities by developing appropriate programs that serve to connect academic and professional activities. Jones (2013) believes that in doctorate programmes,

faculty members take individual and collaborative responsibility for the development of the full student. Pifer and Baker (2016) also propose that faculty members explore how they might help new doctoral students who may not want or be able to find academic employment upon program completion, both collectively and individually within programs.

3. Methodology

3.1. Philosophical Underpinnings the Study

Scotland (2012) admits that “Every paradigm is based upon its own ontological and epistemological assumptions” (9). Thus, the study was guided by interpretive qualitative approach which admits a personal interpretation of those realities (Scotland 2012). The use of interpretive qualitative approach allowed the researcher in investigating into “things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 3). Mertens (2010) argues that an understanding of the underlying philosophical assumptions in research is necessary to plan and conduct research and that a researcher’s philosophical orientation has implications for every decision made in the research process. Mertens (2010) maintains that the underlying philosophical assumptions have implications for every decision made in the research process, whether the researcher is aware of them or not.

Phenomenological research design used to understand doctoral students’ lived experiences in studying the course, Frontiers of Learning Sciences and how the course has strengthened their teaching skills. The researcher conducted long interviews with the informants in order to better understand their perspectives on their daily lived experience while studying the course (McMillan and Schumacher 2010). The design allowed the researcher to set aside all preconceptions and gather data based on how doctoral students interpreted their experiences of studying the course (McMillan and Schumacher 2010).

3.2. Research Area and Design of the Study

The research was set in Shaanxi Normal University in China. The research was carried out with doctoral students from the Faculty of Education who were enrolled in the course, Frontiers of Learning Sciences. The course is offered in English to international doctoral students, and for the academic year 2021–2022, four (4) international doctoral students from Tanzania, Rwanda, Afghanistan, and Indonesia enrolled in the course. The Frontiers of Learning Sciences course is among the introductory courses, doctoral students' study before undertaking research. Learning sciences are an interdisciplinary field where researchers and practitioners explore how individuals learn and how to create suitable learning environments, particularly technology-enhanced learning environments, to promote learning in a variety of settings, including formal and informal learning environments (Sawyer 2014). Among others, anthropology, sociology, information sciences, neurosciences, education, design studies, and instructional design are multidisciplinary fields of learning sciences (Sawyer 2014). Thus, researcher collected information from doctoral students enrolled in the course regarding their perspectives and roles as co-creators and how their role has strengthened their teaching experiences.

Revise of the course syllabus: As mentioned earlier in the background part, students were co-creators and took control over learning. Students as co-creators designed learning activities for fifteen weeks in the semester as indicated in Table 1. The course syllabus had the following components: Course title, target audience (international doctoral students), semester the course is offered (spring semester 2022), name of the principal instructor and a link indicating more information about the principal instructor (<http://zhangbaohui.snnu.edu.cn>), names of international doctoral students' team members (nick name used), course descriptions, topics to be covered in the course, and schedule of all lessons (date of the lesson, lesson number, topics or themes, reading materials and responsible person to lead the lesson). Finally, the syllabus indicated key references/core readings for the course.

**Table 1. 2022 Spring Semester “The Frontiers of Learning Sciences”
Course-Designed Teaching and Learning Activities**

Date	Lesson	Topic	Lesson Designer	Discussion Leader
2022.03.17	L1	Course Overview	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.03.24	L2	Co-designing of the Syllabus (Discussion of the course Plan)	All	All
2022.03.31	L3	Foundations of Learning Sciences	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.04.07	L4	How expert differ from Novice	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.04.14	L5	Learning and Transfer	Said& Noela	Said & Noela
2022.04.21	L6	Teacher Learning	Alfred& Herbert	Alfred& Herbert
2022.04.28	L7	Design-Based Learning	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.05.05	L8	Assessment in Education	Said& Noela	Said& Noela
2022.05.12	L9	Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning	Alfred& Herbert	Alfred& Herbert
2022.05.19	L10	Technology to Support Learning	Said& Noela	Said& Noela
2022.05.26	L11	Brain Science	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.06.03	L12	Project Based Learning	Alfred& Herbert	Alfred& Herbert
2022.06.16	L13	Cognitive and Sociocultural perspective on Learning	Principal Instructor	Principal Instructor
2022.06.23	L14	Presentation and discussion of Individual Research Project Plan	Principal Instructor and Students	Principal Instructor and Students
2022.07.01	L15	Presentation and reflection of ISLS website and other journal	All	All

Source: Field data.

The core readings/materials selected for the course: Before selecting the core readings, team members shared different materials, and after discussion, five key readings were selected. After selecting the core readings, what followed was the selection of the topics to be covered in the course; other topics were available in more than one reading. The five key readings selected were:

- Bransford, J.D., Brown, A.L. and Cocking, R.R. (2000). *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School: Expanded Edition*. National Academies Press.
- Sawyer, R.K. ed. (2006). *The Cambridge Handbook of the Learning Sciences*. (1st edition). Cambridge University Press.
- Sawyer, R.K. ed. (2014). *The Cambridge Handbook of the Learning Sciences*. (2nd edition). Cambridge University Press.
- Fischer, F., Hmelo-Silver, C.E., Goldman, S.R. and Reimann, P. (2018). *International Handbook of the Learning Sciences*. Taylor & Francis.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine. (2018). *How People Learn II-Learners, Contexts, and Cultures*. The National Academies Press.

The e-copies of the key readings listed above were posted on the course official Wechat platform for everyone to access, read, and prepare lessons. Indeed, in preparing lessons, team members agreed to read other relevant materials (including watching videos) while preparing lessons and share the materials with other team members before the lesson.

Teaching and Learning the Frontiers of Learning Sciences Course: The course was offered in the spring semester 2022 (March – July 2022) and the researcher attended all classes throughout the semester as student enrolled in the course. The course actual classroom teaching and learning was on Friday between 16:30-18:30 pm (GMT+08:00) China Standard Time. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the course teaching and learning was done online using Tencent Meeting software, and each lesson lasted for two hours and fifty minutes. While studying the course, the researcher conducted observation in all activities related to the course teaching and learning. During the actual course study, the researcher collected data through field notes, observation and documents collection. Being an observer and student studying the course helped to experience the interaction students had during the actual classroom teaching and learning and in other formal and informal course related interactions.

Students worked in groups of two to prepare lessons and other teaching and learning activities before sharing them with the principal instructor. Each pair was required to consult with the principal instructor two weeks before the lesson to discuss the lesson plan. Following lesson preparation,

each pair was required to share the lesson materials via the Wechat platform with the other students at least one week before the lesson to allow them time to go over the readings and become familiar with the lesson materials. After the lesson presentation and discussion, the leader shared the lesson PowerPoint presentation (PPT) on the course Wechat platform for easy access by all course participants. In addition, each student was required to write a reflection journal after each lesson and submit it to the principal instructor for evaluation within twenty-four hours. The principal instructor's remarks to the students before the actual teaching and learning started serve as evidence of the foregoing description.

教育学部张宝辉-陕西师大
(2541682532) 10:54:05
I would like to suggest the following routine: 1. If you become a discussion leader group, please contact me two weeks ahead to discuss your plan; 2. please show me your materials for "teaching" at least two days ahead; 3. For my proposed research plan, please make a decision about it being individual or group project as soon as possible, the ultimate goal is everybody of you take the lead of a publishable paper. OK? Let me know if you have questions and/or suggestions. Good luck!

Requirement of the course: The following were course requirements: First, students were required to read all the course core reading materials and attend all classes online (10%); second, prepare lessons, actively engage in discussions, and do all course assignments (35%); third, design a research project (a proposal); collect data using course data; and produce a publishable paper for the final assessment (55%). For easy data collection and documentation for the research project, each individual student was required to have a data inventory to record all activities

done in the course. Therefore, in studying the course, doctoral students took on the roles of co-creators, learners, co-teachers, and researchers.

3.3. Sample and Sample Size

The study involved four doctoral students from four different countries, namely Tanzania, Rwanda, Indonesia, and Afghanistan. Participants were purposively selected, and only doctoral students enrolled in the Frontiers of Learning Sciences course were involved in the study. Research data showed that all participants had teaching experience before joining doctoral studies, as indicated in Table 2 by their nicknames.

Table 2. Participants Profile

Parti- cips	Title	Age	Gender	Work Experien- ce	Specialization
Alfred	Teaching Assistant	37	Male	7	Curriculum & Methodology
Noela	Teaching Assistant	31	Female	5	Philosophy of education, Islamic Education
Said	Secondary School Teacher	30	Male	5	Comparative Education
Herbert	Teaching Assistant	38	Male	9	Curriculum & Methodology

Source: Field data.

3.4. Data Collection Methods

In order to produce in-depth descriptions of the teaching experiences gained by international doctoral students who studied the course, “Frontiers of Learning Sciences” as co-creators and learners, the study used multiple research methods in data collection and interpretation. Interviews, observation, and documentary review data collection methods used to gather data in the field. The use of multiple methods reduced inconsistencies and minimised the possibility of bias that could be brought by a single method and prevented inaccurate interpretations of what the researcher intended to explore (Creswell 2005).

3.4.1. Interviews

The method included a series of open-ended structured questions followed by probing questions to obtain additional required information about the participants' experiences in the course. The modality of the interview was online via the Tencent Meetings software, and the interview lasted between 45–60 minutes for each participant. During interviews, participants were interviewed in English because the course was taught in English and all were conversant in the English language. Semi-structured interviews were done at the end of the course to get a full picture of participants' experiences in the course in relation to improving teaching skills.

3.4.2. Observation

The researcher served as both a participant and an observer. The researcher closely monitored the doctoral students' participation in different course learning activities, such as actual classroom learning and other formal and informal discussions or conversations. Also, the researcher observed participants' interactions on the official Wechat platform of the course. Observing participants at different times and in different contexts of conversations helped the researcher understand their role as co-creators and how they felt about being course creators in the course.

3.4.3. Documentary Review

The review of documents in this study offered corroboration for the data collected through other techniques, such as interviews and observation. All materials made by participants who studied the course were examined by the researcher. Most of these documents were available in the official Wechat group of the course titled "2022 Spring- Frontiers of Learning Sciences". The documents reviewed were:

- The course syllabus designed by students in collaboration with the principal instructor.
- Student reflection journals and other assignments
- Course lessons prepared by students and the principal instructor.
- Audio and video recordings made for each lesson, as well as other presentations and discussions.

- Instructors and students' conversation from the course's official Wechat group – the 2022 Spring-Frontiers of Learning Sciences.
- Students' project plan with principal instructor comments
- Other information from individual student data inventory

The access of data was easy for the researcher because every student signed a consent form before the course begun. They were assured that information from them will only be used by anyone studying the course for research purposes. The principal instructor in the group insisted that:

Please note, there are two forms,
please read careful and sign only
if you make the commitment. It
is not easy to collect data, so we
should make use of the data,
promise?

Therefore, the researcher was free to use class recorded lessons and other related course conversations and materials in the course's official Wechat group.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedures

In this study, data were thematically analysed and followed Braun and Clarke's (2006, 87) six phases of thematic analysis of qualitative research data: familiarization with the data, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. In the process of analysing data, the researcher created codes based on commonalities, relationships, and differences across a data set (Gibson and Brown 2009). Some of the respondents' arguments were directly quoted as verbatim. The use of a data inventory helped the researcher start data collection and analysis on the first day of the course overview. Also, data inventory helped the researchers in keeping track of data resources for planning and implementing data management measures throughout the research process. Furthermore, the modality assisted researchers in reflecting on what was happening in

the course and in preparing appropriate interview questions that were conducted at the end of the course.

4. Results

4.1. Students Perceptions before, during and after Studying the Course

In this section, I discuss varying perceptions of doctoral students had before, during and after studying the course. Through semi-structured interviews doctoral students expressed a range of views they had before, during and after studying the course. Also, data collected through documentary review method supplemented more information about students perception they had about the course.

4.1.1. Doctoral Students Perception before Studying the Course

Through interviews, doctoral students were asked to describe their perceptions and understanding of learning sciences. Students' responses revealed that only one student had a positive perception of studying the course, and three students had a negative perception of studying the course. Also, during the interview, the researcher noticed that even one student who was interested in studying the course was not aware of what the course was all about. During the interviews, explanations given by the students included the following:

I was interested to study the course because it was new to me and I have never studied such course before (Noela).

Well, I was not very interested in taking this course and one of my friends told me not to take the course because is very difficult to understand, but my supervisor told me to study the course (Herbert). I did not have this course in my previous educational background, so I thought the course was not relevant to me to meet my expectations (Said).

Likewise through documentary review (Course Wechat Platform), the principal instructor wrote:

这个群已经包含了另外一个群的学生，而且更多。我的学生，必须上我的课，没有什么可以商量的。For students who are under my supervision, taking this course is required. They should really know this. If they have not even taken one course from me, how will they understand what I can offer and how we can collaborate to conduct research? It would be ridiculous.

According to students and supervisor comments, the majority of students had no interest in studying the course, but they did so because the supervisor requested it. Students' disinterest in studying the course was influenced by peer perceptions that the course was difficult, as well as their individual students' educational backgrounds. Peers' interaction and influence on the choice of the course to study echoes Kiuru's (2018) study findings, which revealed that the academic orientation typical of the peer group to which they belong may potentially have a long-term impact on individual students' study programs. With regard to students' lack of awareness or exposure to some courses, the current study view that there is a need for higher learning institutions to organize frequent student seminars and workshops that expose them to their specialised careers and other careers.

In terms of understanding about learning sciences, all the 4 participants reported that they had misunderstanding about learning sciences. For example, Herbert commented:

I thought it was about the sciences that I used to study at school. Back then, at school, I hated these subjects. So, I couldn't agree on taking this course enthusiastically. The lower marks I got during my middle school makes me hate science subjects.

Said had a similar understanding regarding learning sciences:

To me, I thought learning the sciences is about science-related subjects such as Math, Biology, and Chemistry. I studied these subjects in secondary schools because it was compulsory and not my interest...

Students' misconceptions about learning sciences are well evidenced by the principal instructor's comments posted on the official Wechat platform for the course: "2022 Spring Frontiers of Learning Sciences".

I am dissappointed that you guys did not even understand what this course is about, so please read the materials I have shared with you and search for how colleagues in education are thinking about the learning sciences, OK?

The principal instructor further commented:

Again, this course is about how people learn, this would include learning science subjects, but this course is NOT about science education. Yes, we use some cases from science education because science is also the subject students learn in school, OK?

Based on the explanations above, it is clear that students had misunderstandings about what learning sciences meant before, which made some of them disinterested in studying the course. The finding implies that the principal instructor, as mentor and experts, played a great role in influencing learners studying the course. The findings correspond to Lewinski et al. (2017), who reported that faculty as a community of academia should take a centre stage in processes which involves peer-mentoring that provides different benefits. The benefits entailed here include assisting students in knowing faculty programs, promoting socialisation, and obtaining a sense of camaraderie within the doctoral cohort.

4.1.2. Doctoral Students Perception during the Course Study

In response to this aspect, during the interviews, students were asked to describe their “perception and understanding of learning sciences” during the course study. Also, students were asked to describe their roles as course co-creators.” With regard to the understanding of the course during the course study, Said explained:

...I eventually realized that the course was typically related to teaching and learning pedagogy, which was quite different from my previous understanding. It is all about understanding how people learn, which involves the analysis of teaching and learning processes in different contexts.

Said's elaborations show that in the course of study students changed their perception and understanding what learning sciences meant. During the course of study students had clear understanding about learning sciences as an interdisciplinary field where researchers and practitioners explore how individuals learn and how to create suitable learning environments, particularly technology-enhanced learning environments, to promote learning in a variety of settings, including formal and informal learning environments (Sawyer 2014).

Regarding students' feelings about being course co-creators and their role during the course study, Herbert had the following to say:

Being a course co-creator allowed me to take part in active teaching and learning, encouraged me to discuss the course syllabus with my classmates, identify projects to be done in the course, and establish positive relationships with my co-teaching mates and the professor.

Noela added that:

On the first day, I was very shocked and excited at the same time when the professor told us we had to design together the syllabus and all the activities that would guide us through the course. It is my first experience, and I am very thankful to my professor for making such kind decisions because I have developed new experiences now.

The findings from the interviews were consistent with what the researcher obtained from documentary review, particularly what some students wrote in their reflection journals of the second lesson (March 24, 2022). For example, Alfred wrote:

In reviewing different textbooks for the purpose choosing topics to be covered in the course, it was observed that some topics like “Foundation of Learning Sciences” appear in different books. So, it was agreed one book can be used as reference to cover the topic (s). Also, the Professor insisted that it is important when choosing the book to read to know the author (s) personally or by reading them. This helps to understand their credentials in the field and give us the authenticity of the materials/information presented in the book. Also, the Professor encourage us to read the last edition of books and read first edition where necessary.

Similar findings were observed in Said ‘s reflection journal who wrote that:

After having the discussion of confirming the main topics to be covered in the course for the semester, the instructor advised students to keep on reading the chosen core readings selected and read other materials relevant to the course to help in preparation of good lessons.

In this regard, the following observation can be made: First, students perceived being course co-creators positively and took full responsibility for designing the course under the guidance of the principal instructor. Second, they worked as a team, which not only established positive relationships among themselves but also with their principal instructor. Third, as course co-creators, students have gained new experiences as prospective teacher educators. These findings corroborate Bovill et al. (2011) findings that when students work as co-creators with their instructors, both gain a deeper understanding of learning, motivation, enthusiasm, and consequently enhance a positive experience for both students and teachers to relate in different ways. More so, by making doctoral students as co-creators of teaching approaches, course and curricula design, entail democratic approach to teaching and learning and hold greater expectations for students and challenge students to demonstrate more active engagement in teaching and learning process (Bovill et al. 2011).

4.1.3. Doctoral Students Perception after Studying the Course

Through interviews, participants reported that the course was relevant to them as teachers. Through studying the course, they have strengthened their teaching skills. Also, participants reported that the course has exposed them to how they can integrate technology into teaching and learning. For example, Said reported that:

Yes, I have changed my mind about this course. As teachers, the course is relevant to all of us, especially in the age of digital learning. Really, the course has sharpened my experience especially when I reflect back the way I have been teaching my students.

Herbert had similar perception after studying the course by replying:

When my friend told me that the course is difficult I believed him and I lost interest in it because I had poor background in sciences. But it is not what I was thinking about the course.

The above comments show that after taking the course, students perceptions and understandings of it transformed, and they affirmed that the course was applicable to them as teachers. This suggests that students taking such a course were engaging in professional development because the course improved their ability to teach their prospective undergraduate students. Such findings concur with Sevim and Akin (2021) findings that graduate education contributed directly to learning and applying new methods and techniques and led to some tangible changes in their measurement and evaluation practices. Teachers reported that graduate education provided them with scientific thinking and research skills, communication skills, teaching and evaluation skills. It also equipped them with the ability to establish theory-practice relationships, as well as knowledge of the profession and field. Professional development is thus required for teachers in order to meet new expectations and facilitate the development of 21st century skills in student-centered learning environment (International Society for Technology in Education 2008).

4.2. Teaching Skills Doctoral Students Developed after Studying the Course

In this section, an attempt was made to assess the teaching skills doctoral students have acquired as a result of being co-course creators and studying the course. Throughout the study, students acknowledged being co-course creators they have managed to develop teaching skills as discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

4.2.1. Team Work Skills

Students revealed in interviews that being co-creators of the course helped them establish a teamwork spirit throughout the course. Teamwork enabled students to collaborate and gain new insights into the value of teamwork in teaching and learning. For example, Herbert commented that:

What I can say is that the teamwork in this course was amazing during the lesson, and even after the lesson. The way we collaborated to design the course, prepare lessons, and share teaching and learning materials was a really good experience. To me, this is a big lesson for my teaching career, and because I work in a university, I hope to be a good mentor to my undergraduate students.

As described by Herbert, working in a team allowed group members to share ideas and knowledge to achieve a common goal of studying the course. Besides, the experience acquired in the course of working in teams is an asset in their future teaching careers. The findings are consistent with Bovill et al. (2011) that having the opportunity to work collaboratively with faculty members in developing pedagogical approaches inspires students to experience an increased sense of engagement, motivation, and enthusiasm.

4.2.2. Assessment Skills

In this aspect, students reported that they were involved in deciding what kind of assessments to be included in the course. Additionally, students reported that writing a reflection journal after each lesson was

more helpful in reflecting on their own learning. Students' explanations included the following:

I like the way the professor used to assess the learning process after each lesson. Writing reflection journals after each lesson was very helpful to reflect on our own understanding but also to identify areas of weakness or misconception for each student. The professor read our journals, and if there were any misunderstandings, clarification was made before the new lesson (Noela).

Everything regarding assessment was planned and agreed upon with the professor, such as writing a reflection journal after each lesson and submitting it to the professor within 24 hours, as well as having each student design and publish a research project at the end of the course (Said).

It is clear from Noela's and Said's comments that prospective teachers learned that assessment should be democratic. Students and instructors can work together to decide what types of assessments are appropriate for the course. Furthermore, students reported that assignments such as writing reflection journals assisted them in better reflecting on their own learning. This view aligned with the Draissi et al. (2021) findings on the use of reflection journals in enhancing doctoral students' engagement in learning process. The overall results confirmed that reflective journals facilitated critical thinking, metacognition, and self-engagement. Similarly, in Hudd's (2003) study on involving students in the creation of class assignments students reported that the assignment construction exercise enhanced their learning experience beyond the content matter, and many students expressed feelings of being in control of the learning process.

4.2.3. Lessons Preparation and Presentation Skills

In line with lesson preparation and presentation skills, through interviews, students reported that they learned how a teacher can prepare lesson in collaboration with the students, but also how to deliver a lesson by engaging learners in active learning. The students made the following comments regarding the lesson preparation and presentation skills they have acquired:

[...] it is possible to prepare the lesson in collaboration with students. For example, in this course, we had to prepare the lesson and share the reading materials with other students in the group before the lesson. Also, to share the prepared lesson and the readings used to prepare the lesson with the professor before the lesson [...] (Herbert).

The professor was sometimes very strict to ensure the group prepared a good lesson and share the reading materials with other students before the lesson. The professor wanted the lesson slides to be well organized and include lesson learning objectives and lesson activities to engage other students in the lesson (Said).

Herbert's and Said's comments reflect what the researcher observed in the actual classroom teaching. Following the students' lesson presentation, the professor took time to discuss with students how the lesson was organised and how students were engaged. For a well-organised and presented lesson, the professor expressed appreciation, and whenever the lesson was not well prepared and presented, the professor did not hesitate to show his disappointment. This is supported by data obtained through documentary review, in which the professor wrote a comment in the course's official Wechat group as feedback to the lesson prepared by Herbert and Alfred. The professor wrote:

**I am very
dissappointed of the slides you
have sent me. It did not include
many features I promoted, such
as learning objectives, activities,
anchoring activity, test of
preparation and the like.**

Based on the data from interviews, researcher actual classroom observation and documentary review, it was found that the principal instructor played a great role to ensure that through studying the course students acquire skills on how to prepare good lessons and deliver quality lesson. On the other hand, the findings suggest that preparatory courses are important in training doctoral students teaching skills. The findings correspond to review done by Harvard University (2013) on humanities

education which identified that introductory courses as critical turning points with respect to students' engagement in their education and interest in pursuing further courses in a given discipline. Thus, doctoral students in education are likely to develop greater teaching experience from introductory courses or classes.

4.2.4. Communication Skills

During interviews, the students acknowledged that they had effective oral and written communication experience among themselves and with the principal instructor. For example, Noela explained:

You know yourself everything for this course was done online, so I liked a frequent communication we established. ...Sometimes you can write the message or make a call through Wechat. I can say timely feedback either from the professor or among ourselves made everything possible in the course despite of our different geographical location.

Furthermore, the findings from reviewed conversations in the course's official Wechat group indicated that both students and the professor were very active in communication by sending messages and receiving timely feedback. In addition, Tencent meeting software was used for in-depth discussions and classes sessions meetings. The study findings first show the importance of communication to improve interaction in learning process. Second, the findings reveal that social media (Wechat) played a great role to enhance the teaching and learning process of the course. This is consistent with the findings of Reneland-Forsman's (2016) study, which revealed that rich communication provided structure for students, open-ended design challenged student approaches toward learning. Similarly, Odom et al. (2013) reported that social media improved the quality and efficiency of communication between students and instructors, and that social media as a technological norm improved access to class information, eased collaboration, and strengthened social connections among classmates.

4.2.5. Self-Management Skills

In response to this theme, students stated that they had to organize a lot of learning activities as course co-creators, including reading materials and preparing lessons, working on projects, and completing other course assignments on time. For example, Noela explained:

For sure in this course, we had many activities which required to have individual disciplines to finish tasks. Studying online and having time to work individually or in groups to prepare lessons and doing other related learning activities was not easy without self-commitment.

Herbert had similar comments:

I remember from the first day professor told us to manage our learning because we are co-creators and everyone was required to have data inventory to record everything happening in the course. What I can say recording everything about the course in data inventory helped me to manage my own learning activities because it was easy to make follow up and finish activities on time.

The findings reveal that the principal instructor gave students autonomy to lead the course as co-creators which made them to have many activities to do and so self-management and commitment helped them to succeed. The findings also reveal that students' self-management skills helped them to perform their learning activities on time. Claro and Loeb (2019) found that self-management is a better predictor of student learning than are other measures of socio-emotional skills. This means that students' ability to manage and organize their activities is important to their academic success (Muluk et al. 2021).

5. Summary and Implications for Faculty Members

In the preceding section, the discussion dwelt on doctoral students' perceptions as co-creators and the teaching skills they have acquired after studying the course. With regard to the perception of being co-creators

in the course, students perceived this positively and participated in re-designing the course syllabus, choosing the core readings of the course, preparing lessons, suggesting assessment activities and planning projects to be done by every student at the end of the course. Making students' co-creators increased their engagement and gave them more control over their learning. This is significant because it ensures students' voices in curriculum design and improves student-centered learning with real-world relevance.

With regard to the teaching skills students acquired, the results revealed that students acquired the following: teamwork/collaboration skills, communication skills, self-management skills, lesson preparation and presentation skills, and assessment skills. As co-creators, students worked in teams to redesign the course, lesson preparation and teaching and assessment activities. Students learned these practical skills, which are helpful in the real world of their teaching professional career.

These findings suggest that while research identity formation is a key moment in a person's transition from relative dependence to greater independence during the doctoral study journey (Le grange 2018), it is important to investigate how doctoral programmes in education that aim to prepare teachers and researchers balance between teaching and research. This may help to re-evaluate doctoral programs that tend to produce graduates who are lopsidedly strong in research and weak in teaching skills. Today, many university doctoral programs in education lack clear educational structures on how to prepare doctoral students in both research and teaching. As Hutchins and Huber (2010, xii) argue, universities should encourage a new strand of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning and embrace "a commitment to more shared responsibility for learning among students and teachers, a more democratic intellectual community, and more authentic co-inquiry". Faculty members are responsible for ensuring that the doctoral curriculum for future teachers and researchers strikes a balance between the two aspects during training programs and avoids the assumption that teaching identity development happens automatically or naturally as one pursue doctoral studies.

6. Suggestion for Further Research

The current study explored how students improved their teaching abilities focusing on a single course and within a single university. Based on the findings, the present study suggests that similar studies be conducted at different universities with a broader scope to investigate how doctoral education programs strike the right balance in the training of doctoral students who aspire to become future researchers and teachers.

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Chapter 6

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Rethinking Activities Undertaken in the Implementation of Science Clubs to Enhance Students' Interest in Learning Science in Ludewa District, Tanzania

Abstract: The study scrutinised activities done in the implementation of ordinary level secondary school science clubs to enhance students' interest in learning science in Ludewa District, Tanzania. Mixed method approach was employed in the study and guided by concurrent embedded design. Purposive and simple random sampling techniques were used to select 141 respondents. Data were collected through questionnaires, interviews, FGD and observation. Qualitative data were thematically analysed, and quantitative data were descriptively analysed through the SPSS version 22. The Likert scale contained several agreement levels to increase the validity of the findings. The questionnaire was subjected to Cronbach's Alpha test to establish the reliability statistics of its different scales. In general, the scales had a sufficient reliability coefficient of 0.801. The findings unfold some of activities students undertake in science clubs that are not aligned with student involvement theory including; solving questions and discussing controversial/sensitive issues. Also, it exposed activities performed by teachers including: guiding and counselling students, supervising activities done by students and helping them in their discussion wherever necessary. The study recommended that science teachers should be equipped with the knowledge, skills

and competencies necessary in identification of the fundamental activities to be undertaken in science clubs as it has been avowed in student involvement theory, this is through in-service training. Besides, it was recommended that designers of educational projects ought to design and execute various projects to promote re-establishment of functional science clubs in schools.

Keywords: involvement in learning, science clubs, science clubs' activities and students' interest

1. Introduction

The motive of conducting this study was based on the fact that there is a growing need of sustaining students' interest in learning science. This is through the education channel from primary to post science career schools to let them fit into the rapid technological development (Mlelwa 2020). Accordingly, it is imperative that appropriate vehicle like science clubs (SCI) should be used to communicate science and make students acquainted with the required skills and competencies (Magaji, Ade-Ojo and Bijlhout 2022). Learning through SCI goes beyond what is indicated in the core curriculum. Activities done in SCI emulate a student-centered approach of learning science which is more engaging and entertaining (Stockmayer, Rennie and Gilbert 2010). Activities carried out in science clubs involve students physically, psychologically, socially and emotionally in learning science, consequently, developing students' positive attitudes toward learning science subjects.

Science clubs are the organised scientific activities done outside the classroom learning environments. They furnish opportunities for student to explore knowledge related to science subjects namely: Physics, Chemistry and Biology. Examples of activities done in science clubs include: conducting experiments like the study about the forest nocturnal life; learning about zoo operations also investigating and discovering the ecology and geology (Behrendt 2017). Students interact with the natural settings while digesting materials they learn to acquire expertise in a broader field of science and maintain academic experience. In turn, it boosts their involvement and curiosity in learning science (Mlelwa 2020).

The philosophy behind SCl is to develop skills and competencies among students to meet the demands of the modern world (Weaver 2011). Therein, students must engage in other activities outside their classrooms to holistically be developed (Bairagee 2009). In SCl, students gain the non-academic skills including: cooperation, communication, teamwork, leadership, self-motivation and problem solving skills. Besides, their educational practices like; initiative, inventiveness self-confidence, self-reliance, self-esteem and fidelity are likely improved (Magaji et al. 2022), the competencies gained are vital in complementing academic skill acquired by relying on the paper, pencils and books in classrooms.

In fact, learning by using textbooks only has noted to be partial, and it causes the learning gap in science. Considering this, science subjects should be learned by using both inside and outside the classroom learning environments (Chatterjee 2013). So far, schools should establish and run the functional SCl which are crucial in bridging the existing science learning gap created by the traditional way of learning; the rote learning going on in the classroom learning environments (Magaji et al. 2022), where students learn science theoretically (Maro 2013). Consequently, numerous students dread science and its related subjects, seeing them as extremely difficult and unachievable (Nwankwo and Okoye 2015).

The presence of SCl and the crucial activities undertaken in SCl are the determining factors for the removal of the learning gap and for students to develop the interest and culture of learning science subjects. Activities undertaken in SCl enhance creativity; development of students' talents and the culture of learning science subjects (Adegoke 2008). Additionally, they are essential for students to learn science through; laboratory activities, outdoor and other scientific activities to promote their creativity and overcome the problem of decreasing students' interest in learning science which persist from primary schools to secondary schools. For example, this is highly marked in physics subject (Chatterjee 2013, Maro 2013).

1.1. Importance of Activities Undertaken in Science Clubs

Activities done in SCl produce the well-skilled scientists who interacting with their natural environment to holistically develop (Hayes 2018). They furnish students with the freeness of making self-expression rather

than being fixed to the formal curriculum (Jha, Rai, Joshi, Shrestha, Giri and Lekhak 2004). Additionally, science clubs' activities are useful for students to properly learn science and overcome the pressure caused by the regulation put in the formal curriculum. They make science be admired by students starting from elementary school level to the higher education level (Mwangangi, 2012). Furthermore, activities done in SCl promote students' interest in learning science and perform better by earning higher grades and attain best scores in their tests, in turn, cultivating young scientists for the future (Wegner, Issak, Tesch and Zehne, 2016).

Besides, when crucial activities are done in science clubs; students develop the autonomy of engage in solving problems related to science phenomena experimentally while interacting with members of the varying age groups to share experiences (Wegne et al. 2016). This is possible because science clubs provide students with authentic learning to enrich new experiences (Callanan, Laing, Chanfreau, Paylor, Skipp and Todd 2016). Activities done in SCl promote inquiry, improvement and creativity among students in learning science. Also, students can apply the gained knowledge, skills and competencies in real-life situations. In turn, it leads to having a nation with qualities (Misra, Bhushan and Upadhyay 2013)

Activities done in SCl help to reduce students' deviant behaviours like; alcoholism, rape and prostitution thus focusing on learning (Ivaniushina and Zapletina 2015). Additionally, activities done in SCl improve the connection among schools and centers of science, museums, institutes of research and industries. In so doing, they raised students' confidence in learning science (Krishnamurthi, Ballard and Noam 2014). Also, activities undertaken help to prevent discrimination among students, improve interaction and social relationships among students, they also increase positive teacher-student interaction, hence students' involvement in learning science (Bairagee 2009).

Based on the necessity of SCl in schools; various conferences, commissions, education policies and the curriculum suggest that; students should undertake activities which enhance physical and psychological engagement in learning of science through SCl. For example, the Education Commission commonly known as the Kothari Commission which was held in 1964-1966 in India suggested that; in the implementation of

SCL, each school must plan and conduct various activities to sustain each learner's need, their involvement and interest in learning science. Therefore, it can be understood that science club is not a new concept; it has existed during ancient times. Nonetheless, it underwent diverse stages of amendment and development for its proper implementation to attain the learning goals of science (Kothari and Chairman 1967).

Furthermore, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania has set out its vision, overarching policy and strategic objectives for Education Sector Development Plans (ESDP) since 1997. From the set plan, one of the key priorities which were exposed in the ESDP policy was in order to attain quality education there is a need of supplying facilities and guidelines required in schools to facilitate students' involvement in proficiency development. Additionally, activities performed in SCL must attract students to engage in learning science subjects (MoEST 2018).

The literature revealed; despite the emphasis put forth by various commissions, policies and MoEST on the need for the implementation of functional SCL in schools, in Tanzania, little attention has been given in undertaking activities which uphold physical and psychological learning of science through SCL (Mhando et al. 2015). Besides, the questions on activities teachers and students undertake in SCL to enhance students' interest in learning science hitherto are unanswered, hence the need for this study.

1.2. Activities Undertaken in Science Clubs: What does Research Say?

Various activities are conducted in SCL. And the selection of activities is based on the group's interest to maintain students' membership (Andrew 2012). Researchers have exposed activities done by teachers and those undertaken by students in SCL to enhance students' involvement in knowledge construction and their interest in learning science as follows:

1.2.1. Activities Undertaken by Students in Science Clubs

Students are responsible to plan and conduct some projects; they conduct an investigation and role-play. Besides, students learn science contents which are grounded in context by conducting activities like field trip as per demands of the world of science (Behrendt 2017). Also, Behrendt

proclaimed that in SCl students perform experiments like; the study about the forest nocturnal life; learning about zoo operations, they investigate and discover the ecology and geology. Also, Jha et al. (2004) proclaim that in SCl students conduct activities that offer meaningful learning with concrete experiences, for example: competition, drama, exhibition, sanitation, gardens, sports and environmental conservation.

Additionally, in SCl students conduct activities like; visiting observatories, museums, science centers, industries and aquaria in order to learn science subjects (Behrendt 2017; Lazaro and Anney 2016) physically and psychologically. On the other hand, activities done by students in SCl include: “visiting research labs, science-related companies like soil and water analysis labs and an aviation design company, wildlife centers, state parks and nature preserves” (Mesmer 2019, 40). When students perform these activities in SCl, they develop intrinsic motivation in learning science and in selecting careers in science fields.

1.2.2. Activities Undertaken by Science Teachers in Science Clubs

Teachers participate in SCl as advisors. They supervise all activities done that need a variety of facilities and which require students to take precautions because they are dangerous (Behrendt 2017). Science teachers perform activities like: scheduling the controllable timetable for SCl activities, structuring and supporting students. Also, science teachers are required to create the conducive environments for students to express the challenges that impair the effort in learning science and navigate to help them (Mhando, Shukia and Mkumbo 2015). Furthermore, they facilitate students in designing science projects and connect them to scientist and science centers to have the hands-on learning of the planned topics (Mlelwa 2020).

Additionally, science teachers are involved in SCl through helping students in planning and making organisation of activities to be done in SCl (Jha et al. 2004). They; work as mentors; determine students’ needs and interest, create a supportive environment for students to benefit as they engage in SCl, especially low achievers in science subjects. Given that, students aren’t aware of the opportunities available at schools for them to learn science physically and psychologically (Kirsch 2014). There in, teachers are responsible of advising students about the crucial

activities which boost their involvement and motivation in learning science through SCL.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the informal educational theory known as the students' involvement theory as the foundation for the research construction. It systematically presented the problem, supported and provided the relevant study structure. The theory was developed by Alexander Astin in 1984 (Gunuc 2014). It is the educational theory with the informal beliefs, attitudes, proposition, and views that a person has about the universe. Student involvement theory focus more on what students should do rather than what a teacher is required to do; that is how provoked students devote their energy and time in learning science subjects (Rahman and Zakariya 2020). The aim is to accomplish the desired science learning outcomes.

Student involvement “refers to the amount of physical and psychological energy that a student devoted to academic experience” (Astin 1999, 518). Moreover, student involvement has been clarified as the quality and quantity of students' psychology, emotions, mental processes and behavioural reactions toward learning both inside classroom academic environments and outside classroom social activities to successfully attain the desired learning outcomes (Gunuc 2014). Students' satisfaction and involvement in learning science is promoted by the opportunity they are given. This is through interactive activities with peers inside and outside their classrooms (Wilmer 2009). Besides, there are five basic assumptions of students' involvement theory including:

1. Students' involvement refers to the amount of energy that students devote in academic issues physically and psychologically (Gunuc 2014).
2. Different students show variation in the degree of involvement in various activities at different times; this can be demonstrated from a single student on the extent to which involvement in activity varies with times (Foubert and Grainger 2006).
3. Students' involvement includes both quantitative and qualitative features. The extent to which a student engages in academic

activities is measured quantitatively to determine, for instance; how many hours a student invests in learning while qualitatively involves the measure of whether a student is effectively engaging in learning to accomplish the desired outcomes (D'Arcy 2014).

4. According to Astin (1984), the totality of student learning and personal development which is related to a particular educational programme will directly depend on the quality and quantity of student's involvement in a programme.
5. The usefulness of educational policy, practices and programmes is directly related to its ability of enhancing students' involvement (Astin 1999). So, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology should make amendment of the educational policy, practices and programmes that does not further student involvement in learning science.

Students' involvement theory guided this study given that it resonates with each facet of the study procedures; from clarification of the problem, literature review, methodology, presentation and discussion of the findings, also the conclusions drawn as it has been suggested by suggested Adom, Hussein and Agyem (2018).

The theory viewed the learning in a broad sense which involves classroom and outside the classroom learning experiences. In examining activities done by students and teachers in SCI the theory helped to inform researchers that in science clubs; students were required to physically and psychologically be involved in learning science by performing activities like practical, projects and model making. For this reason, in the implementation of science club, students were not expected to only use paper, pencil and books to acquire new knowledge inside their classrooms. They were required to participate in learning science outside the classrooms by touching, tasting, hearing, smelling and seeing to make the sense of the world. This is also the main anxiety of educationists in practicing science clubs.

Moreover, researchers expected to see student's effort of working with others in a team, their ability to intermingle with other students from different classes and age levels as well as with their teachers in knowledge exploration outside the classroom learning environments. Students were also observed on the ways they were seriously engaging in activities

undertaken in SCI. Additionally, researchers expected to see schools having a functional science club by relying to the educational policies and practices through undertaking activities which promote students' involvement in learning science.

1.4. Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is the structure which shows the relationship among the most important research, ideas or theories, concepts, observations and knowledge. It is a researchers' proposed answer to the problem under study in an integrated manner (Adom, Hussein and Agyem 2018). In this study, the framework was designed to summarize and present the key concepts and their relation to ensure that the phenomenon under scrutiny is clearly understood to readers. The developed framework addressed the relationship between activities undertaken in SCI and students' interest in learning science by using the central concepts drawn from; student involvement theory, the Education Sector Development Plans (ESDP) policy and the key research findings to guide the study, as it has been uncovered in figure 1.

The prerequisite for science clubs to accomplish its intended outcomes extremely depends on activities undertaken by both teachers and students. Activities done should foster physical, psychological and emotional involvement of students in learning science. It is imperative that a teacher should attend in science clubs as a facilitator/supervisor who creatively uses various techniques to create conducive and attractive or supportive environments for students to optimally use the natural settings to learn science. He/she can support students by; supplying facilities they cannot afford getting them through improvisation in their local environments, connecting them to science carrier institution, facilitate designing of the projects, inculcating collaboration in scientific solving of the problems and voluntarily supervise activities students undertake.

Accordingly, activities done by a teacher pave the way for students to undertake the crucial activities like; conducting research, projects and laboratory experiments, solving the problems arising in the society/community, conserving environments, visiting science centers, conversing discoveries to conducting competition in different levels like; school,

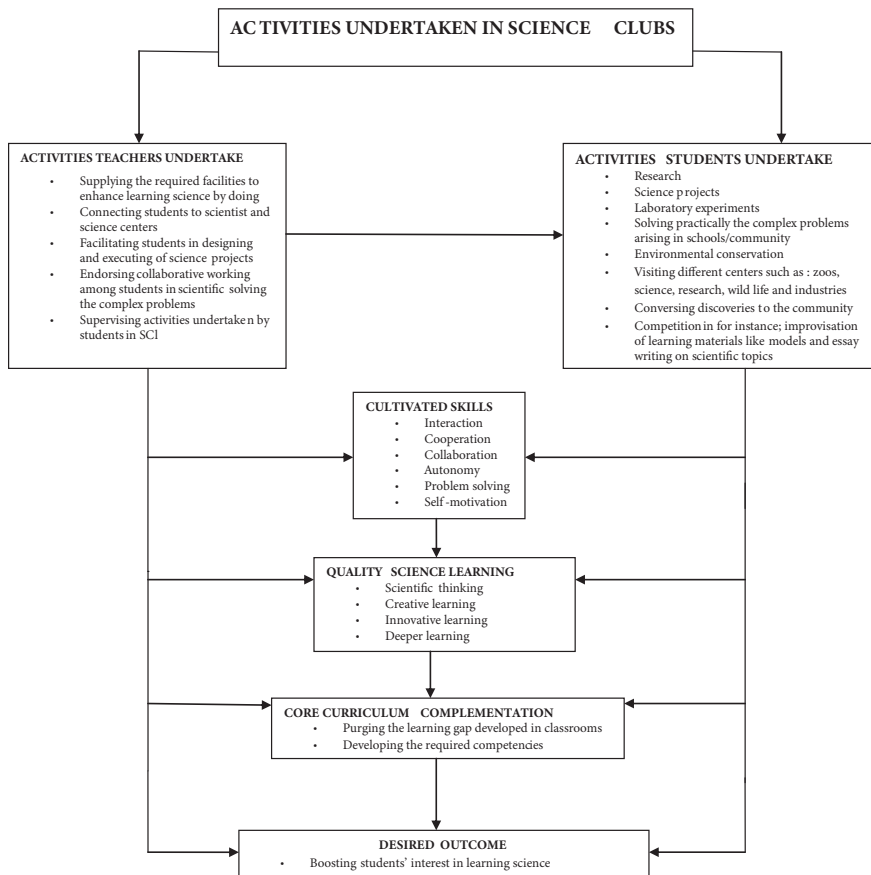


Figure 1. Relationship between SCL activities and students' interest in learning science

Source: Researchers' conceptual framework design, 2022.

ward, district and region. These activities foster physical and psychological engagement of students in learning science. Thus, it is likely that activities undertaken by students cultivate the non-academic skills which are transferable among students like; interaction, cooperation, collaboration, autonomy, problem solving and self-motivation in learning science.

Activities done in SCL and the skill nurtured together they influence quality learning of science. Quality learning is brought about through; scientific thinking, creative, innovative and deeper learning. The excellent science learning is due to the knowledge organization which shape understanding by experiencing in the natural settings. All in all, activities

undertaken, the skills nurtured and the enhanced quality learning; purge the learning gap and develop the required competencies among students to meet the demand of the modern and complex world. The aforesaid aspect helps to complement the core curriculum in which learning is based on; paper, pencil and book leading to the rote learning/learning gap in science.

In general, the essential activities undertaken in SCl, the skills cultivated, the enhanced quality science learning and the support given by SCl to complement the implementation of core curriculum, altogether boost students' interest in learning science. Therein, schools with this scenario are said to have functional Science Clubs merely because they give rise to the desired outcome.

1.5. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine activities undertaken in the implementation of ordinary level secondary school SCl to boost students' interest in learning science subjects in Ludewa District.

Specifically, the study strived to:

- Examine activities undertaken by students in ordinary level secondary schools' science clubs.
- Examine activities done by teachers in ordinary level secondary schools' science clubs.

2. Research Methodology

The study adopted a mixed-method approach. Mixed-method adheres to pragmatism philosophical point of view which supports mixing of different methods in a single study to strengthen the data collected. It counteracts the innate weakness of single method (Cresswell 2008). Researchers used mixed approach method of study knowingly that a person is a complex creature whose behaviour can easily be studied through the comprehensive and different techniques. The approach enhanced gaining of relevant information, clarity as well as a deeper understanding of

the findings and the interpretation on activities done by both teachers and students in the execution of SCL.

Additionally, the study employed concurrent embedded (nested) research design. In this research design, qualitative research approach was dominant from which the quantitative research method was nested. Quantitative data were used to answer the questions within the dominant qualitative study. It enhanced the use of qualitative design to accomplish the study purpose by overcoming its weaknesses. The data from the nested strand were added within the dominant strand during data analysis to enhance the design.

2.1. The Sample, Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The techniques employed to obtain the sample were purposive and simple random sampling. Purposive sampling was used to select 6 schools in Ludewa District. Also, the technique was used to select 6 school heads and 16 science teachers. Simple random sampling was used to select 120 students. This made the study having a total of 141 respondents.

2.2. Data Collection Methods and Instruments

A researcher collected only primary data from the field and used triangulation methodology of data collection. The instruments used include: questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, FGDs and observation. Quantitative data were collected through the use of the Likert kind questionnaires from students. The items in questionnaires were phrased to ensure that they reflected the standards which formed the basis for validity of data on activities undertaken by students in science clubs. Students were requested to show the degree of how they agreed or disagreed with the statement. In each school, questionnaires were administered to 20 students, subsequently, having a total of 120 responses for quantitative data in the study.

Qualitative data were collected through the; semi-structured interviews, FGDs and observation. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from science teachers and school heads. They were used to capture through probing deeper information on activities executed

by both students and teachers in SCl. A single interview took between 25-30 minutes. Through the permission from the respondents, the responses were recorded and then transcribed into written documents and coded.

Observation was used to recognize the actual participant' actions/ activities performed during SCl. Also, observation was used to recognize; how students actively engaged and effectively used the time allocated for SCl in school timetable to learn scientifically. In order to obtain the valid information, observation schedule was used to guide the observation process. The FGDs was used to collect data from students, in each school 8 students were involved. The FGDs was used to broaden the range of their responses by enhancing forgotten details of experiences on activities done by both students and teachers in science clubs. The discussion was guided by the prior constructed questions, and each took 25-40 minutes. The data obtained through FGDs helped to validate and complement the information obtained in the questionnaire, observation and interview.

2.3. Validity and Reliability of the Study

2.3.1. Ensuring the Validity of the Study

A pilot study was conducted in the selected school within the district that had characteristics similar to those of schools selected for the investigation. Pilot testing helped to determine the length of instruments, misconceptions of items construction for researchers to modify the instruments based on identified weaknesses before administering the instruments for the actual study to be conducted. Additionally, the Likert scale contained several agreement levels: five commitments were involved in the questionnaires including: strongly agree, agree, I don't know, disagree and strongly disagree. This helped in giving more choices to respondents so as to increase the validity of the findings.

2.3.2. Ensuring the Reliability of Research Instruments

Multiple instruments were used for data collection to combine the strength of each technique and overcome their weaknesses. This helped

in counterchecking the authenticity of information collected through different instruments. The data collected through interviews with teachers were counterchecked with the data obtained through observations and FGDs. Where necessary, questions were rephrased to make respondents understand their contents and provide relevant information. Moreover, the questionnaire was subjected to Cronbach's Alpha test to establish the reliability statistics of its different scales. In general, the scale had a sufficient reliability coefficient of 0.801.

2.4. Data Analysis

Thematic data analysis was used to identify and analyse qualitative data which were collected through; semi-structured interviews, observation and FGDs. The researchers analysed the collected data thematically by following six steps as proposed by (Braun and Clarke 2006). Quantitative data from questionnaires were systematically analysed through the simple descriptive statistical procedures by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22 software program. Frequencies were obtained and run to determine the percentage of responses of different items in the questionnaires.

3. Findings and Discussion

The study findings have been presented based on the objectives. However, conceptual and theoretical frameworks have underpinned discussion of the findings.

3.1. Activities Undertaken by Students in Science Clubs

In this subsection, respondents were required to provide their views on the activities performed by students in SCL. Activities mentioned include collecting and solving questions from science subjects as well as conducting discussion on sensitive and controversial issues. Each set of activities is discussed below.

3.1.6. Collecting and Solving Questions

Activities performed by students with regard to collecting and solving questions were reported. During focused group discussion, ST3 from S4 had this to say:

The main activity we are doing in the implementation of science club is to submit questions we have prepared from the topics of our interest to science club leaders. Then, the submitted questions are discussed during SCl (FGD ST3: School S4: on January 28, 2020).

In connection to that, similar views were obtained during an interview with science teachers. For example, ST2 from school S1 commented that:

There is only one activity done by students during SCl. Students discuss the questions they obtain from the normal classroom teaching and learning activities (Interview ST2: School S1: on January 22, 2020).

Activities done in SCl were also revealed during observation. In each school under study, students were seen gathering together in one of their classrooms ready for discussing the questions they prepared. For instance, it was observed in S6 where during chemistry club students were seen solving the question that read: *Three moles of Nitrogen gas combined with five moles of hydrogen gas to form ammonium gas by the Haber process (a) which reactant is present in smallest amount? (b) Calculate the grams of the reactant left in the container (c) How many moles of NH_3 are produced? (d) How many liters of NH_3 are produced at STP?* The observation uncovered that activities undertaken in SCl were fostering theoretical learning of science which is against the expectation as it is affirmed in students' involvement theory.

Moreover, the questionnaires findings confirmed the findings from interviews, FGDs and observation. The data collected through questionnaires on students' responses about activities done by students in SCl has been presented in Table 3.

The findings from Table 3 revealed that 80.0% of students agreed to the statement that they took note of questions arising in classroom teaching and learning to be worked in science club activities. Very few (4.2%) students disagreed the statement and 3.3% of them responded

Table 3. Students' Views on Activities done in Science Clubs

Students 'view	SA	A	ID	D	SD
1. I devote my time engaging in inter-school competition conducted in science clubs.	10.0%	11.6%	16.7%	20.0%	41.7%
2. I theoretically participate in science club activities through sharing experiences with members of different class levels.	70.8%	14.2%	6.7%	2.5%	5.8%
3. I take a note of questions arising in classroom teaching and learning to be worked in science club activities	80.0%	11.7%	3.3%	0.8%	4.2%
4. I participate in study visits organized in science clubs.	6.7%	13.3%	12.5%	6.7%	60.8%

Source: Field data, 2020.

that they do not know. In addition, only 6.7% of the students agreed the statement they participated in the study visits organised in science clubs, while 60.8% of students disagreed with the statement. And 12.5% of them responded that they do not know. This further exposed that activities students undertake in SCl are based on use of paper, pencil and books inside their classrooms.

3.1.2. Discussing Controversial and Sensitive Issues

The findings in this sub-section showed that apart from solving various questions, students conducted discussions on the sensitive and controversial issues. During interview session with science teachers in school S4, ST1 opined that:

In addition to solving questions in SCl, students conduct discussions on the sensitive issues like rape and gender harassment. They also discuss about controversial issues arising in their societies such as: cloning, circumcision, test tube babies and application of pesticides in crop production. They select the controversial or sensitive issues of their interest to be discussed during SCl (Interview ST1: School S4: on January 28, 2020).

The findings from FGDs confirmed the same, where one of the students from S4 proclaimed that:

In the implementation of SCl, we sometimes conduct discussion on controversial issues like: abortion and alcoholism as well as the

sensitive issues like early pregnancy. We propose the topic to be discussed before the meeting day so that everyone gets time to find materials to be used for the next discussion (FGD, ST3: School S4: on January 28, 2020).

Furthermore, the observation was conducted to have the firsthand information on activities performed by students in the implementation of SCL. During observation in S4, students were seen planning the activity to be done in the next meeting. It was revealed in S4 where at the end of the meeting; students were given the chance of deciding whether in the next meeting they could solve questions or discuss about controversial/sensitive issues. Students decided to conduct a discussion on the controversial issues, and 'Drug Abuse' was the topic of their interest in discussion. The dialogue between science club leader (SCL) and students (St) on what to do in the next meeting went this way:

SCL: Ok! The time is not in our side, but before we close our today's meeting let us make decision; shall we proceed discussing the questions left or discuss the controversial/sensitive issues in the next meeting?

St1: To me, I think it will be much better if we discuss the questions we have failed to discuss today due to time shortage.

SCL: Is there a club member with different view?

St2: I think in the next week, we better changes activity to be done, we are bored, almost a month we are only discussing questions. So, in the coming meeting we better discuss controversial issues. And I propose Drug Abuse to be a topic for our discussion.

SCL: Ok! Members let us vote to opt for one of the two alternatives. Those who think we better discuss questions should rise up their hand for it and those who think we better discuss the controversial issues should do the same for that.

From the conversation, the decision was reached based on the fact that 27 students raised their hands to vote for conducting a discussion on the controversial/sensitive issue and only 06 voted for conducting a discussion on the questions. So, club leader closed the meeting saying; in the next meeting we shall discuss about Drug Abuse. Furthermore, he advised

club members to go and read about Drug Abuse in order to confidently contribute to their discussion.

Normally, in the implementation of SCl, students were expected to physically and psychologically engage in learning science subjects as it has been suggested in students' involvement theory. They were expected to perform varied activities outside the classroom learning environment like study tours, projects, experiments and other activities as it has been indicated in figure 1. In reality, the findings revealed that the main activity done by students in SCl was to submit and solve the questions gathered. The findings revealed that during SCl students rely only on the use of paper, pencil and textbooks inside the classrooms to discuss questions and learn sensitive issues/controversial issues. It was disclosed even in SCl's advice to club members. Students were advised to get prepared for the next meeting just by reading on Drug Abuse; an indication that the usual classroom learning environments were expected to be used by students for conducting SCl activities.

The findings unfolded those activities undertaken by students in the implementation SCl; were not helpful for students to learning science by experiencing in the natural settings. It was noted that activities undertaken in SCl does not promote students' opportunity of developing the essential skills for learning science such as: the creative thinking and the problems solving skills. Students use the predominant learning format, they discuss questions through memorization of the facts they learn in classrooms. Certainly, the nature of our education system, which is exam oriented, lack of fund, absence of in-service training and insufficient time for students to perform activities that enhance physical and psychological learning of science could be the reasons for the scenario. Therefore, special budget should be allocated by the government for schools to afford conducting activities that are crucial in the execution of SCl. Teachers should be given in-service training to enhance awareness on decisive activities students can undertake to foster scientific learning through SCl.

The foregoing findings are contrary to the findings obtained by Hartley (2014) who asserted that in the implementation of SCl, students learned science by experiencing in the natural settings. Hartley exposed activities done in SCl for instance; project activities, study tours and practical

works. Probably, the current study findings differ from the previous study findings because the current study findings are the results of the field study while the previous study reviewed selected reports on the use of science clubs as a vehicle to promote science activities in various contexts (Hartley 2014, 167). In addition, the recent study was conducted in ordinary secondary schools while previous study involved combination of studies done in various contexts. However, both studies are imperative because the previously used literature review as a methodology; gives a complementary insight as it reviews the combined evidence on the roles of SCL in supporting learning of science. Also, the current study findings provide the truth and detailed information about activities done by students in the implementation SCL in ordinary level secondary schools. It ensures that SCL are used among other strategies to complement the core curriculum by doing away the rote learning happening in classrooms through the essential activities undertaken by students, in turn boosting students' involvement and passionate in learning science.

3.2. Activities Undertaken by Teachers in Science Clubs

In this sub-section, researchers wanted to know whether teachers participated in SCL or not and the activities they performed. In this case, respondents were required to provide their views on the activities performed by teachers in learning science through SCL. Data was collected through questionnaires, interviews, FGDs and observation. The findings revealed that teachers participated in SCL activities. However, it was noted that sometimes science teachers did not participate in SCL activities because of their heavy teaching loads.

Respondents reported some of the activities performed by teachers in the implementation of SCL, they include: solving questions that were difficult to students in their discussion; supervising activities done by students in SCL also guiding and counselling students. For example, during focused group discussion with students, St5 from S3 pinpointed that:

Science teachers attend in SCL by correcting misconceptions made in our discussion. Also, they provide answers to questions which are difficult to us. In addition, they attend by providing guidance and

counselling to maintain students' membership (FGD ST5: School S3: on January 27, 2020).

Additionally, interview sessions were conducted with science teachers. ST1 from S4 assert that:

In order to ensure that students participate effectively in SCI, I attend in it by supervising activities they undertake. Additionally, when students plan to make discussion on sensitive or controversial issues, I help them to find materials from internet, magazines and books. I provide them such materials before the day they meet as supportive materials for their next discussion (Interview ST1: School S4: on January 28, 2020).

Likewise, during observation it was uncovered that teachers participated in SCI and that; they were supervising activities done by students and helping them in areas they wanted teachers' support. For instance, a chemistry teacher who attended during chemistry club in S6 was observed supervising students' discussion. In addition, she responded to the questions directed to her by a club leader as the complicated questions in their discussion.

Furthermore, the information collected was based on questionnaires with the statement that; *I usually receive guidance and support from science teachers for effective and active participation in science club activities.* The findings from the questionnaires revealed that 103 of 120 (85.8%) students rated the statement favourably that they usually receive guidance and support from science teachers for them to effectively and actively participate in science clubs. Meanwhile, 9 of 120 (7.5%) students disagreed the statement and 8 of 120 (6.7%) students rated it that, they did not know.

Based on the assumptions set in the students' involvement theory; teachers were expected to create the conducive environments for students to learn science physically and psychologically. They were expected to provide appropriate tools, assisting students when necessary in practical and project activities as it is shown in the conceptual framework. Nonetheless, as facilitators they were required to establish the atmosphere for students to be comfortable in their new knowledge exploration without fearing of external intimidation. Also, they were supposed to supervise

activities done in SCl and provide an ample time in stepping the physical and psychological learning of science. Actually, the findings discovered that teachers participated in SCl by performed activities that were enhancing theoretical learning of science including: guiding and counselling students, supervising students' discussion and responding to questions that students failed to get answers in their discussions.

This implies that the findings are contrary to the assumptions put forth by Astin in 1984 in the students' involvement theory because activities done by teachers were not helpful for students to learn science physically and psychologically. Perhaps, this could be due to lack of funds, lack of training and absence of SCl teachers' guides. So, special funds for SCl and SCl teachers' guides should be supplied in schools. Likewise, teachers should be trained to develop their awareness about SCl and its proper implementation. Also, SCl teacher guides should be designed and supplied in schools for teachers to recognize their roles and ensure that SCl are suitably implemented.

The current findings concurred with the findings by Lazaro and Anney (2016) who reported that teachers participated in SCl as supervisors, when necessary, they also provided some help to students in activities they undertake. Probably, the current study findings are alike to the previous study findings because in both researchers conducted their studies in the same context which were the ordinary level secondary schools. Additionally, in both quantitative data were descriptively analysed into frequencies and percentage. Also, in both the qualitative data were thematically analysed. This entail that activities performed by science teachers in Tanzanian secondary schools' SCl do not foster physically and psychologically learning of science, which is against the students' involvement theory.

Perhaps, the findings deviate from the expectation because teachers do not support from the school administration for them to effectively perform their roles as uncovered by Andrew (2012) that; school head do not value SCl equally to academic subjects. They say SCl are not examined and add nothing to the mean grade of the school, the scenario could have made teachers incapable of do what is intended of them. Additionally, the findings are of this nature probably because Tanzanian science teachers are busy with the implementation of the core curriculum in order to have the best results in the subjects they teach. They avoid

being accountable for the failure of producing good grades. Subsequently, it is necessary to have SCl course in the pre- service teacher training for educators to be acquainted with the experiences on the usefulness of SCl in the classroom teaching and in exams' grades. It will endorse active teachers' participation in SCl by undertaking their respective roles to have functional science clubs in schools.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

When the study findings are examined, some of activities done by students and teachers in SCl are revealed. Activities performed by students in SCl includes: solving questions and discussing the controversial/sensitive issues. Also, activities done by science teachers includes: guiding and counselling students, supervising activities done by students in SCl and providing some help to students in their discussion wherever necessary.

The conclusions drawn based on the study results are: activities undertaken by both students and teachers in the implementation of science clubs are not aligned to the student involvement theory. Accordingly, they are based on paper, pencil and book inside the classrooms. Probably, lack of knowledge among teachers and lack of funds for conducting the crucial activities which are costly like study tour for students to learn science in the natural settings are the reasons for the scenario.

Regarding the conclusion drawn, the researcher recommends that; firstly, the time allocated for SCl activities should optimally be utilized. The aim is to ensure that students get the opportunity of performing activities which develop various skills and competencies relevant to science subjects. Secondly, school administration can seek financial support from various stakeholders such as Vodacom, Airtel, brewery industries like Coca Cola, and banks like NMB as well as school alumni. The aim is to get their support when conducting the costly activities which are crucial for students to learn science physically and psychologically to holistically be developed.

Thirdly, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) should provide science teachers with ample special training, seminars and workshops to enhance awareness about SCl and its proper implementation.

Fourthly, the MoEST should introduce SCI courses in Teacher training Institutions to equip students with the required knowledge and skills on activities students and teachers should undertake in science clubs. And, if possible the MoEST should make sure that Teacher training Institution produce SCI specialists and recruit them in order to have functional SC-lin schools. Lastly, designers of educational projects ought to design and execute various projects which promote re-establishment of functional science clubs in schools; they may consult us to get assistance for free: *Together, we can Cultivate Functional Science Clubs to boost Interest in Science.*

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Chapter 7

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The Implementation of Competence-Based Curriculum: Teacher's Construction of Examination Questions for Students' Learning Progress in Secondary Schools

Abstract: Questioning technique when orally or in written form requires application of certain principles by teachers. This study aimed to find out teachers experienced instructional words in constructing examination questions according to the competence-based learning progresses and outcomes in competence-based education. The study was conducted in six districts of Mbeya region in Tanzania. A total of six Biology teachers from selected schools participated in the study. The study employed the Task-Based Approach using the OCBIG Model, supported by interview and documentary review methods. Teachers constructed experienced questions in phase one and competence-based questions through use of Bloom taxonomic key guide in phase two were conducted. The rubric for assessment of constructed questions as per Bloom taxonomy and competence-based requirements were employed. The findings obtained indicated that the majority of the teachers (83.3%) were employing instructional words of low levels, 1 and 2 of Bloom taxonomy. Rarely questions constructed fall under higher order thinking domain of Bloom taxonomy which lead to competence-based exams. This implies that student learning outcomes are in dilemma to be competence-based as it is stated in the official competence-based curriculum. The study concludes that teacher's classroom exams are still content-based while the national examinations which finalize students learning progresses are competence-based. It is therefore recommended for the Tanzania government to make immediate initiatives to provide short course training to teachers on competence-based assessment practices.

Keywords: competence-based assessment, questions, Bloom taxonomy, instructional words

1. Introduction

In Tanzania, the education system implements the competence-based curriculum, hence competence-based questions are to be used in all exams and other assessment activities. But construction of competence-based questions is a task that requires professional scientific expertise. That is, it needs the use of systematic and logical flow of instructional objectives according to Bloom taxonomic key. Questioning technique has been found to be a vital tool for teachers' assessment practices that has strong link with students learning progresses. Questioning technique requires expertise otherwise a learner can fail to give correct answers even when he or she knows the solution. Students may fail in their tests or exams not because they don't understand the answer or they don't know it, but because of the poor construction of questions, poor style of questioning, poor interpretation of the meaning of instructional words used in a question, and the presence of ambiguity in questions such that the question is not understood. This study therefore investigated on the teacher's efficiency in implementation of competence-based curriculum on the area of construction of competence-based questions for internal examinations.

2. Background

The implementation of Competence-Based Curriculum (CBC) can be traced back in 19th century in western and northern countries (Burke 2005). In African countries CBC was adapted from western countries with the aim of improving their education systems. For instance, the movement was adapted in Botswana in 1980s (Motswiri 2004), Nigeria in 1982 (Hannah 2011), Namibia in 1982 (Lileka 2010), Mozambique in 1984 (Januario 2008), Rwanda in 1995 (Rwanda Educational Board

2015), Ghana in 1996 (Hayford 2007), South Africa in 1998 (Komba and Mwandangi 2015) and Tanzania in 2005 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2005) and recently in the rest of other African countries.

By adapting CBC, Tanzania abandoned the content-based curriculum which was implemented since after independence in 1961. Among others, the requirements of CBC included: students' attainment of certain competences in their learning subjects which make them competent in solving life problems. The focus of teaching, learning and assessment practices shifted from content-based to competence-based which was on what learners know and can be able to do (Wangeleja 2010). All these can only be possible if all classroom practices can be competence-based in nature. That is, all questions constructed by teachers for learning activities and other tasks were now supposed to be of competence-based style. Studies have shown that many learners lose confidence in tests and exams when faced with questions which seem to be complex, challenging or unfamiliar with contexts (Karkehabadi 2013).

Gronlund (2006) pointed out that some teachers ask questions which they mean different instructions according to the actual meaning of the action verb used in asking question. Gronlund (2006) put forward strategies which teachers can use when constructing effective questions. That is, a question is usually divided into introductory information, part (a) and part (b) or parts (c) and (d). Each of these parts may be divided into sections (i) and (ii) and sometimes more. The parts are usually related by a scientific idea or theme. However, many teachers' questions change context between the sections. This can confuse learners and as a result they do not complete the question. So, teachers should ensure that all sections of a question are related and all parts should always be linked to each other and can be tackled one at a time. For instance, when learners find the first part of the question is difficult, they often give up at this point. It is worth noting that questioning technique in assessment system is still a challenge to many teachers in schools since some teachers lack knowledge and skills on how to ask questions (Thye and Kwen 2004). The construction of good questions is of paramount since poor questions make the whole exam invalid and obtained learning outcome be of low quality. Students who experienced exams of low quality mainly

are incompetent, cannot compete, qualify poorly and are challenged by other students of same level.

Tanzania has been implementing traditional knowledge-based classroom practices before 2005. Traditional methods of teaching and learning leads to student's memorization of curriculum content such as formulas, equations, terminologies, definitions, principles, rules without using thinking skills and core understanding of the underlying concepts (Wangeleja 2010; Kibani 2018). Such type of classroom practices used traditional format of examinations where content-based design was favored. Constructed questions were based on assessing knowledge or content to identify students' ability of remembering memorized concepts (John 2012). The whole education system was after what students remember on what he or she learnt in schools (Wangeleja 2010). Students graduated while knowing limited content and lacked skills (Komba and Mwandaji 2015). The national realized the deficit in the labour market and so in 2005 adopted a competence-based curriculum (CBC) which is the opposite of knowledge-based curriculum (MoEVT 2005). The adopted curriculum involves active learning, what students know and can do, learner-centred approaches and examination format were required to be competence-based in nature.

However, despite all requirements of CBC on assessment practices, recent studies revealed that since its implementation in 2005, examinations both in schools and at national level remained traditional-based up to 2019 when the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA) for the first time brought competence-based examinations (Komba and Mwandaji 2015; Kibani 2018; NECTA 2020). In 2019 to date (NECTA) started implementing competence-based national examinations (NECTA 2020). Nevertheless, despite of this good news, while NECTA implementing competence-based examinations, it is still questionable if teachers and their students are familiar with the type of format of competence-based exams and whole concepts of competence-based examinations. It is not known if teachers were oriented on how to construct competence-based questions for in-school examinations. There is still a challenge if teachers are able to design appropriate assessment tasks with appropriate questions that can lead learners' development of desired learning competences in a subject. Moreover, there is a foundation gap on teachers'

constructed exam questions if they match the class level competences outlined in the subject syllabi. The paucity in literature on teachers' construction of competence-based questions in the classroom setting and how the formative assessment practices comprising such questions support students' learning progresses of Biology subject justifies the need for the present study. The demands posed by teacher's development of competence-based questions make the findings of this study useful to inform training of teachers on competence-based practices. This study therefore investigated on teachers' ability of constructing competence-based questions for exams used to assess students' learning progresses.

3. Purpose

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the implementation of Competence-Based Curriculum based on the teachers' experiences in constructing examination questions in Tanzania Secondary Schools.

4. Specific objectives

1. To determine teachers' conception of competence-based questions.
2. To identify teachers' experience in constructing examination questions.
3. To explore teachers' use of Bloom taxonomy in constructing competence-based questions as per competence-based curriculum needs.
4. To assess teachers' understanding of instructional words used in constructing examination questions.

5. Theoretical framework

The study was guided by three theories: The Schlossberg's Transition Theory, the Competence-Approach Theory, and the Item Response Theory.

5.1. The Schlossberg's Transition Theory

According to Foney and Guido-DiBrito (1998), transition is any event (Perception) or non-event that results in changed relationships, routine, assumptions and roles. The meaning of transition for an individual can be understood by considering: type, context and impact of transition. Transition for this case is the paradigm shift from content-based curriculum to competence-based curriculum (Foney and Guido-DiBrito 1998). The change of curriculum in Tanzania required teachers and students' classroom activities to shift also from content-based to competence-based.

5.2. The Competence-Approach Theory

This theory states that, efficient use of skills allows productively performing the professional activity. Mastering knowledge, abilities and skills, are necessary for working within the specialty. Also, integrated combination of knowledge, abilities and affirmations, are optimal for conducting work activity in the modern educational environment. In this study this theory calls for professionalism of teachers in applying knowledge, skills and abilities to conduct effective classroom activities.

5.3. Item Response Theory

This is a theory of testing based on the relationship between individual performance on a test item and test takers level; of performance and the overall ability of designing test items. It is a paradigm for the design, analysis and scoring of test items. It deals with instruments measuring abilities, attitude, knowledge, skills, values, skills. That is, and question items that measure mentioned aspects. In this study the theory relates on teachers' abilities to use Bloom taxonomy in designing questions for exams.

6. The Conceptual Framework

Based on the three theories mentioned above, the following conceptual framework was developed to guide this study.

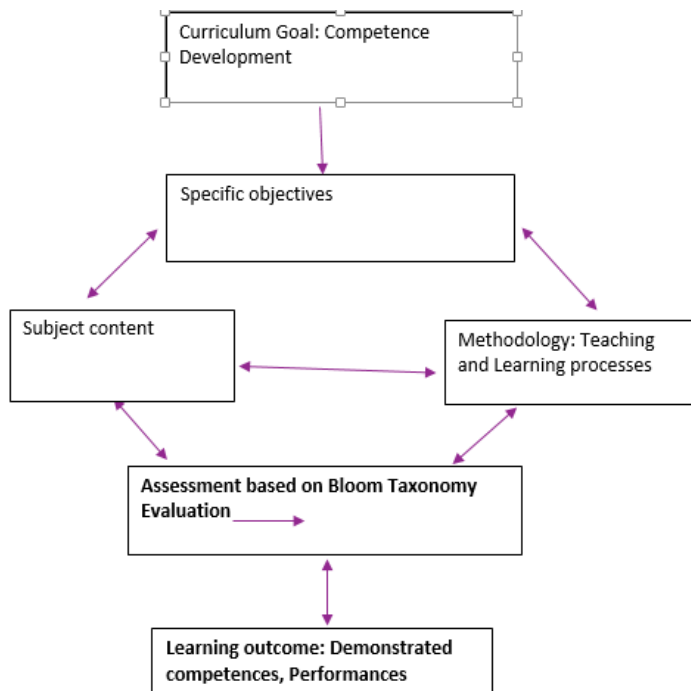


Fig. 1. Teachers’ Professionalism in Interpreting Curriculum Content to Construct Competence-based Questions for Exams

Source: (Kibani 2018). The Conceptual Framework: Assessment for Competence Development.

The conceptual framework above meant that, everything done in the educational arena should reflect on the curriculum goal or general objective. In Tanzania, the aim of taking the paradigm shift from content-based to competence-based curriculum in 2005 had the goal of developing competences into all learners from pre-primary schools to university levels. Therefore, teachers were to understand the goals of the curriculum which are prescribed in the subject syllabi under each topic. Then a teacher should appropriately develop specific objectives that will lead to fulfilment of the main goal. Then a teacher uses subject matter content while reflecting back to the specific objectives through appropriate methodology to guide and facilitate learning. In the process of teaching, the teacher integrates formative assessment through learning activities. All assessment comprised of variety of questions constructed as per Bloom

taxonomic key. Continuous assessment can be done and finally evaluation can be judged on the progresses of teaching and learning processes. Through feedback mechanisms, continues teaching and learning may lead to desired learning outcomes.

As per theories given, teachers should change their mindset and therefore shift from traditional approaches to modern competence-based strategies. Thus, professional techniques basing on the knowledge, skills, abilities and attitudes on the taught subject should be applied. The construction of effective competence-based questions will also depend on the knowledge, skills and ability of a teacher on Bloom taxonomic key in relation to competence-based education needs. However, enhancement of teachers on pedagogical skills related to competence-based classroom practices is of paramount. For teachers to be able to lead to the desired learning outcomes which will be competence-based in nature, there must be a guide with technical support that direct teachers on where to pass

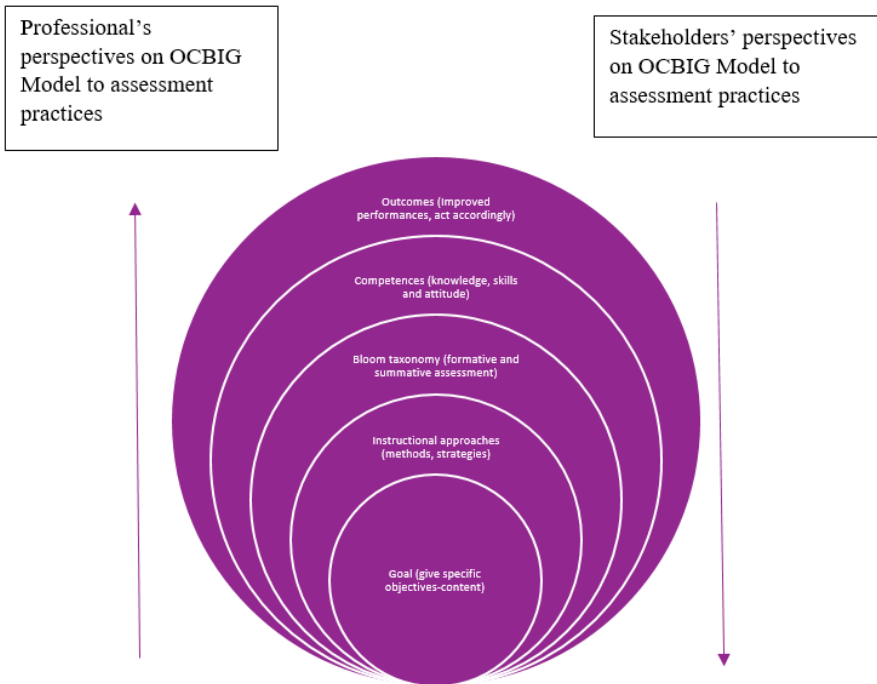


Fig. 2. The OCBIG Model

Source: Kibani (2022).

and what to do. This is what in this study is called by name the OCBIG Model. The model was designed by a researcher with the following perspectives that; a teacher must first reflect on the goal of the curriculum and from it extrapolate the specific objectives.

According to the author, the OCBIG model work from inside the cycle at the 'Goal' outward to the top. This is for professionals like teachers or other professional educators but read from outside at the 'Outcome' to inside at the 'Goal' by other educational stakeholders. This top-down conceptual movement is for consumers or customers of produced product of taught education in schools, colleges or universities. These are the one who judge the outcome of teachers' work, students' learning, quality of school, competence of graduates, deterioration of education or growing up of education, poor or improved performances. These are employers, parents, and society in general.

Professionally, by working the model is translated by expertise, professionals who have pedagogical skills and methodology of translating curriculum into theory and practice. These are able to translate curriculum goals step-by-step to specific objectives and use instructional approaches like teaching methods and strategies to implement leaning objectives. This can be monitored through constructing appropriate competence-based questions according to Blooms taxonomy. It is through questions of the exercises, tests, exams and other learning activities can enable students to develop competences or obtain improved outcomes which they can demonstrate outside into the society, in the family, at work and national at large.

In reading the OCBIG model; customers, users, beneficiaries of school education, for instance parents, employers, students, and society at large are after outcomes and not curriculum goals as professionals. These would like to hear and see improved performances of their children. They would like to see graduates demonstrating competences in what they learnt from schools. Employers would like to employ employee graduates who can bring profit due to skills and knowledge they possess. Students and graduates themselves would like to have unique selling point in terms of knowledge and skills obtained from schools which are employable. They would like to get their final results paying, performed, employable credit and acceptable qualifications. All these groups will read the

OCBIG model from outside and move to inside to find out areas with problems that influence outcomes. They will reach the inside to the goal when they will realize that the curriculum will have a problem or teachers' or practices. With this perspective, the author designed this model with the aim of supporting teachers' implementation of competence-based curriculum in the teaching and learning processes in particular the area of competence-based exams questions. A professional teacher if can follow the stages from the inside at the 'Goal' of the curriculum moving outward, obviously can end up with the competence-based practices and competent graduates.

At the stage of Bloom taxonomy, a teacher must align the goal or general objectives with specific objectives. The instructional words to be used in assessment questions must be integrated. That is, those of higher levels of Bloom and those of lower levels. In this study, during task approaches in phase two, where teachers were constructing exam questions, they were given a sheet with Bloom taxonomic key to use them in constructing questions. A rubric for assessment of teachers constructed questions was prepared from the OCBIG model. The rubric was showing performances on Bloom taxonomy and competence-based curriculum needs in relation to the syllabi content. That is, the curriculum goal, specific objectives formed, teaching strategies chosen, instructional words chosen per levels of bloom and expected outcomes. All these were from the OCBIG model as a guide.

7. Methodology

The study employed a mixed method research, where both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. Survey questionnaires, interview and documentary review were administered as data collection methods. Random sampling was done to secondary schools and participating teachers from Biology subjects. Purposive sampling was done to science teachers teaching Biology in Form Three classes. The study area included six districts of Mbeya region in Tanzania, where a total of 60 Biology teachers out of 121 from selected schools were sampled

to participate in the study. In tasks 1, 2 and 4, teachers were named in groups of 10 and were named by letters as A, B, C, D, E and F. The study employed the descriptive survey design by: Employing Task-Based Approach through the use of OCBIG Model. That is, teachers were asked to construct exam questions experienced in phase one and competence-based questions in phase two with the use of a Bloom taxonomic key as a guide. Rubric for assessment of teachers constructed questions as per Bloom taxonomy was used in assessment of teachers constructed questions. Three learning outcomes were prepared and mapped to the appropriate revised Bloom taxonomy domains and levels for assessment of teachers constructed questions. These were 'teachers understanding and translation of Bloom taxonomic key; teacher's skills in construction of competence-based questions for exams; teacher's translation of instructional objectives used when asking questions in exams; and preparation of competence-based exams with the aid of Bloom taxonomy'. Bloom's Taxonomy provides an important framework for teachers/lecturers to use to focus on higher order thinking skills which are important for competence-based questions. By providing a hierarchy of levels, this taxonomy can assist teachers/lecturers in designing performance tasks, construction of questions and providing feedback on students' work. Quantitative data were analysed descriptively through Excel program to give percentages. Qualitative data were analysed thematically.

8. Findings

In general, the findings showed that the teachers' constructed exam questions mainly fall under one to two categories of Bloom taxonomy. These were 'knowledge and remembering'. This finding revealed that the aimed competent learners, school leavers and graduates were not obtained simply because; teachers are still lacking clear understanding on the concept of competence. When interviewed, teachers revealed that they experience teaching approaches which are more content-based and classroom practices are dominated by teacher-centred approaches. They noticed that their daily to daily constructed questions were those of short answers or multiple choice, true and force or matching items because of shortage

of time for marking. They also pointed on the area of having many students' and huge content of the curriculum that these were the barriers of not asking questions which consume time for marking. Teachers experienced traditional techniques in constructing questions. Since teachers experience questions of low levels while the National Examination Council of Tanzania since 2019 started to prepare competence-based exams which have higher levels of Bloom taxonomy, this brings a mismatch. While teachers are still employing traditional-based approaches in constructing exam questions, the National Examinations Council of Tanzania have already shifted to competence-based approaches in constructing exam questions. The reality in schools was as follows.

Findings from interviews show that the majority of (83.3%) teachers were not familiar with Bloom's Taxonomy of learning domains in relation to competence development into students. Almost all teachers were employing low-cognitive levels in constructing questions. When asked on how to construct competence-based questions every teacher was trying to explain but it was just theoretical expression which seemed to be correct but in reality, they were not achieving. When asked on the nature of their constructed exams in relation to NECTA exams, 83.3% of teachers acknowledged to construct exam measuring two type of learning levels which are remembering and understanding while NECTA measure almost all levels as per Bloom. Findings on the teacher's first six questions were as follows:

Table 1. Teacher's Experienced Questions for Students' Exams as per Revised Bloom Taxonomy

Teachers	Revised Bloom Taxonomy					
	Level 1: Remembering	Level 2: Understanding	Level 3: Applying	Level 4: Analysing	Level 5: Evaluating	Level 6: Creating
A	√√√ (50%)	√√	√			
B	√	√√√√√ (83.3%)				
C	√√√ (50%)	√√√				
D	√√√ (50%)	√	√	√		
E	√√√√ (66.6%)	√√				
F	√√ (33.3%)	√√√	√			

Source: Field data 2022.

Findings in Table 1 revealed that, teachers experienced construction of exam questions normally falling under low levels of Bloom taxonomy which are ‘remembering and understanding. The results show that only 3 (50%) questions of teacher ‘B, C, D and F’ fall under level 1 remembering and level 2 understanding. Worse to teacher ‘B’ whose 5 (83.3%) questions fall under level 2, understanding. Only one question of teachers ‘A, D and F’ fall under level 3 application. One question of teacher ‘D’ fall under level 4, analysis. These findings imply that teachers experienced exam questions were based on traditional approaches and were not yet shifted from content-based to competence-based. This suggests that teachers still assess students in traditional content-based while the final national exams by NECTA have already shifted to competence-based modern approaches.

Another task to teachers was the same as the first one except that this was supported. The task required teachers to construct competence-based questions which can assess student’s abilities in twenty first century skills. They were required to prepare another six exam questions by using provided guide of Bloom taxonomic key of all six levels. These were the levels which help teachers to write learning objectives. The general findings revealed that teachers were not able to construct competence-based questions which can assess students’ abilities in twenty first century skills. The obtained findings were as follows:

Table 2. Teachers’ constructed questions for assessing students’ twenty first century skills

Teachers	Bloom Taxonomic Key					
	Remembering	Understanding	Applying	Analysing	Evaluating	Creating
A	√√	√√	√√			
B	√	√√√√√				
C	√√	√√√		√		
D		√√√√	√		√	
E	√	√√√√√				
F	√	√√√√		√		

Source: Field data 2022.

The findings in Table 2 show that teachers were still concentrating on lower levels of Bloom taxonomic level of objectives. All six questions

constructed by teacher B and E for instance were 5 (83.3%) falling on level two 'Understanding'. Questions by teachers D and F were 4 (66.6%) on level two, 'Understanding'. Very few teachers 1 (16.7%) constructed only one question among on higher levels, 'Analysis and Evaluation'. According to Bloom, the following instructional words (Application, Analysis, Evaluation and Creation) are measuring higher order thinking skills. Scholars, including (Eberly Center 2022) noticed that, questions asked by using these action verbs enable a learner to think critically, get challenged and by doing so find meaning and solution by him or herself. A learner or student struggle to find answers from different sources. This is what scholars call 'active learning'. This type of learning cause learners or students to develop understanding, competence, improved performance, creativity and come up with new ideas or innovations. Students of such nature are competent and therefore can communicate effectively, have ability to solve problems, ability to mediate information, ability to apply knowledge and so on. Developed competences incorporate knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, abilities and these are what scholars call twenty first century skills (Voogt and Roblin 2013; Kibani 2018). The findings from Table 2 imply that teachers are still practicing traditional teaching processes and therefore the produced graduates will be incompetent. Questions constructed by teachers were not competence-based as it is required by the curriculum policy in Tanzania. According to Voogt and Roblin (2013), questions that comprised higher order instructional words like 'Application, analysis, evaluation and creation' are called competence-based questions and exams that comprised such questions are called competence-based exams.

When asked through interview, 66.6% of teachers acknowledged to construct exams which measured one type of learning level, 'Knowledge and Comprehension'. Teachers contended that they know about competence-based practices according to what the curricula says however, they were unable to put into practice. One teacher when asked about constructing competence-based questions for exam, he was quoted saying that; *Competence is whole about learner-centred activities while teaching, so how come you ask on competence-based questions? How these looks like?* Another teacher 'D' also noticed that in constructing exam questions, she usually picks any content from what she taught and design question.

To examine teachers' classroom instructional practices used to enhance implementation of CBA practices for chemistry learning in classrooms, 83.3% of teachers given instructions were found not supporting their assessment practices since majority were dealing with low levels of instructional words as per Bloom taxonomy. It seems that students were not conversant with teachers' instructions normally used in asking questions because they were forced by situation to memorize many concepts. Students were learning by memorizing previously learned materials by recalling fundamental facts, terms, equations, definitions, basic concepts and answers.

In order to identify what action verbs or instructional words do teachers normally use in asking questions in examinations, the third task to teachers was provided and required them to write the meaning of some words as follows:

Table 3. Teachers understanding of the meaning of instructional words used in constructing questions

Instructional words used in asking questions	Correct meaning of instructional words	Teachers' who used well the instructional words	Teachers' who had misconceptions on the meaning of instructional words	Teachers' who didn't know the meaning of instructional words
Compare	Show how related things are, by giving similarities and differences of person or things.	50 (83.5%)	0 (0%)	10 (16.7%)
Contrast	Show the differences between two things Give detailed account or features of things or situation.	50 (83.5%)	8 (13.4%)	2 (3.34%)
Describe	Examine essential features and determine how they are related and say how they are important.	35 (58.45%)	20 (33.4%)	5 (8.35%)
Analyze	Examine in detail the argument given, examine both sides of an argument.	16 (26.7%)	15 (25.05%)	29 (48.4%)

Instructional words used in asking questions	Correct meaning of instructional words	Teachers' who used well the instructional words	Teachers' who had misconceptions on the meaning of instructional words	Teachers' who didn't know the meaning of instructional words
Discuss	Paraphrase a term or concept in order to measure understanding	30 (50%)	20 (33.4%)	0 (0%)
Define	Give your views on something.	60 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Comment	Make a value judgment on what is said, the value of something.	25 (41.75%)	30 (50.1%)	5 (8.35%)
Evaluate	Provide a series of items in a certain order.	18 (30.06%)	20 (33.4%)	22 (36.7%)
List	Give reasons for the statements given. Say why this is so and so.	47 (78.5%)	8 (13.36%)	5 (8.35%)
Justify	Provide an answer with a reason and with a why response.	15 (25.0%)	15 (25%)	30 (50%)
Explain	Explain with headings and sub headings.	40 (66.9%)	10 (16.7%)	10 (16.7%)
Outline	Explain with headings and sub-headings.	25 (41.78%)	14 (23.4%)	21 (35.07%)

Source: Field data 2022.

The results in Table 3 revealed that teachers use instructional words in constructing question items wrongly. Some teachers use certain instructional words to ask question but the answer expected from students does not relate to what was asked and still the teacher marked it as the right answer. For instance, a teacher may ask the student to define, explain, describe, state; but student can use same style of usage of these terms. For example, one teacher asked; what is a cell? Another teacher also asked to explain about a cell, and the other teacher asked, define cell, another asked, state a cell. In all the questions, students answered 'A cell is a unit of life'. All teachers marked the cell as right answer. The challenge is, what, define, explain, describe and state mean the same thing?

This implies that teachers understanding of the instructional words used when asking questions for examinations were limited. The results in the Table 3 shows that only (16%) of all teachers participated in the study got right the meaning of the word 'Analyse', (15%) on the word 'Justify', (25%) on the word 'Outline', (18%) on the word 'Evaluate', (25%) on 'Comment' and (58.45%) on describe and (16.6%). These results imply that instructions given were insufficient or were weak to direct on appropriate competence-based practices because few of them knew on higher order levels of Blooms. Therefore, obtained learning by students was of low level which encourage memorization of materials without understanding as a result the whole learning outcome becomes poor. Teachers mainly were using instructional words of low levels like: define 60 (100%), explain 40 (66.9%), compare and contrast 50 (83.5%), describe 35 (58.5%) and list 47 (78.5%).

All these words which are understood by few teachers are those which are emphasized by officials to be employed in asking students questions in examinations to enable the development of competences. By these findings it meant that only few teachers can enable students to develop competences in what they are learning. In the other words, majority (78.5%) of the teachers construct exam questions which are not competence-based, this betrays the national curriculum which declares to run competence-based classroom practices including examinations. Through documentary review of previous teacher's exams, analysis showed that teachers have been constructing questions of low levels for exams. The results from interview showed that teachers experience in constructing exam questions are influenced by classroom environment and lack of understanding on competence-based practices. Teachers complained that, they were not trained on what competence-based practices mean and yet NECTA brought national examinations which are competence-based. Teachers pointed that questions of higher order like analyse, discuss, synthesize, apply are asked in language exams but not in science because of nature of subjects. This finding revealed that teachers' interpretation of competence-based curriculum concept is important if quality exams are to be prepared for improved learning outcomes.

More findings on what teachers interpret about Bloom taxonomy for constructing exam questions were as follows:

Table 4. Teacher's construction of competence-based exams

Bloom taxonomy	Describe	List	Explain	Match	Summarize	Compare	Apply	Show	Distinguish	Classify	Define	What, why, which, how
Create												
Evaluate												
Analysing												
Applying							√√					
Understanding	√√√√√ (83.3%)		√√√√√ 5(83.3%)		√√√	√√√			√√√√	√√√		
Remembering		√√√√		√√√√ 5(83.3%)					√√		√√√√√ 6(100%)	√√√√√ 6(100%)

Source: Field data 2022.

Moreover, the results in Table 4 show that teachers had misconceptions on the use of instructional words. For instance, 20 (33.4%) teachers had misconceptions on the words, 'Describe and Evaluation'. Their understanding on these words were not correct, they perceived the word wrongly and they have been using these words in constructing exam questions and have been marking students' given answers on such questions. This is the big problem which calls for immediate attention. Not only the (33%) but also (50.1%) teachers' analysed questions, had misconceptions on the use of the instructional word 'Comment'. The word is mostly used by teachers especially for advanced level secondary students in their exams. If (50.1%) have been perceived it wrongly and reared their students in that way and for long period, it is a big loss. Something needs to be done to brush teachers in the area of instructional practices in particular assessment practices.

More surprisingly, some teachers were off point, they did not understand the meaning of some instructional words which they have been using them frequently when constructing exam questions. These were 30 (50%) on 'Justify', 29 (48.4%) on 'Analyse' and 21 (35.07%) 'Outline'. These teachers because they didn't know the meaning of the mentioned words, obviously they have been constructing exam questions with wrong instructions. Meaning that they had been constructing invalid exams and distort the whole aim of assessment and evaluation to students learning. Instructional words help in designing well question items such as multiple choice, essay type questions, true and false, matching items and others. These in-turn help to form an exam. A good exam is the one which is fair, valid and reliable but logically challenging to allow critical thinking and gauge student learning.

These findings meant that the observed students' learning outcomes in schools and final examinations may be contributed by experienced types of questioning being done by teachers in schools. If teachers have been using instructional words which they perceived wrong meaning obviously students' responses have been wrong. These findings resemble the findings from the study by Suherman and Komaro (2010) which indicated that teachers employed wrong instructions in a practical question of Biology. That problem caused students to get wrong answers.

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Chapter 8

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Integration of Peace Education in Tanzania Primary School Curriculum

Abstract: This study explores the role of peace education in peace maintenance in Tanzania. The study was part of a broader project conducted in 2019 to Interrogate Peace Discourses in Tanzania. Participants included 180 primary school teachers, 6 District Commissioners, and 1 Civil Society Organization (CSO) leader. Teachers were randomly selected, while other participants were purposefully selected for the study. Data were collected mainly using questionnaires, documentary reviews and interviews. Thematic analysis and Statistical Package for Social Sciences were used to analyse data. The conceptual framework of Peace Education by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) guided the analysis and discussion of the findings. Findings revealed that participants had a partial understanding about peace education. The study findings have also revealed that some aspects of peace education as suggested by our framework were integrated into the primary school curriculum, these elements focused on attitude, skills and knowledge of peace education. However, some aspects of peace education especially those related to critical thinking, decision-making, communication conflict resolution, tolerance and global concern were not sufficiently integrated

into the curriculum documents. Recommendations for action and venue for future studies were offered in this study.

Keywords: peace education, curriculum, Tanzania primary schools

1. Introduction

Aspects of understanding and maintenance of peace have, from time immemorial, been conceived as important considerations for achieving harmony in any society. Since its independence in 1961, Tanzania has maintained its political stability to the extent that, in the Great Lakes Region, it fits perfectly into a description of being a “peaceful island”. This is because it is the only country in the region that has never experienced terrible political and civil conflicts. According to Kessler (2006) features such as low GDP, vast ethnicity and religious diversity, and high unemployment which exist in Tanzania could contribute to conflict and endanger peace of the nation, but Tanzania managed to maintain its peace and harmony. Maintaining peace in the midst of the mentioned challenges by Tanzania is a credit and can offer lessons to other countries with similar characteristics. Different studies such as Lofchie (2013); Kessler (2006); Tripp (1999); and Green (2011) have also affirmed this position. In sub-Saharan Africa, Tanzania ranks the 9th most peaceful country and 54th globally (Global Peace Index, 2017). Existing explanations on why Tanzania remains a relatively peaceful country on an institutional and structural basis are primarily accommodative of post-independence national building policies, land endowment, egalitarian and subject political culture (Miguel 2004; Lofchie 2013; Kessler 2006; Tripp 1999; Green 2011). According to Kessler (2006) Tanzania’s peaceful situation was contributed by among other things the political culture that was developed by Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere through the policies developed after the 1967 Arusha declaration. Such policies promoted equality and cooperation in the society. People could see themselves as *ndugu* (relatives), they spoke a similar language which is Kiswahili despite their diverse ethnic groups. Killian and Pastory (2018) noted that the peace and security maintaining process in Tanzania is guided by a constitutional and legal

framework. For instance, the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 recommends for citizens to take an active role in ensuring peace and security in the society. In following the constitution Tanzanians are engaged in peacekeeping activities for instance, *ulinzi shirikishi* (Communal peacekeeping) is a community policy model where community members are working together to ensure their security and that of other people in collaboration with the police force to improve police and community relationship (Killian and Pastory 2018).

Despite the fact that, Tanzania is considered a peaceful country, there is a need to explore more approaches that could be used in peace maintenance in the country because in recent decades, various events have been noted to be threatening the available peace in Tanzania. For instance, a study by Killian and Pastory (2018) which was conducted in eight regions of Tanzania pointed out several internal clashes in the region which could damage the peaceful situation of the country. Many of the cited clashes involved family and community members on issues of divorce, and ownership, inheritance and gender-based violence. Examples of cited clashes include the conflict among pastoralists and farmers, and violence during elections in Zanzibar. Mngarah (2021) conducted a study on teacher moral motivation for peace education among herder-famer adult communities in Tanzania. The study noted that herder-farmer clashes were noticeable in Kilosa, Mvomero, Mikumi, Ulanga, Kilindi, and Mbarali districts. Other cited clashes include religious conflicts which contributed to the death of many people in Bungu and Kibiti in the coast region of Tanzania and the protest against the construction of gas pipeline from Mtwara to Dar es Salaam (Killian and Pastory 2018). This postulates that the peace climate may not be the same as in the past. Thus, Tanzania community had to think of a better way of maintaining peace of the country.

It has come to the knowledge of the scholars that, the nature of the education provided contributes to threatening or maintaining peace (Danesh 2006). Behaviors that can facilitate peacekeeping need to be nurtured to children from their early years of schooling (Hymel and Darwich 2018). In this regard, it has been argued that “apart from the absence of the universally agreed upon approach to peace, one of the main reasons for the very high incidences of conflict and war in different

societies is the nature of education we provide for our children” (Danesh 2006, 57). Peace education offered to students is very essential in ensuring sustainable peace in the society (Maxwell 2004). Few studies have investigated the aspect of peace education in Tanzania context. For instance, Mngarah (2021) investigated teachers’ moral motivation of peace education among herders–farmer adult communities in Tanzania. The study noted that peace education among herders and farmers could be used as a tool for addressing hostilities among these communities. Another study that investigated peace education in Tanzania context is the study by Michael (2015) on the assessment of sustainability strategies for the management of conflicts between farmers and pastoralists over land use in Igunga District. The study noted that the better method for maintaining peace is educating the communities on the importance of peacekeeping. In Tanzania’s context not much is known regarding the integration of peace education in the curriculum. Thus, this study focuses on investigating the integration of peace education in the primary school curriculum. Primary curriculum is focused on this study because it is the basic education for all Tanzanians. Every Tanzanian is expected to access this level of education.

1.1. Integration of peace education in the curriculum

The contribution of peace education in attaining sustainable development goals (SDGs) is widely cited in the literature (Danesh 2006; Kotite 2012; Mwanzia 2015; Wondimu 2016; Ng’ang’a 2018). For instance, in Indonesia, efforts have been put in place to redesign the primary and secondary education curriculum to relate to peace education as a means of achieving SDGs (Wahyudin 2018). According to the study by Zainal, Yunus, and A Jalil (2020) when peace education is integrated into other subjects such as religious education and citizenship education students can have a better understanding of the concept of peace. Mary (2016) noted that peace education was introduced in Kenya in 2008 with the aim of calculating important values which include tolerance, appreciation of diversity and patriotism. The study noted that peace education was not taught as a separate subject, but it is linked to other subjects such as religion and history. Merry also noted co-curricular activities and outreach programs

were utilized as informal approaches to peace education (Mary 2016). In the Tanzania context, studies have explored some aspects of peace education (Hussen 2019; Mushi 2018). According to Hussen (2019), gender equality which is an aspect of peace education is integrated into the Civics syllabus for ordinary secondary education in Tanzania. Consequently, what is taught in school can be difficult to implement in actual context. Mushi (2018) explored the aspect of human rights education in Tanzania and noted that in primary and secondary schools' human rights aspects of peace education such as the right to live, the right to vote and being voted for, and responsibilities for citizens are integrated in the subject. However, Mushi noted that, knowledge regarding human rights in Tanzania context is insufficient, consequently, the incidences of rights abuse are persistent. Mngarah (2021) noted that, clashes have been arising from different parts of Tanzania such as Kilosa, and Mvomero, Mikumi, Kilindi and many other places and peace education is highly needed among farmers and herders. In order to omit hostility and such clashes among these communities' people need to have sufficient knowledge with regards to peace education. Primary education curriculum in Tanzania has also highlighted the concepts related to peace education. For example, the following competences from the primary school curriculum have highlighted the concept of peace education;

The Standard III-VII curriculum focuses on the competencies which will enable the Standard III-VII pupil to:

- (i) respect the diverse religious beliefs and ideological difference in the communities;
- (ii) be patriotic in carrying out one's activities;
- (iii) collaborate with others in performing acceptable communal activities (MoEVT, 2019 P 12).

These competences require that students respect diverse religions and beliefs, be patriotic in doing activities and collaborate with others in engaging in communal activities. All these aspects can nurture to learners' peaceful culture. However, little is known with regards to what is done to inculcate the culture of peace specifically by integrating peace education in the curriculum. This calls for a study that can explore various aspects

of peace education in the curriculum. Thus, the present study was set out to explore the integration of peace education in primary school education in Tanzania.

1.2. Research questions

1. What are the primary school teachers' conceptions of peace education?
2. How is the concept of 'peace education' represented/conceptualized in the primary education curriculum?

2. Conceptual Framework

According to Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, peace education is a broad concept that includes human right education, conflict resolution education, multicultural education, environmental education, and gender equity education (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010). Engaging citizens in any form of this education can be regarded as peace education. Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace present important knowledge skills and attitudes that can be integrated in peace education curriculum as follows:

Knowledge areas: This was regarded as an aspect of peace education as it includes students' understanding of the concept of peace in a complete sense. Holistically, students need to be taught that, a peaceful society does not mean the absence of war and fighting only, but a society that practice cooperation and healthy relationship among people. Knowledge areas also include nonviolence, conflict resolution, human rights, solidarity, justice, democratisation and sustainable development. In these alternative mechanisms to a peaceful society, learners can be educated that, it is possible to develop and maintain peaceful society without applying war and forces (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010).

Attitude and values for peace education: According to Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) attitudes for peace education that can be included in the curriculum are such as: self-respect, respect for others, respect

for life, gender equality, compassion, global concern and ecological concern. Other aspects of attitudes of peace that need to be developed are cooperation, tolerance, justice, social responsibility and positive vision. In contributing towards positive change in any society, development of self-respect is essential in order to make an individual value their pride and what they can contribute in order to improve the society (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010). Respect for others is considered as an aspect of good attitude of peace education as it is essential for protecting the dignity of other people. As a result, it enables people with different social status such as religious background to live in harmony. Similarly, gender equality is an attitude that needs to be inculcated among students. Students need to learn the rights of both men and women in order to cultivate good morals for a society, where both men and women enjoy equal opportunities with no abuse or exploitation (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010). To inculcate a peaceful society the *skills* that need to be developed as per (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010) framework are critical thinking, reflection, decision-making, communication and conflict resolution. When students are raised in an environment where critical thinking skills are practised in mutual manners, they gain the capability of attending issues with an open mind in such a way that they can use all the available evidence to gain an understanding about others' perspectives. By acquiring communication skills students can acquire the capability of listening attentively and being able to express what they feel in such a way that conflicts can be avoided. For conflict resolution, students can be taught how to approach and analyse conflicts and provide suggestions for a non-violent approach to conflict resolution (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace, 2010). Empathy is another skill that enables a person to see things in other people's perspectives and be able to search for reasonable and productive perspective.

3. Methodology

This study employed a mixed research approach in which both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. The use of methods from both

approaches was due to ground that strengths of the qualitative method serve to offset the weaknesses of the quantitative methods and vice versa. This consequently, enhances the credibility and reliability of the findings (Ponce and Pagán-Maldonado 2015). The data were collected through documentary reviews and mini-survey instruments.

3.1. Mini-survey

This was conducted with 180 primary school teachers from six regions; Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Geita, Iringa, Katavi, and Kilimanjaro. Teachers were randomly selected to participate in the survey. In each district selected, two wards were considered randomly to fill in the mini-survey and in each ward; two schools were again randomly selected. In each school, 15 teachers were randomly selected for the survey. The survey questionnaires focused on exploring different aspects of peace education as presented in the framework by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010).

3.2. Documentary review

Curriculum documents, including curriculum for primary school, Civic and Moral education syllabus and social science syllabus for primary school were reviewed in order to explore key ideas pertinent to peace education that have been integrated in the primary school curriculum. The documentary review was employed as part of triangulation strategy to increase reliability of the findings obtained through questionnaires.

3.3. Data analysis

The data from the documentary review were subjected to theoretical thematic analysis. Theoretical thematic analysis is an analysis in which concepts and themes developed through the process are driven by a conceptual framework (Braun and Clarke 2006). The curriculum document, social science and civic and moral syllabi were imported into ATLAS.ti program. The curriculum and syllabi contents such as objectives and competences content were reviewed and aspects of peace education from the documents were coded following the aspects of peace education from

the conceptual framework by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010). For example, Specific competence for Civic and moral which focus on *Love Tanzania by cherishing her values, symbols* was coded as patriotism aspect of peace education (Ministry of Education 2016, 17) and origins (see the examples of the coding process in Table 1).

Min-survey data obtained mainly from questionnaires were analysed descriptively by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Responses on items focused on various aspects of peace education in the questionnaire were coded and entered the programme and they were computed for the production of the percentage and frequency for each item.

Table 1. Coding of aspects of peace education from the primary school curriculum, Civic and moral syllabus and social studies syllabus

Aspect of peace education	Frequency	Examples from Objectives and competences from the Documents reviewed
collaboration	3	Competences in Basic Education aim at preparing the pupil in Standard III to VI to do the following: To collaborate with other people when performing acceptable activities in the community (Competences in Basic Education – Standard III-VI) (Ministry of Education 2016, 7)
critical thinking	1	The objectives of teaching Civic and Moral Education are to enable the pupil to f) be creative, identify and analyse political, economic and social problems and develop strategies for solving them; (Civic and moral curriculum)(Ministry of Education 2019, 5)
democracy	1	The objectives of teaching Civic and Moral Education are to enable the pupil to a) understand community-based, political and civil society institutions and their role in democratic governance; (Civic and moral syllabus (Ministry of Education 2019, 5)
environmental conservation	5	Competences in Vocational Skills for Standard V – VI Care for the environment and maintain Sanitation (Competences in Vocational Skills for Standard V – VI, (Ministry of Education 2016, 16)
human right	2	The objectives of teaching Civic and Moral Education are to enable the pupil to d) recognize his or her duties, as well as respect and defend human rights and the rule of law; Objectives of teaching Civic and Moral Education (Ministry of Education 2019, 5)

Aspect of peace education	Frequency	Examples from Objectives and competences from the Documents reviewed
integrity	3	Be a person of integrity 5.1 Be trustworthy in the society. 5.2 Fulfil responsibilities with transparency and honesty. (curriculum for basic education standard iii to vii (Ministry of Education 2016,18)
logical and creative thinking	1	Competences in Basic Education aim at preparing the pupil in Standard III to VI to do the following: (k) To participate in activities which enhance his logical and analytical thinking.
love for one another	3	Take care of oneself and others. Competences in Basic Education – Standard III-VI (curriculum for basic education page 7 (Ministry of Education 2016, 7)
patriotism	9	Love Tanzania by cherishing her values, symbols and origins (Specific Competence in Civic and Moral Education for Standard III – IV) curriculum for primary school std 111 to vii page 17 (Ministry of Education 2016, 17)
positive mind	3	Be resilient 4.1 Handle challenges in daily life. Competences in Civic and Moral Education for Standard III – IV (primary school curriculum page 17) 4.2 Be optimistic towards achieving set objectives. 4.3 Learn by analysing issues critically. (Ministry of Education 2016, 17)
promote peace and harmony	3	Promote peace and harmony 6.1 Interact with people of different cultures and backgrounds. 6.2 Respect cultural differences and ideologies among people of different races. 6.3 Build good relations with other nations (Competences in Civic and Moral Education for Standard III-IV) (Ministry of Education 2016, 18)
respect for others	4	Respect the community 1.1 Love oneself and love others. 1.2 Be proud of his/her school. 1.3 Love Tanzania by cherishing her values, symbols and origins. (Competences Civic and Moral Education for Standard V – VI (Ministry of Education 2016, 18)
social responsibility	5	Be responsible 3.1 Protect resources and interests of the country. 3.2 Manage his/her school and household tasks. 3.3 Obey laws and regulations in doing his/her daily activities. 3.4 Be self-disciplined. 3.5 Collaborate in performing household and Competences in Civic and Moral Education for Standard III – IV (Ministry of Education 2016, 18)

Source: Own research.

4. Study Findings

The main objective of the study was to explore the Integration of Peace Education in Tanzania's Primary School Curriculum. The findings were presented in response to the research questions as follows:

4.1. Teacher's Understanding of Peace Education

The questionnaire intended to explore teachers' understanding of peace education. In this, teachers were asked to provide their views/understanding by writing anything they knew about peace education in relation to the school curriculum and in teaching in schools. While forty-two (42) teachers, claimed not to be aware of any issues of peace education in what they taught in school; one hundred and thirty-four (134) teachers had varied views of what constitutes peace education in the content of various subjects they teach in primary education. The frequencies of such views are summarized in Table 2. From the table, 27 teachers were of the view that teaching about maintenance of peace was one of the aspects of peace education they teach in schools. 17 teachers were of the view that teaching about the security and safety of the country was another aspect of peace education taught in schools. Other major aspects of peace education provided by other teachers include loving oneself and others (16), cooperation (16), democracy (13), human rights (10), responsibility (5), tolerance (2), integrity (3), respect for one another (6), patriotism (5), liberation from colonialism (5), freedom of ownership and expression (3), following laws and regulations (2), good governance (1), sustainable development (2) and preservation of resources (2).

From the seventeen (17) aspects of peace education that were identified by teachers, it can be understood that for the teachers teaching about maintenance of the existing peace in the country was an important aspect of peace education in our subjects' content that needs to continue being taught to all children. Teachers further disclosed in the questionnaire that they teach children about cooperation with everyone regardless of their religious, political, racial or social status differences which can be useful in helping individuals to be nurtured so that they can live harmoniously

with everyone and maintain peace. Teachers also showed that teaching democracy and human rights as aspects of peace education meant that ensuring democracy in the society and obeying human rights principles can maintain peace in the society. Thus, from the teachers' survey, peace education was considered as an important concept incorporated in the school curriculum. Education about security and safety, love and cooperation, democracy and human rights were important elements of peace education visible in the content of various subjects. Other equally important aspects which were also mentioned by teachers are sense of integrity, responsibility, respect, and patriotism (see Table 2). Regarding those who were not aware of the peace education aspects in the content of subjects as indicated in Table 2, this is an indication that, although in the primary school curriculum in Tanzania, peace education is incorporated, some teachers who are implementers of the curriculum goals are not well informed about the intended objectives of curriculum content such as peace education.

Table 2. Teachers' understanding and practice of peace education

S/No	Aspects of Peace Education	Frequencies
1	Maintenance of peace	27
2	Security and safety	17
3	Loving oneself and others	16
4	Cooperation	16
5	Democracy	13
6	Human right	10
7	Respect for one another	6
8	Responsibility	5
9	Patriotism	5
10	Liberation from colonialism	5
11	Integrity	3
12	Freedom of ownership and expression	3
13	Tolerance	2
14	Following laws and regulations	2
15	Preservation of resources	2
16	Sustainable development	2
17	Good governance	1
18	Not aware of peace education aspects	42

Source: Own research.



Figure 1. Participants descriptions of peace education

Source: Own research.

Participants' descriptions of peace education in figure 1 reflect some of conceptions of peace education elaborated in both by the conceptual framework (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace 2010) and previous empirical findings (Danesh 2006; Mushi 2018; UNICEF 1999). Human rights, democracy, and solidarity were mentioned by the participants as aspects of peace education. According to our conceptual framework, these aspects are categorized as knowledge areas of peace education (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace 2010). Other participants' conceptions of peace education such as respect, cooperation and responsibility are in line with attitude and value aspects of peace education (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace 2010). However, participants of this study did not mention any aspects from skills aspect of peace education from the theoretical framework such as critical thinking, reflection, decision making, communication and empathy (see Figure 1). This implies that according to the participants, such aspects were not part of peace education and they are not very much emphasized in Tanzania. On the other hand, there are some aspects of peace education which were mentioned

by participants but were not reflected in the theoretical framework, which were patriotism, security and safety, love, integrity and morality suggesting that there are some aspects of peace education that are practical and relevant to Tanzanian context and which can be added to modify Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) framework.

4.2. Integration of Peace in the Current Curriculum

The review of curriculum Documents sought to find out how peace is integrated in the current curriculum and in other educational practices. To answer this research question results from documentary reviews and questionnaires for teachers were used. Teachers' views on how various subjects in primary schools integrate peace education are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Subjects which integrate peace education in the primary education

Aspects of Peace Education	No. of responses	Percent
Civics and Moral education	158	45.3
English	5	1.4
Geography	10	2.9
Health and environment	2	0.6
History	58	16.6
Kiswahili	13	3.7
Mathematics	2	0.6
none	6	1.7
Personality and games	26	7.4
Reading, Writing and Counting	2	0.6
Religious studies	7	2.0
Science	5	1.4
Social Sciences	43	12.3
Sports and Arts	11	3.2
Handicrafts.	1	0.3
Total	349	100.0

Source: Own research.

The results in Table 3 show that primary education curriculum in Tanzania integrates some element of peace education in various subjects. The

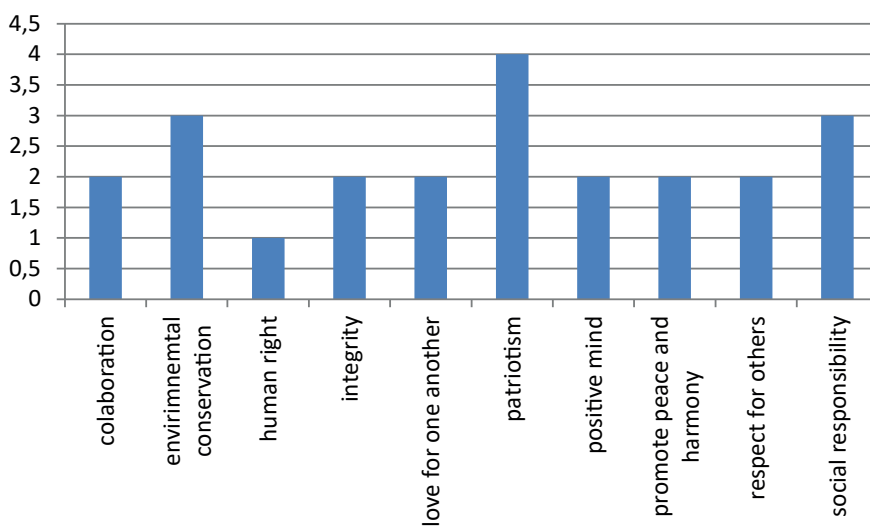


Figure 2. Aspects of peace education Curriculum for basic education curriculum standard 3 to standard 7

Source: Own research.

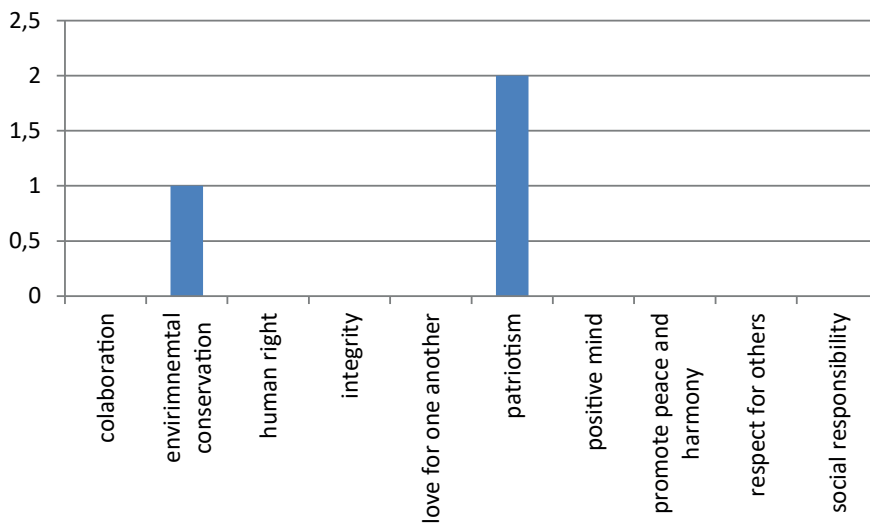


Figure 3. Aspects of peace education in social studies syllabus

Source: Own research.

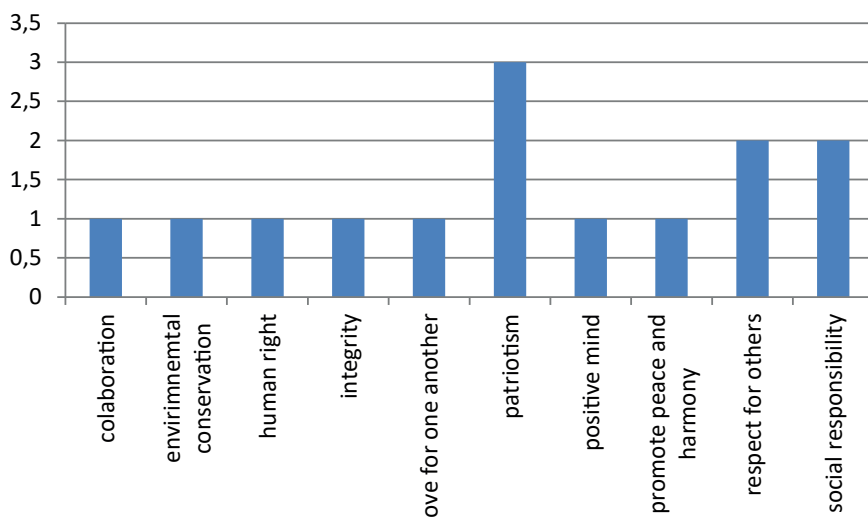


Figure 4. Aspects of peace education in Civic and Moral syllabus

Source: Own research.

subjects that integrate aspects of peace education as from the teachers' questionnaire were: Civics and Ethics (45.3%), History, (16.6%), Social Sciences (12.3%) and sports and arts (11%). The aspects of peace education mentioned by teachers as taught in schools included ethics, patriotism, the rule of law and social interaction.

The framework used in this study categorised the aspects of peace education into attitudes and values, knowledge and skills.

4.3. Attitudes and Values

Through documentary reviews of social studies curriculum, attitudes and values of peace education were reflected in the general objectives of the subject and competences of the curriculum reviewed and the syllabi. In the primary education curriculum reviewed in Figure 2 attitude aspect of peace education such as environmental conservation was most cited followed by respect for others and collaboration. In Civic and moral syllabus civic and moral aspect of peace education was also more cited attitude aspect of peace education followed by social responsibility,

respect for others and collaboration (see Figure 3). It was also revealed that the overall objectives of the primary school curriculum integrated peace education, especially the aspects of attitudes and values. The curriculum states that

The objectives of Basic Education for Standard III-VI are to help pupils to:

- a) appreciate the culture of Tanzania and those of other countries;
- b) recognize the importance of ethics, integrity and accountability as qualities of a good citizen;
- c) discover and develop their talents and abilities; and,
- d) appreciate and like work.

MoEVT (2016, 6).

These general objectives of primary education, standard III to VI connect the aspects of peace education to those identified in the framework of peace education by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010). For instance, the objective (a), emphasize the student's ability to appreciate culture of their communities and those of others. Also, the objective (b) is set to enable learners to recognize the importance of ethics, integrity, and accountability as a quality of good citizenship. This objective is set to prepare students to be responsible citizens and this is essentially an aspect of peace education as per the framework adopted. The results from questionnaire completed by teachers were analysed to examine elements of peace that are integrated in the curriculum.

Overall, the results from teachers' questionnaire revealed that, most aspects of peace education related to attitude and value are taught in primary schools although not frequently and not in every subject. The aspects of attitude and values mentioned as taught in the subject include respects to others (95), self-respect (83), cooperation (83), social responsibility (83). However, according to teachers' responses, some aspects of attitude and value of peace education were less practiced; for instance, tolerance (7), global concern (44), and positive attitude (50). Findings from both documentary reviews and teachers' questionnaires showed that aspects of attitude and value of peace education were somehow integrated and taught in the primary schools. However, some aspects could not be found in documentary review such as tolerance and positive attitude,

Table 4. Teacher's responses on attitudes and values of peace education in primary education curriculum

Discourse in various aspects	Frequently, in each topic	Often, not in every topic	Rare	Very rare	Never	TOTAL
Self-respect	28	83	33	14	4	162
Respect others	24	95	37	6	1	163
Gender equality	26	68	37	22	3	156
Non-violence	27	58	41	24	3	153
Compassion	18	60	52	19	7	156
Global concern	14	44	51	24	20	153
Ecology	13	65	43	20	9	150
Cooperation	46	83	26	5	0	160
Tolerance and transparency	25	67	43	15	5	155
Justice	25	80	40	11	2	158
Social responsibility	21	83	40	10	5	159
Positive attitude	21	50	46	24	13	154
Tolerance.	2	7	15	0	9	33
TOTAL	290	843	504	194	81	1912

Source: Own research.

which is an indication that these aspects were less integrated in the primary school curriculum documents reviewed.

4.4. Skills as an Aspect of Peace Education

Skill aspects of peace education according to the conceptual framework of this study include critical thinking, reflection, decision making, conflict resolution, and empathy. In the reviewed documents, aspects of peace education categorized as skill aspect of peace education were less cited. However, some skills aspects of peace education were cited in the curriculum documents. For instance, one of the general competences for standard III and IV *'is to enable learners to participate in activities that enhance logical and analytical thinking (MoEVT 2016, 7).'* The 2016 curriculum for primary schools' states that the aim of science and technology subjects is to enhance students' acquisition of knowledge, skills and attitudes which will encourage students' application of the acquired knowledge in solving problems in the society (MoEVT 2016). Critical thinking

skills were also mentioned as an important aspect of peace education as it enables citizens to approach problems with an open mind, and be able to accept rational arguments backed up with evidence (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace 2010). Aspects of peace education were further explored using teachers' questionnaires. Table 5 below presents the results.

Table 5. Skills aspect of peace education

Discourse in various aspects	Frequently, every subject	In many subjects	In one subject	No such aspects
Critical thinking	29	36	16	15
Decision making	14	39	73	14
Communication	26	68	37	22
Conflict resolution	27	58	41	24

Source: Own research.

The results from the questionnaire indicated that skills aspects of peace education are less integrated in the subjects compared to other aspects of peace education drawn from our conceptual framework. Teachers' responses in the questionnaire revealed that, skills aspects of peace education were less integrated in the subjects that are taught in primary schools compared to other aspects of peace education.

4.5. Knowledge aspects of peace education

Applying the framework used, the aspects of knowledge that were recommended included the understanding of peace, non-violence and alternative approaches to peace such as conflict resolution, human rights, solidarity, justice, democratization and sustainable development. As such, the primary school curriculum and social science syllabus were studied to explore the relevant aspects of peace education. In the curriculum, documents reviewed some knowledge aspects of peace education were cited such as solidarity (collaboration), Human rights, and patriotism (see Figures 2 and 4).

Understanding human rights, social, political and economic problems facing the society stand as the alternative approaches for maintaining peace in the society, according to Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010). In 2016 curriculum, aspects related to knowledge of peace

education were revealed. In Figures 2 and 4, Knowledge aspect of peace education that was mostly cited in the primary school curriculum and Civic and moral syllabus is patriotisms. Other aspects that were cited by the curriculum documents were Human rights, promoting peace and harmony and collaboration. For instance, competences that should be acquired by learners for standard V and VI as stipulated by the curriculum include;

'Being trustworthy, stand up for peoples' rights and build good relationship with other nations. MoEVT 2016, 18' and these are competences linked to knowledge of peace because they are the alternative way to maintaining peace in the light of Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010). When students are learning to be trustworthy and building good relationship with other nations, they can take an active role in maintaining peace of a nation. Likewise, standing up for peoples' rights is an important attribute for maintaining peace of the community. A person with such attribute cannot be silent when other peoples' rights are violated. In doing so an individual can contribute to peace building and maintenance. Likewise, in civic and moral syllabus knowledge aspect of peace education according to the framework used in this study was highlighted; The objectives of teaching Civic and Moral Education are to enable the pupil to:

- a) understand community-based, political and civil society institutions and their role in democratic governance;
- b) interpret, value and respect our national identity, the Constitution, as well as the structure and operation of the government; (Ministry of Education 2019, 5)

These objectives from Civic and moral syllabus require the learner to have an understanding of the civil society institutions and what they can do to contribute the democracy of the state. This is an important aspect of peace education according to our framework. When learners understood about the democratic government, in the future they can be a good members of the society who can play a part in maintaining peace. Likewise, these objectives require that, students learn to understand and respect national identity and the constitution, which is an important pillar for peace maintenance. People who adhere to the national

constitution can follow the rules and the regulations of the state and maintaining peace.

Table 6. Teachers’ response to the practice of various knowledge aspects of peace education in frequency (f)

Discourse in various aspects	Frequently	Often	Rare	Very rare	Never
Peace in general	8	33	79	13	29
Alternative ways of maintaining peace	5	29	84	17	23
Conflict resolution	9	18	84	19	30
Democracy	9	26	77	26	16
Sustainable development	11	26	67	20	31

Source: Own research.

Table 6 presents findings from teachers’ questionnaire. The table indicates that knowledge aspects of peace education as suggested by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) were hardly forming part of the curriculum. It shows that aspects such as peace (84), alternative ways to maintaining peace (84), conflict resolution (84), democracy (84), sustainable development (67) were rarely integrated. This implies that aspects of knowledge to peace education were perceived by teachers as rarely integrated in the curriculum. However, some teachers expressed that aspects related to sustainable development (31) and conflict resolution (30) were not integrated in the primary school curriculum of Tanzania. These findings suggested that Primary school curriculum include various aspects related to peace education, but the integration of the key aspects to comprehensive peace education was not adequate, according to the teachers interviewed.

5. Discussion

This study explored the integration of peace education in primary school education in Tanzania. The main objective was to explore teachers’ understanding of peace education and aspects of peace education integrated in primary education curriculum. From the findings, the study has found that teachers conceptualize peace education as teaching children

about peacekeeping, human rights, responsibility, democracy, love, cooperation and integrity. These aspects mentioned by teachers were in line with those reported by other scholars as important aspects of peace education (Danesh 2006; Mwanzia 2015; Stevahn et. al. 1996; Tolan and Guerra 1994; UNICEF 1999; Tago 2016; Wondimu 2016). Knowledge on peace education, for example on issue regarding human rights, is not sufficient, the incidences of rights abuse may be persistent (Mushi 2018). According to Mishra, Gupta, and Shree (2020), peace education involves nurturing future citizens with knowledge, attitudes and skills for understanding humanity and diversity. This implies that, peace education is offered to ensure that the future citizens are equipped with knowledge and skills on how to live with people of different culture and perspectives in harmony and ensures that human dignity is valued and respected. Other concepts associated with peace education according to the participants were the teaching about security, safety, love and patriotism. These aspects were not mentioned in our theoretical framework by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010), but were supported by the empirical studies. Consequently, peace education as coseptualized in this study includes some aspects from our framework by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) which include knowledge, skills and attitudes on peace education, and the other aspects emerged from our data materials which include teaching about security, safety, love and patriotism.

On the other hand, there were also several aspects of peace education that were mentioned in the literature and in the theoretical framework developed by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) but were not mentioned by our participants as aspects of peace education. These aspects included those from skills aspects of peace education such as, critical thinking, decision making, reflection, and communication as well as those from attitude aspects of peace education such as gender equality, ecological nature and positive vision. In this regard, it was found that, teachers' understanding of meaning for peace education is not adequate. Consequently, professional development for teachers on peace education can facilitate its effective implementation (Iyer 2013). Also, there are some important aspects of peace education that are not integrated into the primary school curriculum. In order to enable people, including the school children to effectively participate in peace keeping, both the

teachers' understanding on the aspects of peace education and adequate integration of the aspects into the curriculum should be emphasised (Iyer, 2013). This means that aspects related to decision making, critical thinking and communication should be integrated in the curriculum to nurture pupils in becoming better future citizens who can maintain peace.

With regards to the conceptualisation of peace education in the primary school curriculum, review of the relevant documents revealed the presence of some aspects of peace education in all the three parts as identified by Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) framework and this included knowledge, skills and attitudes. However, some aspects were less found in the documents reviewed, for instance, aspects related to decision making, communication and conflict resolution.

Findings from the teachers' survey revealed that, aspects of peace education are integrated mainly in civic and moral studies, social sciences and sports and games subjects in primary schools. Detailed analysis of results shows that aspects related to attitude of peace education from the theoretical framework that teachers claimed to practice in teaching included respecting oneself and others, cooperation and social responsibility. In addition, aspects of peace education that were rarely integrated included tolerance, global concern and positive attitude. Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2010) argued that openness or tolerance is an important aspect of peace education that should be taught to students as it can enable individuals to consider ideas from other people critically, but with an open mind. This is important in understanding other people's ideas, provided that, they are supported with sufficient evidence. It was also found that aspects of global concern can enable students to take care of humanity (Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace 2010). This aspect, when well taught, can eventually help people to avoid destroying the environment that can have impact on global concerns. Thus, it is important to integrate the aspects of tolerance, global concerns and positive visions into the curriculum as they form an important part of peace education. Overall, the findings of this study revealed that peace education is integrated to primary school curriculum not as a separate subject, but it is integrated to the subjects such as Civic and Moral as well as Social Studies. As was noted by previous studies (Danesh 2006; Hymel and Darwich 2018; Mngarah 2021; Michael 2015) the integration of peace education

into the curriculum may continue to nurture the culture of peace in Tanzania. More integration and teaching of peace education in Tanzania and other part of the world is essential.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

This study sought to explore the stakeholders understanding of peace education, the way peace is conceptualized/represented and integrated in the current primary education curriculum. Findings show that while some stakeholders claimed not to have any understanding of peace education, others had varied understanding of peace education, ranging from maintenance of peace, security and safety, cooperation, democracy, human rights, respect for one another, patriotism, integrity, tolerance, good governance and others. Findings have further shown that peace education is not adequately integrated into the Tanzania primary school curriculum and teachers as implementers of the curriculum do not comprehend well the aspects of peace education. Thus, the study based on the findings, recommends the following for action and further research: First, there should be adequate integration of peace education aspects in the primary school curriculum. This can be achieved by having a separate subject specifically for peace education. This subject can be taught from early-childhood education to tertiary education. Similarly, professional development on peace education should be appropriately implemented for primary school teachers.

Second, there should be contextualisation of peace education by drawing peace aspects from cultural practices to make it culturally responsive. Given the scope of the present study, a further study is recommended to embark on the integration of peace education at secondary and/or tertiary education level of education in Tanzania.

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Chapter 9

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Framework for the Uptake of Youtube Video for Teaching in Secondary Schools

Abstract: The Advancement of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) offers an opportunity to improve teaching and learning, thereby contributing to sustainable development. YouTube Videos are rapidly recognized as a tool for teaching and learning, with a significant increase during the COVID-19 pandemic. The videos provide a simple and integrated interface that allows users to interact and influences interest in using it for educational purposes. Several studies have dipped into understanding teachers' readiness to use ICT for teaching and learning. However, studies on YouTube for educational purposes for secondary school teachers are still limited. Therefore, this research sought to contribute to filling the gap by developing a framework for the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching in secondary schools. This study was conducted in Dodoma City, Tanzania, involving two public secondary schools, Dodoma and Msalato secondary schools. Two models, the ICT for Development (ICT4D) Model and the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT), were used to investigate the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching in secondary schools. This study employed key informant interviews, structured questionnaires, and focus group discussions on collecting primary data, while secondary data was extracted from articles, papers, and journals. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

and Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) analyses were used to analyze the data. The framework consists of independent variables, Teachers' Training, Teachers' level Factors, Perceived Simplicity, Technical Support, and Management Support, altering the dependent variables, Demand, Usage, and User Divide. The findings reveal that all independent variables influence dependent variables by ($p < .001$). Furthermore, the Uptake of YouTube videos is highly influenced by ($p < 0.001$) on the Use Divide, then Demand by ($p < 0.05$), whereby Usage was not directly affecting the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching. In conclusion, improving education for sustainable development is highly supported by directives of the YouTube Videos as a Framework for teaching secondary education.

Keywords: ICT, ICT for Development (ICT4D), Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (UTAUT), Secondary Schools, YouTube

1. Introduction

YouTube media is one of the ways of transforming people's information sharing and learning experiences across the globe (McClanahan and Gokhale 2017, 1). In 2021, YouTube Videos were reported to be the most popular dedicated video-sharing application, with more than two billion users in over a hundred countries worldwide (YouTube for Press 2021, 1). With localized YouTube versions across eighty languages, more than five hundred hours of content are reportedly uploaded to YouTube every minute (YouTube 2021, 1).

YouTube is among media sharing tools like Flickr and slide share from Web 2.0 technology (Robinson et al. 2019, 2). The seamless connectivity of YouTube with other online social networks (OSNs) to create and disseminate content led to growing interest in its use for teaching worldwide (Lee et al. 2017, 3). For example, the application of YouTube in education includes teaching medical school students in the United States of America (USA), where various topics in subjects such as the procedure of Urethral catheterization and General Chemistry courses (Nason et al 2015, 1; Ranga 2017, 2). Africa is not unique in the use of YouTube videos for educational purposes. According to a study done in South Africa at the Central University of Technology in Bloemfontein, lecturers use YouTube videos as a teaching tool to assist students understand difficult concepts in the economics discipline (Kimanzi 2019, 361).

In East African countries, Uganda's YouTube Video has been adopted as one of the virtual learning tools in higher learning institutions (Smith 2014, 2). Lecturers in Uganda integrated YouTube videos into their teaching to increase interaction with the content presented to peers and instructors (Ssentamu et al. 2020, 108). In Tanzania, studies investigating the use of e-learning technology in teaching are very scarce (Mtebe and Raphael 2018, 172). Available studies have explored teachers' readiness to adopt Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for education (Mwalongo 2011, 41; Ngeze 2017, 37).

Tanzania's Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) has committed to improving secondary school education by introducing ICT subjects and training secondary school teachers (Kihiza et al. 2016, 109). YouTube Videos are rapidly recognized as a tool for teaching and learning, with a significant increase during the COVID-19 pandemic (Breslyn and Green 2022, 1). The studies to examine the application of YouTube Video have been conducted, and most of them concentrated on the adverse impacts, including addiction on the users (Moghavvemi et al. 2017, 1). Besides, those studies have taken place outside the African context. There is still a lack of information regarding the Uptake of YouTube videos for teaching in secondary schools. Therefore, this research sought to contribute to filling the gap by developing a framework for the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching in secondary schools.

2. Materials and Methods

The study was conducted in Dodoma City, the capital of Tanzania; the selection of the Dodoma City region is based on the availability of electricity and the presence of ICT facilities and service (Malero et al. 2015, 31). This study employed a mixed research approach; qualitative and quantitative research techniques were merged in a single study. The respondents in this study were teachers from two schools, Dodoma Secondary School (DoSS) and Msalato Secondary School (MSS). There were a total of 90 participants that took part. The proposed factors for triggering the Demand, Usage and Use divide on the Uptake of YouTube

for teaching secondary schools were obtained from the literature reviews. The primary data was collected through interviews and the questionnaire administered to the selected respondents, while secondary data was obtained from articles, papers, and journals to get different ideas.

The questionnaire was designed using a combination of ICT4D and UTAUT guideline models. The instrument was semi-structured and comprised of open-ended and closed-ended questions. The tool gathered information on the demographic characteristics of respondents as well as the study factors. The questionnaire instrument consisted of several items using a Likert scale with a maximum of five points (strongly disagree to strongly agree) for supporting identifications of tested factors. The Demand, Usage, and Use Divide from ICT4D used variable items from UTAUT in the five Likert-scale. Items variables were Teacher’s Attitudes (TA), Teachers Training (TR), Teacher-level factors (TF), Perceived Simplicity (PS), Management Support (MS), Technical Support (TS), Infrastructures and Interactivity. Table 1 shows a combination of UTAUT factors and ICT4D Uptake.

The ICT4D model is the sequence of steps from input, processes, and expected output in the development of ICT (Heeks 2020, 1).The UTAUT

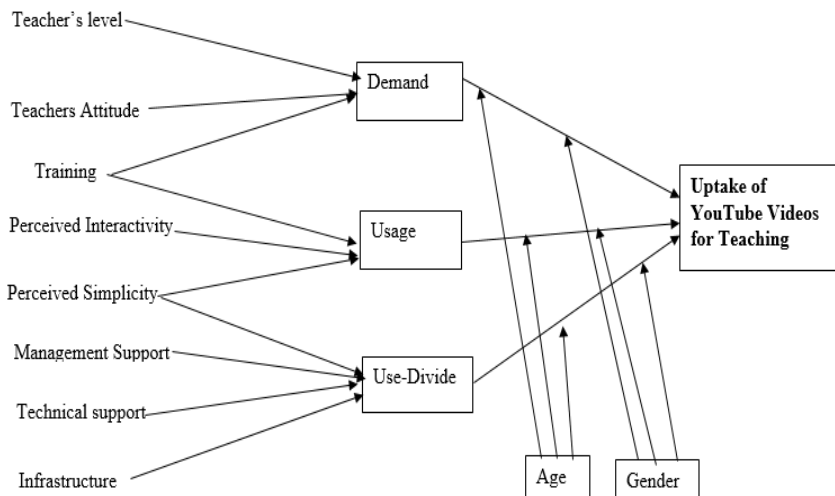


Figure 1. A combination of UTAUT and ICT4D

Source: Field work 2022.

model is a technology acceptance model theory developed by Venkatesh, Morris, and Davis (Williams et al. 2015, 1). The ICT4D model is combined with UTAUT because the ICT4D model cannot determine the user behaviour on the Demand, Usage, and Use Divide for the Uptake of YouTube Videos in teaching. Figure 1 shows a combined ICT4D and UTAUT.

As shown in Figure 1 factors for YouTube Video Demand were Teachers Attitude TA, Teachers Training TR and Teachers level factors (Ait Hammou and Elfatihi 2019). The proposed factors for Usage was Perceived Simplicity, Management Support and Perceived Interactivity (Bazelais et al. 2018, 6). The proposed factors for the YouTube Use divide were Technical Support, Availability of infrastructures and Management Support.

3. Results and Discussion

The uses of YouTube Videos for teaching differ among teachers according to the subject of teaching. The study found during interviews that science teachers are pro-technologies compared to non-science subject teachers. Most computer lab users at both MSS and DoSS are teachers from science subjects like Chemistry, Biology, Physics, Mathematics and Geography. They use YouTube videos to present practical chemistry, biology and physics procedures before implementing them in the laboratories. YouTube Videos are used because it has been found that YouTube Video is sufficient for teaching and learning practices.

Teachers Training: Respondents agreed to have an ICT background through training provided by the MoEST and from their Colleges and Universities, which led to the respondents expressing their intention to Uptake YouTube Videos for teaching.

Teacher's level factors: It was found that teachers aged 18 years to 35 years old were very high users and agreed with the concept of using YouTube for teaching, compared to teachers over 35 years. There were no gender differences on the Uptake of YouTube for teaching.

Perceived simplicity: It has been acknowledged by all respondents that the simplicity of YouTube technology influences them to use YouTube for

teaching. YouTube Video is easy to use compared to other social media programs, which impacts YouTube’s uptake for teaching.

Technical Support: The findings showed that there is assistance from the technical part on internet availability in computer labs and computer services for students, influencing secondary school teachers to deliver knowledge to students by using YouTube Videos.

Management Support: The administration provided support when teachers decided to enhance their teaching style, such as by using YouTube Videos for teaching students.

3.1. Framework Design

There were three steps involved in the framework development; the first step was using the proposed framework from literature reviews as a model in Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS). The second step was testing that model, interpreting regression weight results, and designing a framework from the model result.

The model was drawn, after the modifying indices in AMOS. The independent variables are Teacher Training (TR), Teachers level factor (TF),

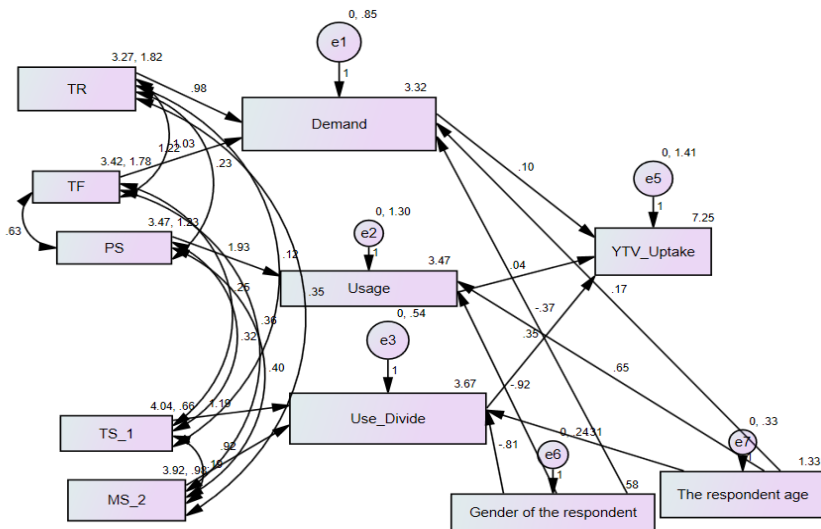


Fig 2. SEM model

Source: Field work 2022.

Perceived Simplicity (PS), Management Support (MS_1) and Technical Support (TS_1); dependent variables were Demand, Usage and Use Divide. The determinant factors were Age and Gender.

3.2. Model Validation

The proposed Uptake of YouTube Model was tested using the AMOS Program Version 26, a graphical and statistical analysis tool embedded within SPSS. The SEM model obtained good model fitness with a normed Chi-square or CMIN/DF value of 4.92, which falls between 2.0 and 5.0, indicating a good fit, as proposed by Bollen and Long (1993, 4). The CFI value is 0.836, as recommended by Rigdon (1996, 5). The CFI value is close to 1, indicating a perfect fit for the model.

3.3. Interpretation of the Results

Factors contributing to the YouTube Video, Demand, Usage, and Use Divide. The results show a significant ($p < .001$) output from factors TR, TF, PS, TS_1 and MS_2 to the YouTube Videos Demand, Usage, and Use Divide, which results in the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching secondary schools.

Table 2. Regression Weights

Identified Factors	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Finding
Demand <--- TF	1.220	.089	13.668	***	Significant
User_Divide <--- TS_1	1.185	.098	12.040	***	Significant
Usage <--- PS	1.929	.109	17.706	***	Significant
User_Divide <--- MS_2	.919	.081	11.350	***	Significant
Demand <--- TR	.983	.088	11.136	***	Significant
YTV_Uptake <--- Demand	.104	.048	2.154	.031	Significant
YTV_Uptake <--- Usage	.045	.056	.790	.430	Insignificant
YTV_Uptake <--- Use_Divide	.346	.082	4.223	***	Significant

***, $p < 0.001$

Source: Field work 2022.

The findings show the estimates of Demand for Uptake YouTube Videos for teaching was very strong on the TF (teacher-level factors) with (estimate =1.220; $p<.001$). They were then followed by TR (Training) with the estimate = 0.983 ($p<.001$) influence on the YouTube Video Demand for Uptake of YouTube for teaching. While the estimate of YouTube Video Usage, only PS (Perceived simplicity) had a strong influence on the YouTube Video Usage for teaching (estimate = 1.929; $p<.001$). Finally, the YouTube Video Use Divide, TS_1 (Technical support) (estimate =1.185; $p<.001$), had a strong influence on the YouTube Video Use Divide. This is followed by MS_2 (Management Support) (estimate = .919; $p<.001$).

Findings shows the Uptake of YouTube videos is highly influenced with(estimate =.346, $p<0.001$) on the Use Divide, followed by Demand with (estimate= .104, $p<0.31$), whereby Usage was not directly affecting the Uptake of YouTube Videos for teaching, with (estimate =.045 , $p<.430$). Findings shows, YouTube Video Demand is influenced by TR and TF, which means TA had a negative variance estimate. YouTube Video Usage is influenced by PS, whereby MS_1 and PI had a negative variance estimate. Finally, the YouTube Video Use divide is influenced by TS_1 and MS_2, where AI has no influence and results in negative variance estimates. A partial effect on Age and Gender determined the Demand, Usage and Use Divide.

3.4. YouTube Video Framework

Figure 2 shows, Teacher level factor (TF) is influenced by Training (TR). Training contributes to a teacher's knowledge. The presence of Training led to Teacher level factors contributing to the Demand for YouTube Videos for Teaching. Similarly, improvement of TF will result in taking that technology's simplicity (PS) to be used in Teaching. But, Table 2, of Regression Weight shows no direct influence on the Uptake of YouTube Videos usage for teaching.

Likewise, Management Support and Technical support will remove the gap of uses where Technical depending on the management initiative the making seriousness on changing the way the education system is derived.

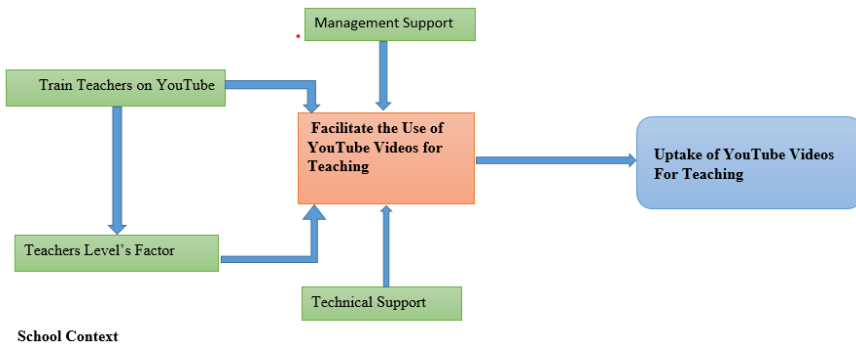


Figure 3. Framework for the Uptake of YouTube Videos

Source: Field data 2022.

The framework in Figure 3 does not have an Age and Gender determinant, as supported by Table 2; there was no immediate difference, which led to the dropping of the Age and Gender determinant.

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

Improving education for sustainable development, the Policymakers and Ministry Education, Science and Technology are required to make sure secondary school education is going parallel with technological advancement. They have to provide facilities, in terms of zone mode, by selecting a point (school) for supporting teachers to record video sessions to be used in class and off-class sessions. The lesson can be prepared by teachers from one school and shared with other schools for corroboration and interactions between teachers and students. In connection to this, arts subjects also have to be given priority in using YouTube videos to deliver education in schools.

Moreover, they must provide selected links for delivering education knowledge based on the class level. The policymakers will ensure the quality of education offered to Tanzania secondary schools. Schools must provide books and infrastructures like a computer room and a support technician. Moreover, create awareness among teachers by training them on YouTube uses for education and student to accept changes in teaching

methods. Below is the recommended procedure for the Uptake of YouTube Video for teaching. The MoEST and School Management have to do the following steps:

1. Selection of secondary school teachers with awareness of ICT, combined with teachers whose lack ICT awareness.
2. Preparation of videos to be used during teaching by recording different topics. Selections of best links from other sources to be used during instruction.
3. Provide a YouTube Video link for being used during teaching.
4. Teachers use YouTube Videos for teaching.

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Part III. Religion

Chapter 10

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“We Will Not Lose Paradise” – the Polish Past and Tanzanian Present in Poli Sing’isi near Tengeru and Arusha in Tanzania as an Impulse for the Development of the Pallottine Leadership Training Centre

Abstract: The chapter discusses the revitalization of historic buildings (the Polish Club) from the early 1950s in Poli Sing’isi near Tengeru and Arusha in Tanzania, and their adaptation to the needs of the local Christian community. These buildings were constructed by Polish war refugees from the former camp, which operated from 1942 to 1952 in Tengeru. Currently, they function as a Christian Center run by Pallottine Sisters, including the Leadership Training Center. The author, an architect, in the framework of field research explores the history of the site, the existing state of the site and buildings and the needs of the local community, using both qualitative and quantitative methods, and presents a design concept.

Keywords: Pallottine Sisters in Tanzania, Christian community in Poli Sing’isi (Arusha), revitalisation and adaptation of the historic buildings, Leadership Training Centre

1. Introduction

“For human’s very existence, change is necessary, and so is the need to adapt to the changes.” This introduction to the 3rd Mkwawa International Conference¹ fully illustrates to the activities of the *Pallottine Leadership Training Center* (LTC), a Christian center run by the Pallottine Sisters in Poli Sing’ isi (-3.373238, 36.814932) near Tengeru and Arusha, Tanzania. The center continues the tradition started here by Polish war refugees - most of them residents and builders of the former camp in Tengeru that operated from 1942 to ‘52. After the camp was disbanded, the Poles who remained in Tanzania built a facility called the *Polish Club* in the early 1950s, 5 kilometers from Tengeru. This building and its outbuildings served them as a meeting and integration place for many years until they donated it to the Catholic Diocese of Arusha. In accordance with the will of the donors, it has served its current function since 2008. At the same time, for the past fourteen years it has been managed by the Pallottine Sisters, who live here and carry out missionary activities in support of the local Christian communities.

Although the sisters’ charism attracts the local community to the site, unfortunately the site’s infrastructure is in a terrible state. The historic buildings of the center still built by the Poles are now in need of reconstruction and expansion, as is the rest of the infrastructure. The dramatic living conditions of the Pallottine Sisters make it very difficult for them to carry out their daily missionary activities. The changes should include not only the revitalisation of the buildings, but also adapting them to the needs of the users – both lay people and resident sisters. They should also adapt the buildings to the type of missionary activity that is carried out there. At the same time, the changes carried out should provide the impetus for further development of the center for the benefit of the participants in the various activities and the sisters who are the soul of the place.

The initiator of this change is the Pallottine Missionary Foundation Salvatti.pl, which decided to take on this challenge with two willing

¹ The Third Mkwawa International Conference. “Change and adaptations towards sustainable development”, 2-3 November 2022, Iringa. University of Dar es Salaam, Mkwawa University College of Education in Tanzania.

volunteer architects – Anna Rynkowska-Sachse, the author of this chapter, and Jakub Sachse. At the request of the foundation, in March 2022, during their first stay in Poli Sing'isi (Arusha), the architects conducted field research and began to diagnose the needs of the center's users. This research was to serve them not only to create a concept for the revitalisation and adaptation of the Polish Club to new functions, but also to design the sisters' residential house, to create a functional and a spatial program for the Leadership Training Centre and to prepare a concept for the development of the area, as this chapter outlines in a nutshell.

2. The aim of the research

In order to introduce changes to the centre's infrastructure, research is needed on its current state and context, as well as the nature of the activities carried out by its past, present and target users. Learning about the needs of the various users is vital information in developing a programme of buildings that will ultimately serve to integrate, strengthen and develop the Christian community run by the Pallottine Sisters. The building programme is the selection of functions to be carried out in the space of the centre, but also taking into account the land use. The programme takes into account the number and type of users, the size of the space needed for these functions and the links between them, as well as the financial possibilities, the terrain, the type of greenery.

The research carried out is also necessary for the architects to draw up a functional and spatial concept for the target development of the entire area, for the revitalization of the historic buildings, including the Polish Club, and for their adaptation to new functions. This information is also necessary for the design of the new buildings with their infrastructure, above all the house of the Pallottine Sisters.

It is of utmost importance to the architects that the designed space and its functional programme record information about the history and fate of the Poles in Tengeru and Poli Sing'isi, as well as the nature of the activities they once carried out. The designers were keen to include in the work the invisible links between the Polish past of the place and the

Tanzanian present, manifested by the collaboration between the Pallottine Sisters and the local community.

This chapter therefore explores:

- the history of the site;
- the existing state of the site – the landscape and buildings;
- the needs of the users.

3. Research Methodology

Generally, in order to obtain the information necessary for architectural design, the architects undertook field and literature research. In turn, they also applied a new approach to their design work, which is empathetic design, or human-centered design. The basis of design in this trend is sensitivity to users. Architects use a range of activities, procedures and methods that allow them to gain insight into the users' perspective and incorporate it into the design (Bogucka 2022, 31).

3.1. Field Research

The field research included exploration of the existing buildings, materials used, terrain, vegetation, climate in a context of the past and present. Research of a quantitative and qualitative nature was largely conducted within the plot area and in the immediate vicinity. People who live or have lived in the center and people who regularly use the site but are from the local community were surveyed to identify user needs. The field research was limited to the minimum necessary due to the short time the architects were on site. However, the rest of it: e.g. email correspondence, questionnaires, online interview, literature research, was conducted remotely.

The aim of the quantitative research was to find out about issues related to the site and its infrastructure, such as:

- the context of the site and its surroundings (vegetation type, climate, landforms, culture of the local community, nature of local buildings past and present, building materials and techniques);
- the history of the site and facilities;

- the current state: the form of the land, the location of the buildings and a general identification of which of them were built by the Poles and which later, what functions they performed then and what functions they perform today;
- the general technical condition of the individual buildings on the site, the possibility of their revitalization or the rationale for their demolition, and a detailed inventory of the Polish Club facility;
- the local construction market – available materials, their quality and price, construction technology, contractors and the quality of their workmanship, participants in the investment process.

The qualitative research, on the other hand, aims to find out about the activities of the Poles who founded the place some 70 years ago and the activities and needs of the current users of the center, i.e. the local community and the Pallottine Sisters. Issues include:

- the nature of the activities carried out by the Poles when the facilities were in their possession;
- the nature of the activities carried out by the Pallottine Sisters for the benefit of the local Christian community;
- the diagnosis of the needs of current and future users, including the types of users and their needs for the spatial and functional structure of the LTC.

This analysis aims to create facilities that will enable the sisters to carry out their target activities.

3.2. Gathering Information

To obtain additional information on the Leadership Training Centre, in particular the history of the Polish Club, the author conducted a literature review. However, it turned out that there is virtually no information on these issues, and the only comprehensive material on the history and present day of the former Polish Club and outbuildings is a study: “*History of the Polish Refugees from Poland at Tengeru area and the Establishment of the Leadership Training Centre*” written by Sister Adela Mnyambii SAC and Father Audiphace Shirima (Mnyambii 2020, 1-31). This study was commissioned by the Sister Superior of the Congregation of Pallottine Sisters in Tanzania and has never been published.

To supplement the data collected from the literature, the author asked a number of people and institutions associated with the Polish Club for information. The Pole who could tell the most about the history of the Polish Club, its buildings and the nature of the activities carried out there by the Poles was *Edward Wójtowicz*, who lived in the city of Arusha. He served as president of the Polish Association of Tanganyika and at the same time was the founder of the Polish community in Tanzania. Sadly, Wójtowicz passed away in 2015, taking with him valuable information about the Polish Club. During their first stay in Arusha, the architects therefore interviewed on the 21-25 March 2022 the following people:

- Tanzanian *Simon Joseph*, caretaker of the cemetery and guide to the 1942-52 Polish refugee camp in Tengeru on behalf of the Polish Embassy in Tanzania. Simon's father was a friend of Edward Wójtowicz and told him about the Polish refugees who remained in Tengeru. Simon Joseph only confirmed that Poles were meeting at the Polish Club, which was probably created after the camp was liquidated, around 1950. He had no other information (Sachse 2022a). In conversation, he indicated that it was worth going to the church in Tengeru, which was built by and belonged to the Poles. It now houses a Protestant church. At the time of the interviews, the building was being renovated and furnishings were being replaced, which could have been an opportunity to take Polish furniture and use it in the revitalization of the Polish Club.
- A Tanzanian Sister *Adela Mnyambii* of Congregation of the Pallottine Missionary Sisters in Arusha, a former resident of the Polish Club. The nun confirmed that neither during her stay in the building, nor later during her research, did she come across any photographs or plans of the building from the time when it belonged to the Poles. She assured that the Polish Club contains only old original furniture and holy paintings – of Christ and the Virgin Mary – which were brought by Polish refugees from Poland. During the conversation with the author, Sister Adela Mnyambii tried to contact William Kessy, who used to live in the Polish Club after it was abandoned by the Poles, about the matter, but the conversation was not possible due to Kessy's illness (Rynkowska-Sachse and Sachse 2022b).

- A Polish nun, Mistress *Ines Homa* of the Congregation of the Sisters of St Elisabeth (Congregatio Sororum Elisabeth) in Arusha, who was a guest in the home of Edward Wójtowicz. During her visits she heard from him that the Polish Club was a place of integration and a meeting place for people who had stayed temporarily or permanently in Tanzania (Rynkowska-Sachse and Sachse 2022c).
- Polish Brother *Dariusz Szymborski* O.F.M who worked in Poli Sing’isi and at the same time, like Sister Ines Homa, frequented Edward Wojtowicz’s house in the 1990s and heard about the Polish Club. Brother Dariusz informed the author that, after Edward Wojtowicz’s death, he secured his archive and donated it to *the Centre for the Documentation of Expulsions and Displacements of the Pedagogical University in Krakow* in 2021 (Rynkowska-Sachse, Sachse and Mostowska 2022d).
- Tanzanian Archbishop of the Catholic Diocese of Arusha *Isaak Amani Massawe*. The meeting with the Archbishop was specially organized by the Pallottine Sisters – Basilisa Jacob, Superior of the Congregation of Pallottine Sisters in Tanzania and Honorata at the former Polish Club. The Archbishop brought and showed the originals of the documents of concerning a transfer of the property (land with buildings) of the Polish Association of Tanganyika (the Registered Trustees of Polish Association of Tanganyika) to the Catholic Diocese of Arusha (the Registered Trustees of Diocese of Arusha), which were signed by Edward Wójtowicz, president, and Sabina Szeliga, secretary of this Association (Rynkowska-Sachse and Sachse 2020e).

On the basis of this information, the author asked the Centre for Documentation of Deportations, Expulsions and Resettlement of the Pedagogical University of Cracow to collect information on the Polish Club. The author was interested in any information about the history and activities of Poles there – photographs, architectural plans, interior furnishings – and sent current photographs of the Polish Club for convenience. Unfortunately, Mariusz Solarz, an employee of the Centre who carried out the search, *did not find any material, apart from a few photos of the Polish Club*, either in the archive from Edward Wójtowicz or in the archive of Polish refugees in the Tengeru camp.

3.3. Gathering Information for the Project within the Empathic Design Method – Design Thinking

In gathering information about the needs of the users of the Leadership Training Centre, as well as the Pallottine Sisters' house, and in the process of designing both the development concepts for these facilities, the architects used the *Design Thinking* method.

The Design Thinking method, invented by Tim Brown, the CEO of 'design and innovation' company IDEO, belongs to the empathetic design stream, which takes the perspective of other people when making design decisions. In empathetic design, the users of an object are at the center of the entire process – from the planning and design stage to the testing and evaluation of the solutions adopted (Bogucka 2022, 32). Design Thinking is a creative problem-solving method, focused on innovation and based on teamwork. It promotes human-centered design and is based on empathy towards the users of an object, on understanding their needs, and on collaboration with them. According to this method, the invented solution is open and does not close the process (Makstutis 2018, 60). The method is a combination – an approach to developing solutions that values openness, continuous improvement, learning from others, exploring the needs of the audience, with a process structure, i.e. concrete steps and actions by which one arrives at a solution to a problem. The design thinking process itself is made up of five stages and specific tools that allow you to gradually learn about a problem and then solve it:

- *Empathy* is the stage where the starting point is a deep understanding of the needs of the client or user.
- *Needs diagnosis* is the stage where the key to solving a problem is to define it as well as possible, which is helped by the design thinking process. The needs diagnosis analyses the information obtained during the empathy stage and considers what the problem really is and why it needs to be solved.
- *Idea generation* is the stage where, working in a group, you come up with as many ideas as possible with other members to solve the problem.
- *Prototyping*, which is visualizing and demonstrating several different ideas.

- *Testing* the prototypes, i.e. improving the good ideas and discarding the wrong and weaker ones (Kapela 2020).

So far, the first stage of the research has involved a site visit, photographic documentation of the entire site and dimensioning of the Polish Club building. The architects have also made an inventory of the Polish Club (drawing up dimensioned projections, cross-sections with sanitary facilities and marking the functions), and then designed its adaptation to the new functions within a few months. At the same time, supplementing the data on users’ needs in an on-line form, they made a design of the sisters’ house and two concepts of land development with a target functional program for the whole Center.

4. Research Findings

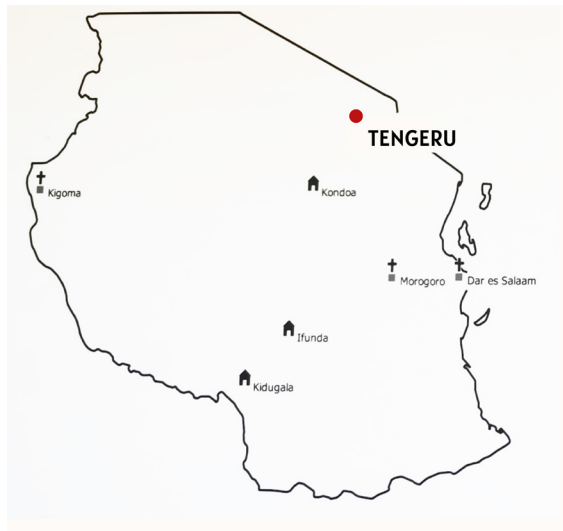
4.1. History of Polish refugees in Tengeru and the Polish Club in Poli Sing’isi (Arusha)

The story of the Poles who formed the Polish Club in Poli Sing’isi (Arusha) is the story of the extraordinary fate of the Polish people who found their way to Tengeru from Siberia and Kazakhstan. This is how Anna Hejczyk describes it: “After the Soviet Union occupied the eastern territories of Poland on September 17, 1939 and hundreds of thousands of Poles were sent to labour camps deep into the Soviet Union” (Hejczyk 2022, 69). They had to live and work there in inhuman conditions (Majewicz 2004). The situation of the Polish exiles changed only after the signing of the Sikorski-Mayski Agreement and the conclusion of a military agreement on August 14, 1941. As a result, Poles covered by the amnesty were allowed to leave their places of exile, and a Polish army began to be formed in the south of the Soviet Union. When General Anders ordered its evacuation from the Soviet Union to Iran in March 1942, part of the civilian population, including some freed Siberians, left with the army. Then, on the basis of successive international agreements, the civilians were sent to various parts of the world, including Africa (Hejczyk 2022, 70), where they found refuge for the duration of the war (Il. 1).



II. 1. Directions of migrations of Polish refugees in 1942-1952

Source: Wróbel, J. (2003). *Polish Refugees from the Soviet Union 1942-1950*.
Lodz: Institute of National Remembrance. Information template at the Polish War Refugees 1942-1952' Cemetary in Tengeru.



II. 2. Polish refugees from the Soviet Union camps in 1942-1950 in Tanganyika

Source: Wróbel, J. (2003). *Polish Refugees from the Soviet Union 1942-1950*.
Lodz: Institute of National Remembrance. Information template at the Polish War Refugees 1942-1952' Cemetary in Tengeru.

The stay of Poles in Africa was initiated by an agreement concluded in the summer of 1942 between the British government and the governors of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. It is estimated that 18,000 people were eventually deployed in 22 Polish centers in Africa (Hejczyk 2013, 42). The number of Poles settled in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), the Union of South Africa (now South Africa), Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (now Tanzania) by the end of 1944 equaled 6631 people (Hejczyk 2013, 43-44). In Tanganyika, several settlements were established for the Polish population in: Kondo, Ifundu, Kindugala, Morogoro, Kigoma and Tengeru, which was the largest center of Polishness, as it was home to 2988 people (Hejczyk 2013, 56), (Hejczyk 2022, 71) (Il. 2).

Within a few years, the Poles had established a functioning settlement in Tengeru with educational, medical and cultural facilities. There were school buildings, workplaces, a hospital, a farm, warehouses, a shop, a cooperative, a post office, a cinema and a theatre, day care centers, an orphanage, an old people’s home, a church, a synagogue, an Orthodox church and a cemetery. (Hejczyk 2022, 72) (Il.3) Resettles from Poland lived there throughout the Second World War.



Il. 3. Polish War Refugees Camp in 1942-1952 in Tengeru

Source: Information template at the Polish War Refugees 1942-1952 Cemetery in Tengeru.

After the end of the war, they were able to return to their homeland; unfortunately, most of the refugees came from the eastern parts of Poland, which became part of the Soviet Union after the war under the Yalta Agreement. Therefore, “fearing communist rule in the country and possible deportation [most Poles] decided to emigrate” (Hejczyk 2013, 144). A part of the inhabitants of the African settlements postponed their decision to return to their country for several years, remaining on African soil. Their exact number is difficult to determine. According to Henryk Zins, 284 Poles remained in Africa at the end of 1950, and about 200 in the years afterwards. The process of dismantling the Tengeru settlement began in 1950 (Hejczyk 2013, 144). Those who remained in Tanzania after its liquidation included Wanda Rouck, who later left for the UK with her husband Ziutek Szymczyk, Barabara Danecka and her family, the Szelig, Albowicz and Wójtowicz families and several Polish women who married Indians and settled in Arusha and Moshi near Tengeru (Hejczyk 2013, 150). Waclaw Korabiewicz recalls that “a considerable handful of representatives of free initiative remained. These scattered

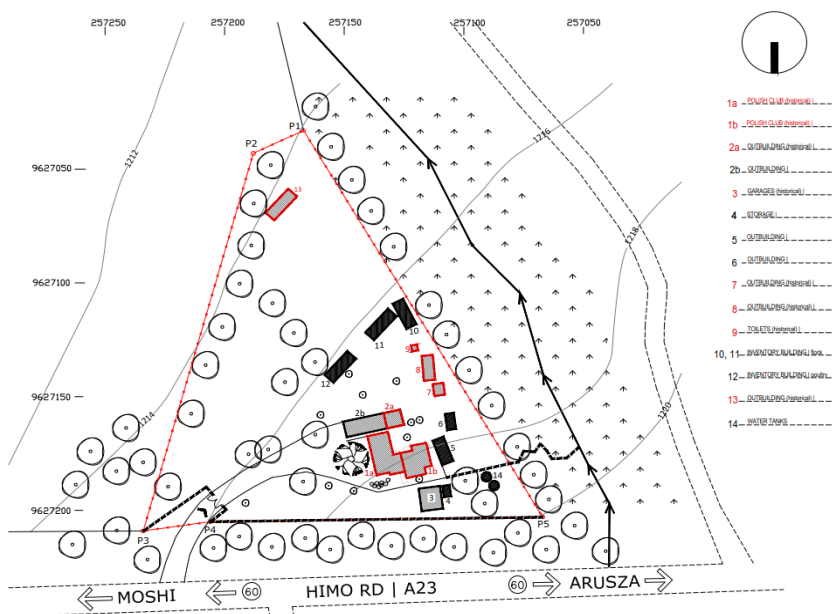


Il. 4. Polish Club, Poli Sing' isi near Tengeru

Source: Centre for Documentation of Deportations, Expulsions and Resettlement, Pedagogical University of Cracow, Poland.

around (our pioneers, adventurous or ‘crazy’ business). They were curious people, risk-takers. Driven by an entrepreneurial vein, reconciled to their newfound land and its black people, have decided to seek their fortune here” (Korabiewicz 1980, 263). He mentions such people as Paweł Zawisz, Kotowicz, Władysław Wincza and his wife, Leszek Duszyński, Waldemar Kuczyński and his wife, Leszek Wiczorek, Jurek Krokowski (Korabiewicz 1980, 262-269). The Poles who remained in Tanzania after liquidation probably became co-founders of the Polish Club in Poli Sing’isi near Tengeru. (Il.4) “The last person who could say the most about it, was Edward Wójtowicz, who died in 2015. He came to his mother, a resident of the estate, in the 1950s” (Hejczyk 2013, 150).

The year of the club’s construction is unknown, but based on Sister Adela Mnyambii’s study, it can be assumed that it was built together with the buildings after the liquidation of the camp, i.e. after 1950. Sister Adela Mnyambii SAC and Fr Audiphace Shirima write that while living in



Il. 5. Polish Club and its outbuildings in 1950's and buildings erected later, Poli Sing'isi near Tengeru

Source: Evaluated by the author on basis of topographical map received from Eng. Dr. Richard Matolo on May 17, 2022.

the camp, the Poles wanted to have their own social center, where they could rest and talk. So, they bought a plot of land by the Tengeru River, near where they lived, and built facilities there, such as the Polish Club with accommodation and outbuildings (cowshed, outdoor kitchen, toilet, 3 outbuildings), which are shown on the map (II. 5).

This place became the center of various social, cultural and spiritual activities for Poles in Tanzania. Mail and important parcels were received there, local and international information was exchanged. Various important anniversaries were celebrated and Polish culture was commemorated. It was possible to read the current press at the club and there was also a library. During non-school periods, young people met at the club

Polish Association of Tanganyika Zjednoczenie Polaków w Tanganyice

15th Model 86

Office of Administration-General,
P.O. Box 9183, Dar es Salaam.

Sir,

RE: The Registered Trustees of Polish Association of Tanganyika

Reference to your letter dated 30th Nov. 1985 Ref. No. ADG/TI/167/38 we would like to explain that we are not able to appoint the new trustee to replace Stanislaw Wojtowicz who died on 21.4.85. We are left with acting members only to represent the Polish Association of Tanganyika in Tanzania. Two other previous members left gradually the country or died in the meantime.

We understand that in this situation we can't exist any longer as association and we informed you in our letter of 25th July 85 that we decided to transfer the property of our Association to the Registered Trustees of Diocese of Arusha, P.O. Box 3044 Arusha. This is the plot with the house situated on the roadside of Arusha, which is occupied by the whole Diocese rent free.

Thank you for your information that Administrator General of Trustees has got no objection to that affect. We have also small saving on the Association name which we want to keep to maintain Polish cemetery in Tengeru (Arusha District).

Please advise kindly what steps should be taken to close down our Association.

Yours faithfully,
S. SZELIGA
SECRETARY

Scanned with
E. WOJCIKOWICZ
CHAIRMAN

II. 6. The decision of the donation of the plot of the land and the property (Polish Club) to the Catholic Diocese of Arusha

Source: Mnyambii 2020, 20.

and summer camps were held there. Children from the local community were also invited to the meetings (Mnyambii 2020, 16-17).

In 1986, the plot of land and property was donated to the Catholic Diocese of Arusha by Edward Wójtowicz, President of the Union of Poles in Tanzania. (Il. 6) In accordance with the will of the Polish donors, a Pallottine Leadership Training Centre was established on the site. The former Polish Club has become a venue for seminars for various groups and non-profit projects to support lay people in the Christian apostolate (Mnyambii 2020, 17). In 2008 bishop Josaphat Louis Lebelu invited the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Catholic Apostolate to help run the Leadership Training Centre, which they continue today.

4.2. Current State of Development and Infrastructure and Land Use

4.2.1. Land Development

The Leadership Training Centre is located in Poli Sing’isi in the north-eastern part of Tanzania, on the road between Moshi and Arusha, 5 km from Tengeru. This is the same road where the Polish refugee camp used to be located. The area lies in a foothill climate zone characterized by cool mornings and evenings. It is cold during the rainy season (April-June) and warm from December to February. The LTC plot is located in an agricultural area, in an upland area dotted with mountain ranges with Africa’s highest peak, Mt Kilimanjaro (5895vm), and Mt Meru (4566 m). The slopes of Mt Meru are covered with jungle. That is why it is called Green Mountain. In good weather both peaks are visible from the property. The entrance to the plot is from the main Moshi-Arusha road. The plot is fenced only at the side of the road. On the south-west side, the Tengeru River flows, which can be accessed via a slope. On the other hand, the south and south-east sides overlook extensive fields and the property is unprotected. The property has a vegetable garden run by the sisters, with carrots, cabbage, spinach. In the field they grow maize. Near the entrance, along the south-eastern boundary of the property and by the river, palm trees grow. Nearby the building of former Polish Club, mango bushes are bearing fruits. An avocado tree, planted many years ago by the Poles still exists and provides not only fruit but also shade.

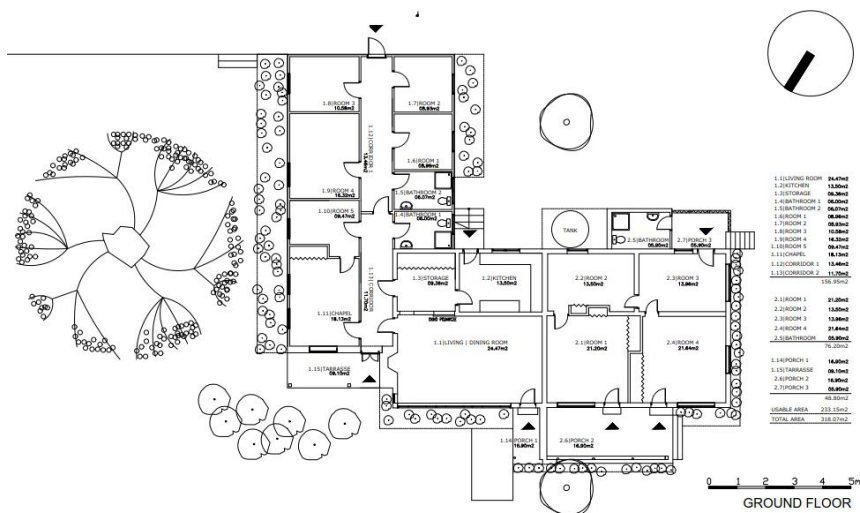
All the facilities on the plot are shown on the map (Il. 5). The plot area is sloping towards the south-east, creating a height difference of about 1 m. An irrigation canal flows through the plot area at the rear of the former Polish Club, which is used to irrigate the vegetable garden and field. Water is obtained from the river. There is a water reservoir in the western corner of the plot close to the main road.

4.2.2. Inventory

The architects Anna and Jakub Sachse drew up an inventory of the building on site. (Il. 7) On its basis, it was possible to produce a plan, cross-sections and an inventory of the rooms of the Polish Club building.

The building is functionally divided into two parts:

- The part to the left of the driveway, which is largely wooden, now belongs to the Pallottine Sisters. Through the main entrance, one enters directly into the living room, which has an open fireplace, now out of use. This element is also characteristic for other houses built by Poles in the Tengeru camp. There is a window on the wall between the living room and the kitchen, which was once used to serve meals. In the part inhabited by the sisters, there is also a sto-



- rage room for food, which forms a passageway between the living room and the kitchen. There is also a kitchen with an access to the courtyard, as well as 2 bathrooms, a chapel, 1 corridor with an entrance on the driveway side and 1 corridor with a disused entrance on the courtyard side, and 5 rooms where the sisters live.
- The part to the right of the driveway, which is all brick, is used as accommodation for workshop and retreat participants. One entrance through the veranda is on the driveway side, while the other is up the stairs on the courtyard side. This part consists of 4 rooms with built-in niches used as wardrobes and a toilet accessible from the outside.

The documentation prepared will help to draw up a plan for the renovation and adaptation of the building to new functions such as accommodation and workshop rooms or a mini museum.

4.2.3. Technical Condition

a) The former Polish Club building

The building that once housed the Polish Club is a single-story building with a total area of 318 m². It consists of a brick part and a wooden part.



Il. 8 a, b. The former Polish Club, the brick part

Source: Anna Rynkowska-Sachse.

- The brick part (Il. 8 a, b), with a floor area of 123.5 m², has been painted white at the front. This part is made of brick, which provides good insulation in warm and cold weather, making it in better condition than the other part of the building. Unfortunately, the problem is the ceiling, which, due to the leaking roof, would have

to be replaced. The masonry part currently contains mostly dormitory rooms with metal bunk beds. Due to a lack of space, several people sleep on them, which means that the sleeping comfort and ventilation of these rooms is not sufficient.



Il. 9. The former Polish Club, the timber-framed part

Source: Anna Rynkowska-Sachse.

- Part two of the timber-framed building (Il. 9), probably built later than the masonry part, has a floor area of 109.62 m² and was covered externally with vertical boards painted with dark brown tar. This is an unusual façade for these areas, resembling a wooden house from rural areas in Poland. Unfortunately, the boards are dilapidated, largely eaten through by woodworm and termites, allowing dangerous insects and venomous vipers to enter. Thin wooden walls covered only with wooden boards do not provide insulation in hot or cold weather, resulting in stuffy or cold rooms and a lack of natural ventilation, making it difficult to sleep.

The building, which has an L-shaped floor plan, is covered with a metal roof that is rusty and leaking in many places, causing huge leaks on the ceiling and on the walls, as well as mould, which is present in all rooms. (Il. 10) In addition, plaster is falling off the ceiling. The main entrances to both parts are on the north-west side, so that both the porch and the veranda are long shaded. The utility entrances, on the other hand, are

on the courtyard side, i.e. on the south-east side. The doors are made of boards with steel hinges and handles, painted black. The Polish character of the rooms can be recognized in these elements. The utility door from the wooden part is painted green, which is probably the original colour. The window frames are white metal sashes with single glazing (Polish windows), divided into 3 sections and opening outwards. The floor in the rooms is mainly made of concrete or tiled, only in the rooms and in the chapel one can find wooden boards, which are covered with PVC due to holes.

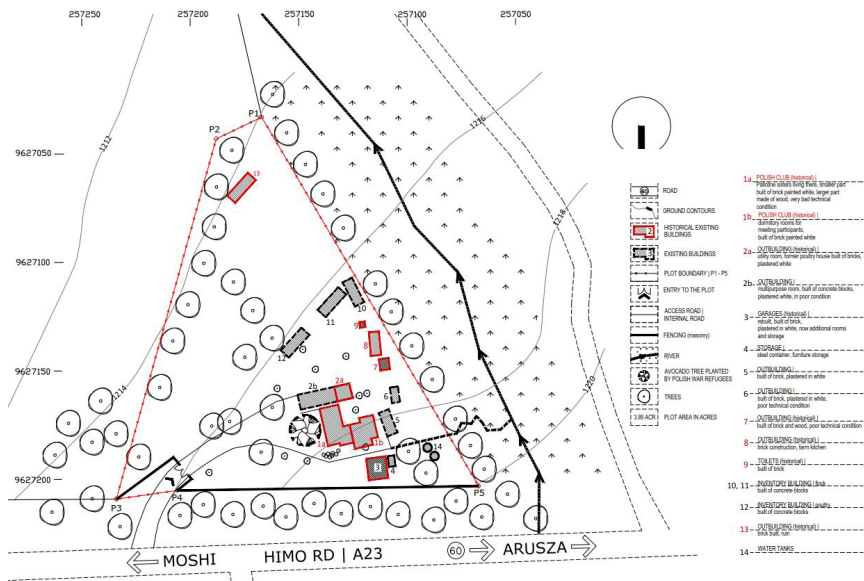


**II. 10. Damaged part of the building | former Polish Club
(the timber – framed part)**

Source: Jakub Sachse.

In general, the technical condition of both parts, especially the wooden part inhabited by the sisters, is very bad. Destruction caused by water and pests has made the building uninhabitable, as the conditions are harmful to health (mould, lack of ventilation). At the same time, the pests penetrating the center of the building (rats, snakes, vipers) are endangering the lives of the residents, as well as disturbing the electrical installations, which threatens to cause a fire in the entire building.

In addition, the area in front of the building is not paved, which means that it is difficult to walk through in the rainy season due to mud.



II. 11. Inventory of the site plan of the Centre (LTC) in Poli Sing' isi – the technical state

Source: Evaluated by the author on the basis of the topographical map received from Eng. Dr. Richard Matolo on May 6, 2022 and on the research carried out together with Jakub Sachse.

b) Outbuildings and infrastructure

The outbuildings on the plot can be divided into those that were built by the Poles and those built by later residents. The buildings, the time of their construction, their state of repair and the accompanying infrastructure are shown on the attached map (II. 11). It is worth mentioning that the brick buildings built by the Poles were constructed to a high standard (even joints, durable fired bricks and roof tiles, brick lintels, carefully laid brick, [...]). The bricks were fired in a kiln that was located outside the camp in Tengeru. Its location is unknown (Rynkowska-Sachse 2022a). Unfortunately, especially the roofs of these buildings are in need of repair.

4.3. Diagnosis of User Needs According to the Design Thinking Method

Preliminary research – a diagnosis of user needs, which was carried out using the Design Thinking method – is also presented below. Surveys

conducted among different types of users showed that participants in training and meetings need a place that would provide them with decent conditions both indoors and outdoors – where the classes are held. Respondents also indicated that they would feel valued if the infrastructure of the centre (LTC) was better than their everyday life. They indicated that security (the construction of a fence) was most important to them, followed by a harmonious, peaceful and green space for prayer and meditation, and a shaded flexible space for activities.

The material collected during the site visit, the diagnosis of needs and the interviews made it possible to draw up a concept for a master plan for the area, enriched with new facilities to improve the functionality of the existing center and the comfort of users in terms of individual and group needs. The proposed changes would make it easier for the Pallottine Sisters to continue their work of outreach and development of lay people. In the future, the site would house a religious house for the Pallottine Sisters, who would move there from the Polish Club, and a multi-purpose building for the organization of training, services, retreats and meetings in the Christian spirit for lay people. The revitalized Polish Club would house a museum and an exhibition on Polish refugees in Tanzania organized on the basis of the archives from the Centre for Documentation of Deportations, Expulsions and Resettlement, Pedagogical University of Cracow in Poland. On the plot of land, it is suggested that a hostel be built for tourists who, returning from below Kilimanjaro, could stay here and learn about the history of Poles from 80 years ago. The income from the hostel could additionally cover the current needs of the center. Also important is the creation of a garden, which would be both: a space for meditation and a practical place for recreation and leisure.

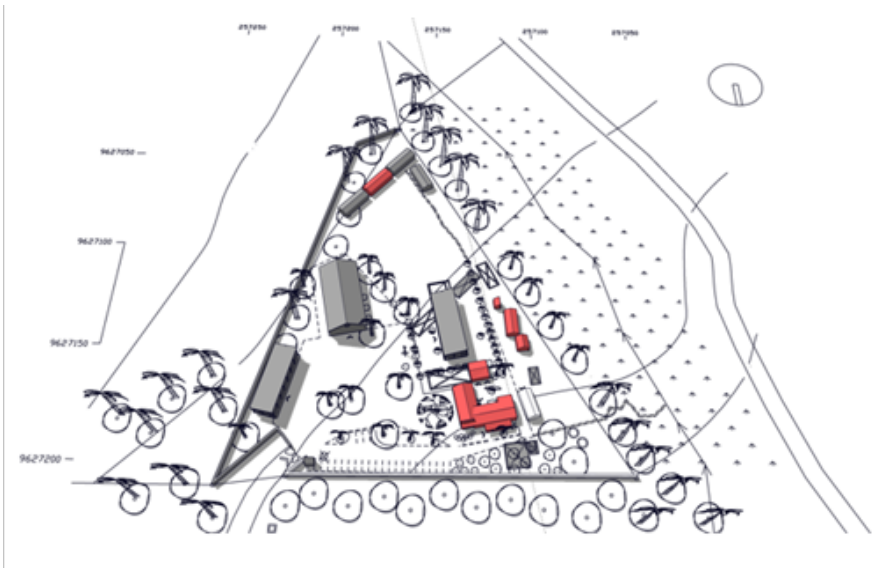
As part of the needs analysis, the following goals of the Leadership Training Centre were identified:

- to awaken and meet the needs and interest in Christian spirituality;
- to educate and train Christian leaders to work in local communities and to organize training, as well as activities during the holidays for children;
- inspiring, organizing Christian conferences and meetings, retreats, lectures, choirs and masses;

- organizing regular activities for people with HIV, whose aim is, on the one hand, to increase knowledge, awareness based on Christian values, formation of communication and organizational skills among children, adults, youth and seniors, and on the other hand, to build a sense of connection with the local community in a Christian spirit and integration within this environment;
- building a sense of belonging and security around people with the same world view;
- empowering/sustaining people in need.

In order to achieve these goals, the center is currently carrying out the following activities:

- teaching lay people from small Christian communities how to be good Christians in small communities – how to plan and implement their goals;
- providing leadership training for Christian leaders to understand the needs of the community and to learn how to work towards independence;



II. 12. Concept of the target site plan of the centre (LTC) – option 1

Source: Designed by architects: Anna Rynkowska-Sachse and Jakub Sachse.

- promoting a positive balance between religious, social economic and political activities in the Christian lay consciousness;
- establishing ‘Small Christian Communities’ (SCCs) in parishes (after agreement with the Episcopate in 1970) as a way of strengthening lay people, revitalizing Christianity and deepening the faith of the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council. This idea includes meetings on the Bible and the Liturgy;
- teaching young people techniques of domestic animal husbandry, beekeeping, accounting and bookkeeping;
- supporting women’s groups and providing training on the Secular Apostolate and good leadership.

Unfortunately, the center’s current infrastructure and buildings are not suitable for this kind of activity, especially on a larger scale. Therefore, the changes would involve the revitalization and adaptation of the Polish Club to new functions, the construction of a new house for the Pallottine Sisters and the creation of a concept for the final development of the site with a functional and spatial program.

Studies have shown that the sisters are the main driving force behind the center, so the new space should enable them to regenerate. For this reason, it is necessary to build a Sisters’ House. For the sake of sustaining the activities carried out by the Sisters, it is necessary to create a multi-phase plan for the development of the LTC and the construction of facilities and infrastructure that would help to achieve the objectives and continue the existing activities at the highest possible level (Il. 12).

5. Conclusion

In the process of transforming the Centre (LTC), spatial and functional solutions are needed that take into account the cultural context and the needs of the local community, but also continue the history of the place founded by the Poles, combine it with the needs of today’s users and are open to different scenarios to ensure future sustainability. An impetus for further development is needed, and this means in a broader context adapting activities, as well as buildings and infrastructure, to new challenges. Therefore, it is necessary to engage in the process Polish,

Tanzanian and international institutions. Anna and Jakub Sachse are the volunteers of the Pallottine Missionary Foundation Salvatti.pl, who is engaged in gathering funds for the project, tries to draw attention of the Polish Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as various business organizations.

The process of transforming the Center (LTC) has the potential to be a good example of Polish-Tanzanian cooperation, creative joining of the past and the future and can show how painful history of one country can help in development of others and built constant relationship.

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Chapter 11

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“Vua Mkono Wa Sweta” Fighting for Cultural Resistances Maintained by New Religions in the Post-Colonial Period: Case of Male Circumcision in Iringa District

Abstract: For two decades, male circumcision (MC) scholarship in Tanzania and Africa, in general, has focused on its role in the prevention against HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease. Very little is available regarding why many people especially in the Lake Zone and southern highland had no culture of male circumcision despite the presence of religions likely to emphasise on it. This paper discusses the role of Islam and Christianity toward the resistance of male circumcision in Iringa region in Tanzania. The paper argues that, apart from the regions reported to have a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and been reported that male circumcision can prevent the disease for about 60%, yet there is a low prevalence of male circumcision. Relying on primary and secondary data, the paper argues that there were different perspectives related to male circumcision in connection with religions. The paper further argues that religious leaders lacked a standpoint on MC. Thus, even though there are different efforts of male

circumcision such as ‘vua mkono wa sweta’ campaign still males from study area resist because of religious perspective. The paper concludes that the big result of male circumcision is in hand of religious leaders in collaboration with government in order to implement what males in the Iringa region believe. It is expected that this study will add value to the new body of knowledge on understanding the reality of circumcision in Iringa and southern Highland in general.

Keywords: male circumcision, cultural resistance, new religion, post-colonial, Iringa region

1. Introduction

In different parts of the world, there is a contradiction related to Male Circumcision (MC). Various studies have shown that there is a relationship between Uncircumcised men and the spread of HIV/AIDS. For example, a Randomized Control Trial (RCT) which was conducted in South Africa, Kenya and Uganda, gave strong evidence that safe Male Circumcision (MC) can reduce male’s chance of becoming infected with HIV by approximately 60% (Auvert et al. 2005). Following this, in 2007, the World Health Organisation (WHO) and UNAIDS recommended MC to be added to the HIV prevention strategy to reduce the risk of heterosexually acquired HIV infections in countries with low MC prevalence and high HIV prevalence (WHO and UNAIDS 2007). Since then, interest has been raised by several southern and eastern African countries to consider the introduction of MC campaigns for HIV prevention (UNAIDS and WHO 2008). Situation analysis conducted in African countries shows that prevalence of adult MC is rather low and is estimated to be around 15% in countries like Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe (UNAIDS and WHO 2009). However, the prevalence of adult MC is higher in other countries such as Malawi (21%), Botswana (25%), South Africa (35%), Lesotho (48%), Mozambique (60%), Angola (66%) and Madagascar (80%) (WHO and UNAIDS, 2008). Nevertheless, in each country, the proportion of circumcised men varies with provinces and ethnicities (Ibid). For example, in Kenya, the 2003 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) indicated that the majority of Kenyan men (83%) were circumcised. However, the prevalence is lower among men living in Nyanza Province (46%), and among the Luo ethnic group (17%).

Tanzania, with the current population of 59,251,631 people (UN 2020), has a national adult HIV prevalence of 5.7% and the highest HIV prevalence is found in the Iringa region (about 15.7%) while the lowest HIV prevalence in Mainland Tanzania is in Manyara (1.5%) (THIS 2019). Tanzania's average MC prevalence is about 67% with regional variation. In Dar es Salaam, for example, the circumcision level is high about 98% while in Iringa region male circumcision rate is low about 21% (TACAIDS, ZAC & NBS 2004). Male circumcision is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. For example, in the eastern half of Tanzania, circumcision rate is higher than in the western part of Tanzania. Geographical differences can be attributed by religious, ethnic and cultural factors. For instance, Muslims along the coast practice MC. Also, pastoral societies traditionally circumcised adolescent boys as an initiation into adulthood. However, more educated men are more likely to have been circumcised than uneducated ones.

Despite the risks associated with uncircumcised men, still a good number of adult males were/are not circumcised. As such, since 2009 the government initiated "*Vua Mkono wa Sweta*" Campaign specifically in Lake Zone and southern highland regions of Mwanza, Shinyanga, Mara, Tabora, Iringa, Mbeya, Rukwa and Njombe. *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* is used in this paper to refer to adult male circumcisions as well as the development tools to facilitate the procedures. *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* campaign was introduced after realising that southern highland and Lake Zone regions have a low rate of MC, about 26% compared with the eastern regions of Tanzania where MC prevalence is high about 95% (TACAIDS, ZAC & NBS 2004). The campaign encouraged males to be circumcised as one of the major approaches towards reducing the chances for HIV/AIDS infection. It was reported by scholars that male circumcision provides a degree of protection against acquiring HIV infection, equivalent to what a vaccine of high efficacy would have achieved (Auvert et al. 2005). Also, male circumcision reduces other sexually transmitted disease such as gonorrhoea and syphilis. Furthermore, MC has been reported to reduce the causes of cervical cancer for women, which is a big cry to the government of Tanzania and Africa in general, given the fact that the cancer is caused by a virus from men. Men who are not circumcised are likely to have large chances for the virus which always hides to penis foreskin.

In this case, the campaign insisted on the volunteering for medical adult male circumcision (VMAMC) which began in April 2009. The VMAMC aimed at scaling up safe and quality MC in Iringa region and to provide technical training and programmatic support to other MC partners, as requested. The main objective of the ‘Vua Mkono wa Sweta’ was to reach every uncircumcised male and circumcise them in the identified areas in the region for the purpose of solving the problem of HIV.

Despite the government’s implementation of “Vua Mkono wa sweta” campaign, Iringa region has still been reported to have high HIV/AIDS infections and a low rate of male circumcision. Basing on this ground there is a contextual gap that this paper needs to address. Therefore, the paper is aiming at examining the resistance of male circumcision in connection to new religions namely Islam and Christianity in Iringa region during post-colonial period. Specifically, the paper intends to, first, determine the acceptability of male circumcision in the study area; second, identify the cultural practices which hinder or allow male circumcision in the study area; third, assess the impact of Islam and Christianity towards cultural resistance; and lastly examine the problems associated with Islamic and Christianity in connection to male circumcision in Iringa region.

The study was conducted in Iringa region which is located in the Southern Highland of Tanzania. The region has four districts: Kilolo, Iringa Urban, Iringa Rural and Mufindi. The study focused on Iringa district, selected due to its high rate of un-circumcised males and high rate of HIV/AIDS. The study used two types of data sources: primary and secondary. Primary data involved interview and focus group discussions (FGD) while secondary sources involved the consultation of published and unpublished materials such as books, reports and articles relevant to this study. The interview focused on general public and key informant interviews with various stakeholders across the districts. Four (4) focus group discussions were conducted separately by sex (male/female), age 40–60+) and circumcision status (circumcised/uncircumcised). The language used was Swahili and in some cases, Hehe language was used. The key information interviews were held with 30 health personnel, traditional circumcision and healers, business leaders, community leaders, HIV/AIDS activists, religious leaders, government officials and political leaders.

2. Acceptability of Male Circumcision

Circumcision was well-known among men and women who participated in the study. 75% of respondents correctly defined circumcision as '*kutoa govi*' meaning to remove the foreskin from the penis. While all Muslim participants correctly defined male circumcision as partial removal of the foreskin. The informants noted that male circumcision is very common in many tribes whose culture allows. When they were asked whether they know any tribe whose culture does not allow circumcision, one respondent interviewed in Iringa town replied yes and provided his experience:

“I was born and grew in Njombe so I am a Bena. My tribe does not practice male circumcision. Male circumcision was done in the hospital by those who follow that culture or when they have disease which requires circumcision”.

The definition of male circumcision by informants is similar to Cichocki's definition that male circumcision (MC) is a surgical removal of the foreskin of the penis. He adds that circumcision is one of the oldest and most common surgeries in the world (Cichocki 2008). Because they were aware about male circumcision, the majority of the interviewed men were willing to be circumcised with high demand from urban areas in Iringa, Mafinga, Ilula and Kilolo towns. The main reason given by these informants on having circumcision include its benefit for preventing sexually transmitted infections (STI) including HIV and improving hygiene. Amongst the men aged 20–29 mentioned STI/ HIV prevention as the main reason for their circumcision and they mentioned “Vua mkono wa sweta campaign” as the major initiative which helped to create awareness on the relationship between male circumcision and HIV infection. This is because medical male circumcision has been reported to reduce risk of HIV infection by about 60% (Auvert et al. 2005). Mainland Tanzania has identified the limited coverage of male circumcision as one of the underlying factors influencing the spread of HIV and AIDS. An overall prevalence rate of male circumcision in the country is estimated at 67% with regional variations from 21% in Iringa to 98% in Dar es Salaam (UNAIDS & WHO 2006). There is difference in HIV prevalence rates across the regions. Iringa, Dar es Salaam and Mbeya regions have

the highest prevalence rates ranging from 15.7%, 9.3% and 9.2% respectively. It has been observed that before Vua Mkono wa sweta Campaign, the prevalence rate of male circumcision in Iringa was very low. This can be contributed by their beliefs which did not support MC and this persisted for a number of years.

3. People's Believe in Iringa

People in Iringa had their own religion before the introduction of foreign religions. In practice, it was difficult to separate religious practices from the real life of the people in Iringa. Religions theologically include the beliefs and practices of African people handed down by the ancestors who linked people to both the past and eternity (Popee 1976; Magesa 1997). In the pre-colonial period, the Hehe, Bena and Kinga had their own beliefs concerning the lives of human beings from birth to death. During this period, people from Iringa did not conduct male circumcision and they were comfortable with their culture. This is different from other societies in Tanzania and Africa at large where MC was performed in early adult life as a “rite of passage” or a shift to puberty, adulthood or marriage (Hoffman 2006). For example, the Masai of Tanzania and Kenya value MC practice as a way to show their attainment of manhood. In other societies, circumcision represents a signal of commitment to a group, and may serve evolutionary purpose by reducing the incidence of extramarital sex (Hoffman 2006). Among some West African groups such as the Dogon and Dawayo, circumcision is taken to represent a removal of feminine aspects of the male, turning boys into fully masculine males. Among the Urhobo of southern Nigeria, circumcision symbolizes a boy entering into manhood and constitutes a rite of passage from one age set to another (Abdur-Rahman 2013).

In Iringa, male circumcision started during the nineteenth century when people of the region had contact with the people from outside through long distance trade system based in Zanzibar. During this period, people in Tanzania and Iringa in specific experienced a transformation more intense than any other region of tropical Africa. Yet the transformation was not a straightforward replacement of old by new because not

all people were involved in trade (Ilfie 1979). Thus, not all were ready to adopt it, some resisted on it as it was for new culture. In Iringa, male circumcision was introduced during the Arab penetration in the region. Thus, with the penetration of new religion (Islamic), some people adopted it while others resisted.

3.1. Islamic Religion in Iringa

In Tanzania, as is the case for the rest of East Africa, Islam was established on the Indian Ocean coast earlier than in the hinterlands. However, with time it spread to other areas of the country at varying rates and extent. Islam in the hinterland has a more recent history basically from the 19th century. During this period Zanzibar became a thriving center of East African trade between the coast and the interior. The trade routes went southward into Malawi and Mozambique, and westward onto the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Buganda. Islam spread into these countries essentially through trade and settlement of Swahili people and Arab traders along the trade routes, urban centres and small towns. It is mainland Tanzania, through which the trade caravans traversed before reaching their destination further inland to the Great Lakes, which had the largest number of trade route encampments and settlements of Swahili and Arab settlers. Hence Swahili language, culture and Islam spread much earlier and more extensively in mainland Tanzania than most of the interior regions of the neighbouring countries. In Iringa, long-distance trade of the Hehe people with Arabs played an important role in the spread of Islam to different parts of Iringa. The Islamic religion was accepted by the people in the area given that it accommodated polygamy and complying with African culture (Mgaya 2016) such as tolerance with male circumcision. In that case, Graham points out that Islamisation was one aspect of social change in German East Africa which was conspicuously minimal in Iringa district (Graham 1968; Ilfif 1979).

3.1.1. The Practice of Male Circumcision in Islamic Religion

In Islam, male circumcision is mentioned in some *hadith*. Some high scholars state that circumcision is a recommended *sunnah* while others

considered it as obligatory. Some have quoted the *hadith* to argue that the requirement of circumcision is based on the covenant with Abraham. The Qur’an itself does not mention circumcision explicitly in any verse. Circumcision of men was carried out by most pagan Arabian tribes and female circumcision by some, and male circumcision by Jews for religious reasons (La Barre 1972) Some *hadith* mentions circumcision in a list of practices known as *fitra* (acts considered to be of a refined person). Abu Hurayra, a companion of Muhammad, was quoted saying, “Five things are *fitra*: circumcision, shaving pubic hair with a razor, trimming the mustache, paring one’s nails and plucking the hair from one’s armpits”, reported in the *hadiths* of Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim (*Hadith – Book of Dress ...*). So, despite its absence from the Qur’an, it has been a religious custom from the beginning of Islam. However, there are other *hadiths* which do not name circumcision as part of the characteristics of *fitra*.

3.2. Christian Religions in Iringa

In Iringa, Christianity expanded later after Islamic religion. Introduction and expansion of Christianity was done by different denominations. For example, the Lutheran Church arrived in Mbeya in the 1890s from Central Africa via Lake Nyasa and later expanded to Iringa. Lutherans expanded to Iringa due to the agreement made with Moravians to avoid religious conflicts among missionaries belonging to different denominations. The Moravians established their Christian congregations adjacent to the Lutheran Church. Therefore, they agreed upon a boundary between their respective mission fields using clear demarcation of Mbaka River. The Moravian church operated in the part of the Tukuyu district to the west of the Mbaka River. The Berlin Lutheran Mission operated to the east of the Mbaka River, which is near Mbambo village, where expansion in the whole Tanzania was agreed on (Jackson 2018). From there, the Moravians expanded north and west towards Tabora, while the Lutherans extended to the north and east towards Dar es Salaam, the situation continued up to 1978. In the same vein, Lutheran missionaries arrived in Iringa Region in October 1899 (Mdegella et al. 2000). The first station was constructed at Itonya-Muhanga near Udzungwa Mountain

under the leadership of Wilhelm Neuberg. Neuberg spread Christianity along Upangwa-Njombe area and constructed big church at Milow in 1903 as a memorial for village in Poland for the person who provided money to construct a church. In 1902, Christianity reached at Ubena, Uhehe and Usangu.

From 1905-1907, the expansion of Christianity in Iringa was affected by Maji Maji war in Tanganyika by the time. Even though the war was intensive to the Bena area and Ngoni areas in Songea, but the penetration of Christianity among the Hehe was disturbed given that many preachers were the Bena. After the Maji Maji war, in 1910, the centre of Itonya was shifted to Ilutila under Julius Oelke due to the higher rainfall in the area. On 24 June 1912, Julius Oelke shifted the centre from Ilutila to Ng'uruhe (Pommern) in the process of expanding Christianity in other areas. Either, in 1932, Julius Oelke inaugurated the church in Iringa town (Mdegella 2000). Another reason which explains the spread of Christianity to the Hehe people in Iringa was connected to the migration process where the Bena and Kinga migrated to the Hehe. They migrated for agricultural activities and due to stability of the Hehe people against enemies. Given that many of the Bena were already Christians, thus they spread Christianity among the Hehe. Pommern and Ihemi were among the early centres for Lutherans in Iringa (Jackson 2018). It took a time for the Hehe to accept Christianity as they were investigating and also they connected Christianity with Bena people as many preachers were from that ethnic group.

3.2.1. Circumcision in Christianity

In the Old Testament in the book of Leviticus 12.3 and Genesis 17.14 any uncircumcised in the flesh, will be cut off from his people, he has broken my covenant (Holy Bible 1982). By that time circumcision for males was compulsory. Paul wrote to Galatians about the issue which had become a serious controversy in their region. There was a burgeoning movement of Judaizers in the area that advocated adherence to traditional Mosaic laws, including circumcision. Paul considered it a great threat to his doctrine of salvation through faithful and addressed the issue with great detail in Galatians 3. Romans 3:1-2 Paul argued that circumcision no longer meant the physical but spiritual practice (Holy Bible 1982). Jesus Christ was circumcised in eight days after birth and Paul himself

was circumcised when he was called Philip 3.5. To Paulo circumcision is nothing and uncircumcised is nothing Galatians 6.15. Some Biblical scholars think that, generally circumcision should be discouraged to Christians. The Roman Catholic Church formerly condemned the ritual observance of circumcision and ordered against its practices in the Ecumenical Council of Basel-Florence in 1422. The church presently maintains neutral stance on circumcision as a medical practice. Some Christians in South Africa opposed circumcision viewing it as a pagan ritual. However, male circumcision remained customary among the Coptic, Ethiopian and Eritrea Orthodox Churches and also some other African Churches. Also, the Nomiya Church in Kenya required circumcision for membership. Moreover, some Christianity churches celebrate the circumcision of Christ. However, the vast majority of Christians do not practice circumcision as religious requirement.

4. Cultural Practices which Allow Male Circumcision in the Study Area

Male circumcision has been a practice since pre-colonial period and it was traditionally done by many societies as a rite of passage to adulthood. It is done as a way of maintaining cultural identity and perpetuating the traditions (WHO 2009). Most ethnic groups do circumcise their young at around puberty, although the actual age can range from 6 to 53 years depending on the ethnic groups or country. Circumcision can also be done to assess and impart strength and bravery as participants are required to show that they do not feel any pain during circumcision as the case of Kurya tribe from Northern Tanzania (Mwita et al. 2009). Historically, the practice has been associated with religious practice and ethnic identity. Later on, social desirability, social economic status and social interaction, health benefits became other determinants as well.

Male circumcision has been for a long time been considered as a religious aspect. It has been reported that since Abraham the Jews have considered male circumcision as a religious mandate and most Jews in the contemporary world tend to circumcise (Israelites 1993). It is further suggested that Jews and followers of Judaism probably adopted

circumcision to make penile hygiene easier in the hot, sandy climate but also as a rite to passage into adulthood and as form of blood sacrifice. Circumcision among Christians was considered to be part of purity but today not all agree with the concept (Mwashambwa 2013). Islamic religion on the other part, male circumcision has remained to an obligation despite that the practice is not mentioned in the Holy Quran. The religious base of circumcision on Islamic understanding is founded in the Abraham covenant.

Informants interviewed on the relationship between religion and circumcision mentioned both Islam and Christianity as supporting and opposing the idea of male circumcision. Most respondents who were circumcised argue that they were circumcised for religious reasons. They further reported that it is a religious requirement for all Muslim men to be circumcised and for this reason, they pointed out that almost 100% of Moslem adolescents and men are circumcised. Moslem informant interviewed in Kalenga town provided a sentiment that:

“Circumcision is associated with cleanness to us. Those that are not circumcised are seen as unclean. We Moslem do circumcise our boy because even Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) himself was circumcised as a sign of being clean and he urged all true Moslem men emulate his example” (Interview with Zuberi Hamisi, Kalenga, June 20, 2021).

In this case, some respondents believe that male circumcision was a culture of Swahili (Moslem) people so those who did that were the Muslims. If non-Muslims get circumcised has to be converted and follow Islamic culture. This was expressed by one respondent by saying that:

“I am not circumcised because this issue is more of an Islamic practice; most of the people that are circumcised are Muslims. But for us Christians this practice is still not known, may be that is why we were not circumcised until the campaign of “vua mkono wa sweta” came in our area” (Interview with Nicholas Mwakalinga, Mgera, June 23, 2021).

Unlike Islam, other religions maintain neutral stance towards male circumcision. Many people in Iringa linked male circumcision with

Islamic identity and a way of distinguishing Muslims from non-Muslims. To many especially those over 35 years of age consider male circumcision as one step towards being converted to Islam. This was testified by one informant who argues that:

“if one is circumcised he is changing religion from Christianity to Islam especially if they are not told why people get circumcised because circumcision is associated with the Islamic faith. There are more Christians than Muslims here so you can easily know this one is a Muslim and this is a Christian if they are circumcised or not”.

Some respondents argue that male circumcision was a practice which is going against God as explained by one respondent who argues that “*male circumcision means cleaning the heart and not to remove part of the penis. To do this is to criticise the way God created human.*” The arguments are supported or confused by some testimonies from Holy Bible. This is because there was a time when that circumcision was allowed and to another extent, it was prohibited. This is evidenced when going through the Old Testament in the book of Leviticus 12.3 and Genesis 17.14 which says that any uncircumcised in the flesh, will be cut off from his people, he has broken the covenant (Holy Bible 1982). In contrary, Paul wrote to Galatians a burgeoning movement of Judaizers which advocated adherence to traditional Mosaic laws, including circumcision. In this case, religion can hinder or allow people to be circumcised. The findings are similar to what Rizvi et al. noted in their study where they revealed that worldwide, the primary determinant of MC is religion, with almost all Muslim and Jewish males being circumcised because of the belief that a covenant was made between Abraham and God (Rizvi et al. 1999). In addition, WHO and UNAIDS reported that approximately 30% of the world’s males aged 15 years or above are circumcised and around two-thirds are Muslim (living mainly in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa), 0.8% are Jewish, and 13% are non-Muslim and non-Jewish men living in the United States of America (WHO and UNAIDS 2007).

However, the view that circumcision was for Islam as explained by informants from Iringa counteracted by Christians with the reminder that Jesus himself was circumcised (USAID 2009). This was the observation made by Lukobo & Bailey (2007) and Ngalande et al. (2006) who

realised that in Malawi and Zambia, Christians should practise circumcision since Jesus was circumcised and the Bible teaches the practice. Westercamp and Bailey (2007) who conducted focus group discussions and in-depth on male circumcision in South Africa and found no clear consensus on compatibility of male circumcision with Christian beliefs. It has been also noted that some Christian churches in South Africa oppose the practice, viewing it as a pagan ritual, while others, including the Nomiya Church in Kenya, require circumcision for membership (Mattson et al. 2005). Studies from various parts of African continents show that male circumcision is a traditional practice of Muslims who consider it as an affirmation of their relationship with God in a practice called *to-hara* meaning purification (UNAIDS 2007). This is supported by Gasasira et al. (2012) who noted that majority of Rwandan Muslims practice male circumcision with prevalence of 82% as part of their religious ritual while the majority of Rwandans who are Christian (93% with prevalence of 9.7% in Catholics, 11.4% in Protestants and 12% in Adventists) do not traditionally practice male circumcision.

Apart from religious, informants mentioned that they were circumcised or not circumcised because of their traditional beliefs. It is believed that male circumcision has traditionally been practiced in some ethnic groups for many pre-colonial years. Later it was negatively affected by colonial rules and Missionaries (Nnko et al. 2001). This in turn created non-circumcision zones, in which the southern highland is among while other zones such as central and coastal have remained a circumcising belt (TACAIDS, ZAC & NBS 2004). Some ethnic groups, circumcision was influenced by traditional beliefs. For example, among the Gogo tribe of central Tanzania do circumcise males in such a way that a flap of the foreskin is folded back under the ventral aspect of the penis to make a small swelling considered to have sexual function (Mwashambwa et al. 2013). Maasai, on the other hand, leave a hanging flap of foreskin on a ventral aspect of the shaft of the penis which is also considered to increase female stimulation during coitus while in other ethnic groups, the foreskin is completely removed (Kilima et al. 2012).

Not only in Tanzania where circumcision can vary dramatically by ethnicity but also in other countries as well. Bailey et al. noted that although an estimated 84% of all Kenyan men are circumcised, the percentage is

much lower among the Luo and Turkana ethnic groups (17% and 40%, respectively), and focus group discussions among adult Luo men and women found no knowledge of any history of male circumcision among the Luo in Kenya (Bailey et al. 2007). Similarly, Doyle noted that male circumcision is not practised among the Jopadhola, Acholi and other Luo-speaking River-Lake Nilotic groups in Uganda and southern Sudan, from where the Luo migrated (Doyle 2010). In the majority of these cultures, circumcision is an integral part of a rite of passage to manhood, although originally it may have been a test of bravery and endurance. Ethnicity is thus a major determinant of circumcision worldwide – for example, in ethnic groups of Bendel State in southern Nigeria, 43% of men stated that their motivation for circumcision was to maintain their tradition (1985). In some settings where circumcision is the norm, there is discrimination against non-circumcised men. In some cultures, such as the Yao in Malawi, the Lunda and Luvale in Zambia, or the Bagisu in Uganda, it is unacceptable to remain uncircumcised, to the extent that forced circumcisions of older boys are not uncommon (Lukobo and Bailey 2007; Ngalande et al. 2006; Westercamp and Bailey 2007). The ethnic groups found in Katavi, Iringa and southern highlands in general had no culture of circumcision since pre-colonial times.

Yet some of the informants mentioned that they were circumcised for medical benefits. This follows the report that male circumcision helps to decrease the risk of sexually transmitted infections, circumcised men might have a low risk of a certain sexually transmitted infections. Evidence from a study among the Sukuma ethnic group in north-west Tanzania, revealed that MC is becoming a popular practice in traditionally non-circumcising groups because of the HIV prevention programs implemented in those areas (Nnko 2001). The study further revealed that perceived health-related reasons such as enhanced penile hygiene and reduced STI risk among those communities popularize the MC practice. In Iringa region Male circumcision became very popular during *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* Campaign which came as a result of a Randomized Control Trial conducted in South Africa, Kenya and Uganda. The study gave strong evidence that safe MC can reduce a male’s chance of becoming infected with HIV by approximately 60% (Avert et al. 2005). The *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* campaign was introduced following the evidence that

Iringa region and southern highland regions in general have high rates of HIV infections with a low prevalence of Male circumcision.

Despite the effort, yet it was not easy for the *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* practitioners to get adult uncircumcised males given the fact that people in Iringa had their own culture and beliefs. In this case, *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* introduced various strategies in order to reach the targeted groups. One of the strategies was various education in health centres such as hospitals and dispensaries, concerning male circumcision and its ability to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as gonorrhoea, syphilis and HIV/AIDS. Service delivery was another strategy which was used to create awareness about male circumcision. Those who come for “the cut” (circumcision) were counseled not only about the procedure and postoperative care, but also about the need to abstain from sexual activity during the healing period and to practice other HIV prevention measures thereafter. They offered HIV counseling and testing and received free condoms, screening and (if needed) treatment for other STIs, and referrals to other health and social services they may need. Service providers encourage clients to bring in their female partners to receive these additional services, as well. So, service delivery was used as one of the strategies to reach many uncircumcised males but they faced many challenges (Kanagat et al. 2013). In response, the programme developed three models of service delivery: static, mobile and outreach.

Static sites are public or private health facilities that have the capacity and space to offer male circumcision services on demand. The hospitals and health centers which offered this service include Idodi Health Center, Isimani Health Center, Tosamaganga Hospital, Ilula Hospital, Ngome Health Center, Iringa Regional Hospital, Mafinga District Hospital and Usokami Health Center (interview with Abdallah Maganga, May 2021). Outreach services were provided by partner teams on specific days at health facilities that do not have the capacity to offer the services on their own. Mobile teams, on the other hand, bring “*vua mkono wa sweta*” services to remote communities, setting up surgical theatres in dispensaries, school classrooms, chiefs’ offices and even large banquet tents.

Different ways were also used to reach many people from urban to village and increase awareness among people. For instance, radio advertising was used to promote the free MC services and publicise how to access

the services (Interview with Abdallah Maganga, May 2021). Also, radio advertisements were used extensively during campaigns to create awareness of service locations and time. In areas with limited radio frequency, peer educators and experiential media were widely used. Furthermore, stickers, posters, public address systems, advertising cars, peer educators, billboards, t-shirts, and mobile phones made easy to reach target population at schools, local bars, clubs, bus stops, marketplaces and football fields. Services are coupled with free HIV counselling and testing services. Services were accessible at 24 sites across the region during the advertised campaign periods. Target goals were set to increase the numbers of men who take advantage of the MC services. Advertising promotes health and hygiene benefits of MC, including prevention of HIV/AIDS, when combined with other prevention methods.

In Iringa region, success of MC was well observed to the members who supported the programme. These includes the Medical Officers who provided directives and basic infrastructures; Jhpiego provided technical and financial support; regional quality assurer team ensured high quality for MC service; community leaders promoted MC in their communities; strong and committed regional and district authorities by investing political capital where it made MC get customers. Different leaders in Iringa invested in task shifting/sharing; created district-level demand by creating committees and motivating the adolescent and adult males – particularly during the cold season and school holidays to conduct MC (Interview with Abdallah Maganga, May 2021). Thus, the effort enabled the number of circumcised adolescents in Njombe and Iringa regions of Tanzania from October 2009 to September 2013 to increase up to 146,071 men (Njeuhmeli 2014). During the campaign, at

Table 1. Total population circumcised in Iringa, October 2009 to September 2011

Age range	Campaign	Routine	Total circumcision
Less than 1	0	77	77
1 -14 years of age	18320	6244	24564
15 – 25 years	22528	14552	37080
26 and above	3477	2024	4491
	44325	21887	66212

Source: Interview with Abdalla Maganga, May 2021.

least every district, ward and village in Iringa region was reached. The number of males attended medical male circumcision in Iringa during the initial stage of *Vua mkono wa sweta* campaign from 2009 to 2011 is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that from October 2009 to September 2011 total number of 66212 males were circumcised in Iringa region. Males aged less than 1 year were very few (77) followed by males aged between 26 and above (4491). Reason for why males aged between 26 and above become less interested with circumcision is due to experiences shared by their fellow adult males that the procedure is more painful to old than young males and it is a shame. However, the table shows that majority (37080) of males aged from 15 to 25 attended male circumcision from 2009 to 2011. The study noted that this was the adolescent age in which they felt to test each and everything. In addition, it is the age that they feel proud to be called men. Interview with members of the said group realised that, to them being circumcised is to become real men and become confident in such a way that they could even take off their clothes in front of people because they look like a man (Interview with Samson John Mwakalinga, Itamba, 23 May 2021).

All MC sites function within the existing health services infrastructure and service providers were/are employees of their facilities in that sense they provide service free of charge. In some areas like Iringa town, requirements of some clients forced service providers to be flexible in terms of working hours (Interview with Abdallah Maganga, May 2021). For example, some of the adult traders preferred to receive the service during the night. By looking at the aim of the project then doctors agreed to accommodate all needs of the clients given that they were able to get quality and satisfactory services. This enabled the number of CM to increase year after year in Iringa (interview with Maganga).

In more recent times, perceptions of improved hygiene and a lower risk of infections through male circumcision have driven the spread of circumcision practices in the industrialised world. In a study of US newborns in 1983, mothers cited hygiene as the most important determinant of choosing to circumcise their sons, and in Ghana, male circumcision is seen as cleansing the boy after birth. Improved hygiene was also cited by 23% of 110 boys circumcised in the Philippines and in South Korea,

the principal reasons given for circumcision were ‘to improve penile hygiene’ (71% and 78% respectively) and to prevent conditions such as penile cancer, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV. In Nyanza Province, Kenya, 96% of uncircumcised men and 97% of women irrespective of their preference for male circumcision stated their opinion that it was easier for circumcised men to maintain cleanliness.

Other reasons mentioned by informants as to why they decided to be circumcised or not was socio-economic status. This has been supported by various scholars who noted that people with higher levels of education and higher socioeconomic status were more likely to be circumcised (Balekan and Dintwa 2016). It is further elaborated that in some sub-Saharan African countries, there is an indication that a high socio-economic status and interaction is associated with higher rates of circumcision in traditionally non-circumcising communities. This is supported by Nnko, et al. (2001) argue that the rate of circumcision is higher among men with higher levels of education and those who live in urban areas. Other scholars pointed out that, higher levels of education may imply social contact with a broader mix of different ethnic and religious groups (Urassa 1997). This in turn increases the likelihood of circumcision given such socio-behavioral interactions. Respondents reported a lack of interaction as one among determinants of male circumcision in Iringa. Most youth respondents interviewed explain that they are not circumcised because they lacked interaction with other youth from areas where circumcision is common. One respondent insisted that:

“I was not circumcised when I joined high school in Tanga because circumcision was not our culture back home. One day as we went for swimming with my fellow students, they realised that I was not circumcised. They advised me to go to the hospital to be circumcised and I agreed and this was how I was circumcised”.

Another respondent argues that he became circumcised after visiting his brother in Dar es Salaam and realised that his brother’s sons were circumcised hence demanded to be circumcised. These are just a few testimonies among many. If these people did not interact with other people outside their area of birth they couldn’t get circumcised.

5. Cultural Practices which Hinder Male Circumcision in the Study Area

Poor belief and unclear reasons for circumcision in Iringa. They argue that male circumcision causes contraction of male reproductive organs. It also reduced power during sexual intercourse. Some people believed that male circumcision led to penile functionless. This is supported by H. Mgombati argues that “Male circumcision on childhood is very dangerous as a child may be functionless or the penile will remain small” (Interview with Veronica Mgombati, Itamba Village, May 25, 2021).

Another testimony was Regina Kihwere who said that:

“I was married in Iringa from northern part of Tanzania where MC was conducted without a problem. But, when stayed in the region, especially for years, I was not hearing about the effort especially for young men to be circumcised which is common to my homeland. One day I heard a harsh word from nearby house, where mother in law rejected their children to be circumcised. She lamented that the intruders brought new culture in their family. The mother in law adding that MC led to contraction of male reproductive organ that why many men nowadays reproduction is a problem. So “I don’t need this to my children”.

Yet other respondents consider male circumcision as a plan of Westerners to reduce population in Africa. This was testified by Anastazia Sanga who argued that:

“as for me I don’t see the reality in relation to the *Vua Mkono wa Sweta* campaign. The whites themselves not all have circumcised. Big denomination like Roman Catholic did not emphasise on male circumcision. This is just a western plan as you can see many youth who are circumcised are the one who have reproductive problem and high rate of HIV infectious diseases. What is the reality then?”

Also, it was believed that male circumcision was going against God. Anastazia Msagula argued that “*male circumcision means cleaning the heart and not to remove part of the penis. To do this is to criticise the way God created human*”.

It was further reported by some women that circumcised male have more difficulties in reaching orgasm, experience more vaginal pains and an inferior sex life. They claimed that the circumcised man develops a thin layer of hard skin on his penis head, which decreases the sensitivity. This means that in order to reach an orgasm, he needs to work harder at it, and that can lead to a painful experience for the woman. When a circumcised man moves in and out of a woman without ‘the gliding movement’ caused by the foreskin, it can have a painful effect on the woman’s mucous membrane. This could explain the pain and the tendency towards dryness that some women with circumcised men experience. On the other hand, there have been reports suggesting decreased sexual comfort and lowered sexual arousal in circumcised men (Bronselae et al. 2013; Chinkoyo and Pather 2015). These stories from circumcised men in different parts across the world, Africa and Iringa in specific led to variation in the process of male circumcision. This is supported by cross-sectional study in Belgium circumcised men reported to have less sexual pleasure, less intense orgasm, greater penile shaft discomfort compared to uncircumcised men; with less sexual pleasure noted in those circumcised during adolescence compared to those done in childhood (Bronselae et al. 2013).

Studies conducted on sexual functioning in men who were circumcised as adults have shown conflicting reports while some have noted increased difficulty with masturbation and reduced sensitivity and penile sensation after the procedure (Kim and Pang 2007). Others did not find significant evidence of adverse sexual functioning in circumcised men when compared to their uncircumcised counterparts (Krieger 2008). In addition, in a randomised controlled trial in Kisumu, Kenya reported increased penile sensitivity and improved orgasmic experience in circumcised men (Krieger 2008). Perceived improvement of sexual attraction and performance can also motivate circumcision. In a survey of boys in the Philippines, 11% stated that a determinant of becoming circumcised was that women like to have sexual intercourse with a circumcised man, and 18% of men in the study in South Korea stated that circumcision could enhance sexual pleasure. In Nyanza Province, Kenya, 55% of uncircumcised men believed that women enjoyed sex more with circumcised men. Similarly, the majority of women believe that women enjoyed sex

more with circumcised men, even though it is likely that most women in Nyanza have never experienced sexual relations with a circumcised man. In northwest, Tanzania, younger men associated circumcision with enhanced sexual pleasure for both men and women, and in Westonia district, South Africa, about half of men said that women preferred circumcised partners.

Women had a significant influence on men and boys to be circumcised as they view circumcised men as clean and taking a long time to reach ejaculation. Also, women view men with circumcised penises as more attractive than uncircumcised men and they use their romantic relationship to convince men to become circumcised. They support post-operative care and adhere to the requisite of six weeks abstinence period (Lanham et al. 2012). Differences in techniques, instrumentation and infection control, among others may be responsible for the variations in sexual experience of circumcised men reported by the various studies (Eaton & Kalichman, 2009). Hence, in Iringa, some of the men agreed and some resisted it, this forced the government in Tanzania to introduce the campaign of “Vua Mkono wa Sweta 2009 for health purposes. With the campaign still the perception shows the resistance.

6. Conclusion and Recommendation

The history of male circumcision in the post-colonial in Iringa region was intricately tied to the practice that existed from pre-colonial to colonial period. As it has been discussed in this paper, male circumcision has not been a truly cultural or religious practice in Iringa and southern highland regions in general during pre-colonial period. The situation became worse during colonialism, when colonial masters did not emphasize the practice. This is despite the religions which expected to raise awareness about male circumcision. The study found a contradiction among Christianity and Islam which did not spell out clearly whether their followers could be circumcised or not and for what reason. Muslim consider circumcision as obligatory to them although it is not written anywhere in the Holy Quran. Christians considered circumcision as a

culture of Muslims which is not correct as Jesus Christ himself was circumcised. Apart from religion, other factors were mentioned as well to facilitate circumcision. The factors include socio-economic status, level of education, level of interaction and dwelling status. More recently many men attended medical circumcision following the Vua Mkono wa Sweta campaign which associated male circumcision with the reduction of HIV infection. Yet some people in Iringa resisted due to various reasons including poor beliefs. They associated the campaign with a Western plan for reducing reproduction.

In such a case, the study noted further that emphasis to male circumcision in Iringa cannot be sudden and automatic without severely disruptive consequences in cultural and religious practices. This is because they have to do with community's life and world view can only change gradually as other ideas practices and habits support them. Besides, where Religious institution should be used to rectify their controversy in relation to male circumcision and support the needful of it in this period when the world is exposed to various problems related to transmitted diseases within a global village. It is particularly important that the male circumcision in Africa should not be propelled by Western threats of economic sanctions and withholding of development aid or even incentives. Circumcision should be very personal for aged except for childhood where decisions are from the parents. So, religions should do their needful to re-improve their teaching to solve the problem permanently in Iringa, Tanzania and African societies in general where currently the majority of people belong to Christianity, Islam or other new religions. Circumcision, however, is not without complications and the incidence appears related to the age of the patient, where the procedure was done, technique used and level of proficiency of the practitioners. Circumcision, although free of complications in the majority of patients, often results in untoward consequences such as excessive or inadequate skin removal, pain, hemorrhage, wound infections, Skin Bridge, loss of penile sensitivity, sexual dysfunction and penile amputation. These are like any other complications from medicine, food, treatment, and so on.

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Chapter 12

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Conveying Religious Mission while Delivering Development: Jordan University College as a Source of Pro-Developmental Changes

Abstract: At the outset of the study, the appropriate inculcation of the religious element into secular educational activity is posited as the source of developmental incentives as they are generated within Jordan University College. The adequate description and elucidation of its empirically available religious elements become possible due to the employment of the network theory of the church by which it is assumed that, within the horizon of human relationships, there is formed a web of mutual interdependency and interaction through which suitable channels for the self-manifestation of the religious elements are created. Just as this element is one of the key components of the motivation of individuals enmeshed within the networks of ecclesiastical bodies, so does it effectively influence their way of thinking and valuing that they start to act in pro-developmental modes. The study discloses the following dimensions of the transforming impact of the religious element upon secular activity: the activity aimed at ensuring the financial stability of the institution and optimising financial outlay, the self-creation of the methods which allow the institution to compete successfully in the educational services market, the smooth transition from the fulfillment of the purely educational to the social functions. There are obtained within these areas, the abilities, skills and

virtues which can easily be transferred into the closer and wider environment of this organisational unit as the institution networks outwards into its surrounding environment.

Keywords: Church and development, religious pro-developmental agency, Jordan University College, Salvatorians, sustained growth

1. Introductory Theoretical and Methodological Remarks

The waning persuasiveness of the paradigm of secularisation, together with the theoretical assumptions and methodological directives based on this paradigm, does not leave us in any doubt as to the necessity for searching for ways of overcoming the imperfections of these scholarly procedures which for a relatively long time have been perceived as being the only appropriate ones¹. Gradually there comes to light the essential ineffectiveness of these procedures in describing and explaining the contribution of the religious element in the development of a person, broadly understood as being through the liberty to fully realise one's humanity. This ineffectiveness seems to stem from the excessive detachment of the purely religious and moral elements from the other elements constituting the essence of religious institutions (Jarosz 2015, 160-161).

Together with inscribing this study into those current researches which are aimed at attaining a more reliable grasp of the impact of the religious element upon the processes of generating development, it is assumed that this element becomes an accurate factor within the process whereby

¹ The weakening strength of the paradigm of secularization does not mean that the core of this paradigm has thoroughly lost its integrity and value. As can be derived from a careful reading of the recently introduced collection of studies which focus upon the more integrated combination of religion and development, there is a gradual process of creating good reasons for the continual withdrawal from the theoretical and methodological assumptions which form this paradigm; this is due to the parallel emergence of reasons oriented towards the opposite direction and consolidating an alternative paradigm. The latter, according to the suggestions of its proponents, ought to be identified as the paradigm of de-secularization (Clarke 2013, 1-12).

a particular religious collectivity can freely develop its activity². These freedoms facilitate the possibility of establishing networks of personal relationships that meet a double function³. Firstly, through their mediation, a particular congregation's strictly religious purposes are realised. This means that associated with the formation of collectivity, individuals on the basis of interpersonal bonds are enabled to build their relationships with the transcendent; in the case of the Abrahamic religions; this is most frequently experienced as interpersonal acts of affiliation with a deity. Secondly, the same networks, although having been established for a purely religious purpose, automatically become a platform for dissemination, generated on the base of religious experience, enabled and anchored within the community, forming pathways of thinking and valuing and setting patterns for acting outwards into the closer and wider surroundings. When the process of this dissemination has extended in time, it leads to the creation of culturally institutionalised forms of social life, conducted both within and outside the boundaries of a given religious collectivity. These forms manifest in the intersection between this religious community and other traditions and customs with their narratives, codes of communication, mores and practices.

² Indirectly the importance of the freedom of expression of faith and organizing religious structures as well as the complexity of networks paving the way for the church's self-manifestation, is becoming unveiled in the light of descriptions of two-sided relationships between secular and religious counterparts in pre-modern Congo (cf. Piętek 2013, 108-109).

³ While sharing views disseminated in subject-matter literature as to the meaning of religious networks in conveying development, the most frequent pathway is not being followed here, that which is based on the widely held conviction that the principles of religion and development are not compatible poles but that it is still possible to make use of religion. This is aptly expressed by the phrase: 'using religion for development'. In accordance with our predominant premise, the full potential of religion being harnessed to the instigation of development can be realized only when religious actors are not merely instruments being harnessed in order to achieve telic developmental aims and purposes, but only when they are treated as autotelic institutions, being allowed above all to realize their own purely spiritual and moral elements for mission. Secondly, when the first ones are 'achieved' it might be expected that there will appear transfers catalyzing greater development from the firm base of socio-economic structures (cf. Ellis and Haar 2017).

In light of this emerging perspective, a reliable investigation of the impact of the religious element on the process of generating growth ought to be anchored in a critical analysis of the mission concept. The normative contents underlying the character of agency of a given institution are rooted in the latter. It finds its ultimate manifestation in an easily distinguished evangelisation and pastoral care style. On the other hand, as this activity is never realised within a social vacuum, its direction is delineated through the successful operationalisation of the invariable contents of the concept of mission. It is done to master the requirements applicable to the given existential situation of believers whereby the right patterns for explaining the complexity of surrounding circumstances entail the directives of morally right conduct. This operationalisation is successful only when the invariable contents of the mission conceptualisation take the form of normative statements that are properly adjusted to the spatially and temporally varying conditions that characterise a particular religious and social milieu. Thus it follows that any investigation instigated from within a religious environment, together with its pro-developmental incentives, must necessarily refer to the general state of development of a particular society. In particular, this development must be considered with reference to how it is manifested in the character of the socio-cultural, economic and political relations which underpin the basis of the social structure, the specificity of cultural patterns and traditions and the nature of political regimes together with the processes related to them, the processes of exerting power, governing, socialising, educating, communicating, and finally providing social control.

Together with taking into account the impacts instigated by these conditions upon the self-manifestation of an ecclesiastical community, it must be remembered that each and every activity which forms them consists of an infinite number of variously oriented interactions. In order to characterise these activities and their dynamism, it is necessary to narrow the field of our investigation into a single institution and its surroundings. From the point of view of the perspective raised above, Jordan University College is a particularly interesting institution.⁴ On

⁴ From methodical point of view content designatum of a name Jordan University College refers to the networks of personal relationships that form the essence of

the one hand, this university college, being a constituent college of the Catholic University of Saint Augustine in Tanzania, was established to put into practice a purely religious mission, that is, in order to educate and form candidates for the priesthood who were coming forward from the religious communities. The dynamics of its development led to the decision to initiate broadly secular activities, with departments offering courses in such areas as education, law, linguistics, psychology, sociology and economics. As a result of this widening curriculum, new dilemmas associated with the quality of the preparation for the priestly ministry were created. On the other hand, however, there emerged new possibilities for influencing young people. The main advantage has been the direct contacts which have been built up within the academic community. By means of these contacts, the whole process of

religious institutions due to their intersecting horizontal and vertical orientation. However, as they are occurring as a multitude of informal and formal relationships and ties which cannot be entirely enhanced neither due to employment of a single research technique nor due to their combination, therefore, it is necessary to make use of the method that only facilitates approximation of phenomenon of these relationships as scientifically they are not thoroughly penetrable. The chosen method is typical case study that sets up one of subcategory of descriptive case study. According to the logic of this method the descriptions of - instrumental from the point of view of self-subsistence and activity of Jordan University College - ranges of personal relationships are meant to reflect only general patterns of forming this institution multilateral linkages as essentially it is impossible comprehensively to enhance and elucidate neither the totality of these linkages nor intrinsic complexity of particular elements of entire system. In consequence elaborated explications can be seen as representative for any religious institution but only in this respect that they reflect overall outline of possible ways of exerting probable impacts upon the processes of development. At the same this method does not exclude the premise based on observed in some instances pathologies ravaging religious communities from within. This premise materialized in theorem regarding that religion is counterproductive towards development. In the light of underpinning this study hypothesis this eventuality may come to fruition when inner irregularities maintained within religious institutions are becoming extrapolated to wider environment. It is a direct consequence of impulses stimulating such perceptions shared among congregated individuals and sustaining these types of their attitudes that counteract developmental changes. Due to networks of relationships relating them with representatives of external surroundings they are becoming disseminated also within them (cf. Gerring 2017, 56-57).

education is mediated, thus creating an environment which has a real possibility of making an effective impact, both intellectual and moral, upon the formation of the future elite of Tanzanian society. At this point, however, there emerges an important question: to what extent the processes for fostering development taking place within this particular academic community are?

In order to receive a satisfactory answer to the question formed in this way, it is necessary to undertake careful reflection based on empirical studies. Undoubtedly, a certain distance in time is also needed to develop an adequate perspective for the objective capturing of the regularities occurring within the field of our interest. The achievement of these conditions goes beyond the frames of this study. Apart from the obvious impossibility of crossing the barrier of time, it is also hampered as a direct consequence of the shortage of, if not the complete lack of, empirically grounded attempts to display the impacts of the purely religious element upon the institutionalisation of religious bodies within the boundaries of a particular social environment. This institutionalisation, as it is expected to be exposed within the course of analyses fulfilling this study, plays a crucial role in specifying the characteristic for the mode of operation of religious organisations. Nevertheless, this limitation might be overcome by the appropriately delineated focus of the study. The latter is intended to explore the consciousness of both the insiders and the outsiders who form the closer and wider environment of the college. In the case of the former, it will be done through the analysis of university documents and studies, by adopting historical perspectives to put into focus the various transformations of the organisational unit being discussed. The merits of the sources being selected in such a way is to reflect the self-awareness of the university authorities, the administrative and teaching staff and, to a certain extent, also the students. This is due to the fact that, in accordance with the principle, defined as central in official college documents, the students remain at the core of all university policies. More precisely, all of these policies start and finish with them. Thus, the feedback obtained from those currently studying and those who have already graduated is subjected to the careful procedure of elaborating an objectified picture of their expectations, demands, career plans, memories and the obstacles they experienced.

In the case of outsiders, their importance lies in their perceptions and representations of the university. They are going to be selected from the workers, both domestic and foreign, who are connected to the Tanzanian educational system. This system of institutions is, in fact, only a part of the entire national system so these analyses cannot be detached from the broadened context of literature focused on the socio-cultural as well as the economic and political characteristics of Tanzanian society which, to an increasing extent are affected and catalysed through the globalisation processes of cultural homogenisation and the inevitable convergence of the national systems of education.

In accordance with the introductory theoretic remarks, the potential of religion to instigate and foster development is contingent on the quantity and quality of the relationships linking the institutional and organisational manifestations of a particular religion with the institutional and organisational manifestations of civil, economic and political society. Thus, the two following stages of our study are going to be closely focused upon two types of such relationships: the first of these being that which facilitates the self-manifestation of a concrete religious institution within a particular environment, and later those by the means of which this institution reinforces developmental activities.

2. Paving the Way for the Self-Actuation of Development: the Origins and Initial Stages of the Growth of the College

As has already been mentioned, the genesis of the institution of Jordan University College was conditioned by the efforts aimed at searching for the most effective mode for realising a very important element of religious mission, the formation of priests. They play a significant role within the complex structure of interactions, by means of which there occurs the translation of the supernatural content of the mission, in particular in situations in which they are performing their role as leaders within the area of evangelisation and pastoral activity. Their contribution becomes even more important when we consider the context of the young

Catholic Church in Tanzania which is passing through intensive growth as a persistently mission church.

A community in the process of intensive progress while experiencing many opportunities also faces quite a considerable number of challenges. These are mainly the direct or indirect outcomes of the mission activity adopted during the second half of the nineteenth century, a strategy based on the idea of accommodation. The weakness of this strategy was the result of it being based on false anthropological assumptions, such as ethnocentrism. These assumptions excluded in advance the possibility of emplacing the content of the Christian message on the foundations of local socio-cultural structures. Instead, the missionary activity was based on an alien background: that is, one that belonged to the culture of the foreign missionaries and included a range of cultural patterns. Consequently, the faith inculcated in this way was assimilated superficially and poorly connected with other spheres of individual and social life (cf. Lyimo 2014, 97-98; cf. Kipacha and Dugbazah and Mesaki 2014, 109-110).

These methods of evangelisation, together with the pastoral care provided, were so ineffective from both a religious and socio-cultural point of view that they were at last undermined and then gradually transformed due to the renewal of *Vaticanum II* (cf. Tarimo 2004, 24-25). However, a range of negative consequences still persist, the worst being their long-term impact upon the new mode of structuring the life of the ecclesiastical community which is continually being weakened. Gradually there is emerging, as the idea of inculturation replaces the idea of accommodation, an in-depth appreciation of the inherent value of the evangelised cultures which is strengthening the subjectivity of members of the local communities (Jarosz 2014, 113-140). One of essential aspects of the radical realignments, initiated in this way, is the emergence of the activity aimed at enabling the gradual imposition of fuller responsibility for the development of local communities on the shoulders of their native members.⁵ In this context the issue of the formation of future local ministers became significant (cf. Avela and Piekarske 1994, 230-233).

⁵ Undoubtedly, this unstoppable responsibility recalls Pope Francis' "invitation to work for the culture of encounter, [...] as Jesus did: not just seeing, but looking; not just hearing, but listening; not just passing people by, but stopping with them; (...)." Pope Francis, Morning meditation in the Chapel of the Domus Sanctae

Aware of all of this, the Salvatorians serving in Tanzania, while still during the eighth decade of the last century under the management of foreign missionaries, started to give careful consideration to the problem of how best to manage the growing number of candidates to the priestly ministry who were joining their own and other congregations. An unsatisfactory situation was emerging from the fact that particular religious communities were striving to provide the philosophical and theological studies in cooperation with diocesan bishops in the country. An alternative was other seminaries, led by religious congregations but placed outside of the country. Within this arrangement, together with the growing number of vocations to the diocesan seminaries, it could happen that there would be no room left over for religious candidates within the diocesan seminaries. The possible reduction in newly ordained priests, caused by this, would have had a very negative influence upon the development of the community of the Church in Tanzania in general and for religious congregations in particular. In this context, the question of the best possible preparation of the greatest number of priests, in terms of their intellectual and moral formation, had its own significance. Around them, a single church's communities could be sustainably developed. Their contribution is expressed especially in the authoritative proclamation of the word of God and the profound explanation of the teaching of the church, as well as in ministering the sacraments and, finally, in managing the life of the local church and administering her material goods. To sum up, towards the end of the 1980s the education of priests was a pressing concern, and it still remains one of the most important tasks of the Church in Tanzania (cf. Bednarz 2013, 44-45).

However, on the other hand, because this church is thrusting its roots into the soil of the society of a developing country, the realisation of the idea of self-reliant education and the formation of the priests has been and still is loaded with significant restrictions. These are derived from the poor condition of the whole state economy and the poverty which stems from it, widespread among the majority of citizens. Because of this, the

Marthae, For a culture of encounter, Tuesday, 13 September 2016, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/cotidie/2016/documents/papa-francesco-cotidie_20160913_for-a-culture-of-encounter.html (January 12, 2023).

local Church communities are not able to generate the financial resources which are necessary to initiate and support such a large organisational undertaking as a seminary. Another important consideration, which is an inherent part of such a foundation, is the question of the necessary organisational skills required in order to ensure the sufficient running of such an institution. In the case of religious orders and congregations being most frequently international in character, it has been possible to manage this problem by means of the continuous involvement of missionaries coming from outside (Wanza 2015, 61, 69-75).

As outlined briefly, these circumstances were typical of the way in which the church set about achieving the clearly understood aim which was to establish a fully-fledged and, from a long-term perspective, a self-reliant, major seminary for religious candidates from the whole region of the local Church in Tanzania and from neighbouring countries. However, it was meant also to open the institution to the Salvatorian candidates from other African and also non-African countries, as well as to candidates sent by interested African diocesan bishops. As we view the course of events as they proceeded, it can be noticed that the direction of the development of this particular institution was determined by the sequential extension of the education on offer, starting from the candidates of the congregations participating from the beginning in the project (first stage of institutional development when the institution held the name of Salvatorian Major Seminary: 1993-1999)⁶; passing through the slight widening of the offer of programs addressed to religious persons but not to candidates for the priesthood, and also to lay people interested in philosophy and theology (The Salvatorian Institute of Philosophy and Theology: 1999-2010); and the final extension of the educational offer was addressed to all willing to study a range of different courses within the humanities and social sciences (Jordan University College: 2011-)⁷.

In accordance with the networking theory, assumed to be an adequate tool for exploring the multifaceted realities of ecclesiastical bodies, the

⁶ Even though it rarely finds reflection in subject-matter literature, perhaps due to its temporary (one year) character, but first official name of discussed institution was Salvatorian Theologate.

⁷ J. Bednarz in systematic and brief way presented subsequent stages of the whole plan of establishing and developing discussed institution (2013, 43-60).

activity of the church can be seen as being the cooperation between representatives of the church and representatives of secular bodies. The nucleus of this structure was formed on the basis of the collaboration between the authorities of the Salvatorian Mission in Tanzania and the members of the supreme authority of the whole congregation based in the Generalate in Rome. Developed within the framework of the interactions between them, the plan for long-term activity was developed and then put into practice through carefully scheduled subsequent stages. All of them would come to fruition through the incorporation of a growing network of individual and institutional participants. They can be grouped together as a range of church and secular authorities such as individual Tanzanian bishops and the leaders of the religious congregations operating in the area, as well as institutions, such as the Religious Superiors Association in Tanzania.

Ever since the early stage of the development of the plans and the first binding decisions, in addition to the Salvatorians mentioned above, there have been participating persons representing the supreme authority of the Church in Tanzania. Amongst the most important were Cardinal Polycarp Pengo (Archbishop of Dar es Salaam and the leader of the Church community), Bishop Adrian Mkoba (Bishop of Morogoro) and Archbishop Anthony Mayala (Chairman of the Tanzanian Episcopal Conference). Another important group were members of the Religious Superiors Association in Tanzania. The time of consultation, which extended from the mid-1980s to the time when construction started in August 1990, led to the selection of the location, near the town of Morogoro, due to its situation in the centre of the country and its easy access to other regions. The authorities of the congregations, which were prepared to take part in the project, decided to build their own formation houses in close proximity to the future seminary and to prepare selected members to acquire the specialisations needed for teaching in the institution. Besides the supreme authorities already listed, there is another important person, however, not representing the Church in Tanzania but the whole universal Church. It came about that Pope John Paul II, while visiting Tanzania in 1990, blessed the cornerstone and supported the project financially (Urbański 2015).

The execution of the project, together with the future running of the institution, was accepted by the Salvatorians themselves. They were

associated with the most difficult part of the whole project, that is, the search for a suitable place, the collection of the necessary resources and the overall management of the subsequent stages of construction. Within this phase the crucial element was the cooperation between the supreme authorities of the congregation, the authorities of the single provinces and their mission procurers. However, the key role was played by the authorities of the Salvatorian Mission in Tanzania (its long-term superior and future general of Salvatorians Fr. Andrew Urbański as well as the treasurer and later superior of the mission Fr. Zdzisław Tracz). This cooperation gradually moved outwards into larger and larger circles, exceeding beyond the plain of religion into the area of the secular domain. An important part of the project was the search for financial resources, managed within its own particular provinces by mission procurers, obtained by means of attracting external sponsors, and also the search for those to undertake subsequent endeavours, such as the preparation of the architectural plans and the construction and technical supervision. The next essential part of extending the network of relationships was a set of exchanges with the representatives of the local authorities. In accordance with the Tanzanian legal system, an appropriate amount of land was leased for one hundred years and the other necessary formalities were also completed⁸. Thus it came about, as mentioned above, that by 1990 enough of the construction had been completed to allow the college to open for the academic year, which started in the autumn of 1993. The project was planned in such a way that on the opening day, those facilities which were the most needed were fully functioning. Further development of the institution was to follow as new buildings were constructed.

To sum up, on this basis, there gradually emerged the outline of a network of typically ecclesiastical relationships and ties. Together with the establishment of a major seminary as a constituent private institution of higher education, this network gained another important participant ready to initiate and maintain further interactions. So far, the analysis is of the whole structure of exchanges which facilitated the realisation of

⁸ Discussed plot has been registered in the Morogoro Municipal Council under the name of Salvatorian Fathers and Brothers what allows to assume that this area will eventually become the property of the congregation. More details concerning complicated legal issues of ownership (Bednarz 2013, 51–52, 55–56).

one of the central aspects of the mission of church, which is the education and formation of priests. And what is important in all of this is that it was achieved within the frames of a very specific environment, characteristic of a particular society in a developing country. A reconstruction of the process which took place, in the realisation of the subsequent stages of the project, reflects the close correlation between two opposing aspects: the spiritual and the material. However, what ought to be accentuated is the web of relationships introduced and the way these entwined both of them. The decisions and the activity stemming from them, which were made this way, harmoniously integrated elements of both the supernatural and natural realms and led to the final product in the form of the seminary. As a result, the initiated process of training new priests was very well economised. Accordingly, the project, which planned for the training of three hundred students at a time, aimed at achieving financial self-sufficiency, and this was accomplished in 1999 (Bednorz 2013, 55).

Putting aside for a moment the question which is under investigation, namely how factors conveying a strictly religious component of Church institutions are affecting pro-developmental transformations, it is noteworthy that the foundation of such a large institution within a poorly developed terrain has its own socio-economic impact. Automatically, even while such an establishment as being discussed and planned, there is created a set of demands for concrete products and services which simultaneously increase the number of job opportunities. Another important issue associated with this development is the gradual growth of a basic infrastructure that spreads far and wide around the institution. Thanks to the latter, improved land development conditions are created, attracting people to inhabitation⁹.

⁹ Financial resources and political impacts of ecclesiastical institutions are attracting attention of many scholars and researches. Frequently they separate them from other essential components of religious activity. Because of it economic and political aspects of religious agency are presented as ultimate determinants of Church's privileged position on the stage of social and public life and instrumental conveyors of progress rendered under auspices of the actors representing Church. Being aware of limitation of these approaches, seemingly conditioned by the influence of the paradigms of secularization and theory of modernization, it is necessary to put all possible efforts to present interactions developed within ecclesiastical environment as resulting from interplay between natural

3. The Interface between the Processes for the Further Expansion of the College and Dynamics of Development

The analyses conducted so far do not leave any doubts relating to the economic rationality of the endeavours undertaken to realise chosen elements of the church's mission. The frames of the ecclesiastical networks, with their many-sided linkages, led to the development of appropriate resources and the methods for their effective utilisation, in order to provide the adequate infrastructure necessary for sustained growth of particular church's communities. The specificity of ecclesiastical economic activity is determined by the church's basic principle, in accordance with which this activity cannot be aimed at maximising profit, which could then be used for further investment. Thus church institutions are forced to be particularly careful in managing their financial resources, which

and supernatural components of religious institutions. (cf. Solarz 2012, 215). In this point it is necessary to mention some studies where in its essence religious activity of ecclesiastical bodies is placed within theoretical frameworks absolutely unable to mirror essentials arising out of religious strata. Here definitely the authors allowed themselves to be caught into the trap of secularization paradigm and related assumptions of the modernization theory. In the case of such studies quite often objective difference between means-oriented political activity is conflated with an activity of Church's institutions oscillating around various aspects of oriented at meta-political sphere of politics. Similarly, an economic undertakings of Church institutions aimed first of all at enabling sufficient functioning of particular ecclesiastical community are presented barely as means of political dominance and oppression as well as the tools of extending the scope of social control. (cf. Green 2003). Striking example of thinking in categories of the paradigm of secularization bias shows following not carefully thought way of arguing. In reference to the fact the highest number of private universities having religious affiliation has been drawn conclusion that it is one of the strategies adopted by particular religious organizations to amplify their influence among their followers. In order to demonstrate incredibility of this type of statements suffice to make recourse to the facts. Namely, from 15 to 20% of students of JUCO (depends on the year) represents different Islamic fractions and further 20-30% alternative to Catholicism Christian denominations. As so if Catholic Church intended only to strengthen its influence upon their own followers their representatives definitely made gross mistake in defining the target group (cf. Peter 2014, 57).

either were obtained by donations or developed by their own economic activity. Undoubtedly these circumstances determine special conditions for the development of certain ideas, conceptualisations and methods which underpin the process of further economic rationalisations and create particular abilities, practices and eventually virtues. Accordingly, by means of personal relationships, they are extrapolated into the social environment surrounding the church and slowly but surely, they become part of the economic rationalisations which characterise members of larger communities.

Within this particular academic environment, economic issues became the subject of special concern, with a gradual decrease in the number of students. Initially, a hardly visible trend took the form of a slow but systematic process during 2005-2010. As has already been mentioned, with the first signs of difficulties in maintaining financial equilibrium, efforts were made to expand the academic offer to attract a higher number of students. However, as long as those efforts embraced only the area of philosophy and theology, they did not bring the expected results. The reason was the poor interest in the proposed courses and the lack of adequate facilities.

In these circumstances, the university management returned to the idea originally suggested by some of the Salvatorians who had worked in the institution from its beginnings. This idea was to expand educational opportunities with secular faculties. Previous experience in conducting education, staff potential and the quality of disposable infrastructure were considered. The possibility of the provision of education going beyond the dimension of ecclesiastic courses, however, were to a large extent convergent with current activity so as to benefit from pre-existing experiences and the professional competence of the teaching staff.

On the other hand, an analysis of the situation in the higher education sector was conducted. It revealed the occurrence of a special demand: the lack, particularly at the secondary level, of at least 110,000 teachers, according to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training data (Jordan University College 2013, 4). Therefore, educating such a large number of teachers is seen as particularly important in the context of the Tanzania Development Vision Plan 2025 (2015, 124). The development strategy established within this plan, it is focused on implementing

reforms aimed at the transformation of the country, with one of the lowest income per capita, into a middle-income country, and education is one of the crucial levels of growth.

In this context, it would seem that the issue ought to be easy. This institution was ready to expand its teaching offer. The education of future teachers was an area relatively close to the current didactic activity. In this way, the needs of both parties, the ecclesiastical and secular, met on common ground. Nevertheless, from the ecclesiastical point of view, an extremely important issue still remains to be considered: namely, how to include the education of teachers into the process of educating priests. According to the practice developed by the church over the centuries, the immanent part of the priestly training is their human and spiritual as well as their intellectual and pastoral formation¹⁰. The optimisation of this process needs the provision of special conditions facilitating the in-depth reflection aimed at allowing priesthood candidates to develop, in an atmosphere of silence and meditation, the inner freedom necessary to meet the requirements of their future challenging ministry. Therefore, the opening of the university to lay people - not necessarily interested in deepening their spiritual life - is inseparably connected with the change of the atmosphere of the place, which up to now had been an oasis of stillness and reflection.

The awareness of the challenges provoked reflection and discussion. This occurred especially among those involved in the formation of priests within the particular religious communities that send their candidates to study in the college. As a result, not only were the threats explored but also the positive aspects of greater openness to the outside world were taken into consideration: in particular, the possibility of enriching the consciousness of the philosophy and theology students of the complexity of the multifaceted realities within which, as future priests, they will exercise their ministry. In turn, from the point of view of the university, the argument was raised that it is not only the college that has the duty of imparting spiritual and moral formation to future priests. The lion's

¹⁰ More precise elaboration of listed components of preparation for priestly ministry with special recourse to psychosocial aspects of the entire problem presents (Eckert 2013, 145-152).

part of this responsibility rests with the members of the formation communities where this is conducted within their lives. These organisational units should remain predominantly reservoirs of silence and meditation, in line with the spirituality characteristic of the charism of the particular religious community. In addition, the staff in these religious communities should organise suitable psychological and spiritual assistance and guidance. They are necessary in facilitating personal maturity in decision-making in order to meet all the possibilities and requirements of the priestly lifestyle.

Another dimension of the problem, which does not yet seem to have been sufficiently considered within the ecclesiastical environment under discussion, namely the Tanzanian local church, is an issue already well-thought-out and translated into the extended steps of formation within the mainly Protestant communities of the Western environment¹¹. This is how the gap between the disconnected lecture-room and textbook-oriented training can be bridged with the learning of the subsequent duties of pastoral ministry so as to always strive towards the very concrete requirements of service in accordance with the particular characteristics of a given congregation. As was correctly observed by David Wood, an immanent part of introducing newly instituted religious leaders into their pastoral ministry necessarily leads through this type of personal experience which cannot be obtained outside of the network of relationships forming the entirety of a given community. Obviously, the current curriculum for forming Catholic priests gives this type of education its rightful place. There is precisely allocated time for gaining these necessary experiences ‘in the field’. However, it most frequently takes place just before ordination, and it is very rigidly scheduled in respect of the available time before the completion of the long process of training. Thus they are conducted in a manner so as to complete all the necessary formalities before the appointed date of ordination. Therefore, the experiences obtained are often superficial and do not pave the way to becoming acquainted with congregational life and the specificity of future obligations. In this context, the adoption of secular courses transforms

¹¹ As it is demonstrated within last part of the study undertaking the issues of pastoral ministry (Bass, Dykstra and Eerdmans 2008).

the seminary into a much more pluralistic academic community, also creating a unique opportunity for the students of ecclesiastical courses who intend to become priests or religious. They can make use of the experience to form a number of wide-ranged relationships, which are, in many respects, very similar to those occurring within parish congregations. Besides, this time spent within the campus is not limited by the clearly-cut period of pastoral practice or the necessity for it to be evaluated, but it is, rather, an appropriate field for collecting experiences useful in the future pastoral ministry.

Eventually, after many discussions and considerations, it was decided to implement the project of expanding the educational offer. At the beginning of the academic year 2009-2010, a special plan was drawn up for the transformation of the institute into a university college as a constituent part of the University of St. Augustine in Tanzania. The plan was finally implemented at the beginning of the academic year of 2010/2011¹². Affiliation to St. Augustine, while maintaining financial autonomy, was aimed above all at ensuring the recognition by the state authorities of the diplomas issued by the university. It was also caused by the concern for the continuous upgrading of the level of education, which had been a long-lasting wish made possible by the college's affiliation to the Papal University of Urbaniana, based in Rome. This affiliation was retained for the ecclesiastical departments, philosophy and theology. Transformations made in according with the above-mentioned plan, which had been updated in 2013, were carried out by means of multi-sided communication between congregation authorities in Rome, representatives of the university and the Tanzanian Salvatorian Pro-Province as well as other project participants and Church authorities in Tanzania. The decisions made at the ecclesiastical level empowered college's authorities to establish a platform of two-sided communication with the representatives of secular counterparts occupied with providing national standards of teaching, allowing the college to obtain certification. The institution directly involved in the intensive exchange is the Tanzanian Commission

¹² Formal approval of transformation of Institute into University College is dated on 2 November of 2011 and certified by authority of Tanzanian Commission for Universities.

for Universities (TCU) founded in 2005 (Universities Acts, Cap, 346 of the Laws of Tanzania). The result of cooperation with this institution is the inclusion, thanks to JUCO certification of students, is access to the state network of loans offered to individuals from poorer families. In this way, the state indirectly provides financial support for the university. However, the students who study on credit are actually the ones who pay for their education.

The broadening of the educational offer, through the adoption of teacher training courses, led this particular academic community to the dynamics of the educational market with all its determinants¹³. The latter, being closely related to the most important economic factors of the country and its general state of development, makes this market specifically difficult. Among the most profound conditions of the higher education system are the consequences of the lack of consistency between all segments of the entire system¹⁴. This is mostly manifested in the narrowness of the bottleneck in the middle part of the system, that is, at the advanced secondary level¹⁵. There are two main reasons for this, firstly

¹³ The complexity of two-sided linkages between two systems: of Tanzanian economy and tertiary education in historical perspective, including education provided under umbrella of religiously oriented institutions of the third sector, is rendered by following studies: (Bergen 1981; Bailey, Cloete and Pullay 2016, 8-34; Gottneid 1976; Mallya 2010, 142-145; Mkude, Cooksey and Levey 2003, 15-30, 55-57; Mallya 2001, 230-253). Finally, the range of other more detailed sources introduces the subject-matter literature review of the study of (Ludwig 1999, 12)

¹⁴ In historical perspective comprehensive picture of socioeconomic conditions determining education as one of the most significant variables of sustained development in Tanzania presents the study of (Buchert 1994, 176-174). Although the scope of the study is limited to the early nineties of last century opened in the last chapter of the book prospective perspective unveils the necessary conditions to harness the system of education more productively into the processes of sustained development. One of the most important factors is its consistence with adjacent sectors of societal and economic life, as for instance ensuring adequate number of well qualified workforce in rural areas, generating more comprehensively educated individuals in order to meet requirements of more specialized sectors, as public or institutional. (cf. also Galabwa 1994, 70-73).

¹⁵ In accordance with *Tanzania in Figure 2014* total number of secondary schools in 2014 was 4,753 what in comparison with 16,365 primary schools and 48 colleges qualified as higher level institutions plus 126 teacher training colleges enhances

there are not a sufficient number of schools, and secondly, there are not enough graduates well-enough prepared in order to successfully pass the required exams¹⁶ so as to enter into the tertiary level of education (cf. Mushi 2009, 196; cf. Seni 2013, 86-88; cf. also Mkude and others 2003, 75-76). This situation brings about a specific dichotomy in the disproportion between the capacity of the higher level institutions, increasing year upon year, to accept new students on the one hand, and not catching with this growth in the number of candidates who have graduated from the secondary level schools, on the other (cf. Mwakapina and Mhandeni 2014, 126-130).

This situation, as outlined, is already causing ever-increasing competition within the educational market and with the lapse of time, it may well become even more aggressive. If this happens, the competition will be contingent not merely upon the further expansion of particular institutions¹⁷ but will also play a decisive role in delineating the more fundamental question which is their survival. All of this stems from the systematically growing number of higher education institutions, the doubled number of either identical or very similar courses, and, what matters the most, the loose connections bridging what is being delivered by the

bring out the appropriates of the metaphor of the neck of the bottle (Tanzanian Bureau of Statistics Ministry of Finance Dar es Salaam 2015, 73). Cf. also (*The Global Competitiveness Report 2015-16*; Mkude et al. 2003, 55-57; T. Woodin, G. McCulloch and S. Cowan 2013, 23; Roy 2010, 218, 221).

¹⁶ From the point of view of international standards Tanzanian system of education still does not deliver sufficient preparation so that to enable graduates to get the clue of intensive transformations of the surrounding world and to participate within them fruitfully. This unfavourable situation is caused by many interrelated factors. One of the most important arises itself from the processes of teaching. This state of things is a resultant of pedagogical and professional competences of teachers, limited by varying degree of their general knowledge as well as particular capabilities in delivering thought substance, fluency in using available tools and methods, degree of familiarity with language of instruction. Basic determinants of the problems oscillating around this area, however, narrowed to the challenges of primarily education, shows the study of (Hardman and Abd-Kadir and Tibuhidna 2012, 826-834; cf. G. Le Fanu 2012, 45-46, 164).

¹⁷ Cf. the question raised by the Discussant after the presentation of Prof. (Ishumi 1994, 74-75).

education on offer with requisites of business (cf. Adesina et al. 2016, 5; cf. also Muchie 2016, 29-3).

Additionally, it is necessary to carefully screen the certificates and other documents delivered by the university candidates. All of this is needed to exclude candidates pretending to be enrolled on the list but without meeting appropriate requirements, for example, the certification of the necessary exams having been completed. This justified lack of trust increases the costs of the functioning of the whole arrangement, which until quite recently has been run under the auspices of TCU as the Central Admission System Tanzania (Commission For Universities 2016, 2)¹⁸. Apart from that, its functioning is by no means indifferent to the further acceleration of the pace of competition which is already occurring among higher education institutions. Characteristic of the Tanzanian socio-economic superstructure, the range of extended networks of non-formal linkages, plus the whole admissions procedure, which is modeled on the pattern of pyramid centralisation, might lead to the unilateral promotion of the interests of certain universities, especially those where officials were capable of establishing sets of connections for closer cooperation. This might cause certain candidates to be directed in advance towards certain organisational units. If this were to happen, the other universities would have to compete for a significantly confined pool of candidates. The fight for survival, in this case, would become profoundly exacerbated¹⁹.

The awareness of these challenges motivates the members of the university management towards the unceasing work of perfecting the strategy

¹⁸ Although together with the end of academic year 2016/2017 the system was suspended and as it more or less correctly might be identified with increasing freedom of competition. Nonetheless, due to the occurrence of many problems related to the verification of documents confirming student attainment, it does not appear that in long term perspective it will not be necessary either to restore the system or to create alternative institutional framework fulfilling the same functions.

¹⁹ Its importance preserves here the context of general insufficiency of the social justice system in reducing irregularities of functioning of public institutions. More precisely, it was proved in a few cases that students were admitted in a large scale even though they were not able to document their competencies (cf. Domasa 2016); cf. also general thesis of the book of (Haugen and Boutros 2014).

of further expansion. The gradually broadened horizon of the projected transformations oscillates around gaining the status of an independent, fully-fledged university²⁰. It is hoped that this will be obtained within the near future. The ultimate stage of present institutional transformations is synonymous with the significantly widened offer of the whole spectrum of diversified courses in the same way as has been achieved within the theological and humanistic sciences. They are perceived as being provided in a maximally sufficient and fully professional way to endow graduates with all the aptitudes and skills needed to compete successfully in the labour market.

Achieving this stage of development, designated in this way, however, is dependent on constituting the essence of the religious institution's search for the appropriate inculcation of the most adequate modes of realising its mission into temporally and spatially marked environmental conditions. The key importance of this question substantiates on two plains which co-determine each other. The first of them refers to the institutional identity and its unwavering continuity. The sense of identity shared among the members of the institution might be deepened due to changing circumstances but by no means can it be withered or lost. The second is targeted at creating such institutional and organisational innovations and transformations to ensure the institution's efficient functioning in accordance with the dynamism of the changes occurring within the surrounding environment.

An adequate expression of the outlined approach arises from college's official documents relating to the developmental plans, such as the manuscript entitled *5 Years Strategic Plan* (5 Year Strategic Plan, 4). Important

²⁰ It is believed to realise in its fullness implications resulting from the recent directives given by Pope Francis, about "this vast and pressing task that requires, on the cultural level of academic training and scientific studies, a broad and generous effort at a radical paradigm shift, or rather [...] at a bold cultural revolution. [...] Scholars from different religious universities and from different scientific fields can interact with responsible freedom and mutual transparency, thus entering into dialog among themselves for the sake of protecting nature, defending the poor, and building networks of respect and fraternity in all countries." Pope Francis' Apostolic Constitution *Veritatis gaudium* on ecclesiastical Universities and Faculties, 29.01.2018, 3.5. <<https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2018/01/29/180129c.html>> (January 12, 2023).

from the institutional point of view of the areas already discussed, that is the ecclesial and the secular, they are presented as domains of the continuous search for the necessary legal transformations and organisational improvements. Firstly, it is introduced as being subjected to the service to the Catholic Church in Tanzania; and due to the trajectory of development of this young branch of the universal church, it has been extended the area of service where the university college might generate irreplaceable input. Thus, besides continuously providing the education and moral formation of the candidates for ministerial priesthood, another generation of leaders has been appointed for the local communities, formed out of lay and religious students. Those leaders who might be motivated not merely on behalf of their personal commitment stemming from their professed faith, but due to assimilated professional skills, might become instigators of community life through their endowment with necessary intellectual and practical competencies, such as a fluent knowledge of the dogmatic and moral doctrine of the church, communication and organisational aptitudes and skills, familiarity with the psychological mechanisms of small group functioning, the socio-cultural basis of lifestyles and social practices, and similar. The gradual development of professional competencies is seen by university leaders as being an appropriate tool for making the ministry of the graduates much more effective in managing the life of the locally scattered communities forming the body of the church (5 Year Strategic Plan, 4).

In turn, the secular part of the projected adaptations to dynamically changing socio-cultural circumstances was formed in direct reference to the *Tanzania Development Vision 2025* mentioned above. Specifically, posited in this document is the imperative connection between the citizens' high level of education - worked out within all areas of humanistic and scientific knowledge - with the comprehensive development of the country (cf. Moglen 2013, 268-269), sustainable up to a such extent as to elevate the country from low into middle income ranges²¹. Anticipated in this document is the contribution that this organisational unit could

²¹ More within the purview of two-sided linkages between improved level of general education and largely understood social outcomes in the context of developing country presents study of (Majaard and Mingat 2012, 155-170; cf. Woodin, Culloch and Cowan 2013, 23-27).

make to this profound advancement which relies on the training of a profoundly educated and morally formed variety of types of specialists and experts, such as teachers, lawyers, managers, entrepreneurs, community developers, politicians, social workers and others (5 Year Strategic Plan, 4). The rationale for accenting this question results from the continuous difficulties of the country in managing adequately equipped human resources, with regards to their quantity as well as to the quality of their professional preparation.

However, radiating from these analyses, the commitment of university leaders in fostering Tanzania to catch up with more developed countries is not limited merely to the traditional areas of university competency, that is, education and research. Although it does not appear *expressis verbis* in the document discussed above, it might be easily observed within and around the college that similarly the university management is constantly striving to identify new areas of potential contribution to a more profound sustenance of the country's further development (cf. Jarosz and Komba 2022, 345). These areas are not only identified but also they become progressively utilised. One of the most important of them adopts the form of public events open to a larger public, such as Talent and Community Days, Philosophical and *Kitenge* Weeks, Women and Academic Forums and philosophical debates. They take place cyclically and are arranged in such a way as to entwine the acts of popularising scientific and general knowledge with well-planned acts of communication. The latter serves as a means of expounding the scope of college's publicity and generate the added value of the college's contribution to local community. This added value consists *inter alia* from the perception of the college as a centre of credible knowledge and information on such issues as combating gender inequality, opposing venereal diseases, especially pandemic HIV/AIDS and counteracting their negative consequences, natural environment preservation, the protection of the social environment, particularly with regard to the integrity of human wellbeing, especially in the area of rational feeding, personal hygiene, appropriate behaviour in the case of accident, disease and other unpredicted circumstances. The positive perception of the college might be extended into another range of representations forming an image symbolised by the melting-pot of practical patterns that lead to increased labour market

efficiency, consolidated entrepreneurship skills and interiorised principles of globalisation to participate more effectively in market competition.

As a channel of university communication, with its local and wider audiences, different social media networks are utilised due to internet connections. These accomplishments are inextricably linked to the college's marketing strategy with its key aim to win the general public's sympathy and facilitate the university's legitimacy within the landscape of the Tanzanian educational system in particular and within the public sphere in general. The more quantifiable purpose of these public events is to capture the attention of different stakeholders, especially potential students.

This well-thought-out correlation of ventures aimed at accomplishing these two purposes (the general progress of Tanzania and the expansion of Jordan University College) arises out of the awareness that they are allocated within essentially different axio-normative spheres. The first, which can be depicted as national, obtains a range of substantially autotelic and autonomous values underlying the base of the entire societal order and is aimed at sustaining the development of the whole country. Due to this, it is more general and holistic as combining many socio-cultural aspects closely related to each other, emerged out of broader structural determination and influences radiating out of communally shared identities of people inhabiting all regions of the country. The second purpose, which can be depicted as being denominational, is more particular in being confined into the existence of single organisational participant which is immersed within totality of the entire societal order; and because of this, it is predominately local and limited in its extent. Thus, in a nutshell, the general aims of the entire country arise as settled against particular aims of a single institution (cf. Jarosz and Komba 2022, 347-348). Nonetheless, even though they are oscillating around poles placed in opposition to each other, nevertheless they do not exclude each other. This paves the way, followed by university leaders, for the harnessing of the short-term goals of the college into long-term strategy oriented at the sustained development of the entire country. From this perspective, the gains might be maximised within both overlapping areas. It is necessary, however, from the point of view of the university college under discussion, to put all possible efforts into adjusting its purposes to the corresponding purposes of the whole country.

The emerging picture of the conditions determining the *status quo* of this university college introduces itself as being particularly complicated. The natural sphere of activity undertaken by people representing an institution of religious provenance is marked by operations going beyond the domain of pragmatics due to its transcendental orientation. However, as was plainly shown in adjacent paragraphs, the allocation of these acts within the broader context of the whole country brings about the necessity to adopt such *modes of operandi* which by their nature are pragmatic and means-oriented. It is dependent on the fact that the efficient functioning within the socio-political milieu surrounding the religious institution can be managed only by keeping pace with the principles of pragmatics and utilitarian rationality. In consequence there arises a contradiction which may be overcome only by very careful and thoughtful reflection allowing the compromise between the requirements of both integrally correlated counterparts: the religious and the secular. The most important part of this reflection entails the processes for forming long and short-term aims and purposes as well as the consecutive steps of the strategy for further development designed to realise them (cf. Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace and John A. Ryan Institute for Catholic Social Thought 2014, 59; cf. Jarosz and Komba 2022, 351-352).

4. Conclusions

Initiated within second part of the preceding section, the descriptions and their explications finally lead the entire course of the study into the culminating point in which, without any hesitation, it can be said that it has approached the heart of the problem in question. Thus, there is nothing left to be done but only the concluding explanations derived from and based upon them, namely that any religious institution stepping into the domain of secular activity - on one hand - faces the necessity of adjusting to secular principles of acting, for instance, the rules of the free market. On the other hand, its religious commitment calls for the creation of convincing forms of testimony, adequate to its professed values and norms. From a purely intrinsic point of view, the optimal combination of both

of them ensures the possibility of the sufficient functioning of a given religious institution within the surrounding environment.

However, when the same processes of its self-manifestation are perceived within the prism adopted by this study, the perspective which comes to the fore is a specific type of creativity which is demonstrated by members of a given religious institution who strive productively to integrate this institution into the life of the local community. As has been revealed in the instance of Jordan University College, this creativity expresses itself in the formation of innovative, formal and informal ways of cooperation, which are extended similarly both within and outside of the religious community; the principles of social and institutional communication; ways of economising the conducted activity due to possessed resources, institutionalising the centre of not only the academic but also the cultural and social life. Together with their final composition and further crystallisation, it is only a question of a time before they become integrated into the wider bloodstream of subsequent segments of society. This will happen due to the networks formed by individuals and involving their inner life, who will pass assimilated patterns of thinking and acting into subsequent parts of the locations surrounding the institution represented by them.

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Chapter 13

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Empowering Local Knowledge: Local Beliefs and Small-Holder Mining in Tanzania: The Case of Geita Region, Tanzania

Abstract: Societies have ways in which they define and associate themselves with their immediate environments and resources. This practice differs from one society to the other depending on the environment and resource endowment. Africa is well known globally to have enormous resources including minerals of various kinds. Despite the role that minerals play at individual and national levels, what goes through in the smallholder mining process and experience is less underscored. This study examines the different beliefs associated with smallholder mining in Geita Region in Tanzania. We examine how local beliefs have shaped mining activities and relationships with societies surrounding the mining areas. Also, the chapter shows how such beliefs influence relationships with the environment. Local belief systems have been acknowledged in scholarship to have a greater power of ensuring sustainable resource utilisation but with some criticism. Despite the critics, there are numerous cases from Africa demonstrating the power of local knowledge systems in environmental sustainability. The chapter draws heavily from local articulations of lived experiences as the main

source. Apart from local articulations, the chapter benefits from documentary and archival reviews that all provide an understanding of how societies behave in resource management and control.

Keywords: local beliefs, small-scale mining, sustainable resource, environmental consciousness, rural transformation, Geita-Tanzania

1. Contextualising Local Knowledge and Belief Systems

Local knowledge and belief systems have been considered crucial in shaping the continuities and changes of human societies. Before the 1990s when the postmodernist trend came into scholarship local agency was regarded as one sided on destructive role on the environment. After the 1990s, more scholarship has come up to reconsider the positive role of societies in shaping relationships with environmental resources. Societies both shape and negotiate access and use of environmental resources immediately to them (Harrison 1992; Fairhead and Leach 1996; Lawi 2007; Lawi 2002). In this scholarship, it is evident that life-long socio-cultural, political and economic experience and consciousness are core in constructing locally based world of knowledge that differs by far from that articulated by experts and that perceived by policymakers. Local ecological knowledge as perceived by the society, for instance, has had much influence on the patterns of life of the people and the structures that are the axis of the local economy. For example, the pre-colonial Iraqw knowledge on their environment, which reflected Boserupian model, tended to adjust their farming methods on their areas through application of various technologies. Some of them included terracing, composite manure, crop rotation, intercropping and shortened fallow (Snyder 1996, 316).

Local resource management and sustainability have proved to be even more effective than government interventions. Societies designate local approaches and mechanisms to control and direct particular ways of resource use and management (Vedeld 1992; Van den Breemer et al. 1995; Fabricius et al. 2004). Among the people of Geita, gold is their life-line similar to how other societies value other resources like farmland,

livestock, or forest. Coupled with indigenous belief and knowledge small-scale exploration of gold becomes attached to cultural practices set to achieve economic gains. Studies from different parts of African societies indicate that local belief systems and local knowledge serve as important factors for resource use, protection and conservation (Appiah-Opoku 2007; Boamah 2015; Abegunde 2017). Societies consider resources in this way as integral to their immediate livelihood options. Traditional environmental knowledge has in the recent past been challenged as disappearing rapidly but at the same time, other studies indicate existence of useful traditional ecological knowledge systems that define and shape environmental resources (Federici 2004; Gómez-Baggethun et al. 2013). Beliefs systems and practices are social constructions hinged upon myths and faith that shape ecological consciousness and interactions. The way myth and faith are practiced in the society forms more complex set of belief systems evolving over time and differentiated by cultural particularism and social identities (Rim-Rukeh, Ierhievwie and Agbozu 2013).

Beliefs in the mining sector do not end on the resources alone. It also determines social and family relations where child involvement in small-scale mining is regarded as a practical training of a future responsible adult. Child sex preferences among the mining communities in Tanzania also favour the male line believing that they will help them with artisanal mining (Potter and Alexander 2016). Legal and illegal business flourishes in areas surrounding gold mines because of the belief that they will get some easy money coming from mining economy (Maliganya and Renatus 2017; Pedersen et al. 2021). In the long run, both communicable and non-communicable diseases, social vices and gendered stereotypes become prevalent in such areas of open economic conduct (Cliff, Watson-Jones, Z. Ndeki, Changalucha, Gavyole and Ross 2003; Fisher 2007; Terre des Hommes Schweiz 2012; Basu et al. 2015). Globally, mining sites are potential for formal and informal economies and their control depends on how complex the relationships at the sites manage to evade formal monitoring frameworks. What is seen at the surface might not be the reflection of hidden operations and normal practices of the relationships at a mining site (Hill, Charity, Orcaya, Bogrand and Sellwood 2021; Steele 2013).

2. Situating Small-Scale Mining

Tanzania is endowed with substantial reserves of mineral resources. In the part of Africa, it ranks fourth position after South Africa, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Nigeria (Maliyamkono and Mason 2006). Tanzania's mineral resources are classified into five groups; metallic minerals group (this includes Gold, iron-ore, nickel, copper, cobalt and silver); gemstone group (this includes diamond, tanzanite, ruby, garnets); industrial mineral group (limestone, soda ash, gypsum, salt and phosphate); energy-generating minerals (like coal and uranium; and construction minerals (like gravel, sand and dimension stones (U.R.T. 2008). Mining sector involves both Large-scale Mining (LSM) and Artisanal and Small-scale Mining (ASM) operations functioning in different fronts. The former is highly mechanised with the active participation of multinational enterprises whilst ASM is under individuals or groups with limited equipment and sometimes operates informally without mining rights.

In the pre-colonial period, mining activities concentrated on usable minerals such as salt extraction from the ground for cooking, clay for pottery, iron ore for tools of production, gems for jewelry and stone and lime for construction. This period was characterised by limited explorations of mineral resources that hindered the development of mining sector at large (Chachage 2009; Keeler 2009). Since colonial intrusion in the 1880s up to the 1890, Tanzania's potentials were primarily received in its surface land, soil, water resources and wildlife. The country's mineral resources; gold, diamond and a variety of precious stones and industrial minerals were not taken into account or planned for, despite the country's economic poverty (Bryceson, Fisher, Jönsson and Mwaipopo 2014). Operation of the mining sector during German colonial rule was less prioritised. Changes caused by the First World War in German East Africa affected the utilization of mineral resources in the colony. British colonial officials confiscated all German companies that were engaging in production. That action had negative consequences on the performance of mining sector until the 1920s when new efforts came into existence. Shortly after the Second World War, small scale and large-scale mining

stopped for some time before they picked up again with more concentration in the entire colonial period (Stockley 1948).

After independence, different reforms were made to ensure the development of mining activities. For instance, from 1967, Tanzania embarked on a path of central planning and nationalisation of most mines to form a state-controlled mining enterprise operated by State Mining Corporation (STAMICO) formed in 1972. STAMICO monitored mining activities issuing mining contracts and licenses to prospective miners (Roder 2021). Another notable change that stimulated mining enterprise in Tanzania after independence was the introduction of the Third Development Plan on Mining from 1978 to 1981. Under this plan, the government introduced a strong emphasis on minerals that were considered important for national interests. Furthermore, the government introduced the Mining Act of 1979 that initiated the process of liberalization, privatization and withdrawal of state intervention on the sector. By 1980s liberalization policies became more firm in the mining sector as it was the case for other economic sectors (Kulindwa 2003). This invited private business and investment of capital in mining industry. In 1994, the government in collaboration with the World Bank formed the Mineral Sector Development Technical Assistance Project (MSD-TA) with the focus of initiating policy, regulatory and fiscal reform in the sector. Despite all the effort made to promote mining activities in Tanzania, the role of mining in Tanzanian's development has been commonly underrated and very frequently criticised and much to the small-scale miners.

It is important to note that the measures taken to improve the performance of mining activities in the country had a direct impact to both large and small-scale miners. In Tanzania, millions of people depend on artisanal and small-scale mining and many of these people are in Geita, the main gold mining region of Tanzania. Other gold mining areas are found in Tarime, Musoma, Sekenke, Chunya, Tanga, Morogoro, and Arusha (Mutagwaba et al. 2018). Participating in small-scale mining intends a hand to mouth livelihood strategy than an economic investment to become rich out of the sector. International development institutions and scholarship now widely agree that Artisanal Small-scale Mining is largely a poverty-driven activity and serves livelihood needs than a business

industry (Aryee, Bernard and Atorkui 2003; Hilson and Banchirigah 2009; Hilson and Garforth 2013).

The growth of ASM operations in Tanzania was influenced by geological settings of the mineralisation, socio-economic structures and traditions; the favourable geological environment in the country with numerous sites of high grade, near-surface mineralisation, easily workable by ASM operators; the discovery of new gold deposits in the Lake Victoria area in the mid-1970s which attracted more indigenous people into mining. With the growth of ASM, the government lacked resources to cope with this sudden increase of mining sites. This forced the government to introduce policy reforms to legalise ASM during the liberalisation period between 1980s and 1990s. For example, in 1996 Tanzania Investment Policy identified mining as one of the priority economic sectors for development. The policy influenced the enactment of the Mining Policy, 1997 and the Mining Act, 1998, which supported the development of ASM as an economic sector, as discussed in the following section (Mutagwaba et al. 2018, 31).

Despite the conducive environment for the growth of ASM created, there have been many challenges facing small-scale miners over time. These include evacuation of their mining places, access to credit and finance to small-scale miners, lack of equipment and machinery. Other challenges; lack of skills on the mining sector, lack of market information, limited access to mining land, long delays to register primary mining licenses, inadequate extension services to improve skills and care for the environment, lack of opportunities for value-addition and local beliefs among them.

3. Contextualising Gold Mining Industry in Geita

Geita Region is found in Northern Tanzania between latitude $2^{\circ} 8'$ and $3^{\circ} 28'$ South of the Equator and Longitude $31^{\circ} 15'$ to $32^{\circ} 48'$ East. The Region shares a border with Kagera Region to the West and North while the Shinyanga Region borders to the south and southern-east, and Mwanza Region to the north. The Region receives an average rainfall of 900 mm

- 1200 mm per annum. It has two rainy seasons. The short rain season starts from September to December while the long rain season begins in March ending in May (The United Republic of Tanzania 2013, 17). Geita was selected as a study area given that, the 2011/2012 Census carried out by Ministry of Energy and Minerals (MEM) showed that nearly 24% of all ASM gold miners operate within the Geita Region (Mutagwaba et al. 2018, 25). This category of miners is defined by section 4 of the Mining Act, 2010 which have indicated a Primary Mining License (PML) as a license for 'small-scale mining' operations, whose capital investment is less than 100,000 USD or its equivalent in Tanzanian shillings. Thus, from legal perspectives small-scale miners are those operating with a PML and with capital of less than 100,000 USD. In that context ASM is used in this study to denote miners that employ traditional mining techniques and mostly have communal and production-sharing mining arrangements, with production of less than 10 tons per day. Small-scale mining (SSM) is used where appropriate to denote operations as defined in the Tanzanian legislations. Whilst the term ASM is commonly used to describe mining by individuals, groups, families or cooperatives with minimal or no mechanisation, often informally and/or illegally, in the Tanzanian context the term is used to refer to both formal and informal operations (Mutagwaba et al. 2018, 18).

Most of the mineral extraction methods used in ASM involve techniques that are manual and labour intensive, using rudimentary technology (picks, shovels, chisels and other improvised tools). Even where mechanisation has been introduced, the lack of mining knowledge leads to inefficiencies in the selection and operation of the machinery used. It is generally accepted that ASM exploits mineral deposits that are geologically suited to the most basic forms of extraction. These are deposits that would be regarded as marginal for most medium and large-scale mining operations (Gan and Reenen 1997; Lange 2021). Most ASM activities are also carried out without regarding health, safety and environmental regulatory requirements, or widely accepted good practices and standards. Given the nature of operation in their own activities in Geita region, these small miners in gold have a lot of believes related to their activities which in one way or another have affected their ability to achieve the desired outcomes.

4. Local Beliefs on Small-Scale Mining in Geita

This section explains poor beliefs that have influenced gold mining among small-scale miners. In general, the concept of 'poor beliefs' appears in various parts such as origin and nature of mineral production and availability of gold dust, the use and distribution of wealth or money obtained from the sale of gold dust as well as the process of investing in gold production. Beliefs among small-scale miners on the origin of minerals differ substantially depending on personal attributes. Some of them see that all kinds of minerals were created by genies and demons (Interview with GOT1, 2021). On the other hand, there are those people who ascribe the physical world to the supreme power that created everything on the earth's surface. These people acknowledged that God created all kinds of minerals. They further see that God is the one who own all resources found in the Earth crust (Interview with GOT2, 2021). This justifies the existence of conflicting views on the origin of minerals on earth that in turn have determined the procedures to be taken in the total utilisation of mineral products. As for this study our concern is on those relating the existence of minerals with genies. Because of this belief, they also determine how extraction, marketing and use of money should go through. Most often they adhere to practices associated with the lives of genies. Consequently, nothing is done without attending traditional healers in order to be given full directives on how they should do in order to get gold dust (Interview with GOT3, 2021) Oral articulation from one responded consulted for this study noted that;

It is difficult for me to engage in mining activities without consulting traditional healers (*Mganga*) and pays the required fees to him before I proceed. After meeting with *Mganga* there was hope, but in the field, it ends with me working so hard with so little gain and sometimes no gain. But because I have consulted the traditional healer, I don't lose hope. I continue working (Interview with GOT4, 2021).

Mining in the ASM areas is highly dominated by witchcraft practices believing on the power of traditional healers and diviners sometimes.

Prospecting and mining activities are shouldered on fortune associate with capacity to pay for a traditional healer who in turn gives blessings to miners. GOT6 added that ASM in many places in Nyarugusu connects everything to local beliefs, and because to many people in this area beliefs are intertwined with life. The belief in powers which are not to be seen, heard, smelled, or felt and the conviction that all good or bad things happen to a person have a reason, because they occur via ways one can't scientifically perceive, were originally deeply rooted in the Sukuma society (Sandifort 2013, 5). In other words, when bad luck is happening in one's life always have a spiritual cause and can be stopped by rituals. These are normal things to the life of small scale miners.

Instead of going to traditional healers, some small-scale miners believe in ritual practices before they start to conduct mining activities because it is normal to their lives. Rituals that are significant to an African context include rites of passage, calendric rituals, and crisis rituals. The whole process of getting minerals is taken as a crisis, which demands crisis rituals to prevent any form of misfortune and promote good lucky. Despite a considerable number of people converting into Islam and Christianity, traditional rituals continue to play vital roles in African society (Nanji 1982)¹. Local articulation expressed that some of the ASM in gold cannot engage in any mining activities without ritual practices (Interview with GOT5, 2021). They believe that after ritual practice it is like best wishes for them to see or identify areas with gold. Normally, in ritual practice, they provide offerings to the ancestors which gave them more confidence

¹ See for example: Nanji, A. (1982). "Ritual and Symbolic Aspects of Islam in African Contexts." *Journal of Developing Societies* 17, 102; Launay, R. (1992). *Beyond the Stream: Islam and society in a West African town*. Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford: University of California Press; Edet, R.N. (2006). "Christianity and African women's rituals." M.A. Oduyoye and R.A. Kanyoro eds. *Will to Arise: Women, Tradition and the Church in Africa*. Pietermaritzburg, 25-39; Laher, S. (2014). "An overview of illness conceptualizations in African, Hindu, and Islamic traditions: Towards cultural competence." *South African Journal of Psychology* 44.2, 191-204; Ntombana, L. (2015). "The trajectories of Christianity and African ritual practices: The public silence and the dilemma of mainline or mission churches." *Acta Theologica* 35.2, 104-119; Müller, R. (2011). *African pilgrimage: ritual travel in South Africa's Christianity of Zion*. Burlington: Ashgate.

(Interview with GOT6, 2021). He added that it is a normal thing to hear a person joking with a fellow that you are not getting gold because you have not asked ancestors before. Such a situation has been promoted with the belief that minerals have great connection with nature spirits (*mizimu*). This forces them to conduct rituals in the sake to be given power by spirits to identify the availability of minerals in a particular area and avoid challenges from fellow miners. Ritual practice is also used in the whole process of mining and storing of mineral products as well as the use of money generated from minerals (Interview with GOT6, 2021).

From the narration of GOT6, it is clear that ritual practice for economic practice have been common since then. However, it was not done by every individual but the selected members within the clan. For the major economic challenge, it was done for political leaders of that society with certain conditions to all members of the society. Thus, since the development of mining activities especially to ASM, ritual to the whole process has never been left behind for the success of miners. Ritual practice is conducted without fear in each stage mining process.

Moreover, lack of geological information contributes to the practice of poor beliefs especially in the process of identifying mineral resources at the site. This is well connected to the reluctance of specifically trained professionals (geologists) to conduct geological surveys and inform small-scale miners on the presence of mineral deposits at a particular area. In supporting this point a small-scale miner asserted that, trained geologists prefer to remain seated in the offices rather than going for fieldwork and informing the public on the presence of mineral deposits at a particular area (Interview with GOT7, 2021). Consequently, traditional healers remain the only reliable option for miners to locate mineral deposits (Interview with GOT7, 2021). In other incidences, small scale miners use trial and error in gold prospecting which ineffective way to operate mining activities. Unfortunately, much time, energy investment is spent just to realise in the end that the area has no mineral deposits. The cost and any investment are all lost and cannot be recovered (Mutagwaba et al. 2018).

In addition, after prospecting gold extraction likewise attracts forms of local belief systems or local practices that intend to simplify work, though by assumptions. Small-scale miners assert that the practice of

witchcraft in mining is rooted on the belief that the availability of minerals to a particular mining site relates to genies (Interviews with John GOT7, 2021; Interviews with GOT8, 2021). The presence of genies on that area requires ritual practice to enable the extraction process. This is done by making sacrifices of white chickens or white pigeon (Interviews with John GOT7, 2021; Interviews with GOT8, 2021). It is widely believed that failure to follow the required protocols a miner cannot get minerals and sometimes he or she can get negative consequences during the process.

More interestingly, Kluckhohn et al. postulate that witchcraft beliefs have more positive effects than negative effects in respect to economic, social control and psychological state of the people (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1974). Economically, witchcraft practices helped to balance the economic differences in the society. This happens when those practising witchcraft gains wealth and redistributes it to relatives and friends. By doing this, they may improve their well-being and enjoy a proportional advantage of witchcraft indirectly. In one oral account witchcraft practices at Mwabomba gold mine was associated to help many small-scale miners in the process of obtaining gold dust. This happens when a miner abides to the prescribed procedures as advocated by a witch doctor or traditional healer (Interview with GOT5, 2021). This comes from personal experiences dealing with mining activities. The informant recounted the years 2012 and 2013 as a boom period because he was much fortunate to obtain more gold than in any other years. During that boom period, he managed to obtain a large amount of gold dust that enabled him to buy luxurious house and car after following the condition of traditional healer (Interview with GOT5, 2021).

Although witchcraft practices may be associated to contribute to economic development, it creates fear and threats among the people that may end up jeopardising social order. From the social economic point of view, Olusakin's study on witchcraft and society would be very instructive in this part (Olusakin 2013; Olusakin 2022). The study shows that the economy of many African societies has experienced a serious retrogression due to the operation of witches. This is widely connected to the assertion that witches are the source of business failure. Different African societies have experienced prevalence of cases that accuse witches

to be the source of deaths or migrations of rich young persons in their communities. Such fear forces them to invest in areas far away from their home where they feel safe. This story of dealing with the impact of witches goes far in 1962 when some Sukuma people they took law into their own hands and started to kill witches (Tanner 1970, 28).

In the context of small-scale mining, witchcraft practices as in the society in general cause false accusations and expectations that end up with conflicts. Some people have been accused of being witches or practising sorcery and in the end, they might be killed. The most vulnerable people under this problem are elders of both sexes with high proportions to women and disabled people. This is connected to the decision many miners took before conducting mining activities. Many of them tend to visit witch doctors for diagnosis of different issues related to bad luck. In most cases, many people are accused of witches during the diagnosis process. The impact of this false accusation is manifested on the discrimination done to some society members such as women by their fellow community members or their husbands. It has been very common in some circumstances that when a man failed to acquire the expected amount of gold his wife became the first suspects. Local authorities in Kabuhima village reported repeated incidental accusations within families and relatives. These cases are associated with gold mining industry and cause family disintegration and societal worries again and again (Interview with GOT4, 2021). Small-scale miners practice witchcraft to get minerals, protection, and richness from mining activities. This is done with the belief that witch doctors are able to locate the areas with mineral deposits. This is not to say that only small-scale miners engage in ritual activities rather, many Africans conduct ritual activities for the sake of diagnosing different misfortunes (Olupona 1990; Perani and Smith 1998; Ohaja and Anyim 2021, 1024).

In the past couple of years killing of albinos has become so pronounced in the Lake Zone. Many of such cases were associated with witchcraft related to small-scale mining in the region. Believers thought by using the body parts of people with albinism they would become fortunate and find out more gold in the mines. Subsequently, such ill-informed perception led into the killing of several innocent people in Shinyanga, Geita, Mwanza and Tabora (Bryceson, Jønsson and Sherrington 2010;

Tanner 2010; Masanja 2015). This form of belief is not only dangerous to rural development but it also creates a state of fear and discomfort to families and the society at large. Unfortunately, the government does not subscribe to witchcraft acts but always is against killing of on any accusations. Studies indicate a close relationship between distribution of artisanal gold mining and albino killing in the lake zone (Tanner 2010). Such killings have made a public cry although little has the legalistic perspective achieved in helping out of this problem. Greedy for quick wealthy, local witchcraft beliefs are the immediately associated causes towards these killings. In the lake zone gold mining in the most blamed practice as causing this state of affairs (Masanja 2015).

Deborah Bryceson argues that the killings of albinos are connected to gold miners' efforts to secure more minerals while mining and protection against danger while mining. In this process of getting more profit related to mining miners involve witchdoctors whom at the end give them conditions associated murders of the albino. But also, there are those miners who purchase the albino charms. The struggle to get richness for a short time among small-scale miners contribute to a large extent to the victimisation of albinos (Bryceson, Jønsson and Sherrington 2010; 32 *witchdoctors...*). In 2015 when albino killings were in large numbers, the former President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete made a firm statement to the Tanzania Albinism Society and assured them that the government was working hard to curb the malice.

Moreover, there are poor beliefs related to women in the mining workforce. Women have primarily been involved in crashing, sluicing, washing, panning, sieving, sorting, mercury-gold amalgamation, amalgam decomposition and, in rare occasions, actual mining. Women are also active in the provision of goods (e.g., food and drink vending, sales of artisanal equipment such as sieves, and credit for mobile phones) and services e.g., transporting dirty ores, ore particles and water; cleaning; laundry; sex; nightclub entertainment; and trading. However, the beliefs towards women in the mining hinder women's involvement in the most value-bearing places such as pits and fair markets. Local people in Geita had different taboos that had been maintained since pre-colonial times. Taboos could be seen as a socio-religious custom that enhances and restricts some practices in the society. They occupy a central role in social

governance and monitoring of behaviour and self-control. Many African taboos were put in place to control and guide different individuals in the community so as to achieve or prevent them from harm. Women participation in mining activities is restricted on several taboos maintained by their societies and are related to their being women (Hinton, Hinton and Veiga 2017; Danielsen and Hinton 2020; Mugo, Ondieki-Mwaura. and Omolo 2020).

5. Conclusion

Artisanal and small-scale mining provides a vital livelihood option for many Tanzanians who live nearby mining centres and who travel towards them. It is a growing informal economic sector that attracts investment of capital from small-scale and large-scale miners. Interesting in the mining practice among smallholders is how they conceptualise their environment in relation with mining as integral to the whole process. Locally, mining is not only an economic enterprise but also a process that involve negotiation, compromise and sometimes appeasements of nature spirits that provide for the availability of minerals. In this chapter we have examined how local knowledge informs practice and surpasses expert opinion in the day today conduct of mining activities in Geita. Drawing from local articulations, experience has indicated that practice of rituals and sacrifices have made miners to continue with mining hoping that they will be successful one day. Consulting local witch doctors gives confidence to small-scale miners who persist in the industry with hopes and determination. Miners in Geita connect everything in terms of prosperity or loss in mining activities with local beliefs.

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Interviews

- Interview with GOT1 – Geita, 16th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT2 – Geita 15th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT3 – Geita, 16th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT4 – Geita, 18th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT4 – Kabuhima, 15th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT5 – Geita 15th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT6 - Geita, 25th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT7 - Geita, 20th October 2021.
- Interview with John GOT7 - Geita, 20th October 2021.
- Interview with GOT8 – Geita, 7th October 2021.

Note: All interviews have been numbered in a format of GOT meaning Geita Oral Text, (GOT1, 2,3, etc). The interviews in footnotes have appeared in the format GOT. In this case, all interviews have no individual names.

Part IV. Politics

Chapter 14

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The Role of Gender Agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement: Well-Known Development Tool in a New Version

Abstract: The Post-Cotonou negotiations between the European Union (EU) and Africa constitute important determinants for shaping economic, political and social relations in the coming years. The new Agreement (now known as the Samoa Agreement) sets out a framework for Euro-African cooperation and covers several broad areas, from human rights and democracy to security and climate change. As in the past, gender equality is one of the essential points of the new partnership. Both sides of the Post-Cotonou Agreement recognise the gender agenda as critical in achieving sustainable development, growth and equity. However, it is also a bone of contention because they propose different perspectives regarding the role and meanings that are given to equality. Accordingly, the underlying goal of this article is to evaluate the role of the gender agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement and answer the questions: what opportunities, challenges and threats result from the current state of the gender agenda in Euro-African relations? The research is based on the following methods and tools: a critical analysis of existing sources (desk research); content analysis of subject literature, press releases and the information published by the EU and the African Union (AU); as well as the interviews that the author has conducted with the EU experts involved in the process of Post-Cotonou negotiations.

Keywords: Africa, European Union, gender agenda, Post-Cotonou Agreement, Samoa Agreement

1. Introduction

The Post-Cotonou negotiations between the European Union (EU) and Africa constitute important determinants for shaping economic, political and social relations in the coming years. The new Agreement sets out a framework for Euro-African cooperation and covers several broad areas, from human rights and democracy to security and climate change (Knoll and Mucchi 2020). As in the past, gender equality is one of the essential points of the new partnership. Both sides of the Post-Cotonou Agreement recognise the gender agenda as critical in achieving sustainable development, growth and equity (Guerrina and Wright 2016, 295-298). However, it is also a bone of contention because Europe and Africa propose different perspectives regarding the role and meanings that are given to equality (Benkenstein and Murungi 2020, 4-6). The contradictions around the gender agenda seem to be especially interesting, since there are signs that African states are seeking to row back on the pact, specifically concerning commitments related to equality and non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (Fox 2022).

Accordingly, the underlying goal of this article is to evaluate the role of the gender agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement and answer the following research questions: what opportunities, challenges and threats result from the current state of the gender agenda in Euro-African relations? The research is based on the following methods and tools: a critical analysis of existing sources (desk research); content analysis of subject literature, press releases and the information published by the EU and African Union (AU). Moreover, the Author has conducted several interviews with the EU experts involved in the process of Post-Cotonou negotiations¹ with Africa, as well as the research consultations with the participants of “The 3rd Mkwawa International Conference: Change and Adaptations towards Sustainable Development” held at Mkwawa University College of Education, in Iringa, Tanzania (on 2-3 November 2022)².

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These activities aimed to discuss the topic, obtain expert opinions and enhance understanding of the investigated phenomenon.

As has been mentioned, the goal of this article is to evaluate the relevance of the gender agenda in the Post-Cotonou partnership. However, the analysis is limited to selected aspects of the Africa–EU partnership since the topic is too broad to provide a comprehensive description in one text. Furthermore, the article does not aim at presenting the situation of women neither in Europe (see more: Simonton 2010) nor in Africa (see more: Cichecka 2020).

It should also be noted that in this article the gender agenda is understood in accordance with the broad definition proposed by the United Nations Organisation (UN) and that this was selected due to several reasons. Firstly, it is recognised as one of the most influential in strengthening and popularizing equality (Taylor and Curtis 2008, 515-517). Secondly, it sets the framework for the equality agenda in both, the EU and the AU (Tripp 2006). Thus, the gender agenda is conceived as a concept based on multiple assumptions and targets, among which the following are indicated as crucial: to end all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere; to eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation; to eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation; to recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate; to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life; to ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences; to undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws; to enhance the use of enabling technology, in

particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women; and to adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels; and to protect lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ)+ rights³ (United Nations).

The article, firstly, presents an overview of the Post-Cotonou negotiation, which provides an in-depth perspective on the events accompanying this process and leads to a better understanding of the research topic. Secondly, it discusses the status and importance of the gender agenda in Euro-African relations before the Post-Cotonou phase, which allows for the investigation of similarities and differences between its past and present status. Thirdly, it examines the role of the gender agenda in the negotiated Post-Cotonou Agreement, which – together with the reflections from the earlier parts of the article, leads to the answers to the research questions. The last part of the article is the conclusions.

2. Post-Cotonou Agreement – a Difficult Lesson in Negotiation

Post-Cotonou Agreement is the new partnership contract between the EU and the members of the Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS, formerly known as the ACP Group of States) which sets the framework for political, economic and sectoral cooperation for the next twenty years (European Confederation of NGOs a). The document supersedes the Cotonou Partnership Agreement, which was a comprehensive, legally binding framework for relations between the countries in Africa, the OACPS and the EU (Hurt 2003, 162-164). The Cotonou Agreement was initially due to expire in February 2020, nevertheless, its provisions have been extended on several occasions (Strauss 2021). On the one hand, the disruption caused by COVID-19, lockdowns and pandemic restrictions (Pichon 2021, 4). On the other, the disagreement over

³ When LGBTQ+ rights become a matter of interest in global politics, social movements, a study of sexuality and others it has been concluded that gender and LGBTQ+ agendas are not separate fields.

the chapters on security and migration, which became one of the most controversial issues throughout the talks (Chadwick 2021). However, in December 2021, the EU and Africa (the OACPS as well) eventually reached a political deal on the draft of the Post-Cotonou Agreement (European Council a) and announced that the final version of joint priorities will be formulated at the 2022 EU-African Union Summit (Fox 2021).

The Summit was held in Brussels, on 17th and 18th February 2022. After the meeting, it was announced that EU and AU leaders agreed on a joint vision for a renewed partnership (Pichon 2021, 5-7). The successor to the 2000 Cotonou Agreement, the pact promised significant transformation in the EU-Africa relationship, emphasizing the importance of equal partnership and the end of the era of dependency (Carbone 2021, 193-195). The political leaders proclaimed the aims of the Post-Cotonou partnership, i.e. solidarity; security; peace and sustainable and sustained economic development; prosperity for the citizens of the two Unions; cooperation between people, regions and organisations. It was underlined that the new partnership should be based on common priorities and shared values, this includes the protection of human rights for all, gender equality and women's empowerment in all spheres of life, the rule of law, actions to preserve the climate, environment and biodiversity, but also sustainable and inclusive economic growth and the fight against inequalities (European Commission a). Milestones in negotiations were also a fruitful discussion on fair and equitable access to COVID-19 vaccines⁴, as well as the declaration of the participants that they are willing to implement the Africa-Europe Investment Package of EUR 150 billion, which supports a common ambition for 2030 and the AU Agenda 2063 (European Council b). As a result, the Summit was summarized as dynamic, successful and oriented on possible solutions and joint actions. Furthermore, the leaders committed to following up on the implementation of the engagements undertaken during the meeting (European Council b).

⁴ On the margins of the EU-AU Summit, the World Health Organisation announced the first six countries that will receive the technology needed to produce mRNA vaccines on the African continent: Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Tunisia.

Achieving the compromise on sensitive topics, such as the return of migrants from Europe and non-discrimination based on sexual orientation, took months (Fox 2022). The main opponents on the migration issue were Poland and Hungary – they were arguing, for example, that December 2021 text strays too far from the negotiating mandate, which the EU states gave the commission back in 2018. Budapest was particularly opposed to the references to legal migration pathways in the new Agreement (Chadwick 2021) and described this concept as “tactically unwise”⁵. Contrarily, the AU member states argued that provisions in this part of the pact are not guided by an understanding of migration as a natural part of life, or as a right and that the provisions overwhelmingly focus on securitization and short-term measures designed primarily to strengthen cooperation on reducing migrant arrivals in Europe (Stocchiero 2021, 121-123). The debate also concerned the nature of the Agreement itself. The EU member states were urging the commission to treat the Agreement, like its predecessor, as a “mixed agreement,” meaning that some topics fall under the competency of member states. At the same time, the commission was insisting on the EU-only agreement, arguing that some member states may block the ratification of the document that is required for mixed agreements to enter fully into force (Chadwick 2021). The objection from the African side referred mostly to forcing a new vision of the partnership and pushing the ideas and solutions preferred by Europe. The AU was highlighting, that this way is far from equal cooperation and instead it leads to the strengthening of a relationship based on dependency (Strauss 2021). Africa was also against imposing European meanings on the concepts and values included in the pact, particularly regarding gender agenda and equality (Knoll and Mucchi 2020).

In this way, after several years of complicated negotiations and delays, the pact was ready for ratification. The document has been initialled by Commissioner for International Partnerships and EU chief negotiator, Jutta Urpilainen (European Commission b). When it seemed that the

⁵ Migration was among the most difficult topics in the negotiations. It is worth noting that Cotonou Agreement included only one largely ineffective article on migration, while the Post-Cotonou pact is far more detailed, including an annex with timelines for sending unsuccessful migrants back to their home countries.

implementation of the Post-Cotonou pact was a matter of time, the bad news arrived. November 2022 began with a wave of concerns which grew over the risk of collapse and remains unratified as blocked attempts by the EU executive to ratify the Agreement (Fox 2022). Furthermore, at a meeting of the joint parliamentary assembly in Mozambique (also in November 2022), there were noticed signs that African states are seeking to row back on the Agreement because they disagree with the commitments related to gender equality and non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. For instance, Thomas Tayebwa, Deputy Speaker of the Ugandan parliament argued that Post-Cotonou Agreement serves to promote LGBT/homosexuality, and clauses to do with abortion while African societies are not ready to accept these concepts⁶ (Ochola 2022).

Accordingly, it may be observed that the process of Post-Cotonou negotiation was complicated and challenging (Nzumbu Lo Ambetima 2022). Moreover, it referred to the gender agenda twofold. On the one hand, the EU and Africa agreed that the implementation of gender initiatives is crucial to further partnership⁷. On the other hand, the parties proposed different perspectives regarding the role and meanings that are given to the gender agenda, which became a bone of contention and delayed the process of negotiations.

3. Gender Agenda in the EU-Africa Relations before the Post-Cotonou Phase

The contemporary institutional forms of cooperation between Europe and Africa date back to the two breaking events, which are the decolonization of Africa (since the mid-1950s) and the establishment of the

⁶ It is worth noting that the Africa-Europe delays are adding to existing difficulties faced by the ACP. For instance, South Africa had signalled its intention to withdraw from the ACP because it has its own political and economic partnership Agreement with the EU. That marked a serious setback for the ACP which has already been forced to take a back seat to the African Union which has emerged as the main organisation through which the EU institutions pursue EU-African relations.

⁷ Especially in terms of post-pandemic recovery.

European Economic Community (in 1957). The first initiatives were primarily focused on the development and were undertaken for geopolitical and economic reasons (Frankowski and Słomczyńska 2011, 46-49), but over the decades, these relations have changed dramatically and the main content of the cooperation has evolved as well (Davidson 1994, 262-268). The women's rights agenda became part of the Euro-African dialogue in the 1980s. This was primarily a consequence of the UN activity, which at that time was focused on popularising the rhetoric on women's rights and equality (Tripp 2009, 219-223). Many African⁸ and European states responded with enthusiasm to the UN's actions, and as a result, these issues have also been incorporated into strategies of the partnership between the EU and Africa (Maes and Debusscher 2022).

It is worth noting that initially, the inclusion of women's rights agenda was recognised as essential to further economic development. It was emphasized that no development would have been possible if the needs of women had been neglected (Kanji 2003, 4-6). The greater attention to women in development was also an outcome of the Women in Development policy (WID) – a popular concept introduced primarily by American liberal feminists, focused on the need to integrate women into the economy and development process (Matthews 2015). While now the WID perspective is often described as conservative (for instance, the WID model questioned neither modernization nor disparities and power relations between men and women), in the 1980s it was considered an effective and often ground-breaking strategy for women's empowerment (Kanji 2003, 7-8).

Consequently, the first references to women's rights in EU-Africa relations are to be found in the Third Lomé Convention (signed in 1984 with 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific – ACP countries). It stated that 'co-operation shall support the ACP States' efforts aimed at enhancing the work of women, improving their living conditions, expanding their

⁸ This process was accompanied by the political and economic transformation in African countries, launched under the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP), which were proposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as a response to the economic and political instability across the African continent. Economic liberalization and democratization process created the space for both, political pluralism as well as nongovernmental initiatives.

role and promoting their status in the production and development process' (The Third ACP-EEC Convention 1984). While the part dedicated to women in this document was short, the full subsection on women appeared in the next partnership agreement, which was The Fourth Lomé Convention, signed in 1989. The document suggested a broader perspective on women's rights, which emphasized that projects and programmes dedicated to cooperation between the EU and Africa should consider 'cultural, social, gender and environmental aspects' (ACP-EEC 1989).

The breaking point came after the 1995 UN Beijing Conference (Tripp 2009, 28-31), as the meeting became a great opportunity for networking among thousands of activists working for equality and renegotiating the priorities for the next years. The conference contributed to popularizing a new concept dedicated to gender equality, which was gender mainstreaming (Subrahmanian 2004, 89-90). This approach assumed that improving women's status requires the shared responsibility of women and men in removing imbalances in society and that the gender equality perspective should be incorporated into all policies (Bacchi and Eveline 2010, 313-314). Detailed guidelines on the implementation of gender mainstreaming were included in the progressive blueprint for advancing women's rights – the above-mentioned Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action (UN Women), and have been adopted by state and non-state actors, among which the EU was not an exception. As a result, when the Lomé Convention was replaced by Cotonou Partnership Agreement (signed in 2000), gender mainstreaming was also incorporated into EU–African policy (Debusscher and Van der Vleuten 2012, 320) and the marginal role of gender agenda changed thereby to a wide-ranging transformative approach⁹.

The Cotonou Partnership pact included a wide range of policy fields, i.e. human rights, good governance, the rule of law, peacebuilding and gender issues as well (European Council). However, the gender agenda was not the core of this document. According to its provisions,

⁹ Also recognised as GAD – Gender and Development approach, which was developed in the 1980s and stepped away from both. The GAD perspective seeks to analyse the causes of gender inequality within the context of relations between women and men and social structure and to change the stereotyped division of labour, institutions and systems that contribute to inequality.

a gender-sensitive approach was recognised as crucial to fruitful Euro-African cooperation and important for further development (Cotonou Agreement 2000). In other words, the Cotonou Agreement was not gender-oriented, but the gender aspects were included in macroeconomic policies, strategies, operations, etc. (Flint 2009, 84-86). Accordingly, it may be observed that the importance of the paradigm dedicated to women's rights has changed from a conservative to more intersectional and transformative, but at the time of the Cotonou regime, it was still development oriented.

4. Gender Agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement

The EU experts engaged in the process of Post-Cotonou negotiations with Africa described the role of gender agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement as evolutionary but not radically. They also emphasized that it is a cross-cutting framework of rights, designed to benefit the needs of new generations¹⁰. In this part, the author examines the text of the negotiated Post-Cotonou Agreement initialled by the chief negotiators of the EU and the OACPS (on 15th April 2021) and compares the outcomes with the perspective given by the above-mentioned EU specialists. The analysis below follows the structure of the Post-Cotonou Agreement, indicating advantages, disadvantages, added values and what needs to be prioritized concerning the gender agenda.

Gender equality is an objective of the Post-Cotonou Agreement and is included in part of the General Provisions (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 9). Specific areas of action for gender equality are further elaborated in the articles under human rights and human development and are also reflected in Africa Protocol (Articles 40 and 66). At the same time, gender equality is considered a cross-cutting concept, that the parties commit to promoting. It means that gender perspective must be a principle guiding the interpretation of all the other provisions, and their subsequent implementation (European Confederation of NGOs b, 2).

¹⁰ The experts from Strategic Partnerships with Africa and with the ACP (INT-PA.A.1) and Pan-African affairs AFRICA.1 (European External Action Service).

In the General Provisions part of the Post-Cotonou Agreement women (and youth) are identified particularly as key stakeholders who need encouragement to engage in political processes and decision-making and to participate in the political realm (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 15). This declaration may be considered a sign of real progress. It is worth noting, that the General Provisions do not mention any international commitments oriented toward gender¹¹ equality but in the Africa Protocol the parties commit to the full implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) recommendations. Because CEDAW is often described as an international bill of rights for women (Bayefsky, Reid and Balmforth 2000, 198-199), referring to the Convention can be seen as another milestone in the implementation of the gender agenda. The document mentions also female genital mutilation and child, early and forced marriage (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 14). As both are sometimes excused by African tradition and local beliefs (Wade 2012, 28-32), the appearance of these provisions in the Post-Cotonou Agreement can be considered a further breakthrough.

Article 7 “Cross-cutting theme” indicates the importance of a systematic approach to gender equality and human rights (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 12). At the same time, there is no explicit mention of allocating resources and work against inequality dedicated to these issues.

In Part II “Strategic Priorities” Title I “Human Rights, Democracy and Governance in People-centred and Rights-based Societies” Article 10 refers straight to gender equality and recognises this concept as a key driver of sustainable development. It also indicates the need to tackle gender bias and to create equal opportunities, full and equal participation in public life and access to human rights for all. This, however, applies to situations only “where appropriate”, which creates the risk of selective interpretation by the parties and contradicts the Agreement’s objective on gender equality (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 14). Furthermore, Article 10 leaves room for a binary interpretation of the term “gender”, which might lead to the exclusion of non-binary individuals. There is also

¹¹ International commitments meant in the Agreement are Agenda 2030 and the Paris Agreement.

no mention of transparency or accountability in the allocation of public funding dedicated to the promotion of gender equality.

Article 17 in part Title II “Peace and Security” indicates the importance of addressing the recommendations to women and girls particularly, as they are the main victims of gender-based violence in conflicts (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 18-19). Nevertheless, this is a mention only, which seems to be inadequate to the scale of the problem (McKay 1998, 387-389) and leads to the statement that gender sensitivity of conflicts is not sufficiently emphasised – nor are the needs and initiatives of local populations and civil society organisations representing women.

In the part Title III “Human and Social Development” is highlighted the importance of promoting human and social development, providing equal opportunities for all and challenging inequality. It also includes a commitment to the protection and promotion of sexual and reproductive health and rights, in the context of the International Conference on Population and Development and the symbolic Beijing Platform for Action – perceived as a historical legal milestone for women. Furthermore, this part contains the commitment to decent work for all, in particular women, in line with the ILO Agenda and Standards, as well as to support the participation of children, youth and women in political decision-making (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 24). Article 28 is dedicated to education, which covers all levels, from early childhood to technical, vocational and tertiary education, with due regard for girls and women’s access (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 24). Article 36 is focused on the economic empowerment of women and girls and the structural changes needed to achieve this aim, i.e. equal access to land ownership and control, and appropriate legal frameworks (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 28-29). At the same time, the section on inequality and social cohesion is not comprehensive as intersectionality and multidimensionality of inequalities are not mentioned (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 92-93). Moreover, while the negotiated Post-Cotonou Agreement includes a commitment to promoting sexual and reproductive health rights, it does not mention areas that are crucial to achieving this aim (i.e. sexuality education) and excludes the same commitment from the regional protocols. It is also worth noting, that the parties may use these frameworks only “as appropriate”. Lastly, in the section on food security, there is no reference to

smallholder farmers (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 35), who are mostly women – even though they produce most of the food consumed in Africa, they are the most exposed to climate change and land grabbing, that they play a crucial role in protecting natural resources and are instrumental in transitioning to agroecology (Gawaya 2008, 148-149).

Furthermore, while gender equality is declared in the General Provisions of the document to be a cross-cutting theme, in the section Title V “Environmental Sustainability and Climate Change” is completely absent (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 44-45). Although the Agreement attempts to discuss environmental sustainability and climate change more holistically by considering their interlinkages with sustainable growth, employment, investment opportunities, food security, social equity, etc (Negotiated Agreement 2021, 44) it neglects both, the vulnerability of women to the impact of climate change, as well as their role in leading communities towards more sustainable practices (Steady 2014, 326-329).

Therefore, it may be stated that the role of gender agenda evolved but not changed dramatically. The negotiated Post-Cotonou Agreement presents a new version of quite a traditional approach to gender equality, as evidenced by omissions and shortcomings. While it provides specific commitments to gender equality, it does not meaningfully mainstream a gender perspective throughout the priority area, which may affect its ability to deliver on the gender agenda.

5. Conclusion

The goal of this article was to evaluate the role of the gender agenda in the Post-Cotonou Agreement. It may be concluded, that the gender agenda is both an aim of the Post-Cotonou Partnership, as well as a cross-cutting concept, which obliges the parties to promote it in the other provisions, and their subsequent implementation. It also may be observed that the gender agenda has continued its transformation from conservative (WID approach) through more transformative (GAD approach) to evolutionary (designed to benefit the needs of new generations). These changes, however, are neither rapid nor radical. In other words, gender agenda

may be perceived as a well-known development tool in a new version. Furthermore, gender agenda is the subject of dispute in the negotiations between the EU and Africa, as the parties attach different meanings to it and disagree on the importance of sexual and reproductive health and rights, and sexual orientation (reproductive and LGBTQ+ rights are not defined the same in Europe and Africa).

One of the achievements of the Post-Cotonou Agreement is the specific mention of female genital mutilation and child, early and forced marriage. Another milestone is the commitment to implement fully the recommendations of the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcomes of their review conferences, and to promote sexual and reproductive health rights in that context. With these references, it is possible to act on topics considered taboo in many African countries. The above-mentioned provisions provide a platform for discussing the negative aspects of tradition and culture, which often lead to deepening social inequalities.

As for the challenges, points of contention between the EU and AU may influence how the gender agenda can be integrated into the Post-Cotonou Partnership. It is observed that these differences create a disadvantage which may be unfavourable to the partnership in subsequent years. Significant challenges also relate to the lack of mention of the obligation to resource and deliver on cross-cutting goals such as gender equality. Furthermore, the Post-Cotonou Agreement does not meaningfully mainstream a gender perspective throughout the priority areas, so this could affect either its ability to deliver on gender mainstreaming or its quality and impact.

Finally, the biggest threat is, that African states will seek to row back on the Post-Cotonou Agreement because of disagreement over the commitments related to gender equality and non-discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. The Ugandan case may be a warning signal. On the other hand, by observing the partnership's history (see more: Twitchett 1978, 472–483) it may be assumed that negotiations have never been an easy part when it comes to the relationship between the EU and Africa (and the ACPS as well). However, further delays in the implementation of the Post-Cotonou Agreement appear to be harmful and dangerous not only from the perspective of achieving the gender agenda priorities. Lack of consensus is a serious obstacle in managing contemporary

socio-political challenges, i.e. climate change, food insecurity, pandemics, terrorism, poverty, and respect for human rights.

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Chapter 15

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Is Homosexuality a Litmus Test of Legitimate Democracy and Sustained Development in Tanzania? A Sociological Study of Some Key Aspects of Socio-Political Order

Abstract: From its outset, the modern nation-state has laid claim to the principle of social legitimacy as its justification for its existence and action. The basic principle is centered on both the rightful delegation of power, from citizens to authorities, and the proper responsiveness of the ruling classes to the needs of its subjects. Along the lines drawn so far, the study springs from the conviction that the social legitimacy of Tanzanian governmental institutions can reinforce their competencies in launching development. However, a closer view reveals that, for the Tanzanian elite, this relationship is not obvious. This is evidenced, at least, within two related profiles of this system. First, from the view of the broad definition of a state, the disclosed mechanisms for the functioning of state institutions make it difficult or even impossible for politically organized citizens to influence the decision-making processes, including processes for the formation of laws. This is demonstrated by the example of homosexual people, perceived in the study as one of the potential pressure groups, whose interests lie abandoned by the legal regulations criminalizing homosexuality. Secondly, the analyses of

those aspects of the system of social communication that refer to the discourse on homosexuality indicate functioning of analogous mechanisms. Namely, because of government communication policy, members of the broader society are not properly informed about the issues of homosexuality. Consequently, the overall legitimacy of the political system debases its ability to foster development. The study is based on secondary resources, including the Master Thesis of Claudia Gerard that includes a critical analysis of the public discourses on the social legitimacy of the legal status of homosexuality in Tanzania. Inside of these discourses, the analysis of the content of written press materials has been seen to be at the base of the problem.

Keywords: legitimacy and development, democracy, intangible assets, Tanzania, homosexuality in Tanzania

1. Introduction

Two resources inspired this study. First, the master thesis defended by Claudia Gerard and supervised by Tadeusz Jarosz at the Department of Sociology and African Studies, in Jordan University College, Morogoro, in 2018, entitled: *Social legitimacy of legal status of homosexuality in Tanzania*. One of the most significant inferences of this work referred to the kind of disconnection of subsequent parts of the Tanzanian political system - especially those creating and executing law - from politically organized civil society.

As the disclosed gap between them still exists, the legal status of homosexuality, entrenched in colonial subjection, remains not only as 'legitimate' part of the Tanzanian legal system but, with a dose of irony, it can be said that is doing well. The master thesis disclosed reasons for that state of issues (Gerald 2018). In view of the lack of well-balanced cooperation between the base of a politically organized society and the superstructure of the supreme institutions of the state, the subtitle of the 3rd Mkwawa International Conference (2-3 November 2022, Iringa, Tanzania) - Change and Adaptations Towards Sustainable Development - had sounded for us as quite a challenge. However, because of that it became a second source of inspiration, so as critically to rethink the problem of legitimacy and its rightful emplacement within a contemporary African state and society.

As plainly indicated in invoked master thesis, it is the unwillingness to change and to adapt that led to the situation in which the colonial legal regulations on homosexuality are still doing well in contemporary Tanzania. However, the adduced subtitle of the conference, but slightly extended, opens-up the prospect of the inspiring potential for the concept of legitimacy. This potential obtains the adaptation of the requirements of historical processes, also to the dimension where the legal regulations are enacted in response to altering societal demands (Heywood in Tambunan 2021, 331). In addition, the rule of legitimacy strengthens the coherence between politically organized citizens and state institutions, by which the legal regulations factually respond to societal demand, for example from a group such as homosexuals. The same legitimacy could reinforce the effectiveness of every type of developmental agenda that is channelled by state institutions. For, once the channels of two-sided collaboration are initiated, it can encourage further cooperation, including the further promotion and consolidation of pro-developmental activity. As specified by Tambunan: “Politics entails legitimacy to act of the sovereign government [...]. Legitimacy secures the right to govern and the consent of the people grant the sovereign government to govern following the rule of law. By combining the notion of the right to govern and people’s consent, politics can work appropriately within the society” (Tambunan 2021, 331).

Well, that is right, but in starting to define the research problem of this chapter it is necessary to inquire whether, under the conditions of the country which, although nominally democratic but in practice charged by many question marks as far as democratization is considered, addressing the issue of legitimacy is well founded (cf. Ewald 2008, 19-20; Ewald 2013; cf. Peter 2014, 111-113; cf. Nyaluke and Connolly 2013, 1; Bamwenda 2018, 37-41). It seems that it is justified because, firstly, even authoritarian systems are searching for legitimacy only with this difference that in this search they are ignoring the majority of citizens subject to their rule. Secondly, Tanzania is one of the countries that continuously move towards fuller democracy, the same as in any country that unceasingly moves towards the further development and empowerment of their citizens, the latter at least at the level of firm declarations (The Tanzanian Development Vision 2015, 12-14; Górka 2022, 206). Thirdly, both

arguments presented can be alluded to the problem of invoked master thesis. Well, it could be said that one of the striking signs of the achievement of democracy by the Tanzanian state will be when people identifying as homosexuals will find protection and the acknowledgment needed for their citizen subjectivity. The point is twofold; they no longer will be discriminated by the legal system and, in addition, they will find acceptance and understanding within the society.

The task of this chapter is to explore and elucidate the functioning of the Tanzanian socio-political system in a dimension confined to the two-sided relationships between those grouped inside the camp exerting power (political and business elites, representatives of supreme state and administrative institutions) and politically organized society, in the form of pressure groups. Since the horizon of our research perspective is set by the approach of the state authorities specifically to homosexuals, it seems that the adjustment to the actual state of affairs ought to be about the self-organizing society and pressure group *in statu fieri*.

At first the concept of the state will be analysed. Adaptation of the broadest possible scope of the notion will allow the inclusion, into the field of interest, all subjects of a given state both the institutional and the individuals acting in the public sphere. All these actors are going to be seen - in accordance with the principles of democracy - as entitled to organize themselves into civil and political groupings in order to influence the decision-making processes according to their interests and values (cf. Nyaluke and Connolly 2013, 17; cf. Cichecka 2018b, 208-209). This right applies also to homosexual people inhabiting Tanzania. However, as adequate descriptions of the study are meant to indicate below, any initiative geared at integrating homosexual people within the social and public sphere are opposed by the government and the institutions that are bridging the space between the government and society, such as the police. Not only the acts of proliferating the information that comes from within the homosexual environment, or from the Human Rights advocates that aim to promote their interests and views are subdued into restrictive control and silencing; but also, as was happening especially during the legacy of President John Pombe Magufuli, the mere attempt to organize meetings to discuss homosexuality related issues were prevented by the authorities. Such discriminatory policy, by the way, is

set up against entire LGBT+ movement (Bamwenda 2018, 141-142). It is evident then that the mere acts of initiating and cementing a pressure group that could be formed by people of homosexual inclinations, is seen as a threat to the stability of the socio-political system or just to the legacy of power carried by the political elite. Within this dimension of the analysis the existence of some, up to a certain level informal but effective, mechanism preventing a two-sided exchange between rulers and the ruled will be revealed. This mechanism emerges from the discriminating perceptions of homosexuals and homosexuality as denying their existence and recognition as subjects vested with rights due to their humanity. This lack of recognition justifies sometimes violent acts of counteracting both the internal integration of individuals forming the homosexual environment and the external manifestation of its existence in the public sphere.

That conclusion will find its extension within the following dimension of the analyses. These are going to be formed by descriptions and explanations of the public communication system and carried societal discourse on homosexuality within this system. The significance of the latter results from its political consequences. Namely, an essential component of communicative exchanges occurring along the line: governmental administration and politically organized citizenry are determined by the general sum of knowledge - obtained within the main societal discourses. The analysis will demonstrate that enduring control by the Tanzanian governmental administration traditional and new media makes the public permanently unable to accumulate the necessary knowledge and a minimum of information allowing them to play the role of legitimate partners in the decision-making process in general and in regard to the legislation on homosexuality in particular (cf. Scott in Hyden 2013, 72; Ewald and Mhamba 2019, 30; Shivji in Nyaluke 2013, 60). Given that society remains uninformed, automatically translates itself not only into a lack of interest in the hard situation of homosexual people, but also conserves prejudices and stereotypes about them. All of that causes any strivings of people advocating the homosexuals' cause to fall into a societal void. In this way, the under-information of the public entails a lack of support on its part for the efforts of homosexual activists and, as a result, the latter cannot manage that part of the social space that would

allow them to emerge as a pressure group, so as to achieve a minimum of social rights. That directly refers to the processes of working through the laws that up to now criminalize homosexuality, so as to decriminalize it, and also about introducing changes normalizing the day-to-day existence of homosexual people within society.

The study falls into the domain of qualitative study; newspaper materials, official pronouncements of state institutions, politicians and officials, were collected, ordered and then verified and systematized for their suitability for further analysis. The latter adopting the form of content analysis are going to be conducted within the larger perspective of general theory of political and civil society, with special grounding reference to conceptualizations of a procedural and a substantive democracy, in accordance with the present state of research as reflected in literature on the subject.

2. Axiological and Normative Basis of the Functioning of Political and Civil Society

In accordance with the outlined plan of the study, the current stage of the analysis is to define the essence of the concept of the nation-state. Analysis of adequate definitions of this concept is going to be directed at pointing out those aspects of the contemporary state which, in line with the substantive conceptualization of democracy - eloquently enhanced in the classic work *Democratic Theory* (Sartori 1962) - will disclose those aspects of any political system that creates necessary space within the public sphere for all citizens to participate. The space in this work is identified with the concept of civil society which also will be made more precise. Then against the backdrop of a normatively grounded understanding of the nature of nation-state and civil society, continued descriptions will disclose the current stage of inculcating the principles of democracy into the Tanzanian political system. As signalized earlier, adequate descriptions are going to refer to the existential situation of homosexual people who as individuals have a good reason to create a social environment aiming at consolidation in the form of a pressure group to represent their

values and interests in the public forum. However, as will be revealed, they have a long way to go before they will achieve this.

From the most general perspective, a state can be defined as a politically organized collectivity. From traditional resources of knowledge exemplified by political philosophy, overall conceptualization results from reflection on the multifaceted relationships linking people into a given community. Highlighted here are more the communal rather than the associational character of this socio-cultural formation, and in descriptions of the moral aspects of societal organization are towering over the instrumental and functional. No wonder then that both concepts of a state and a nation seem inseparably tied to each other; for they refer to the most elementary forms of community that evolving through centuries became deeply embedded within an affective layer of the ontological structure of a human being. Both are specified by its ethical and moral nature (Babb 2018, 8-10).

In turn, when the creation of the same concept is undertaken on the base of modernity, together with its proper point of reference established by positive social sciences, the perspective of its overall perception of interpersonal relations and ties becomes significantly confined. That becomes evidenced not only within an analogy to the philosophical and ideological layer of political thought as presented above, drawing from the legacy of the enlightenment, but above all in reducing the wholeness of interpersonal relationships into networks of relevant structures of social organization, systemic and formal arrangements, including legal, directives of collective cooperation and competition. With reference to exposed forms of activity, a notion of the modern state can be identified with any politically organized collectivity, occupying distinctive territory and being ruled under an arranged socio-political and administrative system. Thus, in terms of modernity, the state is a politically organized collectivity, occupying certain territory and existing under an order of exercising power. Trying to sum up briefly, a state is not solely a moral community but above all a well-organized form of collective interdependency and inter-action that could be defined as a 'clear cut and bordered territory, with permanent population, under jurisdiction of a supreme government that is constitutionally independent of all foreign governments and other centers of power (Jackson 2007).

Similarly, from a social point of view, the essence of society can be reduced to the acts of collective cooperation between all involved due to its emplacement within either the structures of socio-political supremacy or socio-political subordination; thus too, from a political perspective, a state arises out of competition between politically divided citizens, represented in the public forum by political parties and other centers of political mobilization. This competition is culminated in elections, due to the result of which the supreme power is given to the proponents of the winning political option. However, taking responsibility for entire country governed by them, they are obliged to follow the procedures of the law that on the one hand specify the extent of their competences and on the other delineate the scope of societal control over them (cf. Ewald and Mhamba 2019, 15). The latter is most frequently mediated by a controlling activity of opposition in parliament and in the activity of public opinion, the media and the institutions of civil society. Also, the principle of legitimacy plays the role of the rightful control of government and the ruling class (cf. Canel and Luoma-aho 2019, 143-144). It also does this in tandem with other similar principles, such as the rule of the law, the social reputation of political elites, the governmental institutions and social trust (Mandalu 2019, 79). While appreciating the role of all the listed rules in keeping a healthy balance between rulers and ruled, just to close this paragraph, it is necessary to point out one of them, associated with the principle of the rule of law, that is to say an institution of the law. Normatively framed regulations concerning a particular slice of individual or social life play an important role in how far the authorities can interfere in the daily existence of individuals and collectivities. This is why, in a modern state, all the more democratic states under the rule of law, the lawmaking processes and procedures play an important role. It has its own peculiar reference to the issues of homosexuality in Tanzania as well. Namely, how certain legal regulations on homosexuality are formulated is of great importance for daily life practice (cf. Mutasa 2014, 3-4).

Recusing to the concept of the state and extending the analysis from a functional point of view, the state consists of a range of cooperating institutions which can be divided as executive, legislative and judiciary. National law, the most frequently anchored in a constitution or in a body

of acts known as the common law, precisely defines the competences of each of them and the ways of cooperation between them (Hyden 2013, 107-108). The institution of the executive, that is, the office of the president and, closely collaborating with his office, the government, in the case of Tanzania, are entrusted to develop the merits and scope of a range of policies perceived from the point of view of the citizens' majority as necessary, in order to obtain what is needed by all of the inhabitants of the country. Subsequent policies and administrative decisions of the government are meant to be realized on the base of the enforcements of the law pertaining to the following sectors of communal life: external and internal security, economic growth, cultural development, education, and the health care system (Egboh and Aniche 2015, 5-6). However, in exercising any policy - as stipulated by the supreme law of the constitution - president and government are dependent on the following institution of power; for it is due to the requirement of this law that the realization of a given policy relies on putting into proactive action the content of laws proceeded by parliament.

The institution of a legislative, due to the country encompassing one as in the case of Tanzania (National Assembly of Tanzania, Bunge) or as in other countries two chambers of the parliament, responds by producing law enforcements that, as mentioned already, determine the policies put into practice by the government (Egboh and Aniche 2015, 6). Another important function of the parliament is to exert the control over the government, for example by tracing the way of realizing particular policies and public inquiring by way of given officials who are responsible for the course of particular procedures. Finally, the institution of a judiciary plays the role of balancing the whole political system by paying attention to the required mode of administering the law passed by the institutions described above, its executive and legislative counterparts. All these institutions presented above must work together to achieve the state's goals. The cooperation is what forms the state as the first sector in a narrow sense, narrow because only representatives of the state offices are collaborating here to carry out subsequent policies. On the way to fuller democracy, Tanzania is continuously challenged to search for a more equitable balancing of the powers, especially between the executive and its two counterparts. The problem of transforming the asymmetry of the

arrangement binding the rulers to the ruled into a more symmetrical network of interrelationships, together with the dilemmas concerning state institutions that emerged among the founding fathers of independent African states with their takeover from colonial rule, has been paid a lot of attention in the comprehensive studies of Hyden (2013, 26-29), Nyaluke (2013, 30-33) and the juridical study of Peter and Wambali (1988, 87).

Within the broader perspective, however, a state can also be seen as a sum of the cooperation between all institutions functioning within a particular country, together with the individuals filling them, especially the institutions forming the economic sector (second sector) and the civil society (third sector). As we try to limit ourselves to significant areas, from the point of view of this study, it is necessary to point out at least two institutional arrangements: the first refers to the pre-political field of societal activism within which distinct individuals of a given socio-cultural profile are freely acting to institute more or less formal movements, associations, foundations, clubs, faith-based organizations and so on (cf. Jarosz and Komba 2022, 348). Following this important area are the institutions of media, forming a system of mass communication and the institution of public opinion fostered by the latter. While both of them are given justified liberty in managing their own activity, automatically they start to play a mediating role in negotiating values and interests at the public sphere and between the ruled and the rulers (Mutasa 2014, 2). In this respect they become the tools of social legitimacy, however, as soberly noticed by Hyden, in African countries this formation of the public sphere and public opinion, it could be supplemented, continuously remains rather at the stage of *in statu fieri* than *in statu quo* (Hyden 2013, 49-50).

These institutional arrangements, as presented, indicate that the modern state is equipped with all the necessary means to play a role as instigator of development, for it consists out of the range of the cooperating institutions which work together to achieve comprehensive progress. It becomes possible to achieve the latter while these institutions work independently as autonomous units but, at the same time, they are related to each other in a way that makes it impossible for them not to work together. As presented, a state can play a role of the center of power and the source of development at the same time. However, the latter can only be

achieved when the representatives of the state administration are properly marshalling societal and political cooperation, especially in managing issues of social, economic, and political significance. Thus, a socio-political system that enables development is based on the presumption that an individual cannot be thoroughly identified with society (as if it is society's product, as posited by sociologism) but what matters, on the other hand, is that no one can be excluded from this society. In other words, the growth of the individual occurs only when properly integrated into social life. This means that each individual is subject to a given political authority and must be respected by being endowed with a certain sphere of autonomy, allowing that individual person to have her/his own private views, opinions and preferences as well as suitable ways of practicing them with others having similar views (cf. Othman 2009, 289-292). The embodiment of this rule extends itself into the right to participate in the formation of those aspects of public opinion that directly address his or her day do day existence which finds its extension in the liberty to form a different social discourse on this issue. This problem is going to be discussed below. Apart from the specified right, there is another equally important, and it is the entitlement to self-organization within particular social groupings, including pressure groups (cf. Legal and Human Rights Centre and Zanzibar Legal Services Centre 2016, 57-64). The most convenient space for practicing this is within civil society.

The latter, as an institution of a third sector, can be defined as an arena of actions and interactions that operates from the private sphere of family, through the social and public spheres and into the principal areas occupied by the first sector - the political system, and the second sector - the economic system. As an arena, civil society is shaped by the nature of the needs and interests it responds to and by the specificity of the socio-political and economic environment that determines its room for maneuver for mobilization, cooperation, articulation, and influence (Mallya 2008, 1-2). Civil society, by working together with the government, encourages the citizen's participation; especially in bringing pro-developmental initiatives, it is civil society which pulls the government and citizens together, although sometimes what they are doing is limited and controlled by the government (Peter 2014, 99-100, 118). Therefore, sometimes its self-manifestation entails societal, political tensions and struggles (Cichecka

2018a, 155-166). At the same time, civil society is enabled effectively to minimize conflicts and to manage for the common good of the entire society and state (cf. Mallya 2008, 8-9; cf. Peter 2014, 122-123).

Given the presented normative presumptions framing the modern state, it is to be borne in mind that the processes of transferring the rules encompassed within these normative presumptions - shaped within European axio-normative environment - to an alternative, that is it to say the African socio-political systems, are governed by their own rules (cf. Górká 2022, 194). The peculiarity of these systems is due not only to the spatial distribution of the recipient national systems but also to historical determinants which are temporal. Therefore, each single country develops its own way to be a modernized and democratized country. It refers also to Tanzania (Sheikheldin 2018, 41-45). What matters, from the point of view of the problem addressed here, the way of functioning in the present Tanzanian state is conditioned by the synergy of three interrelated factors: pre-modern, with patterns of the traditional way of legitimizing political authority, modern, with the characteristic Nyerere era charismatic way of consolidating the legitimacy of the political system, and finally, the post-modern, in which, as we entered into Weberian typology, legitimacy ought to stem from the authority of law in general and in particular the rule of law (cf. Chriss 2013, 89; cf. Leśniczák 2018, 343-345). The fact that all of the listed forms of securing legitimacy are subject to a clashing interplay, causes none of them to occur in their pure form (cf. Hyden 2013, 115-116). Thus, it follows that the Tanzanian socio-political system is perceived as being continuously searching for its more accurate mode of inculcating of the ideals of modernity and, because of that, the descriptions presented below ought to be seen as indicating the current state of transformations aimed at achieving a fuller extent of modernization.

3. Excluding Functioning of State Institutions

Turning to the practical part of the chapter, brief reference will be made to the narrative on homosexuality that was occasioned by a bold statement by the British Prime Minister David Cameron. As he took the floor

at the forum of Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, an official event that took place in October of 2011 in Perth, Australia. In the context of the developing countries that belong to this community, Cameron expressed his concern about lowering level of rates indicating respect for Human Rights. He linked in his official statement the issue of Human Rights performance and the developmental aid delivered by the British government. In this context were uttered words concerning homosexuality as one of the problems to be resolved. The benefit to homosexual people was assumed as being a proper direction for adequate legal and administrative governmental initiatives. And exactly this recourse became a point of discussion within different countries potentially affected by the suspension of loans, including Tanzania¹. The high profile, probably unintentionally, given by Cameron to the issue in question, made it subject to the interest of the Tanzanian media, including the written. It is necessary to add that the latter only very occasionally take this problem into their consideration, and if they do so it easily could be observed that this is the commonly used pattern for addressing the issue. What are accentuated there are the mere facts associated with this crisis; in principle, any further descriptions of the phenomenon of homosexuality were not to be found. Not only is this true in the declarative sphere anymore, but in direct action as well. Whether, however, the lack of programmatic interest in the problem in question should be attributed only to the lack of interest of journalists in the issue, is a problem that deserves separate consideration (Ewald and Mhamba 2019, 31). Social communication in itself will be subject to further analysis.

In line with press reports therefore, the first to react Cameron's statement was Bernard Membe, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Tanzania. He reacted because of inquiries from journalists. Then discussion took place in the Tanzanian parliament where, among others speaking was the then Prime Minister, Honorable

¹ Tanzanian statutory law defines homosexual acts as unnatural and they are seen as a serious offence. Ord. No. 47 of 1954 p. 3; Act No. 4 of 1998 for a term of not less than thirty years. Provided sanctions are perceived as a means of not only punishing homosexual acts but indirectly, due to the educational role of the law, they discourage a positive attitude towards homosexual culture, with its own components represented by the notion of homosexuality.

Mizengo Pinda (*The Citizen*, 2011; cf. Mwananchi, 2018). What is surprising is, when the utterances of both gentlemen are considered, at the level of language, at each stage of the narrative unfolded by them, they managed to avoid even a single small reference to individuals living in Tanzania and as homosexuals facing many difficulties, such as any mention of social ostracism, e.g. refusal to be treated in medical centers² (Muunguja 2012, 2-3; cf. Mwananchi, 2013). Even more, although they would not have been unaware of the difficulties experienced daily by homosexuals then, they still adopted the rhetoric, typical of sophisticated politicians. To the fore, within the words uttered, came the depersonalizing wording that dehumanizes homosexuals as social actors. This has been followed by a thoughtfully diverted reframing of the meanings which are ascribed to the victims. Namely, in the place of homosexuals, deprived of their basic human rights, in the unfolded narrative they were replaced by the Tanzanian state and society as an underdeveloped state that is arbitrarily deprived of aid. A small quotation recalling the words of Membe adequately indicates this strategy: “Tanzania is ready to lose aid and support from friendly countries which are now pushing for repeal of anti-gay laws in African nations [...]. Tanzania was ready to go alone rather than being subjected to humiliation and dehumanization, homosexuality is not right to us so if our friend force us to accept because they help us that is humiliation and we don’t want it in our country because that is not acceptable [...]. We are not ready to be humiliated by developed countries by accepting whatever they want us to do that is not right, we are poor that is okay we can’t deny it and we depend on these great and developed countries in many sectors to be developed but this is not okay for sure. Tanzanian government is ready trying to look for other means of aid for development if their friends do not want to help because of accepting gay rights that seems to be the only way which will help and support development” (Daily News 2012, 31; cf. Mwananchi, 2018).

² A man has been left untreated and eventually died in Sinza (Dar es Salaam) public hospital. Doctors refused provision of necessary measures alluding to his alleged homosexuality. Apart from that the Health Ministry has closed health centers which were offering services to homosexual people. That was followed by the statement announcing closing operations of all institutions and organizations in the country that are supporting homosexual people (cf. Mgopa 2021).

The above style of delivery was intentionally used so as not to admit that this came about because of people whose rights are not only ignored in the public sphere but, above all they are not recognized in the law, as would be necessary if the requirements of the principle of human dignity were taken seriously. Rather, it was suggested by invoked politicians that the statement by the British prime minister was underpinned by a sense of neo-colonial superiority, lack of respect for the national sovereignty of developing countries and their socio-cultural integrity. All these accusations were uttered to reinforce the impression that homosexuals and homosexuality do not exist in the country. This is inconsistent with the factual situation and politicians are well informed about it (Daily News 2012, 31; cf. Mwananchi, 2013).

It seems that the general moralizing tone, purposefully avoiding any references to empirical reality, that is, the practical problems of homosexual people, to their mere existence, to the taboo covering their lifestyle and marking their existence afflictions are directly referred to the issue of the legitimacy of the political system. If real, existential, socio-cultural problems of a certain number of people are purposefully not considered, then automatically individuals excluded in such a way are withdrawing their legitimizing support to this system. Apart from that, most frequently they start to resolve their problems outside of this system by creating, in that way, alternative solutions for their problems (cf. Clapham in Nyaluke 2013, 18).

The failure to recognize the subjectivity of homosexuals found an interesting extension in another intriguing step of the authorities. Not so much in the declarative sphere anymore, but in direct action as well. And it became evident in the government-induced crisis when one of the civil society organizations that deliver medical services to homosexuals became of particular interest to the security services. Community Health Education Services and Advocacy (CHESA) - organization at the moment at the centre of our interest - as alleged by the Guardian was identified by the ruling class and representatives of the government as being particularly involved in the promotion of the homosexual lifestyle (Msikula 2017, 4; The Citizen, 2019). Because of that, under pressure from the Ministry for Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, it was removed from the list of NGO-s lawfully

operating in Tanzania. This was reasoned by the necessity for clarifying whether the content of some conferences and seminars, conducted by this very organization, were encouraging same sex marriage in different areas of the country. An example of such an event was a seminar, given by the adduced newspaper that took place the Peacock Hotel (Ilala-Dar es Salaam) on 17 October 2017. So, exactly because of this reason, the NGOs registrar's office obliged CHESA to stop all activities and also to close all the offices of CHESA until the end of an investigation (Msikula 2017). Similar events directed against related organizations are annually reported by Human Right Watch under following subtitle: Sexual orientation and sexual identity (<http://www.hrw.org>).

According to this outlined picture, homosexuals as a social group remain socially isolated. This is the outcome of the policy carried out by the political authorities. That policy, as has been demonstrated by undertaken analysis, makes it impossible to establish networks of such relationships and ties within the homosexual environment so as to institute a homosexual pressure group. The engagement of the governmental institutions, in countering the self-organization of homosexual grouping, extends also to the management of public opinion so that the members of closer and wider surroundings of homosexuals do not support them in their activity to be internally consolidated. These restrictive communication policies will be the subject of further analyses.

4. Excluding the Arrangement of Public Discourse on Homosexuality

As already narrated so far, Tanzanian society remains not properly informed on the issue of homosexuality. For this turn of events there is a range of certain formal and informal policies intended by the ruling class and unfolded by governmental institutions. Identified under-information may be seen as integral part of the strategy, described in the previous section, which is preventing homosexuals from self-organizing as a pressure group. However, subjected into our analyses are policies which soar far beyond a narrow group of homosexuals and their supporters

towards the whole of society. The definitive point is that the uninformed society was held to be not interested in demonstrating solidarity towards homosexuals who strive to be better self-organized and in no way was supporting these strivings. To validate this observation at the departure point, the concept of a discourse is going to be introduced. Then the approximation of three historically coined modes of framing the discourse on homosexuality is intended to be carried out. Ordered in that way, the complexity of the issues forming the phenomenon of homosexuality will be helpful to interpret properly the actions undertaken by government against homosexuals³.

The concept of discourse comes from the Latin word *discursus* which stands for running to and from; in a metaphorical way it refers to written and spoken communication⁴. Modernity produced its own way of understanding and defining this concept by referring to - as already signalized - the general sum of knowledge within a particular field that climaxes in dominant meanings that imprint their marks on acts of generating and communicating new obtained knowledge. For this knowledge is socially constructed as exemplified on the case of sexuality by Rachel Spronk (2012, 32-34). Together with the progress of the modern era, the main meanings forming the core of a particular field of knowledge were turned into being seen as the tools of actual socio-political power and then they started to play this role in practice. As it was discovered by means of them initially, it became shaped by what can be thought of and spoken by individuals and then, in line with the content of both, is shaped what might be done by them (Deutschman 2002, 366; cf. Pfohl 2009, 7-8). The processes of legitimacy depend on what people used do think, speak and how they perform their everyday duties. For members of society are becoming aware of what is important for their common good and which institutions and practices are allowing them to achieve the desired state of societal relationships precisely from social discourse (Pfohl 2009, 7-8).

Well, the management of meanings that play a carrying role within a particular area of knowledge can easily be subject to the interests of

³ Analogous to the approach adopted to our analyses, except that applied to discursive meanings of the peace was applied by Brock-Utne and Garbo (2009, 2-5).

⁴ <http://www.businessdictionary.com>.

particular social groupings, at the cost of others. Such a situation occurs when the monopolization of the dominant discourse is due to acts of ascribing meanings which articulate their own narrow interests and give special status to these dominating meanings. It is necessary then to hold to social pluralism that would allow different people freely not only to express their views but also to fetch knowledge from different resources so as to develop its own standpoint. In this way, it can counteract the activity of people overusing the power (as political elites in Tanzania) of ensuring their own interests by the promotion of meanings which correspond to these interests. It is necessary then to protect the media, and other institutions and individuals that create public opinion.

Bearing in mind that the deepest beliefs, individual and social behaviours, practices and decisions are altered and this is due to the skillful manipulation of meanings attached to certain aspects of the surrounding reality (about which, in particular, the theory of discourse, which goes beyond the scope of our modest study, teaches us), let us now trace what meanings have been attached to homosexuality since the dawn of modernization. Before examining the current state of the Tanzanian political system, it will be necessary to focus for a while on the countries that influenced the unfolding of this system through colonialism (cf. Peter and Wambali 1988, 74-75).

Historically, first mode of identifying the phenomenon of homosexuality that genetically was linked to the preceding epoch of the Middle Ages was the mode where a set of central meanings ascribed to homosexuality was predominantly negative and associated with morally and legally incorrect behaviour. However, as during Middle Ages, due to the predominance of religious and moral world views, negative connotations of homosexuality were placed within the domain of private and social morality, therefore the essence of homosexuality was associated with a concept of a sin, so too during modernity, a secular culture becoming more and more dominant – substantiating the importance of national and international legal systems – transformed the Medieval understanding of homosexuality. By identifying the law as the appropriate domain of its emplacement, the essence of homosexuality was associated with a crime. In this way, negative moral connotations from the preceding epoch have not only been preserved but additionally reinforced by the imposition

of criminal penalties. Consequently, acts of homosexual self-expression changed its normativeness in society. From being, although with difficulty, tolerated as mere deviation from the standards of social mores and religious precepts, they received the status of intolerable behaviours that undermine the societal order through the failure to comply with established legal regulations. Of course, in its initial form, these processes were limited to their European embedment. Only together with colonial expansion did they also reach African societies that until then had been characterized by sexual flexibility and plasticity which extended also to the attitude towards homosexuality (Wong 2016). The consequences of that are that still today homosexuality is criminalized in many African countries, including Tanzania (Bertolt 2019, 655-657). The original elasticity has, to a great extent, been preserved but has been transferred into the deeply hidden realm of privacy (Wieringa 2010, 56-57). It must be borne in mind that the environment that was instrumental in creating the presented representations of homosexuality has been characterized by a rudimentary stage of development. Hence, the dominant mode of existence of entire communities was marked by a struggle for survival due to the *inter alia* high mortality rates, particularly among postpartum mothers and infants. Therefore, the value of the family based upon heterosexual marriage was so highly valued and at the same devalued homosexual behaviours (Chriss 2010, 177-178).

Just as the origins of the modern approach to homosexuality can be traced back to the previous era of traditional society, so similarly does the second phase of discursive framing of homosexuality; this is to say that its medicalization is also rooted in the preceding form of its understanding, namely the criminalizing conceptualization. The substance linking both notions is a kind of negativism (Stanfield 2015, 1770-1771). The problematic nature of homosexuality is still emphasized, but within the medicalizing approach, moral responsibility being abolished. The problem itself is defined in medical and psychological terms. Homosexuality, like any other mental illness is perceived here as having its own etiology and symptomology and this is why it has been adequately described by this, explained in the manner of a diagnosis linking causes and consequences, and finally it was given rules of therapeutic procedure. As a mental ailment, homosexuality was termed firstly as sociopathic personality

disturbance (from first edition of *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in 1954), then it was softened by being renamed as mental disorder (1968 ed. of the same manual) and followed by sexual orientation disturbance (1974 ed.) and finally it was dropped from the list of mental afflictions (Burton 2015).

The prevailing weakness of medicalization approach lays in its lack of an ultimate explanation of the causes of homosexuality. However, it is important to note that discussed stage of discourse on homosexuality initiated loosening the burden of moral and criminal responsibility and due to this facilitated the following model of encompassing the essence of the phenomenon of homosexuality, based on ideal of Human Rights. Under the influence of the socio-political transformations of the 60's of the last century, together with the sexual revolution being an inherent part of it, adduced approach partially lost its power of conviction. Hence, within the developed world it has been abandoned remains a relic of the past. Within the developing world, in turn, it still enjoys recognition of its validity. According to the assessment by Professor James Chriss, since the transformations that led to the abolition of the validity of this approach in defining the essence of homosexuality were based more on political activism than on merits of a scientific approach, it is still possible its comeback in these places where it abandoned (cf. Chriss 2007, 70).

The emergence of this phase at the turn of nineteen and twenty centuries is undoubtedly and offshoot of the unprecedented development of medicine (psychiatry) and social sciences (psychology). It is also important from the point of view of the continuity of our considerations that the same development has contributed to a significant reduction in human mortality, not only to mothers during childbirth and infants, but also to adults. Undoubtedly, this positive change has been reflected in the attribution of less value to family life and to marital heterosexual relationships. This implies the emergence of another phase of the perception of homosexuality.

Both the models, presented so far, grew out of anthropological and ethical assumptions which, as we have tried to articulate in our narrative, carry the stigma of moral negativism, so the model ending our analysis gives the impression of being entrenched within positive moral grounding. Leaving aside the question of the philosophical and theoretical

justification for the change leading from said negativity to positivity, especially its epistemological threads, what is left to the humanities and social sciences, it seems, is a small reference to radically altered existential conditions which will suffice to meet the needs of this analysis (Gierycz 2021, 265-276). As was already explained in the era of moral negativism, essentially communities remained in a state of struggle for survival. However, when the industrial revolution brought significant improvements in the conditions of everyday existence, then issues related to reproduction as an element in the struggle for surviving could be relativized. Issues of sexual ethics have therefore progressively succumbed to permissiveness which reached its apogee with the mentioned sexual revolution of the 60's in the last century (cf. Spronk 2012, 36-38). It was in the redefinition initiated by this revolution that homosexuality acquired the status of a rational and ethically justified manner of realizing one's sexual inclinations. As a legitimate expression of personal subjectivity, the freedom to pursue homosexual intimate activities has become subject to moral and legal protection. This paved the way for the rights of homosexual persons, to live according to their sexual inclinations, to be included in the list of Human Rights. And in this way, it is now perceived within the public discourse that created its narratives, together with a vocabulary which is adequate to consolidate in public consciousness this unprecedented shift that has occurred.

However, as already articulated, the discussed conceiving of homosexuality could be seen as a part of the change initiated by the industrial revolution. Thus, the countries that benefited from this revolution also adopted a permissive standpoint towards homosexuality. However, within those countries which are still developing, the necessary reevaluations are still problematic. On the one hand, the populating of those communities is no longer part of a struggle for survival, as at the stage of pre-modern society; on the other hand, they do not have the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of modernization and industrialization to the same extent as people in the developed world. This may give rise to an understandable resentment among politicians and social leaders; but from another angle, Tanzanian socio-political leaders insofar as they are immersed in modernity, have resulting obligations that should not be clouded by resentments. The most important obligation, arising from the country's

democratic status, is the responsibility for the security and well-being of every citizen and resident who, by virtue of statutory law, are entrusted to their care. Each one then, regardless of her or his sexual inclinations, is subject to the rights due to human dignity, including the right to health care, education, lifestyle, and eventual civil and political participation.

From the reasons, suggested above, it would appear that negative attitudes towards homosexuality undoubtedly play their role in the communication between the elites and government and the public and individual pressure groups, even potential groups. For just as negative representations of homosexuality undoubtedly resonate in common societal imagination on the one hand, they can also provide a broader background for more politically useful motives for political communication on the other. Namely, the motives reinforcing the efficacy of social control that serve as a means of conserving the well-established order during the post-adjustment era (termed in literature as the multiparty era) where formally there is democratic rule but, in practice, the reality is the staying in power of one and the same political force (cf. Cichecka 2018a, 166-167).

By assuming the credibility of that supposition, it appears expedient for the government to use an information sieve that allows the dissemination of knowledge and information that is related to the first and second models of framing homosexuality, namely the criminalizing and medicalizing, while using all possible means to block any messages that have anything to do with the third model referring to Human Rights (Makala 2022). The primary gain from such a transaction is the disintegrating effect on homosexuals, which prevents them from forming a pressure group and thus becoming an active part of civil and political society. The second but equally important is the construction of one's own political identity by placing oneself in the public eye in opposition to homosexuals whose existential problems are not so widely known and because of that they can be easily linked to the capitalists, genderists, and general leftist philosophical decadents of post-modernism. Finally, thirdly, the politics of tug-of-war with the generically identified West can set the phase for preparing positive points for future negotiations with possible sponsors (donor countries or aid organizations) interested in improving the fate of homosexuals. Any concession on the issue at hand can be cleverly

capitalized in the form of specific financial or other gains. It is therefore not impossible that homosexuality is politically instrumentalized, and it could be on both sides. Perhaps there are other rationales, apart from those pointed out, which are motivating Tanzanian politicians, but they remain beyond the awareness of the authors of this text. Undoubtedly, these politicians are acting under the influence of a combination of several interrelated motives.

In the light of the explanations given, let us finish with few more facts about the state authorities' violation of the democratic freedom of expression regarding public and mass media communication. As disclosed in the adjacent section is the case of CHESA which indicates important regularities from a communication point of view. As already narrated, under the pretext of encouraging same sex relationships, an organization was not allowed to organize a conference. The terminology of public relations would imply that the activists were not allowed to organize that gathering which was denoted by the term 'an event'. The nature of such a meeting is determined by the possibility of introducing and exacting specific issues within the consciousness of closer and broader audiences. This is because, an event - depending on the circumstances - establishes a whole structure of communication channels aimed at the individual audience segments within the broadcaster's immediate and distant surroundings. These channels are the result of inviting to the event guests, such as journalists and other media workers, local and state creators of opinions, scholars, researchers, and eventually activists. Some of them, by means of formal ways of communication (a given broadcast program) are meant to mediate between the organizers of the event and representatives of the audiences, sometimes in less formal but even more effectively they could communicate the desired messages given by the organization, for example, by mediating between the senders of media messages, the audience groups, and individuals.

Just as the direct recipients of the communication, initiated by the conference organizers, are the invited conference participants, so too are the representatives of the media invited to the event who also provide the representatives of the wider environment with information adjudicated to their needs. Obviously, it occurs by means of the media program formed by them, such as video-clip, press release, in-depth article, radio

program. The essence of an event as a public relations communication tool is that it is not limited to purely informative messages, but also acts persuasively by warming the image of the instigator of communication processes towards the representatives of closer and further surroundings. It can therefore be the case that the government's obstruction of the organization of event-type meetings is not only limited to the control of mere inconvenient information. What is at the stake it might be prevention of something more important. Namely, the establishment of networks of mutual recognition and understanding - that in accord to public relations theory - paves the way to two sided cooperation between initiators of communication processes and its varying audiences (cf. Grunig and Hunt 1984, 7-9). The establishment of such a network reinforces the further integration of homosexuals and their supporters, leading to the consolidation of the pressure group formed by them.

The peculiar totality of government prohibitions in which, under the guise of some minor formality, organizations and individuals have failed to be granted, by governmental institutions, access to the media or permission to communicate certain content, is significant. The large challenges faced by Human Rights activists in their field work is reflected in the petition signed on behalf of many civil society organizations as it is described: freedom to work and express themselves has been very limited contrary to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania [...] many civil society organizations now failed to publish TV spots in the media due to a requirement of obtaining a permit from the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government. For instance, TV spots such as those which used to be published by HakiElimu (in Swahili Right for Education); under the current situation they must first be approved by the ministry before they are published' (Tanzania Human Rights Defenders Coalition 2018).

How far the tentacles of the official 'defenders' of the morality of tradition reach was attested to by the example of an actor, George Takei, whose performance was withheld because the character meant to be played was seemed to encourage homosexuality. As the accusation regarded the actor coming from outside of Tanzania one of the journalists inquired one of the higher rank officials of Baraza la Sanaa la Taifa (BASATA), the institution which oversees the arts in Tanzania, whether such

a movie could be produced in this country and get a trademark 'made in Tanzania.' The answer was no because the production of such movies cannot be permitted as it could become a means for the promotion of homosexuality which is not in line with the legal status of homosexuality in Tanzania (Gilbey 2016, 32, cf. Mwananchi, 2018).

In the view of analyses carried out so far, the purposefulness of the activities of governmental institutions, and the public order institutions subordinate to them, becomes clear. All of them are oriented towards impeding the integration of representatives of the homosexual milieu, which is to be fostered by systematically keeping the public uninformed about the problem in question. As hypothesized at the beginning of this part of the work, the outlined situation serves the political goals of the ruling elites that strive to maintain power at any cost. This is done at the expense of the underdevelopment of both democracy and the general progress of civilization. Direct victims of such a selfish policy are homosexuals, victimized in their day-to-day existence in many respects, but indirectly the entire society is losing the possibility of catching up with the existential standards of the most developed countries.

5. Coda

In principle, the concluding remarks which close the adjacent paragraph one can consider to be the appropriate closure of our deliberations. A clear demonstration of the impossibility of the homosexual movement to be transformed into a formal pressure group has been achieved. The combination of the informal and formal policies developed by the government prevents, according to our descriptions, the free integration of the homosexual community. Furthermore, the passive and uninformed society – in an account supported by adequate descriptions and their explanations - remains indifferent to not only the cruel fate of homosexuals, but also to their inability to form the subsequent tissues of civil and political society. This situation has the negative consequence of weakening citizen involvement in public affairs, as individuals and social groups, unable to realize their values and interests by cooperating with state institutions,

seek to put them into practice outside of these institutions. This in turn delegitimizes democratic order inside the country and debases the pro-developmental initiatives of the latter because once the good reputation and trust is lost, it is difficult to regain them.

Before the last sentence is written, however, it is necessary to counter a certain impression that may have arisen in the reader's mind, as the consequence of the research perspective adopted. The state of affairs, delegitimizing the democratic and developmental ambitions of the Tanzanian state and stemming from the dysfunctional political system, has been portrayed in such a way that the responsibility for the legitimacy deficits seems to be being placed only on the government and political elites. However, it is imperative that the extent of the responsibility be somewhat nuanced before putting the final full stop. For, on the one hand, the initiative is indeed on the side of those in power in many aspects of internal and external state policy. But that does not mean that from them alone, because society is not completely devoid of any control over elites and government. Thus, members of society, ranging from the more socio-politically aware members of the middle class to the less aware and committed citizens, are also responsible for the present state of the legitimacy of the democratic system and the associated developmental processes.

Another dividing axis, affecting the shared responsibility for the current state of affairs, is the relationship of the Tanzanian elites and government representatives to those of the outside world, that is to say: to the global political elite, especially donor countries, global non-governmental organizations, aid organizations, religious bodies and others. Also on this plane, the initiative of the Tanzanian authorities is matched by the controlling function of external institutions. Just as the passivity, on the part of society, prevents the creative and assertive influencing of governmental actions, so similarly, external institutions are failing through their lack of consistency in promoting the importance of Human Rights values from their point of view. This is similar to their failure to fully implement undertaken programs, as indirectly evidenced by the changing of aid paradigms on average every decade. Thus, we see that the development and underdevelopment of the country, both in terms of the executive, legislative and jurisdiction, is complex and multi-dimensional.

The elites and the government officials have an important role to play, but it is not only them that are instrumental in conducting sustained progress. The dynamics of this progress depends on all participants within the socio-political system.

The ultimate dividing line, perhaps the most controversial from a victimization point of view, runs along religious and secular divide. The most serious accusations for the social exclusion of homosexuals in society, together with persistence of negative approaches towards homosexual culture, are directed at religion in general, but they actually concern Christianity, and the Roman-Catholic Church in particular. What is interesting they do not only emerge from homosexual activists or promoters of trans-humanist agenda, that would be understandable, but also is on a carbon copy basis, are reproduced in the literature on the subject by authors immersed within both humanities and social sciences. It appears reasonable, that in the first grouping where insiders of homosexual environment, similarly as proponents of post-modern philosophy, strive to consolidate values affirmed by them through contrasting against religious values these values that they assume as right. As it is well established, religion even within extremely secularized societies did not lose its creative potentiality, especially within sensitive area of meanings and sense forming explanations of purposefulness human life. Therefore, given her underlying explanative force, it does not matter whether through affirmation or negation, people use religious *imaginarium* to define their own place in this world.

However, the persistence of anti-religious negativism on the academic and research side seems unfounded. The overwhelming influence of the secularization paradigm seems to constantly obscure the arguments in the light of which religion as such, and Christianity in particular, cannot be perceived as unequivocally negating towards homosexuals and homosexual culture. Indeed, given the analyses conducted in this study at least there are two important outcomes that need to be specified here. Above all, the very idea of criminalization of homosexuality, together with its theoretical justification and the organization of the necessary facilities to enable the technical management of this criminalization, is the work of modernity, grounded in the secular ideology of an enlightened mind. It can be pictured as constructed inside the structures of modern

state potentiality of the system of social justice was ready for executing the tasks. Searching for them criminalization of homosexuality has been ushered. Religion, for all its critical approach to homosexuality, has not, in principle, at any time in its long history, motivated anyone to deal with the homosexual issue through such corrective institutions as courts or prisons. Instead, it left a healthy space locating the issue in question in the realm of individual and collective self-reflection. The advantage of sapiential wisdom in religious way of resolving homosexual dilemmas over enlighten intelligence of instrumental reason embodied itself in prioritizing informal control over formal and medical. This inference seems to be particularly important in the context of current debates on proper management of homosexuality and other LGBT+ issues within both developed and developing countries.

In its impact on the external world, religion is one of many interrelated factors. In some cases, its stronger influence becomes apparent, in others it seems to remain hidden or empirically elusive. It is probably the case that at one time it has a stronger influence on the shape of socio-political life and at other times a weaker one. The analyses conducted here have highlighted the influence of a factor that seems to be more important than the others in reshaping the status of homosexuality from late Middle Ages to date. And this is the prosperity generated by industrialization, which naturally reduces fertility. The influence of this factor translates into individual and collective morality and only later into religion. Religion adapts with its own rhythm to the changes that are taking place in the external environment. Its image in research on homosexuality should be more nuanced.

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Chapter 16

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The Idea of the Mega-Metropolis as the Centre of Political Power: An Opportunity to Overcome Permanent Crisis within the Institution of an African State?

Abstract: With recourse to the power relations instigated and fostered under the impact of globalization, the study aims to indicate the developmental potential associated with the deepening crisis between the traditional nation-state model and the accumulation of power by alternative centres, including the mega-metropolis. The world order has been based, thus far, on the supremacy of the nation-state. However, changing development conditions indicate that the nation-state becomes unable to sustain the growth. It may therefore be the case that the development taking place in Africa may accelerate with the replacement of the nation-state as a centre of political power by the institution of mega-city. In principle, the method of the study, in its descriptive layer, is drawn from a range of empirical scientific disciplines to depict the outline of the processes leading to the loss of power by the nation-state, and the gaining of power by alternative sources of authority, and to depict development and underdevelopment spreading across Africa. In turn, its explanative layer consists of political normative theory, in the main, grounded *implicite* in its initial phase in Marxist based thought but, together with the flow of analyses, supplemented by liberal thought and the personalism of Catholic Social Teaching, also *implicite*. Its interdisciplinarity method is marked by both its analytic and synthetic nature. The conducted analyses confirm the possibility of more effective development in Africa under the legacy of a new order. However, pointing out the possibility does not equate with its materialisation, which is why

the study is indicating the necessity for further research within the field, rather than predicting any concrete turn of events or specific results.

Keywords: mega-metropolises, mega-cities, Africa and development, institution of the state, crisis

1. Introduction

The trajectory of demographic changes is closely related to the trajectory of the socio-political process. In this regard, both influence and interact upon each other. A particularly sensitive dimension of the two-sided interactions is the dynamics of population relocation. This is because, within the triad of the determinants of the process of demographic transition (fertility, mortality, migration), seen in the perspective of global interdependencies, it is precisely the dynamics of migration that is an increasingly influential factor.

An expression of the awareness of the growing impact of the migration factor on the political process is the systematic inclusion of the demographic problems into the research within the related scientific fields. This refers also to political science. Within this discipline, both theoretically and empirically oriented scholars do not hesitate to adapt both the substantive, theoretical, background, and broadly conceived science about population changes (foremost reliable, empirically falsified knowledge) with its formal, that is, methodological and methodical toolkit (cf. White and Johnson 2016, 78-85; Waldinger and Soehl 2013, 334-336).

Due to the multifaceted and complex nature of the migration issues, it is impossible to encompass the entirety of reflection formed within the political science that focuses on these issues. Thus, when referring to the slice of publications that are known to the author of this chapter, both recent and earlier, it must be stated that whenever a definition of this subject of study is attempted by political scholars, their attention focuses (perhaps excessively) upon chosen systemic aspects of a given socio-political order. The point here lies in the structural elements, decisive in respect of the axio-normative status quo of a political or civil community, such as the nation-state or ethnic collective. Thus, in order that the prospect can be developed in an exposed way, the bulk of the research into the reality,

marked by human mobility, consists of descriptions and, following them, explications primarily of the decision-making process. Its participants, both institutional and individual, within legally delimited competences, reasonably adequately, respond to the opportunities and challenges created by the relocation of people. Hence, migration in political research appears as an immanent part of a largely established organizational order, that is, a set of hierarchical, supreme institutions of political and administrative power, all linked to each other. This peculiar cognitive institutionalism privileges above all the hard, that is the legal-organizational aspects of the management of the migration processes, especially with relation to areas from the standpoint of undertaking important binding decisions, such as collective security and cooperation, economic and social policy, insurance and health, education and socio-cultural identity, and others.

One of the most notable features of this reflected research approach is its peculiar conservatism. This already becomes visible at the initial stage of the critical analysis at the departure point of the research. Thus, the operationalization of variables forming that research usually occurs within the context of an almost explicitly articulated presumption in relation to the stability of the structure of a given socio-political system. The system, let us add, perceived as being set on the foundation of an axiological and normative consensus universally shared within a community. While appreciating the calming down stability of this standpoint, it is impossible not to perceive its limitation, that is its excessive detachment from the intra social interactions characterised by doubled dynamics. Firstly, it does not sufficiently consider the evolution of societal attitudes that come to the fore mainly through the motivation of individuals, and entire social groups, for changing their place of residence, either temporarily or permanently. Secondly, it overlooks the fact that the socio-political systems themselves are pressed by the onslaught of continuous stimuli, especially from the site of the increasingly globalised economy, thus they unceasingly evolve and give the impression of operating following the logic of the principle of *in statu fieri*, rather than the logic of the principle *in statu quo*.¹

¹ A study illustrating the issue raised is the work of Sergio Caggiano (Caggiano 2018, 267-284). Contained in it an exhaustive analysis of the relationships

Within the pluralism of political science research, the problem of the evolution of contemporary political systems is not a completely neglected field of research. Some particularly interesting and intensely developed input comes from scholars who explore the phenomenon of social and political communication. One of the issues most frequently undertaken by them is the adaptation of socio-political systems to requirements of contemporary communication technologies. Their changing status quo, resembling the perspective oriented at these systems approached as *polity*, is subjected to investigation by means of precise research procedure, focusing on the reciprocal interactions between the societal and political system and the so-called new media, that is, the internet and wireless telephony.

between states that send and receive migrants falls at certain moment of analysis into an inevitable one-sidedness. Typical for traditional mode of narrating about international environment (preferred the most by proponents of realism) descriptions of competition between states, expressed in strengthening of the national awareness of those citizens of the a given country, who had migrated, are presented in such a way as if migrants were unable significantly to influence specific policies implemented either by the country of their origin or their residency. According to dialectics of an adduced author, these policies are somewhat imposed for leaving their country migrants and they in some measures are meant only to be their passive recipients. Meanwhile, with certitude the one of the key factors of contemporary international relations that stems from the processes initiated by the impact of migration and urbanisation expressed itself in gradual unfolding an alternative type of identity. Their characterising feature stems from being going beyond of a particularity of the sense of national community. Therefore, to the processes of social alteration one cannot too hastily assign the meanings rendered by traditional concepts, such as nationality or citizenship. Consequently, relativizing the thesis of Caggiano it could be argued that not necessarily unfolded by Bolivia policy that aims at reinforcing national identity of her migrants to the USA, as posited by this author, will ensure promotion of the Bolivian interests inside American society. For at least some, participating within the process of clashing of various cultures within the melting pot of metropolitan post-industrial environment, will chose alternative way of realising their social identity, becoming for example New Yorkers, lobbying for natural environment, and not for interests of the country of their origin. This attitude will stem from the willingness of putting into practice assimilated post-materialist values. These values that do not give preference to national question but to the protection of nature (cf. also White and Johnson 2016, 78, 84).

In addition, representatives of the theory on international relations which recently developed relatively broad autonomy, at the same time preserving genetic connectivity with the main current of political science, are contributing to the continuous enrichment of the subject-matter on the evolution of political and social subsystems. The perspective inherent within this subdiscipline facilitates the gaining of insight into the internal transformations of single political arrangements in the light of transformations that are occurring within international relations. Given the theoretical advancement of this perspective, it serves as a natural source of the gradually emerging paradigm for the research on the dynamics of the legal and organizational frames of socio-political regimes, together with the ideal presumptions and axioms underlying them. The kernel of this paradigm has been exposed by Samuel Curtis who formulated its particularly interesting regularity. Just the same as the existential problems of humanity were resolved during the period of early modernity, with this becoming possible owing to the institution of the nation-state, so too the resolving of the same problems within the period of late modernity becomes possible through the interaction of global mega-metropolises.

The efficacy of both institutions arises from the core of the socio-economic processes. By analogy, being tied to the control of a distinctive territory, the logic of early capitalism, exemplified by mercantilism, decided upon the monopolization of political authority by the institution of the nation-state, so now, by crossing over not only geographical borders but also the social and cultural, the logic of neoliberal, global capitalism makes it possible for mega-cities to acquire the prerogatives allowing them to monopolise political authority. However, this is not completely clear to the evoked author, because within the diverse environment of global interactional interdependencies, there are also other actors (emanation of regional political constructs as European Union (EU) or African Union (AU), international organizations, e.g. trinational companies, international financial institutions and non-governmental organizations of global stretching), which are not devoid of the opportunity to take over the privileged place that seems slowly to be being emptied by the institution of the nation-state (Curtis 2016, 80-109).

Within an enlarged context of the sketched interdependencies, there emerges the question which is essential from the point of view of this

study. Namely, it is impossible to describe in detail and explain the multi-dimensionality and complexity of the observed transformations without taking into consideration the factor of migration. Its role became known during the era of the industrial revolution when, together with the mass movement of people from rural areas into urban areas, in search for industrial employment, there took place a growth of cities unprecedented in history. An alteration to the proportions of population distribution that was affected by the impact of urbanization proved to be irreversible on the global scale².

In turn, with this process once initiated, the post-industrial conditions are only accelerating steadily. It is testified from within the borders of the global North, that is, the most developed part of the globe, where the phenomenon of the gradual transformation of big mega-metropolises into mega-regions can be observed. At the same time, within the borders of the developing world (Global South) there is now the fastest worldwide growth of mega-metropolises (Li et al. 2017, 260-261; Mberu 2016, 247). It is thus justifiable that, with the passage of time, mega-regions will begin to form around these centres³. Specialized literature on the subject presents the determinants of this complex process that is ruled by the generic principles of economic progress, subject however, to the verifying effect of geographically conditioned local factors of a socio-cultural character (Hall and Pain 2006, 1-16).

The growing importance of mega metropolises is a direct consequence of the self-realisation of the successive phases of the information revolution. As the most technically advanced mass communication technologies are produced within the networks encompassing the world's largest metropolises (mega global cities) and are then distributed via communication links, reaching admittedly smaller but still significant centres (mega

² A good example of how incorporation of demographic element influences change of the picture of investigated realities presents the trajectory of religious alterations in United Kingdom. Well, together with taken into consideration increase of religious communities continuously joining them migrants it appears that secularization thesis does not find support in statistic data, at least within organizational dimension (Goodhew 2012,13; cf. also Szocik et al. 2017, 202).

³ An analysis of evolving structure of employment under impact of intra-African migration indicates that the process of rapid urbanization of the continent is ongoing (Ratha et al. 2011, 26-30).

local cities) such as the capitals of medium-sized countries (cf. Li et al. 2017, 277), the ever-increasing importance of the technological factor makes global mega-cities important centres of power at an ever increasing rate, mainly economic and cultural so far (Ministry of Human Development 2000, 1). Nonetheless, when in addition the concentration of the institutions of the global financial market it is taken into consideration, and also the concentration of the leading scientific centres, precisely within the mega-cities, it is impossible not to think that eventually they will become the effective counterweight to the monopoly of the political power of the state (cf. Li et al. 2017, 276). Perhaps, in accordance with the rule of swinging pendulum, a change will take place at the top part of the structures of power when the privileged position, preserved thus far for the institution of the state, will be taken over by the institution of the mega-metropolises (cf. Curtis 2016, 11-12).

Admittedly, some attempts have already been made within the relatively broad current of political studies to reflect the process of the concentration of political power by mega-metropolises, together with its accompanying process of gradual encroachment on further prerogatives just fallen out of the control of nation-state structures. Scholars proceeding to the formation of adequate models, with reference mainly to economic theories as well as an urban sociological theory, strove to work out the theoretical background and methodological perspectives, facilitating insight into the phenomenon of occurring transformations. However, these efforts ought to be considered only to be half-successful. This is caused above all by the dynamic adjustments occurring within the national and international surroundings, filled by the number of participants unceasingly growing, which seems continuously to be slipping beyond the reach of classical theory cognitive approaches and the methods in use, including the language, both at its descriptive and prescriptive levels. In consequence, the political scholars dealing with tracing the trajectories of systemic transformations are struggling with the difficulties of precisely specifying the components of subsequent models of power transformation, identifying the incipency of institutional change, and more precisely the legal and organizational resolutions that catalyse the systemic evolution into its direction towards the social and

political supremacy of mega-metropolises (Scott 2001, 820-823; Galèsand and Vitale 2013, 2-5; Harrison 2019, 42).

If, in the outlined context of the technical obstacles hindering reflection of the type of polity which is focused upon the functioning of structures and procedures setting up the course of political process, it seems justified to adopt an alternative research approach, one that would reflect, in the broadest terms, upon the transformation of the contemporary political systems. This alternative should express itself in reflection on the type of policy by alluding to the axio-normative underpinnings of the political system. Frequently, this is shaped by means of narrations that adopt the form of a political manifesto. This means that not much is oriented at providing descriptions of existing reality, mainly being directed towards the eloquent articulating of a given political vision. In this regard, it is formed as an immanent part of normative theory, marked by a peculiar indefiniteness and flexibility. Its consequences from its explicit focus on the ideal basis and framing conditions of a given socio-political system (*policy*) and not upon its functional side, that is, upon the operating of structures and instances of power (*polity*) or on optimizing just the legislative and administrative mechanisms and tools (*politics*).

It is necessary to admit that, by adopting the narrative of the type of policy, it does not allow for an accuracy in reconstructing the course of the envisaged systemic and organisational transformations; this type of analysis does not basically help to make the necessary distinctions between the transformations of these two elements. This is because it is not able to give to these elements a form of logically ordered variables, so that they can be ordered on the horizon of a clearly specified reference-point, designated by the concept of ideal type that defines the essence of the target system. However, although presented with the lack of striving to be precise that characterises the reflection of the type of *policy*, it by no means disqualifies this type of reflection as a legitimate tool of research. Given that its focus is going to be intuitive and speculative, with its sphere of considerations being on the phenomenon of politicality, it is the most appropriate dimension itself for the analysis of the basis of political systems. And as the foundations of this system, within the post-Westphalian order, are formed by the institution of the nation-state, thus

the privileged position occupied by this very institution should be the focus of special consideration.

In the view of the large amount of current literature focusing on the phenomenon of globalization, it is impossible not to ignore the fact that the nation-state as an institution is becoming less and less efficient. This is due to numerous challenges. They are generated by the mechanisms of the free market, regionalization processes, the worldwide environmental crisis and global warming, massive networking, religious fundamentalism, national liberation movements, massive economic migration, just to mention only the most important (Kolasiński 2011, 44-51, 63; Curtis 2016, 88). As a consequence, until relatively recently, the asymmetrical type of relationship between the institutions of state administration and the other participants in the socio-political process, has begun a gradual transformation into a symmetrical type of the same relationship. This results from consequent stretching of multilateral interdependencies and the interactions of an intranational, national and supranational character. Within this progressively flattening system of interconnections, representatives of government structures have to demonstrate ever greater communication capabilities so as to preserve their position as effective negotiators of the decision-making processes (cf. Canel and Luomaho 2019, 3). The number of their participants dynamically increases. A particular role is played here through the synergy of the media with organizations of the second and third sector (business and NGOs) (Kettl 2000, 64).

In addition, the voters themselves do not, as was the case during early modernity, form a reasonably predictable electorate, centred around ideologies reflecting class and cultural differentiation (exemplified by the ideologies of working and peasant classes against the ideologies of middle and higher classes or those coloured scientifically or religiously) (Aleksandrowicz 2017, 190-191). Characteristic of late modernity, ideational syncretism and the differentiation of life-styles effects meant that citizens have become more sensitive to the modelling impact of various pressure and interest groups than they are to the impact of traditional political groupings that increasingly are losing their relevance. Groupings are formulating their electoral agendas on the base of the ideologies of an industrial society. The core role is played in this respect by business ties

- not to the end transparent - that are formed within the surrounding autonomy of the economic sector which is increasingly difficult to conceal. In consequence, the individual participants of the public sphere create an increasingly critical side of the exchange that occurs within national and international structures of power and administration. Nonetheless, given the documented symptoms of the weakening condition of the nation-state, it should be borne in mind that within the horizon of vividly progressing debates there has not emerged so far a clearly formulated and persuasive vision of an alternative order to that relying on the supremacy of the nation-state. This is evidenced by the observed impasse, if not a crisis, of the conceptualization of the world government and global society (Mansbach 2013, 219; Krasner 2013, 227-228).

Within the context, as outlined, it is not intended in this study to present the conceptualisation of the evolutionary assumption of political power by mega-metropolises, as thoroughly considered, unified, internally coherent, and eventually, theoretically grounded and fostered by the empirical material. The quest being undertaken is much more modest and confines itself only to introducing one possible interpretation of this complex and multifaceted process. However, its added value lies in taking into account the impact of the demographic factor, more precisely the synergy of the migration and urbanisation processes effecting feedback that, on the one hand, compromises the efficacy of the power of state institutions and, on the other, consolidates the political influence of the mega-metropolises. This interpretation will be created with reference to normative theory therefore it will adopt the form resembling a coined political manifesto. Its primary purpose comes down to the intention of stirring the reader's socio-political imagination. This is because it is desirable, on the horizon of this worldview, for there to arise some imaginary representations pertaining to the main actors of the transformation of the political system directed at possible alterations at the summit of the pyramidal structures of power.

The vision that is to be presented is an extension of anthropological and meta-political views of British Professor Danny Dorling, a specialist within human geography. The latter being the research perspective which is oriented on the impact of human engagement upon the natural environment, on one hand and, on the other hand on the impact of

geographic conditions upon human activity. The contribution of knowledge delivered by the ancillary disciplines of geography, such as history, archaeology or sociology, plays an important role in developing this research. In numerous publications and public appearances, the invoked scientist builds up his argumentative strategy in favour of the positive role of migration and urbanisation. Their interactive synergy - in line with the standpoint entrenched in his worldview - does constitute one of the most important factors in opposing such globally important challenges as the quest to optimise population and population distribution on a global scale, the distribution of drinking water and food, the protection of the environment, the rational use of natural resources, especially rare minerals, and finally the evolution of political and administrative systems.

A work that gives due weight to each of these issues is the following: *Population 10 Billion: The Coming Demographic Crisis and How to Survive It* (Dorling 2013) Drawing from the descriptions and explanations that form this admittedly popular scientific study, albeit with reference to very carefully and insightfully interpreted statistical data, the concept of a mega-metropolis (mega-city) will be reconstructed. Above all, the processual nature of the concentration of political power around the institution of the mega-metropolis, which seems to be resulting from the slow weakening of the supremacy of the nation-state, will be highlighted (2). Since, according to the research perspective developed above, which refers to the policy-type reflection, the course of the process of political transformation depends on the transformations within the axio-normative sphere, so it is necessary to attempt to systematise the anthropological principles that define the epistemological departure point of the explorations that comprise the text of Professor Dorling's book (1). If one can envisage a political order centred around mega-metropolises, with regions clustered around them, then in the context of the systemic and functional conditions of the African continent, there is at least a hypothetical chance of overcoming many of the problems with which traditional power structures have been helpless for many years, such as ensuring collective security, both inside the countries and between them. Therefore, the aim of the descriptions which form the next part of the study consist in gaining an overall insight into the vulnerabilities of the African state.

This will be carried from a perspective that will help to accurately take into consideration the geographical and historical conditions of this continent. The considerations will conclude by attempting to demonstrate that the transformations, assumed by Dorling, of the socio-political system on a global scale, do amount to a sizeable chance for the further development of African political systems within their locality. Thus, it turns out that problems unresolved so far, under the jurisdiction of the nation-state, may at last be addressed under the jurisdiction of the mega-cities, as pointed out above in the problem of security (3).

2. An Outline of the Anthropology of Systemic Transformation

As already mentioned, the narrative of the text to be analysed is of a popular scientific nature. Its special value is determined by the erudite and skilful combination of knowledge focused on the phenomenon of global migration. The knowledge generated within the separate paths of scientific inquiry, is according to the manner of defining the subject of study and method of research specific to each one of them. The first path that marks the clearest contribution to the narrative under discussion, sets up the considerations that characterises human geography as an original research perspective. These considerations have left an indelible mark on the theoretical starting point of the study, materialised in the concept, the thesis, the orientation of the research perspective, as well as the structure of the work.

A particularly important role, from the point of view of our study, is played by the orientation of the research perspective. In forming that orientation, the adduced author has alluded to those aspects of human activity that are indicative of a specific feature of the human species, namely, the ability of opposing challenges which preclude the realisation of basic human needs. While these challenges are altering - adequately to temporal and spatial conditions - so too human behaviours remain unaltered. In this respect, regardless of undesirable determinants, each time they continue to work hard to overcome difficulties and to resolve

existing problems (cf. Sheikheldin 2018, 92-94). This, it turns out, is due to there being inculcated into humanity the capability for unceasing self-improvement, as it is rendered within the Christian tradition through the ability for self-transcendence, which particularly refers to the faculty for opposing one's own limits and weaknesses (Hadas 2021). Returning to the dialectics of Dorling, the aptitude for self-improvement, possessed by a human being, stretches from his rationality via creativity and ending with his sense of morality (Dorling 2013).

It is the continuous interaction between separated elements of a human personality that determines the way in which a given person participates within the processes of migration and urbanization. Indeed, in line with Dorling's assumption, not an isolated one in the social sciences, the broadening and deepening of prosperity around the globe is conditioned, along with many other factors, by a slight reduction in current population growth⁴. The effectiveness of this diminution in turn is contingent on, *inter alia*, migration from developing to developed countries. One of the components of the processes forming these migrations is the specific mode of cooperation between emigrants and representatives of the host site. This expresses itself in the common inhabitation of a particular territory, the instituting of the local community, one's functioning within a particular public system, such as within the labour market, healthcare, education, public opinion and others. One of the outcomes that is the most important from the population point of view is - mediated by these relations of mutual integration – the convergence of procreative attitudes. It turns out that, after some time, migrants strive to decrease the number of children as they tune into the sociocultural standards of the dominant culture. Thus, in general, the global population eventually will begin, slowly but surely to decline (Dorling 2013, 254-257).

Immersed within the anthropological layer, the prescriptive elements of the narrative to be analysed, were deepened by the skilful introduction of more descriptive passages, albeit, as it will be demonstrated below, the normative colouring has been held. In this way, outlined in the

⁴ Broader context of two-sided determinants of demographic growth and economic progress renders (Wesley and Peterson 2017, 1-15; cf. also Pontifical Council for the Family 1944 AAS 86).

most basic part of the considerations exposed above, the vision of a human being is of a rational entity managing subsequent parts of the natural and social environment to ensure the best conditions of daily existence, embedded within the geopolitical realities of the contemporary world. This became possible owing to the introduction of a second layer, co-creating the discussed narrative. The characteristic traits of that layer are derived from its relative dependence on the auxiliary disciplines of human geography, such as urban sociology. However, demography turned to be the most useful of them.

Recourse to its theoretic and methodologic basis facilitated the exposure of a precisely defined generic number of the world's population, the projection of the dynamics of its change being both within the short and the long term. It also effected the depiction of both the qualitative and the quantitative distribution of worldwide population. An immanent part of descriptions, mirroring the current stage of the population process, were facts referring to the broader existential conditions that determine the quality of life of people inhabiting various regions of the globe. These descriptions, drawn from within the context of a given fragment of analysis, pointed out the wealth of interactively linked aspects of the demographic process, especially in the geographic-geological, economic-financial, legal-organisational, infrastructural-technological, professional-educational, communication-social, and religious-moral dimensions.

However, there is a third very important component that supplements the range of descriptions and explanations fulfilling the adjacent paragraphs of the analysed narrative. This consists of reflections of an anthropological and ethical character. Although from an explanative standpoint they play very important role, they were not arranged as a separated part of the study, for instance as a subsection. In almost each thread of the considerations they are forming, they are an inherent element of the narration. And precisely as such, they are facilitating the elucidation of the transformations resulting from the synergy of migration and urbanization processes. Furthermore, this anthropological and ethical profile allows us to see it more clearly that the values fulfilling the inner layers of a human personality are necessarily related to those external realities of the demographic and urban processes that occur within the public sphere.

From this we can conclude that each single project of a demographic or urban nature in particular, but also any social policy in general, needs to be deeply entrenched in an understanding of the subjective state of the population to which it is referring, with special regard to the plethora of subjective and commonly shared basic ethical values, such as a sense of freedom, personal dignity and the readiness to make self-sacrifices for the family.

This way of developing the narration by Dorling, as sketched thus far, has enhanced his argumentative strategy by strengthening its expressiveness and persuasiveness. His harmonious coalescence of descriptive and prescriptive elements allowed him to elaborate a holistic perspective, according to which people, from almost all times and geographical latitude, play the role of actors who are motivated by the impact of an unchanging element, that is, their ontic personal structure. In this way, the phenomenon of interactively enmeshing together migration and urbanization has acquired an additional stratum of universality and egalitarianism. Earlier it was plainly articulated that, from time immemorial, the aspirations and efforts of people have been aimed at the systematic amelioration of the conditions of human existence. At this point it is necessary to admit, however, that the presumption regarding the unchangeability of human nature, was not expressed *expressis verbis*. Notwithstanding, the choice of selected facts was done by Dorling in such a way as to create the impression that they are purposely ordered and that the following results from the preceding. This way of narrating helps to substantiate the interpretation on the constancy of human nature, however, only indirectly. For similarly as an author has put facts together in order to achieve the effect of the continuity of a historical process so too, on the same ordering of them, can be said that regardless of given temporal and spatial circumstances, each time there comes to the fore the same features of human nature; namely, those elements of human nature that encourage people to improve the conditions of their existence, within both the individual and the collective dimension. Ancient and Middle Ages philosophers were using in this context the concept of goodness or, more accurately, an orienting of a person to the good (Daguet 2021, 53).

Coming back however to contemporaneity and our author, let us note that similar to the perspective directed at values, reference to human

nature is synonymous with a range of unchangeable purposes, to which people subject their strivings during each historical epoch so, from the standpoint of means, the achievement of the purposes depends upon the evolving capability of people to adjust to the continuous transformation of external conditions. That capability assumes the development of adequate methods and measures of acting. Thus, it can be inferred that human nature unveils both features of continuity and changeability (Król 2008, 95).

By revealing an evolutionary component, it paves the way for the following analyses. They refer to the anthropological traits of the contemporary human being that arise on the horizon of the interpersonal relationships that exist within a person's day to day existence. Elaborating on the traits of a human being, taken from the book by Dorling under consideration, what is being posited here is that they are evolving in the direction of a post-industrial personality. Thus, they need to be seen as not yet fully developed, yet to fully fill the space that is still occupied by the ethos of the industrial society in the Northern Hemisphere. While, in its Southern counterpart, in by no means isolated cases, the ethos of traditional society still prevails. Hence, both the values and norms of all listed legacies, as well as the attitudes and virtues that operationalise them, have not lost their persuasive power in shaping the individual and collective behaviour of people and each of them ought to be considered as still playing its own part.

Given a picture of this disclosed dichotomy, let us try to identify the first characteristic of the post-industrial ethos. One ought not to wonder that this characteristic is so difficult to be clearly enhanced into one unequivocally sounding and universally accepted term. It is derivative of the changes in understanding and experiencing the sense of human dignity. It appears that the term which, without major obstacles, could be inscribed into the hermeneutic of Dorling is humanity-wide fraternity. Its gist encompasses an awareness that despite former divisions not being removing, they are being reduced significantly, the foremost being national, ethnic, racial, class, religious and occupational⁵. The system-

⁵ The mechanisms of blurring of ethnic differences in the metropolitan environment of Juba subject into impact of universal religions (Islam, Christianity),

atic increase of cultural diversity⁶ within large urban communities also catalyses changes within the sphere of relationships between representatives of both genders, as well as in the transformation of the relations of humans to the world of nature, especially the fauna.

From the point of view of this chapter, a particularly sensitive sphere is the differentiation due to economic status. In Dorling's view, migration from poorer countries to richer does not stand merely as a symptom of the failure of the programs aimed at modernization and development, on the one hand or, on the other hand, a consequence of the ineffectiveness of border-sealing policies. On the contrary, he claims that migration is evidence of success; for the collaboration initiated by the movement of people between representatives of poorer and richer societies contributes to the overcoming of global developmental plights. This is borne out by the following reasons: areas made suitable for housing due to the unfolding of terrain are becoming inhabited by a greater number of people, the availability of infrastructure, greater employment opportunities and the presence of educational centres (Dorling 2013, 257). Referring to these presented arguments and those that are similar but at a higher level of abstractness and generality, our author has termed global inequalities not so much as the threats but rather as opportunities. And migration itself needs to be associated by people as being, as he maintains, as an auspicious rather than an inauspicious turn of events. The latter depends on the way that migration problems are perceived. A transversion of the perspective, into one that is positive, is possible due to there being an adequate manner of gradually departing from the perception of the values and interests of a given politically organised community in isolation from the values and interests of other politically organised communities. Such a perception is becoming effected together with subsequent acts of abstracting from the concreteness of the problems of a single community and moving towards the generality of larger and larger communities, ending with the community of a global society. Thus, so great a level of

rendered by (Kurcz 2012) follow by its English edition: (Kurcz 2021).

⁶ The source of a ranged remarks on cultural diversity as a factor of meta-political and legal-organizational transformations within the political segment are provided by reflections focused on the moral dimension of politics unfolded within international public opinion (Czuboch 2012, 262-265).

generality gives more reasons for optimism, assures the professor from Oxford (Dorling 2013, 257).

The second feature of the post-industrial ethos in question is a kind of extension of the first one and is expressed in a special kind of valuing. This is manifested by the judgments that inevitably accompany the interactions that run along the line setting apart individual cultures, traditions, and languages. The analysed author specified these traits as anti-authoritarian morality (Dorling 2013, 256). This phenomenon expresses itself in a set of the capabilities characteristic of diplomats but assimilated by the majority in the modern age. The quintessence of this newly acquired competence unveils itself in the adopted ability to behold insiders of other cultures in the light of their own perception. More proficient in adjusting to the perspective of his interlocutor - as observed by the author in question - are inhabitants of more ethnically and culturally diverse metropolitan centres. For example, Londoners are prone to demonstrate a much greater openness to diversity than Tokyoites (Dorling 2013, 255). People who prove to be more willing to look with eyes of others upon themselves (Dorling 2013, 256) can get to work out the necessary distance towards the patterns of their own ethical and moral legacy, so far as to better understand the moral dilemmas of his own culture and also the meaning and sense of the principles determining the kernel of cultures that, together with migrants, have become a part of the host country.

Another anthropological trait, shaped within the complex process of the transformation of the ethos of an industrial society into post-industrial, is the ability to auto-transcendancy, that is, overcoming one's own limitations, in opposition to the egoistic reflexes deeply ascribed into human nature. However, the ascetically sounding term does not refer to the traditionally conceived concern for the realisation of the fulness of humanity; as for instance, through strong will power, adopting the form of moral virtue that has an impact on one's general attitude. The postulated appeal for self-transcendancy is confined principally to one domain of human existence. Its identification becomes possible when the thesis of Dorling's elaboration is understood.

That thesis stands as an immanent part of the debate on the reciprocal entwining between the dynamics of population processes and the

limitedness of natural resources (cf. Prandecki 2013, 115-120). According to the thesis, the impact of population increases on maintaining a raw material balance is minimal in comparison to the influence of the excessive consumption that occurs within the most developed areas of the world. In other words, it is not the growing number of people, specifically within the global South, that is undermining the continuity of life on the planet, but unrestrained consumer behaviour by those who are benefitting from economic progress (Dorling 2013, 2). In this context, the virtue of auto-transcendancy is narrowed by the ability to reduce spending on commodities and services that are not necessary for maintaining a good quality of life. For instance, to preserve the protective layer of atmosphere, formed by ozone, the inhabitants of developed countries could dispense with holiday trips to the most remote parts of the world. Holidays could be spent in a place not so remote and accessible by means of transportation, that is, less polluting to the atmosphere, such as by car or train. Posited in such a way, self-limitation comes down to decisions of an economic character, and its gist is obtained in the acts that balance the usage of natural resources (Dorling 2013, 149-151).

The last anthropological characteristic of man, in the era of post-industrial society, has grown out of the disillusionment most clearly expressed by the protagonists of postmodern philosophy. This alludes not just the idea of progress, but also to the orthodoxy and orthopraxis of technological advancement that developed out of it. One of the consequences of doubt in the growth, based on enlightenment values, consists in the ethically legitimated conviction that humankind is an integral part of nature. Hence, it is morally obligated to preserve it. This moral imperative is justified, not merely on the account of it being for the sake of future generations, but by the way in which nature itself is viewed. The trait of the human being to be subject to doubt and to its consequences, can be particularly identified in pro-environmental sensitivity. Becoming aware of genetic connectivity with nature, the postmaterialist human focuses on practising a healthy lifestyle, which includes a rational diet, playing sports, and the pursuit of hobbyist interests (Szocik et al. 2017, 203-204). Besides this, he unfolds the culture of spending free time, the essential part of which is communing with nature. Finally, he strives to

give expression to his distinctive engagement in the cause of preserving the natural environment.

In the context of the growing awareness of people about their links with the natural world, of particular interest is the mode of defining the concept of human rationality. As exposed by Dorling, the latter does not give expression so much to the evolution of the cognitive and emotive elements of humanity, as to the evolution of the physiological and biological elements of humanity. As he unfolds his reflection, he is alluding to scientific research on the behavioural aspect of the life of microorganisms, more accurately to bacteria. In orienting his analysis, the British human geographer bridges biological research on the behaviour of bacteria, with the phenomenon of human behaviour subdued to particularly difficult circumstances (Dorling 2013, 341-343). This reference is helpful in bringing back, into the main current of anthropological and ethical reflection, the concept that was excluded as being beyond the pale of discussion, whereas liberal philosophers managed to dominate these discourses by their specific approach being the stress put on the individual character of human rationality (cf. Dylus 2016, 326). The conceptualization which is returning, owing to Dorling's insight carried out so far, is the rationality of the collective, if not the species. This phenomenon becomes evidenced while the process of the gradual improvement, of the conditions of human life, occurs due to the involvement of individuals collaborating one with another. In fact, strivings are undertaken individually but emerging from within the deepest layers of the subconsciousness, they direct individual commitment in such a way that it is a part of collective behaviours.

Just to illustrate, let us have a look at residents in urbanised African settings who are enjoying moderate access to professional medical care. They show much greater restraint in procreation, by choosing to have fewer offspring. In contrast to them, the residents of isolated rural communities, with limited access to professional medical care, do not demonstrate such restraint. Individually undertaken decisions, within this outlined context, do give expression not so much to the conscious choices that emerge from the rational analysis of facts and cold calculation. On the contrary, they are carried out through an intuitive feel of the situation and an adjustment to its demands, on the basis of a collective awareness

entrenched within, proved by experienced patterns of thinking and acting. This feeling from within, as it were, determines the direction of the thought process which ultimately leads to a rational decision. Since the quality of existential conditions, available within both urban and rural surroundings, including the accessibility of medical care facilities, forming one of the key factors differentiating indicators of infant mortality, parents occupying their respective places will choose differently. Thus respectively, the inhabitants of urban areas subconsciously can assume that all offspring borne from them will survive, the inhabitants of rural territories must take into consideration the likelihood that some of their offspring will have little chance of survival. It is rational then that in urban settings people would not strive so much to multiply the number of children as within rural settings (cf. Kleer 2013, 39).

Just to make a preliminary recapitulation, it is necessary to note that the outlined picture of the evolution of human anthropological characteristics, in the era of global migration and urbanisation, is focused first and foremost on the natural, material, and evolutionary dimensions of human nature. In turn, the social dimension of humanity is confined, according to our author, to the struggle to preserve and extend human life mainly, in its biological dimension. Hence the encapsulation of the essence of humanity substantially does not go beyond boundary conditions of *homo economicus*. Admittedly, within the broader context of the analysed text, there could be identified some references to arguments on this part of social debate that are drawn from the discourse sustained by metaphysics and religion, that lead them to also enhancing the nonmaterial elements of humanity (cf. Frankl 2004, 132-133). Nonetheless, these references, nearly every time, are presented in negative light. More specifically, they are shown as impacts that interfere in the development of the historic process, by tending to support the preservation of the current status quo rather than the unfolding of necessary alterations.

There is no way, at this point, not to refer to the criticism directed against the narrative in question. It was made by John Gray. From the standpoint of liberal tradition, he specified several valuable arguments undermining the impact of the persuasiveness of Dorling's discourse, as exemplified with regard to historical events chosen to illustrate a thread of the account. As noticed by Gray, they have been chosen in such a way

that underlines the positive leverage of the regimes of a Marxists provenience, whilst huge humanitarian catastrophes caused by the same regimes have not received even a mere reflection. The following critical remark is alluded to Dorling's argumentative strategy. Together with applying the perspective substantiated by liberal principles, it is becoming evident that the author is following an uncritical path marked by the logic of Marxian thought (Gray 2013). What is interesting from the point of view of this study, and what was not noted by Gray, is the dependence on Marxian epistemology which becomes particularly visible within the anthropological dimension of the analyses. This fact has its own importance within the prospect of our further analysis. As exposed earlier, the anthropological descriptions are accompanied by elucidations of which an immanent part is made by recourse to a distinctive group of people that is being formed globally. To this group the author ascribes them having a role to play analogous to that ascribed by Marx to the proletariat.

The purpose of this grouping, carrying no specific name in Dorling's narrative, is not only to save humanity from the annihilation brought about by the exhaustion of natural resources and the degradation of the natural environment, but also the creation of a better society, of course within a dimension that transcends the particularity of single states or regions. As posited by British scholar, and as it turns out also a Marxist thinker, this almost gnostic self-consciousness of the members of this spontaneously formed collective has encompassed an almost prophetic possibility, as indicated by his quasi-religious rhetoric, to get inside the merits of the actual socioeconomic and political problems of the world, including those of the environmental and raw materials. This is due to it being enlightened by this knowledge that activists are becoming eager to engage. And this involvement is not limited only to the reducing of excessive consumption, which would be in line with some inferences elaborated by the discussed author as presented earlier. Without going into details, it is necessary to state that the most important aspect of the referred activity is, in eyes of Dorling, the active resistance to the influence of institutions and individuals who do not correctly understand the dilemmas of the contemporary world. External observers identify this group with left leaning organisations, more or less formal than

themselves, and participating within anti-globalist movements, ecologic, pro-abortionist. However, a close reading of the text of the book does not seem to confirm such interpretations.

This is why it is quite problematic, in as much as this group is not precisely identified by Dorling but is forming, in line with his vision, the beginning of a society organised within the system of mega-metropolitan supremacy. Notwithstanding, the frequency with which he returns to this collectivity, within specific passages of his book narration, may lead to such an interpretation. Even if the adduced author would not agree with this way of reading his own text, still it is undeniable that characteristics ascribed by him to members forming this group, slowly but surely, are becoming a part of the experiences of larger and larger communities. Indirectly it can be proved by reference to empirical research on the transformations of religious consciousness (Mariański 2014, 272-327). At least, for this reason it is necessary to acknowledge that, on the level of the societal subsoil of a political system (Marxian base) there are undoubtedly already alterations occurring that soon will imprint their mark on the counterpartied element of the political system (superstructure). The following part of the study is meant to expose the possible course of events through the mediation by which it may be done.

3. The Phenomenon of Mega-Metropolises

At the beginning of the next part of our analysis, it is necessary to note that from the point of view of the basic principles of the methodology adopted by Dorling, his method of introducing the phenomenon of the mega-metropolis strays from universally assumed standards. Instead of attempting to define the essence of organizational unit under consideration, commonly identified in literature with the number of at least 10 million people living in a specific urban setting, he has invited his reader to a simple exercise. By using an internet communicator, the exercise involves the observation of mega-metropolises selected at random on an online map. The observation is carried out in such a way that, viewed

from vertical dimensions, one should be able to compare the observed cities from different perspectives.

As one moves closer or further away from the object selected on the map, one becomes convinced that the world's metropolises show both certain similarities and differences. As far as the former are concerned, when the observation is carried out from a sufficiently high altitude, which allows only the cartographic outline of buildings and streets to be followed, the symmetry and precision in the distribution of the different parts of the urbanised space become apparent.

On its own, it can seem that this applies to all the observed organisational units. However, as the perspective is gradually reduced, differences start to become apparent. Only some agglomerations retain their original symmetry. For others, it is relatively easy to observe disorder and imbalance creeping in spontaneously in the distribution of different parts of the urban infrastructure. In the words of our Oxford geographer, less organized centres remind us of 'human anthills stretching over long distances' (Dorling 2013, 261).

In addition, even the short exposure to an on-line map leaves little doubt that mega-cities have become a worldwide phenomenon. Within certain parts of the globe, for instance south-east Asia, there are more of them, and they capture within their scope relatively large populations. Besides, in words of the author in question, the localisation of contemporary mega-metropolises in India and China, principally, does not differ from the emplacement of large human concentrations from many centuries ago. Their centres are most often embedded near the confluence of two rivers and, similarly as two thousand years ago more than half of the world's population occupied these territories, so today in the same vein they are inhabited by the world's largest populations. As uttered by our analysed expert in geography, the wheel of history has been turned. This is mainly due to the interplay of favourable geographical and climatic conditions (Dorling 2013, 262).

In addition, a closer studying of a map infers that within other parts of the world, especially in those areas previously not densely populated, dynamically urbanising metropolises are also developing, both in terms of territory and population, as is the case within the African continent (Kurcz 2018). Moreover, regardless of the way in which a given

mega-city is being organised, with one giving the impression of being better planned or ordered, while the other surprises us with the spontaneity of its organizational chaos, each one of them - adequately to the standards of developmental and technological advancements of the local community - becomes increasingly a significant centre (Moon 2013, 12-16). Each centre focuses all individual and collective life around it in such a way that, as the global population grows, eventually the bulk of the planet's population can be assigned to an area under the greater or lesser influence of a specific mega-metropolis (Dorling 2013, 161). However, this can only be possible if mega-cities maintain their growth at the same pace as it has been so far. This is directly related to the possibility of maintaining the productive and distributive advantage achieved just recently (cf. as earlier quoted, Curtis 2016, 80-106).

The overall climate of the study expresses the author's optimism, reflected in his projections about this progress, with its growth not only being sustained but increasing. This will take place within the next stage of the migration-urbanisation expansion. As one follows the researchers who are doing their research within the area of the issues at stake, this further step needs to be identified with the evolution of mega-cities into mega-regions. However, the narration of the study in question does not explicitly refer to the stage of the urbanisation process identified in this way. Professor Dorling confined himself to analyses focused on the case of Chongqing, one of the Chinese mega-cities, placed in the centre of the country on the river Yangtze. He developed his reflections by taking into account research results undertaken mainly by the planners and architects of contemporary urban agglomerations, who show interest in the phenomenon of this specific urban centre.

This rapidly growing mega-city, which at the beginning of the second decade of this century probably reached a population of 32 million, has been passing through a peculiar form of spatial expansion over the past several years. More precisely, an agglomeration setting up this city began to combine, within itself, already urbanised areas with rural. Hence within the direct vicinity of clusters of sky towers are located rice fields and pastures. The effect of these transformations, with two opposing forms of social organization - urban and rural - has been harmoniously framed within what are broadly conceived not so much boundaries as

frontiers of the metropolitan centre in question (Hyden 2013, 57). If then, as is argued by the discussed author, the mega-metropolis, developed in the way presented, becomes a paradigmatic pattern for the inhabitants of other parts of the globe, it is not difficult to imagine that entire areas of the whole world will become marked by the impact of this very form of socio-political organization.

However, at the present stage of the observed transformations, it is difficult to speculate about the character of this impact. Notwithstanding, one cannot exclude a scenario, according to which, together with the passage of time, metropolitan centres will begin to play a more and more important role. It follows that the issue of control over clearly defined territory stops being perceived as the essential criterion for both enhancing the gist of sovereignty, and also as a critical factor in economic and socio-cultural policies.

The co-forming element of the definition of the state, that is, the category of exactly specified borders of a given territory, can be found to be beyond the pale of interests of the specialists who undertake the task of enhancing the essence of this form of the exercising of power. The dynamic of a continuously evolving economic and political context will play the decisive role in bringing about this change. In consequence, conceptualisation of the border as a part of the notion of a state could be replaced by a category which would appear to be more adequate from a socio-political standpoint. More closely, this category would be more directly related to the inner core of the actual phase of the socio-political process. Following from this the more load-bearing concept will probably refer to one of following elements: mass communication technology, the culturally programmed possibility of political mobilization of citizens and social mobility⁷. However, it is still very probable that there will be another, as yet unaccounted factor that at this moment remains outside of the consciousness of those interested in the issue under consideration. Undoubtedly, a redefined concept of a state will indicate the factual state of competences systematically lost by this institution.

⁷ The following statement of the author paints the picture of the conditions involved: in the age of low-cost airlines, it is very easy to move from one place to another, even to a very distant location, and then it is also very easy to communicate with one's family via Internet connection (Dorling 2013, 256).

In turn, the problem of the economic and socio-political significance of rigid border control can be even more reduced, and this might occur together with following phases of the information society. Foremost will be the industrial usage of artificial intelligence which inevitably is related to an even more advanced computerization and robotization of the processes of producing and delivering of services throughout the entire world. Initiated in this way, the transformation will increasingly imprint its mark on an already decreased demand for unskilled labour (Aleksandrowicz 2017, 184). At the same time, they will contribute to increased demand for skilled labour. The latter already specifies increased mobility on a global scale and similarly the susceptibility to the absorption of foreign cultural patterns.

Returning to Dorling's narrative has indicated the possibility of creating a new political map of the world. This can come about if the processes, observed in central China, become global. Assuming that the author's predictions regarding renowned demographic institutions will come true, in the middle of this century humanity will reach the approximated number of 9 billion (cf. Prandecki 2013, 97-98). At that time the number of mega-metropolises modelled on Chongqing will reach 280. This number stems from following calculation: whereas each resident of the planet will be within one of the communities obtaining 32 million people, then the number consisting of 32 such groupings will go beyond slightly over one billion. In turn, while these 32 evoked communities multiplied by nine gives 228, that number needs to be reduced a little, and it is due to the fact that 32 million multiplied by 32 communities results in number that exceeds slightly over 1 billion. Because of this slight difference Dorling estimated the number of mega-metropolises to be 280 (Dorling 2013, 262-263).

Obviously, while closely tracing the subsequent steps of the British geographer's analyses, it needs to be remembered that not every mega-city will have become an exact copy of the Chinese model. In the case of most of them, a compact of urban buildings will be preserved encompassing within their boundaries only smaller town centres but without rural surroundings. Foremost among them are the already existing metropolitan centres which are going to compose these (cf. Porio 2009, 50-51). Tokyo serves as a good exemplification of such an arrangement.

What especially matters, from the point of view of this study, is the capital of Japan which became one of the world's first mega-cities. Currently it accounts for 32 million citizens and has a very well-developed system of transportation, especially a greatly extended rail network. One of its the most valued assets, in comparison to other metropolitan agglomerations from the past, is the far from small number of skyscrapers designed in such a way so as, in the case of an earthquake, to move in the rhythm of it. Owing to this resolution, one can count on that metropolis not becoming depopulated as it has happened during the history of its Euro-Atlantic counterparts (Dorling 2013, 263).

The following group of mega-cities will consist of overarching city-centres rather loosely connected to smaller urban centres also linked to areas filling the space between upbuilt areas of an agricultural nature and eventually to non-cultivated terrains of greenery, forests, lakes, and mountains (Dorling 2013, 265). The agglomerations of this type will vary from the model of the Middle Kingdom, as it was described by Dorling, by there being significant enlargement of the space forming the broader surroundings of the inner centre of a given organizational unit. These surroundings are meant to be spread along lines coalescing many of the dispersed communities but, however, created by individuals unanimously identifying themselves with the city-centre. The latter plays the role of being the institution that is integrating all those inhabiting a given territory.

On the instance of his native country, Great Britain, the invoked human geographer outlined the processual unfolding of the new organizational structure, where a given mega-city plays the role of a strict centre. According to the demographic projections referred to earlier, the population of the United Kingdom in 2045 is expected to oscillate around 72 million. Since today London already stands as one of the most significant places on the metropolitan map of the world, by then its further growth will reach 32 million inhabitants. This necessitates the extension of the existing boundaries all the way to the surfing beaches of Cornwall and ancient Roman tracks leading to Lincoln. Many green areas will remain within this territory. All roads will be oriented towards the capital. Manchester, most likely, will become the second metropolis, with a further 32 million of residents. Within its boundaries will be placed Liverpool together with other important northern ports. From the point of view

of the latter, this new metropolitan agglomeration has a chance to stand as Greater Manchester.

In the view of this chapter, the most interesting future has been assigned to the 10 million population formed by the inhabitants of Northern Ireland, Scotland, and North-East England. Residents of these terrains are meant to orient themselves towards one of Scandinavian mega-cities, for example Stockholm. The latter metropolitan centre, as predicted by the above-mentioned demographic data, by 2045 is projected to include 10 million Swedes, albeit within surroundings of its reach, apart from the listed British regions, most likely also including Iceland's regions stretching westwards, through Finland's territories eastwards, and ending with Denmark's southward terrains. One of the signs of this process, which in the view of author in question, slowly but surely moves forward, was instituted by the independence referendum in Scotland that took place in 2014. Although, of course, it goes beyond of the imagination of the organisers and participants of that poll - but in line with the perspective of this chapter - Scotland from a closer or wider perspective will strive to be integrated within Great Scandinavia rather than Great Britain (Dorling 2013, 263-264). The socio-political climate initiated in Scotland by Brexit - let us add - seems to be well attuned with Professor Dorling's predictions. However, there are still some unavoidable difficulties along the way to this bright stateless future. As continued by him, for this projected type of integration to occur, it needs to be preceded by a profound transformation of the axiomatic and normative sphere. This transformation will reduce the national and nationalistic components of social mobilization and integration so as to make room for the ideological factors that will still remain, even though they have not yet been determined and crystallised thoroughly. However, as Dorling foretells, there is the actual possibility for them to be more cohesive within a post-industrially conditioned society, in accordance with the picture covered within the preceding section so far (Dorling 2013, 259).

Succumbing to the persuasiveness of Dorling's discourse, it is difficult not to begin to imagine, in relation to other places in the world where representatives of single national groupings, ethnic and even cultural, more or less consciously are searching for integration that goes beyond of borders of the current socio-political system. Just as in the independence

referendum in Scotland, which can be perceived as one of the stages in the loosening of relationships with the hitherto centre of political power, so by the same token there can be perceived steps being undertaken by other communities (politicians and citizens of Catalonia). However, it is still necessary to be very cautious in drawing inferences because these activities could not only not undermine the stability of contemporary system of international relations, with the central role being the single nation-state. Indeed, the opposite could be true, for in the longer perspective they can conserve and even reinforce its stability. After all, nation-states will strive to counteract tendencies to move away from the centre, by strengthening their integrity within both dimensions: ideal and doctrinal as well as legal and organizational.

Whatever scenario considered, it is certain that the political future of the world will depend more and more on a number, even greater than now, of participants shaping the course of the political process. Moreover, the traditional prerogatives of power, such as the control of national borders - inseparable from the necessity of having passports and visas in order to prove an identity, or still in some cases the passbooks so as to prove economic status while crossing over the border of a given administrative unit - will become more and more anachronic. Experiences of European countries, participating within Schengen area, truly confirm this prediction, although this area does not abolish these borders but only allows them to be crossed freely.

If then, nation-states are meant to preserve privileged positions within the post-industrial structures of political power, they will have to develop a new mode of legitimising their authority and methods of exercising it. In turn, if mega-metropolises will actually move into the very centre of political authority, then they will have to develop integrating norms in a given community in order to ensure the legitimacy of their gained leadership. However, what will also be necessary is an accelerated institutionalisation of the structures of power altogether with the entire legal and administrative infrastructure. Trying soberly to make judgements on the occurring processes of the transformations affecting the basis of the political system, upholds the view that regardless of the fact of whether it is mega-cities, as predicted by Dorling, or nation-states that will exert the entirety of political power, both institutions would have to function

side by side, at least within the transitional stage, both cooperating and competing.

4. The Possibility of a More Sufficient Modernisation of African Political Systems under the Conditions of the Supremacy of Mega-Metropolises

On the base of the adjacent part of the study, one cannot take it for granted that mega-metropolises will become a part of the strict centre of political power. However, in the light of the outlined aspects of the global transformations of socio-political systems, one cannot posit its impossibility of this scenario either, as the acceptance of this possibility opened up the prospect for further analyses, a prospect which focused on the institution of the contemporary African state. This institution has, for a long time, at least from the eight decades of the last century, attracted particular attention not only from political scholars, but also from scholars of related disciplines (Sørensen 2017, 429-430; Hyden 2013, 58-59; Ewald, 2013, 28; Lizak 2012, 81-99).

Given the need, dictated by the course of the earlier analyses, to situate the African institution of the state within the broader context of a network of global interdependencies and interactions, comparative analyses provide the most convenient research perspective. The usefulness of this kind of analyses unveils itself especially when they are not comprehended in continental Europe terms but in its Anglo-Saxon guise. As in the preceding case, they remain merely as one of several legitimate methods within the well-equipped depository of the science about politics, so within the following one these analyses, as comparative politics are forming one of three fundamental layers of political science. This layer that delivers empirically grounded knowledge on a chosen political system, and this knowledge is complementary towards normatively oriented political theory and international relations. The latter in turn, apart from the already mentioned large scope of autonomy within political science, contrary to

that being taken into consideration here, comparative politics is defined by its focus on external relationships between socio-political systems⁸.

In the context of the task of this part of the study, grounded in the normative evaluation of the status quo of the institution of the African state, let us be reminded, unceasingly stuck in crisis since its establishment, of the substantial value of comparative politics as an autonomous political subdiscipline which merits its grounding within the empirical layer. From the latter are derived facts which, during the first stage of research procedure, are subject to initial explication. This is done in such a way, so as to make it possible within following explanative stage, developed through generical abstractions, to emphasise the similarities and differences between patterns that determine the content and form of the subjected research procedure into the following aspects of the investigated political system: particular internal policies, structures of systemic and administrative institutions and broader socio-political processes.

The advantage of that way of unfolding the science about politics lies in the possibility of overcoming a one-sided approach. The latter, most frequently, stems from the curtailment of individual research perspectives, not a fully conscious attachment to a given axiology that is derivative of sensitivity and experience of a given scholar, and eventually a Euro-Atlantic orientation of theoretical background and methodological perspectives, that together with research focused on the reality of the African continent, marked by multi-layered differentiation, lose their explanative force, not so much within the descriptive and explicative as above all within the explanative layer (cf. Vorbrich 2012, 19-22).

The awareness of incompatibility of research instruments, shared among scholars and researchers who name themselves as comparativists, gives rise to a particular sensitivity for the adequacy of the contextualisation. What is at stake here it is the strivings aimed at the elaboration of an adequate research procedure. Since, on the one hand, the comparative analyses aim at extracting the most relevant meanings constituting

⁸ Awareness of the increasing pace of globalisation processes means that some political scientists do not recognise the boundary between comparative Politics and International Relations outlined above. They believe that the internal affairs of a particular country or region should be considered in the perspective of the global ecumene.

the substantive content of the concepts, on the other hand, the meaning of this content is not thoroughly congruent with the other due to the diversity of the described spatial and temporal conditions. This necessitates, then, the grasping of inner tensions between the content of the concepts in use within contexts in comparison and the realities that are reflected by means of them. Only in this way does it become possible to encapsulate the specificity of a given aspect of investigated reality. This specificity is unveiled in the form of the systemic similarities and differences mentioned above⁹.

However, in the case of analyses focused on Africanist problems, tensions between theoretical and methodological 'superstructure' and explored reality will be particularly evident because of the Euro-Atlantic provenience of the adduced superstructure. It necessitates continuing to allude to this determinant to avoid sometimes justified words of criticism from the side of some authors. Leaving aside the ideologically coloured remarks beyond the pale of legitimate critique¹⁰, it is noteworthy to take hold of those that point out the difficulties in grasping the essence of African conditions and reality constituted under their impact¹¹.

A study, whose author has taken a very conscious approach to the difficulties presented above and has even more carefully made the necessary arrangements geared at correct contextualisation of the aspects of the African political process being compared, is the study entitled *African Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Hayden 2013). One of the key choices that paved the way to the success of the chapter, was the choice of literature on the subject. Such a broad scope of studies, in the historical perspective (more than 50 years) as spatial; similarly, as immersed

⁹ As an illustration of the problem of the appropriateness of use of comparisons between geographically diverse state systems can serve a summary of the discussion on the usefulness of the concept of neo-patrimonialism in comparative analyses, which was presented by Jonas Ewald (2013, 126).

¹⁰ Bringing the essence of the aid agency that is addressed to African countries down to a mere neo-colonial concern to maintain access to cheap natural resources and an outlet is deeply unjustified (Cf. Gosovic 2017, 10).

¹¹ Already within the semantic layer, the understanding of concepts such as culture, development and society encounters gigantic difficulties, as testified when as soon as an accurate translation from European to African languages is attempted (Swantz 2016, 55-56).

within current of political studies as in related disciplines, it could only be done by a person engaged within exploring African socio-political realities for many decades, including fieldwork research. Another trait of the study, authored by the American doyen of African Studies, Goran Hyden, is the close connectivity of the descriptive level of his study with the body of classical theories, as well as variations that resulted in their further unfolding, also within area of African Studies. It refers to both the theories of humanities and social sciences (Hyden 2013, 59-67).

In view of the author's particular sensitivity and experience, as well as his profound and wide-ranging knowledge of the world's Africanist literature, the descriptions of the reality of the crisis of the institutions of the African state that compose this study can be regarded as a set of judgements that are as objective as possible, that is, factual and balanced. Judgments that were subject to critical evaluation, adequately contextualised, and finally placed within the possibly of the broadest comparative perspective, that is, rising above the horizon of references to Europe, possible North America, towards countries with similar historical experiences, especially South American and Asian.

Thus, following Hayden's comparative approach, with the characteristic consequence in using his adopted method facilitating the comprehension of the specificity of the African political process. And it is due to the possibility of transcending the shortcomings tied to following the path of only a single scientific discipline. The additional value of adopted research procedure lies in identifying empirically tangible symptoms of the crisis of African structures of supreme authority. The manifestations of these symptoms can be seen from three interdependent levels of power relations.

The first consists of the network of complex relationships distributed along the line separating state and society. The problematic nature of the African state comes down to the lack of the necessary autonomy of the state, as institutions equipped with the fullness of power and authority to realise very particular goals, that in a simple way could be reduced to the common denominator of universal human values, the realisation of which has been harnessed state institutions from their inception. They can be ordered as follows: dignity and respect, security and justice, wealth and development, knowledge and education.

In principle African state is unable to put into practice these listed values because it exhibits peculiar functional paralysis¹². It comes from the excessive submission of the logic of responsibility in front of society to the logic of responsibility in front of individuals and social groups that form the direct political backing of those occupying offices of state institutions and government administration. The weakness of supreme institutions manifests itself in the incapability of the staff filling them to demonstrate assertive resistance to the pressures and exorbitant demands from representatives of certain interest groups. That again, in the eyes of the entire society, leads to a weakness in the authority legitimising the proper role to be played by them. Therefore, the institutions forming the supreme power of the state by no means create a cohesive system of collective action. It comes about that this is a system that is functioning due to being embedded on foundations of universal ethical principles and formal legal regulations. Since both are necessary to ensure the proper order for proceeding, one ought not to be surprised that African state institutions have become the channels of transferring resources from the public into the private sphere. The channels are not sum of formal procedures and official contacts, but rather are the result of non-formal relationships that are dominating over them and are not transparent within the public sphere. Most frequently they adopt the form of networked individuals linked to each other by means of patron-client relationships.

The following dimension is a kind of extension of the preceding one and confines itself to the functional structure of central and local offices, of exercising political power and implementing administrative decisions. The rules directing the personnel employed within them essentially vary from the patterns of procedure which were first observed and then described and elucidated by the theory of bureaucracy of Max Weber. Precisely stipulated competences, such as clearly defined reciprocal interdependencies in the office, plainly delineated scope of duties, separation of private and professional spheres within office hours and at the place of work, budget with precise system of salaries, substantially do not find

¹² The multifaced reasons for the weakness of African statehood in the aspect under discussion, rooted in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era, are outlined in the following studies: (Hyden 2013; Green 2012, 478-480; Lizak, 2012, 81-83; Acemoglu and Robinson 2013, 87-95).

reflection in the day-to-day practice of state officials, both of higher and lower rung. The entanglement of formal and informal contacts underlined by the mechanism for building relationships on the base of the principle of primary reciprocity, which are developed among staff forming a given office, specify the way of interpreting the law and the mode of its implementation. The order of proceeding could be arbitrarily changed due to circumstances. In consequence, the offices and officials are not socially esteemed and trusted. On the contrary, they are perceived as individuals overusing the authority of exerted power. Particularly underlined is one-sided focus on private gain at the cost of public interest (cf. Vilby 2007, 145-150).

Finally, as the last, but not the least level to be considered, alludes to the personal profiles of individuals nominated to hold command over the state and administration offices. It is extremely difficult for them to adapt to the requirements of the social role, that is to the sets of entitlements and responsibilities that form the precise job description. The dominating tendency is evident in the highly individualised way of acting, that frequently collides with the rules of rational management-oriented means, the rules that were laid at the basis of organization of modern legal-bureaucratic order. As a consequence, the competences at the top of the structures of power are becoming conflated by what leads to decision-making inertia which is an offshoot of the phenomenon described in the literature on the subject as the big man rule (Hyden 2013, 97-116). Exposed irregularities are accompanied by the learned helplessness of lower ranking staff who frequently are unable to cope with given directives that stray too far from procedural order. The revealed disproportion between the moral and psychological element over the rational and professional, additionally – in the longer perspective - delegitimises the institutional order of the modern state governed by the rule of law.

Attempting to sum up the presented description and its initial explanation, it is difficult not to observe that the described reality does give the impression of oscillating around the frames of traditional society, on one hand, and the modern model of exercising power on the other. In consequence, the outline of the emerging intermediary model is deeply marked by the trait of paradoxicality.

The latter is a direct consequence of an amalgamation of principles and rules that is characterised not only by a lack of two-sided compatibility, but also by essential contradiction. The tragedy of this described situation is evident in the exposed decisions of African leaders. Decisions undertaken on the pattern of collective rationality, as presented earlier, do not lead to rational results. At the time when they took over the offices of state administration, at the end of colonial era, one after the other, they were recognising that the most profound legitimacy of the supreme power exerted by them could only take place when this power became detached from European, that is, by means-oriented rationality, and then adjusted to one oriented upon local values. In practice, it was the same as the premodern model of societal and political mobilisation which was considered by politicians occupying the central parts of modern political systems to be the most proper. This way of valuing led to the one-party system that at first effectively dismantled any expression of political opposition and then equipped the state political leaders with power going beyond any type of societal control. As rationalised by Goran Hyden, African leaders were mentally closer to assimilating their personal experience with their mode of organizing socio-political life, than to the patterns that were unskillfully attempted to be instilled by representatives of colonial powers¹³. The incongruity of the emerging outlay of linkages adequately mirrors the facetious comparison of development with the activity of making two steps backwards in order to make one step forward.

The first striking paradox is the question of sovereignty. Of course, from a formal point of view, as soon as the African states acquired it, they were vested with the fulness of subjectivity in international law, together with all its entitlements. The situation is worse on the obligations side. Most African states are unable to fulfil them, for the simple reason that

¹³ In accord with circulating opinion, the failure of the colonial state to inculcate the axio-normative basis of modernisation is explained by reference to the exploitative nature of colonial dependency, which, together with the high cost of maintaining control and the limited administrative personnel, led to an indirect form of rule, that is, with the complicity of local tribal leaders (indirect rule) cf. (Hyden 2013, 65-67). Nonetheless, it is important to remember that awareness of the ‚civilising mission’ of European stakeholders lacked consensus on strategies for its implementation. This is pointed out in a study of (Hunter 1962, 21-21, 30).

they lack organizational operationality, especially financial liquidity. In this context, the question of *de facto* sovereignty is legitimate. It expressed the ability of a formally independent country to put into practice earlier listed values legitimising its extant. If, therefore, because of its economic insufficiencies discussed here, the state remains dysfunctional in realising the tasks set up in front of the modern state, only such as to ensure existential security to its citizens, then despite its formal sovereignty, it is not a fully independent state. It remains deeply dependent. This is most apparent when the implementation of successive development projects is closely linked to the willingness to fulfil the attached conditions. These conditions sometimes intrude very deeply and unscrupulously into core components of domestic policies. It turns out that they become actual limitation of the principle of sovereignty (Sørensen 2017, 431).

The second paradox relies on the sphere termed as power relations, that is, the analyses of the interactions binding the groups forming a given society. Some leaders and political elites of particular African countries cannot be refused factual efficacy in holding power, in a several cases even through entire decades¹⁴. It would be impossible without effective exerting of social control. With especial proficiency in the use, carrying colonial pedigree, of the carrot and whip, it seems that the problem lies in this method, particularly with the use of the carrot.

The African state is fragile, not only because of some external actors obtaining pretty large impacts within the area of governmental decision-making processes under the cover of developmental aid, but mainly due to the fact that representatives of local communities become very influential participants in the same political game. The ease with which they are able effectively to influence the course of decision-making processes, to such an extent that, as argued by Hyden, African states significantly

¹⁴ Of course, there are also a considerable number of countries that are characterised by political instability and temporariness, including countries with governments unable to control large territories. As Grażyna Michałowska rightly pointed out in the context of human rights issues, the unpredictability of the socio-political process determines that the vast majority of countries invest huge resources in maintaining armies, police and secret services in order to maintain their once-gained power. The importance of the aforementioned institutions of social and political control is reinforced by the consideration of the very low level of legitimacy of supreme power (cf Michałowska 2008, 22).

vary from South American and Asian. For similarly as in the latter also in Africa there dominates, or at least dominated until recently, a high degree of foreign actors engaging in the shaping of domestic policies. Nonetheless, a thorough infiltration of African state systems also by internal influences causes them, in contrast to these other referred countries, to remain permanently unable to generate development. Therefore, the sub-Saharan region is the only region, on a global scale, where developmental opportunities created by economic globalization were missed. It comes here about this particular respect, that the latter did not become an instrument of accelerated economic growth inasmuch as to become felt by those scattered across broader circles of social segmentation (Dorling 2013, 359-360).

The third paradox, externally the most difficult to understand due to its strong embedding in the locality, is expressed in the peculiarity of traditional political culture. Attempting to exhaustively describe and explain the phenomenon of the transformation of traditional social systems into modernised ones is as old as the social sciences. In the context of classical approaches, which despite the passage of time do not lose their explanatory and inspirational role, new conceptualisations adapted to the conditions of a globalising world are being developed. In the view of the task of this study, Ulf Hannerz's theory of cultural globalisation is a particularly useful research approach, more specifically the notion of the global ecumene, placed at its starting point. It refers to intensive interactions, spread globally, mainly of a communicative nature, which provide a platform for the exchange of cultural contents. Unfortunately, the reciprocal cultural penetration, progressing under the pressure of globalisation trends, is not accompanied by a symmetrical exchange between its participants. According to the direction of transfers of an economic nature, determined by Emmanuel Wallerstein's theory of world systems, the dominant role within the process of exchange of cultural content is played by the values and patterns of developed countries. From the point of view of this study, the distinction introduced by the Scandinavian cultural anthropologist between traditional and modern culture is particularly important.

First it was identified with a closed ecumene. The processes of generating knowledge forming it, and other cultural contents are strongly

tied to the given local environment. Within its frame, direct relationships of the face-to-face type play the primary role in developing social life, including the production and reproduction of basic social roles. The characteristic feature of this domain, apart from its temporal and spatial limitation, is the complicity of people forming a given community within the decision-making process. It is necessary then that a discussed domain does not go beyond the confined area of common territory, inhabited by a certain number of families, lineages, clans, and finally, tribes (Hannerz in Sztompka 2012, 662-663).

In turn, an open ecumene was assigned to modern culture. The processes of creating knowledge and other cultural contents here freely go beyond the limits of temporal and spatial frames. For they are created not so much within a network of direct interpersonal relationships, but skilfully utilised technologies, especially communication and transport. Cultural values are generated within specialised environments. Created within them, the picture of the world is alluded to the newest advances of science. The community of open ecumene is characterised by large number of interpersonal contacts which necessarily are anonymous. The synergy of their number and confined meaning of spatial differentiation causes abstract regulations to co-create social order, particularly within the legal and administrative layer. Their extension is provided by developed socio-political systems, for the functioning of which responds to governmental administration.

From the perspective of the context outlined, the essence of the discussed paradox expresses itself in the fact that systemic principles of governmental management, characteristic of the administrative apparatus of the modern state, fall into a kind of void, which is a direct consequence of African society remaining within a closed domain. Because of that, as observed by James Scott, an African state is lacking in the initial conditions which would enable effective action. These conditions were equated by him with a specific form of deficits within the organizational sphere. They express itself mainly in the fact that citizens of this state are unable to acquire statistically grounded knowledge helpful in the understanding of the role of the modern state, above all its modernising and developmental tasks (Scott in Hyden 2013, 72). In this way, an African state resembles a blind person who, while moving in the dark, senses challenges

and opportunities. However, the direction of its moving is marked by others, that is, the external institutions, for example institutions of the international aid community (ibidem.). Definitely, the invoked author is right in saying that an African state is not an instrument of independent development. It could be added that in playing this role it confines itself to its imitation rather than its introduction (Trela 2017, 2-4).

The exploratory explanations, as presented, paint a very negative picture of the deeper, that is to say, the social and structural, determinants of the crisis of the African state. Undoubtedly, this crisis is permanent. It stems from a two-sided incompatibility of the political superstructure and its social base. However, in the context of the problem of this study, the following question emerges: to what extent can the eventual loss of the supremacy of power by the institution of the nation-state, to the institution of the mega-metropolis, become a source of positive change within the African continent? More precisely, to what extent, might the postulated transformation contribute to a more profound assimilation of the values underlying modernity's socio-political model?

In the light of the considerations hitherto, the political future of the continent in question depends not so much on the political elites and the power structures they create, but above all on society itself. It is society itself that is the reservoir of values and norms, and the specific patterns of behaviour and action, as well as the preferred attitudes and practices that are embedded in them. As the afore-mentioned forms of human activity form the everyday life of the members of specific local communities, it is these that determine the remarkable sustainability of the *ecumene* of traditional society, as well as to a large extent the organisational and political order that emerges from it.

If, therefore, Africa's political future depends first and foremost on the transformations that have to take place within society, it is undoubtedly the opportunities and challenges that increased migration, especially within its urbanised dimension, can become one of the most important factors for overcoming the crisis described earlier, stemming from the incoherence of social and political systems, between the traditional culture characterising the social system, and the modern culture characterising the political system (at least in dimension of its external legal and organizational structures).

Regardless of whether a process concentrating power within the mega-cities actually would take place, or whether they merely take over some functions of the nation-state, the weakening of the primacy of its political role, the synergy of migration and urbanisation will – from the long-term perspective - become a more effective tool for modernisation than the methods and measures employed within the infrastructure of the existing African nation-state.

From the point of view of the determinants of the current status quo of the African state and society, a particular structural trait is important, a trait described and explained by ethnographers and social anthropologists. The concentration of social relations that has occurred under the influence, stretching throughout the history, of low population density and yet the huge vastness of often not very fertile soils, has left its indelible mark on the formation of the class divide. This division has never been fully formed (cf. Green 2015, 308-309; Jarosz 2019a). This is particularly evident when compared to European or Asian societies. Consequently, rooted in the class stratification, the vertical orientation of a member of a particular community has never occurred in the African context to the same extent as in the continents referred to. The pattern of relations that characterises the African social structure therefore locks individuals into a horizontal perspective. It is determined not so much by belonging to a particular social group, with the status, income, and possibility of influencing the political process that characterises it, but by being situated within the broadly defined family and the local community that is an extension of it. This orientation defines the specificity of the African's personal and group loyalties. In the search for the means of serving personal needs, as well as those of the family, especially in a situation of crisis, the African, unlike a resident of another latitude, need not be specifically motivated to take the risk of migration. She or he will respond of her or his own accord to the challenges involved. Because of the ease of making such decisions, she or he can be called a born *homo viator* (cf. Hyden 2013, 57,70; cf. Vorbrich 2012, 25-26, 180-182).

This trait takes on a particular importance at a time of increasing dynamics of global migration and urbanisation processes. The readiness to change place permanently is linked to the ability to adapt more easily to the conditions of existence in new circumstances. This means the

disposition of the inhabitants of the continent in question is to assimilate the values prevalent in the environment of the destination place of emigration. It should be added, this creative assimilation does not mean renouncing one's own cultural values, which constitute a sense of identity, but the skilfully combining of the values of one's own culture with those of the culture of the new place of residence. Obviously, the characteristics highlighted contrast with the widely held stereotypes that African emigrants, especially those who emigrated to the most developed countries, exhibit the opposite traits to those ascribed above. However, it is necessary to remember that the stereotypical image of African migration results from several factors combined to each other. Among the most significant are: the negative effects of colonisation, which weigh on the sense not only of identity, but also of personal and collective dignity of the inhabitants of the continent at issue; European ethnocentrism, still not overcome, which takes the form of a sense of cultural superiority; and the media's pursuit of a systematic increase in revenue, which is increasingly difficult to reconcile with the objectivity of the information provided. A separate issue are the elements of a migrant-oriented social policy that do not necessarily motivate integration, but rather reinforce passivity and a tendency towards isolationism.

The focus on the presented adaptive predispositions of the inhabitants of the continent under discussion, taking into account the necessity to verify harmful stereotypes about migrants of African descent, confirms the thesis that traditional African communities can embark on a path of accelerated transformation aimed at modernisation. However, it is necessary to develop more effective methods and measures than before. The urbanisation transition outlined in the previous section of the study provides the best environment for developing the postulated instrumentation. This is confirmed by previous studies of the modernisation process in Africa. For in accord with them, nation states have achieved moderate modernisation successes inside urban boundaries. The rural environment has remained a repository of traditional values and norms, as well as patterns of thinking valuing and acting adequate to them (Hyden 2013, 68). However, due to the arising pace of migration directed towards large mega-cities, rural surroundings are not only beginning to shrink in terms of the number of inhabitants, but gradually to become the object

of a deepened penetration of urban values. Adequate channels for the transfer of desired cultural content are the networks of relationships and ties that link members of the family who are remaining in the village with those who have migrated to the city (Mberu 2016, 247-248).

Undoubtedly, together with the vision postulated by Dorling of the expanding of metropolitan borders, the cultural influence of mega-cities will systematically increase. An outline of the new conditions, formed in that way for the accelerated cultural transformations, are revealed by the works of Maciej Kurcz (2010). They were developed on the base of field research carried out by means of the ethnographic method. Summing up this part of our study, it is necessary to turn towards one of the key facilitators of that cultural transformation, leading to the in-depth modernisation and it is synergy of inter-actioning among the increasing number of agents of modernisation who, so far as they undertake activities of day-to-day functioning within the boundaries of mega-city, they create added modernization value that goes beyond the mere content of the adduced activities. Among these agents ought to be placed: global economic institutions, different types of third sector organizations, churches and religious sects, universities and schools, and agencies of state administration (Dorling 2013, 1-2, 56).

5. Conclusions

In referring self-critically to this study, one should keep a distance as to the nature of the facts described, especially those of a prospective nature. On the one hand, they may, according to Polish Romantic poet Cyprian Kamil Norwid's lyrical phrase, "give right word to the thing", that is to say that they reflect the actual direction of changes, read on the basis of the observation of the course of the historical process. On the other hand, however, the narrative composing the study may have been far removed from real course of this process in many places. The reasons for this 'detachment from reality' are entrenched in the ever-accelerating pace of development that is taking place under the influence of globalisation. This development is so far ahead of the reflection focused on it, that the

selection of facts and their interpretation is increasingly dependent not so much on the empirically observable characteristics of distinct events or the trajectories of observed processes, but on the course of the scientific and public discourse that is focusing on them (cf. Jarosz 2019b, 71-72). This discourse, in turn, reflects the surrounding reality as much as it appears to create it. Definitely, descriptions of the process of the generation of political power by the institution of the mega-metropolis at the expense of the state, which is losing more and more of its prerogatives, depend to a large extent both on the objectified empirical facts and in the way in which they are interpreted and mediated by the discourse under consideration.

Consequently, in critically recapitulating the analyses carried so far, one must be particularly critical of the conclusions presented at the end of each section. This is despite them being drawn up in a very cautious way. Although, at this stage of reflection on the phenomenon of globalisation, it is difficult to make clear-cut distinctions that would enable an in-depth understanding and elucidating of occurring processes, to enable clear specifying of the variables playing the role of cause and effect. These difficulties, however, are not the same as the thorough helplessness when confronted with the complexity and multifaceted nature of a reality marked by the increased interplay that takes place among actors who operate on the stage of contemporary society.

The constant broadening of the field of globalisation-focused reflection through the creation of new approaches and research perspectives has a verifying effect on the conglomerates of the knowledge generated. Eventually, in the long term, it will become possible to separate facts from values, enough to effectively objectify the picture of the intensive socio-political transformations that are taking place. Before this can be shaped, however, every effort must be made to ensure that the same complex and multifaceted reality is the subject of critical analyses, undertaken from points of view that differ from one another.

An important task of the present study was to create such a perspective on the phenomenon of migration and urbanisation that would significantly broaden the horizon of the privileged research approach in political science literature, an approach that perhaps excessively narrows the analysis of the demographic process, including its urbanisation dimension,

to the area of *polity*-type reflection. The introduction of the *policy*-type perspective, which broadens the field of research to include the anthropological dimension, has made it possible to gain a deeper insight into the migration-urbanisation process. This insight was deep enough not to reduce the phenomenon of migration to the mere management of a crisis caused by the mass movement of people, but to show its course as a search for the best possible ways of realising humanity. A realisation that does not take place through technical tricks of a *politics*-type nature, but through the initiation and maintenance of interpersonal interactions between the representatives of the communities that make up both sides of the migration-urbanisation process: the newcomers and the hosts.

Achieved in that way, the insight into migration as a means of problem-solving, rather than being the problem itself, establishes a point of view that should not be ignored, both from the perspective of the scientific exploration of the political aspects of the phenomenon of migration and urbanisation as well as in the perspective of public and media discourse. In the area of the second perspective, the excessive instrumentalization of the problems of migration and urbanisation has a very negative impact on the possibility for citizens to develop a balanced and objectified picture of the processes that form the synergy of these two phenomena. This instrumentalization also excludes the perception of the opportunities for accelerated development that can become a reality with the interactions initiated by the movement of people. The chance to realise the developmental reality also applies to the African continent.

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Chapter 17

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The East African Community: Evolution of Integration Processes

Abstract: The history of East African integration dates back to colonial times. This process continued for the countries of the region even after their independence. A contemporary regional bloc is a form of reactivation and expansion of an earlier organisation founded in 1967 by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Despite the collapse of the integration processes in 1978, the organisation was reborn with unchanged membership and under the same name in 1999. Contemporary, the East African Community (EAC) – a regional intergovernmental organisation is considered to be the most advanced in achieving integration goals across Africa. It has seven countries in its membership (Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda) and its boundaries have crossed the geographically defined region of East Africa.

The aim of the chapter is to analyse the evolution of the integration processes of the Member States and to try to answer questions concerning the determinants of subsequent accession processes.

Keywords: East African Community, sub-regional organisation, security, political integration

1. Introduction

There are currently eight Regional Economics Communities (RECs), acknowledged by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

(UNECA) and recognising the overarching position of the African Union Regional Economic Communities (Regional Economic Communities). The East African Community (EAC) – a regional intergovernmental organisation founded on 30th November 1999, is considered to be the most advanced in achieving integration goals across Africa (Lizak 2012, 425).

Its history can be traced back to British policy in colonial times. However, it has only gained stability in the last quarter of a century, being reborn as an organisation open to internal development and expanding its core membership beyond the experience of the 20th century. Currently, it has seven member states: Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Its boundaries have crossed the geographically defined region of East Africa and added French to the group of official languages of the Community for the first time in its history.

The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to analyse the development processes of the East African Community, which currently stretches from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic and encompasses seven countries, covering an area of 4.8 million square kilometres with nearly 300 million citizens. The basis for this text is the literature on the subject and material obtained from sources and studies from the Internet, including particular data available on the East African Community's official (and regularly updated) website (*Quick Facts about EAC*).

2. The Genesis of the East African Community

The history of the East African Community is inextricably linked to the colonial past of East African countries and the British policy, conditioned in part by the need to monitor German activities in the East African region on the eve of the outbreak of the First World War. The construction of the railway, linking the Indian Ocean coast to key settlements and strategic points in Kenya and Uganda, was intended to open up these areas to developing settlement, agriculture and trade. Realising and politically supporting these plans, in 1917, the British decided to create a customs

union. In the years 1905–1940, before the setting up of official regional structures, institutions common to all British possessions in East Africa were established, *inter alia*, The East African Currency Bill and Stamp, The East African Currency Board, The Postal Union, The Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, The East African Governors' Conference, The East African Income Tax Board, The Joint Economic Council and The East African Airways Corporation (The History of the East African Community...).

In 1948, The East African High Commission (EAHC) was established as a coordinating and overseeing body for the implementation (or smooth functioning of already existing) joint initiatives in the region: economic (e.g. postal and customs union, initiatives in the development of common external tariffs), scientific and educational (e.g. East African University), transport and communication (railways, ports, airlines), as well as joint telegraph and meteorological departments (Katembo 2008, 108).

In 1961, with the attainment of independence for Tanganyika, The East African Common Services Organisation (EASCO) was founded. It replaced the EAHC, whose formula had outlived itself with the collapse of the colonial system. However, EASCO took over many of the solutions and plans of its predecessor, implemented in the new, changed political conditions.

At the dawn of the 1960s the presidents of the now independent states: Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Milton Obote (Uganda) and Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya) called for a commitment to continue working together on joint integration initiatives implemented in the new political realities, on their own initiative and under their own leadership.

In 1967, fifty years after the creation of the first regional agreement between Kenya and Uganda, the Treaty for East African Cooperation was signed. It established the East African Community (EAC) and the East African Customs Union, which at the time was described as „the most advanced regional trade agreement in the world” (Matambalya 2007, 46). The then-established East African Community took over the entire range of institutions of the former EACSO.

The Community's priority objectives were creating a common market, common tariffs, and a similar range of public services and thus balanced economic growth in the region. It was already a monetary union

with an issuance cash system and currency parity, achieved by recognising the equivalence of the Ugandan, Kenyan and Tanzanian shilling. The plan was to create a merger of public enterprises to create East African railways, ports and airlines (East African Railways and Harbours, East African Airways), post and telegraph (East African Posts and Telecommunications) and East African Development Bank.

The areas of planned integration were also education with a uniform syllabus and East African Examinations Council, East African University, Inter-University Council of East Africa and East African Literature Bureau. The headquarters of the organisation has been established in Arusha (Tanzania). The decision to locate the East African Community Headquarters somewhere other than Nairobi (and outside Kenya) was conceived as an adjustment made to the British model, dictated by the need to promote the importance of all regions to effective integration efforts. The optimistic perspectives on permanent economic integration began to fall apart relatively early. In 1968 the East African Currency Board collapsed, destroying hopes of establishing a monetary union. In June 1977, the partner countries withheld their approval of the budget for the new financial year. The Community Secretariat in Arusha ceased to function in December 1978.

Nowadays, we may assess that the failed attempt to implement the ideal of a Community were a combination of political and economic factors. As it seems, however, the most important factor in the failure of this initiative was the lack of willingness of the leaders of the member states to cooperate and the serious conflict between the then leaders of Uganda (Idi Amin) and Tanzania (Julius Nyerere). The above-mentioned issues came on top of inefficient administration and long delays in the decision processes. Other reasons for the collapse of the Community, as enumerated by Wiesław Lizak, include economic tensions caused by an uneven level of development of the member states and differences resulting from Kenya's pro-Western orientation and socialist solutions promoted in Tanzania (Lizak 2012, 425). Negotiations to resolve the problem of the former Community's joint financial obligations were not undertaken until after the fall of Idi Amin's dictatorial rule (1979).

In 1984, a mediation agreement was negotiated for the distribution of the Community's assets and liabilities. Under the agreement concluded,

the parties also agreed to identify potential areas for future cooperation and to develop concrete solutions for such cooperation. One of the results of the agreement reached at that time was establishing a tripartite working group in 1986 to identify possible forms of future cooperation. Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities History of the EAC (Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities History of the EAC). It is also worth mentioning that in the 1960s, sub-regional organisations did not have the support of the Organisation of African Unity, which was opposed to such forms of organised cooperation as violating the idea of continental unity. It was not until the dawn of the 1990s that a significant revitalisation of the solutions adopted in previous decades took place, both in terms of organisational structures and development plans. In 1991 the Abuja Treaty was signed to create the African Economic Community (AEC) (Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community). The main objective - to transform the continent into a single economic area - was envisaged to be achieved over 34 years. In the interim period, integration was to be realised at the level of sub-regional organisations.

In 1992 the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was reactivated as a continuation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), established in 1980. A year later, in 1993, came the signing of the Treaty on the Establishment of a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), reactivated as a continuation of the Preferential Trade Area (PTA), established in 1981. In the case of East African countries, the reintegration process began in 1993 (*Milestones of EAC Integration*). At a meeting of the leaders of the countries interested in the reactivation of the Community (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda), an agreement was signed for the creation of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation (PTC), which took place on 30th November 1993. It became operational in 1996 with the establishment of the Secretariat of the Permanent Commission, located at its headquarters in Arusha (Tanzania).

The Permanent Tripartite Commission announced the draft Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (TEAC) on 30th April 1998. Finally, the Treaty on the Establishment of the East African Community was signed on 30th November 1999.

3. Stages of Integration

3.1. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda

The Treaty on the Establishment of the East African Community took effect on 7th July 2000 upon ratification by the founding states - Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, so the Community was reactivated with membership identical to its predecessor from the years 1967-1978. The East African Community was established as a sub-regional intergovernmental organisation, as an answer to the need for consolidation of cooperation between the region's three countries mentioned above. The reconstruction of regional structures was part of both the demands of the Abuja Treaty and the general changes to the terms of cooperation and development assistance that Western countries imposed on African states in the 1990s. This cooperation depended in the future on the political stability, economic efficiency, and responsibility of the African partners.

Following these demands, the main objective of the newly reconstructed East African Community was to strive to build a prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa, while the mission was to widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value-added production, trade and investments” (*About EAC*) Progress of the East African Customs Union, the establishment of the Common Market in 2010 and the implementation of the East African Monetary Union Protocol testify to the tangible successes of the Community. The process towards an East African Federation is being continued. In May 2017, the EAC Heads of State adopted the Political Confederation as a transitional model of the East African Political Federation.

3.2. Rwanda and Burundi

A landmark event in the history of the Community was the decision to admit the new states: Rwanda and Burundi, which took place on 18th June 2007. Such a decision confirmed both the tangible success of the Community (the EAC Customs Union entered into force on 1st January

2005) and the desire to dispense with a selection of members based on former colonial affiliation. After independence (1962), both countries mentioned above were seen as subject to French influence, as evidenced by their membership of the francophone Economic Community of Central African States, ECCAS (*La Communauté Économique des États de l'Afrique Centrale*, CEEAC). Rwanda left the francophone ECCAS in 2007, beginning to cooperate closely within the two East African regional organisations: EAC (*East African Community*) i COMESA (*Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa*), joining the free trade area of the latter organisation in 2004.

The completion of the accession process was conditional on the fulfilment of the conditions of the Treaty on the Establishment of the East African Community, precisely Chapter 2, Art. 3 (Membership of the Community), relating to the criteria for the admission of new members. These criteria include, inter alia, adherence to universally acceptable principles of good governance, democracy, the rule of law, observance of human rights and social justice; potential contribution to the strengthening of integration within the East African region; geographical proximity to and inter-dependence between it and the Partner States; establishment and maintenance of a market driven economy; and social and economic policies being compatible with those of the Community (The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. 2002. Arusha: EAC Publication, ch. 2, art. 3., 11-12).

In 2007, thanks to the stabilisation of internal politics in Rwanda, in the hope of similar stabilisation in Burundi, the accession process could be successfully completed. In the case of Rwanda, this decision reflected both political strategy (resulting from the reorientation of alliances after the tragic 1994 genocide and the establishment of closer relations with Anglophone states) and economic interests. Rwanda's accession to the EAC was expected to increase its economic activity, including by attracting foreign investment, and the processes of liberalisation and economic integration were expected to reduce dependence on foreign aid.

On the Burundian side, gains from economic cooperation were expected above all. Joining the East African Community, Burundi remained a member of ECCAS. For both countries, the benefits of being included on a partnership basis in a thriving regional market offered them an

unprecedented opportunity for growth. Its effective use was even more important for them as both countries struggled to rebuild the state and its economy after serious internal conflicts.

3.3. South Sudan

Nine years later, another expansion of the Community's membership took place. This happened with the Republic of South Sudan admission, which took place on 15th April 2016 (*Milestones of EAC Integration*). South Sudan officially began applying for the East African Community membership in 2011, almost immediately after independence.

For many centuries, the *Sudd* marsh border naturally impeded contact between Sudanese from the south and Arabs from the north of Sudan. On the contrary, the lack of a natural border fostered contacts with neighbours to the south. The history of these contacts favoured the initiative to include South Sudan in the East African Community. However, South Sudan only fully met the geographical criterion of having a common border with member states at the time of accession.

The aspiration to 'anchoring' into a stable sub-regional organisation bringing together the southern neighbours was fully understandable, both in terms of shared historical, ethnic and religious ties and because of the Community's tangible integration and economic successes. In the existing geopolitical set-up, it was difficult to have a different choice of alliances in view of the hostile relations with the northern neighbour and the internal problems of the states bordering from the west. More questionable, however, was the Community's decision to admit a new member so quickly in a situation where it did not meet the constitutional norms contained in the Treaty on the Establishment of the East African Community.

It was feared that the introduction of such a politically unstable state into the Community would have a negative impact on the pace of integration processes, which had hitherto proceeded extremely smoothly. However, the fact remains that also the existing members of the East African Community do not always adhere to Western standards of good governance and democracy. Community membership did not prevent a coup attempt in Burundi in 2015. Therefore, South Sudan's admission

to the East African Community was determined not so much by political considerations but by potential economic gains. From a community perspective, the most valuable was certainly the facilitated access to South Sudan's oil and water resources. From the point of view of South Sudan - partnership terms of oil transport through a designed pipeline to the Port of Lamu in Kenya. The South Sudanese authorities could also expect the extra help has been achieved, which will enable the construction of an independent judiciary system and democratic institutions.

Efforts to gain membership were the main motivation for the South Sudanese authorities to conclude the peace agreement. The first Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) was established in the spring of 2016, at the brink of South Sudan's accession into the East African Community (*EALA MPs want to help break the deadlock in South Sudan peace talks*).

3.4. The Democratic Republic of the Congo

The next expansion of the Community took place in 2022. The Democratic Republic of the Congo acceded to the EAC Treaty on 8th April 2022 and became a full member of the Community on 11th July 2022 (*Democratic Republic of the Congo*). As is the case with South Sudan, from the Community's point of view, the greatest benefit of the Congo's accession to the East African Community will probably be preferential access to rich natural resources. This argument certainly outweighed the threats resulting from the instability of the newly admitted state.

In the case of accession of South Sudan however, there were both geographical and historical reasons for enlarging the East African Community. As mentioned, the lack of a natural border has favoured contacts with their neighbours from the south, even if the outskirts of Sudan were peripheral for them. In trying to theoretically justify the accession of the Democratic Republic of Congo, we are instead faced with serious methodological challenges. The geographical scope of the term 'East Africa' is a geographical, historical, and political concept whose meanings are not the same. The broadest of these is the geographical concept. East Africa includes the part of the Horn of Africa region with Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea and Ethiopia (Low 2012). The historical concept of East Africa

is somewhat narrower, covering only Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, optionally including Burundi and Rwanda (Birmingham 2012). None of them covers the vast Democratic Republic of the Congo, although it is undisputed that the country meets the condition of having a common border with members of the Community.

Contemporary political instability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is primarily linked to the conflict in the country's eastern regions, which has been ongoing since the 1990s and has not been effectively resolved (Prunier 2010). However, the current DRC president, Felix-Antoine Tshisekedi, has started to make real efforts to rebuild the country after the conflict, strengthening his country's position on the international stage. It should be emphasised that the inauguration of this presidency (January 24, 2019) was the first peaceful transfer of power in the Congo since the country gained independence in 1960 (*The Democratic Republic of the Congo*). It is worth noting that as part of the agreement reached with the Democratic Republic of Congo in September 2022, an agreement was made to deploy a joint EAC regional force in the eastern provinces of the DRC. This decision seems crucial from the point of view of the effective reconstruction of the state.

4. Conclusions

The decisions to admit both South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo were accompanied by serious concerns resulting from their political instabilities. It is, therefore, worth recalling that Rwanda and Burundi also had to face the above-mentioned threats in the course of their accession process and that accession to the Community forced the new members to adapt to Community regulations regarding attempts to effectively resolve internal conflicts. Successful economic cooperation has the potential to result in poverty reduction and development for South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, both economically and socio-politically. This in turn, has the potential to translate into good governance and the development of civil society.

Community membership should also help to resolve internal conflicts and effectively peacebuilding processes. Since its establishment in 1999,

the EAC has taken steps to create structures to resolve ongoing problems threatening the stabilisation of the member states and the entire region. Measures for regional stability, strengthening peace and security in the region are seen as conditioning the success of prioritised integration processes (Lizak 2012, 427). The regional strategy for security with a supporting plan of its practical application (Overview of Peace and Security Strategy) concerning common solutions for regional threats and ensuring the safety of citizens of Community member states was adopted at the Community Council of Ministers in 2006, giving a green light for potential stabilisation interventions within the EAC (Overview of Peace and Security Strategy).

However, peacebuilding processes are long-term in terms of economic recovery and political stabilisation. Six years after South Sudan's accession, there is still no discernible change in economic development indicators and political stability. In public discussions, the sense of continuing to belong to the Community is being questioned. Joining the EAC is a great opportunity, but it requires cooperation and determination on the part of the ruling elites of the newly adopted state. Good or poor governance can significantly accelerate or delay the exploitation of community membership opportunities. This is evidenced by comparing the pace of development and political stability of Rwanda and Burundi, admitted to the Community at the same time (Bar 2013; Bar 2021).

The future of South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo depends first and foremost on the right policies of both countries' leaders and political elites. Accession to the East African Community provided both countries with a tremendous opportunity to support stabilisation and development processes. It remains to be hoped that the future will confirm the rightness of the decision on their accession, both for the Community and for the newly acceded members.

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Chapter 18

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The Role of African Union in the Context of Maintaining Peace and Security in Africa: The Quandary of Collective Security Approach

Abstract: The continent of Africa frequently faces serious peace and security challenges. This significant issue has been addressed by the previous Organization of African Unity (OAU) and currently by the African Union (AU). The chapter investigates, the AU security structure, approach, and its capacity to maintain peace and security in Africa. It also explores various aspects of security cooperation with the international community, such as the UN, EU, and other regional and international institutions. Similarly, the study assesses the contribution of international organizations in African security affairs. The emphasis of the analysis includes activities of peacekeeping operations, in different parts of Africa in which the AU was engaged with the cooperation of the UN and other international communities. The analysis of the study will be based on the qualitative data collection approach for exploratory purposes.

Keywords: African Union, international security, United Nations, European Union, Africa

1. Introduction

The problem of conflict and conflict resolution is one of the main fields of international relations. International security has always been very important, therefore this case was developed as a separate discipline after the Second World War. According to Buzan, before the Second World War, it was described, “as war studies, military and grand strategy, and geopolitics. This includes much-discussed writers such as Clausewitz, Mahan, Richardson and Haushofer, whose work remains relevant” (Buzan 2009, 16).

He adds that previous literature concentrates only on security, rather than defense or war as its key perception, a theoretical modification that opened up the study of a wider set of political problems, comprising the status of common solidity and the affiliation between armed and non-military coercion and exposures (Buzan 2009, 16).

The conceptual framework of international security study is difficult to demarcate from other academic subjects, especially international relations.

Various explanations are given for the theory of security based on different approaches. According to Wolfers, the notion of security as the various elements includes national characters, preferences, and influences that form general perception. He also indicates that, the lack of threat and fear against the values of a nation as the central concept. On the other hand, there are also other academic attempts to explain security aspects in international relations differently. For example, Soltani, Jayum, and Zaid, see the concept of the lack of threat against the values of nations in a different way. They argue that various complex situations affect the development of the “*concepts such as security and insecurity dilemma, value dilemma, collective security, and security regimes that are to interpret and solve the problem of security*” (Soltani 2012, 7).

This study tries to explore the formation of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU) regarding the necessity of collective security in Africa as well as its successes and failures. Taking into consideration instability and conflicts across the continent as one of the major problems, African states made great progress toward development. The establishment of the PSC in 2002 was focused on resolving

conflicts and building durable peace and security in order to eradicate poverty and bring progress to Africans (Kahombo 2018).

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was created on 25th May 1963 when 32 independent African states organized a conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The main principles of the new organization were defined under Article 2 of the OAU Charter. It consists of the concepts of solidarity, the defense of Africa's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. They paid special attention to non-interference concerning problems of internal affairs between member-states which was sensitive to new independent African countries After colonialism. Another main challenge of the OAU after 1963 was the problem of African countries which still remained under colonial rule at a time of the inception of the Organization. Regarding this, OAU's aim was to help end of colonial rule in Africa. The principle of non-interference includes arbitration, conciliation and negotiation as the means to be used for conflict resolution (Matambo 2018, 31).

The problem of the OAU's principle of non-interference in practice had some constraints. Internal political and social problems especially related to repressions committed by rulers in Africa, such as Idi Amin administration in Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire and Sani Abacha in Nigeria were not addressed because of the principle of non-intervention (Matambo 2018, 31)

The responsibility of protecting civilians has been controversial for a long time. the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty which was released in December 2001 and sets out the primary responsibility of sovereign states to protect their own citizens from mass murder, large-scale loss of life, and rape. The ICISS report also focuses on when states are reluctant or incapable of safeguarding their populations, the international community of states has the responsibility to prevent civilians. This issue arose after the events of 11 September 2001 which brought to the central stage, the international response to terrorism. The case of intervention for human protection ideas has been seen as one of the most controversial and difficult of all international relations questions (Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2001).

The impact of internal displacement especially on vulnerable groups regarding women and children led to the creation of treaties such as the

African Women's Protocol and African Children's Charter for protection to assist parents and others responsible for the child in the performance of child-rearing and ensure the development of institutions responsible for providing care of children (African Charter on the Rights and Welfare, 1999, 18).

Article 22 of the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the child, regarding armed conflicts mentions that States which are parties to the Charter are obliged to respect and ensure the rules of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts which affect the children. It also states that no child shall take a direct part in hostilities. The Charter fully recognizes obligations of international humanitarian law to protect the civilian population during armed conflicts and ensures the protection and care of children who are affected by internal armed conflicts (African Charter on the Rights and Welfare 1999, 18).

2. The Emergence of Collective Security System in Africa

The formation of OAU was the beginning of the diversified common interest of African states. In May 1963, African leaders met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to initiate the Organization of African Unity (OAU). They understood that they needed strong solidarity, so they had the collective conviction that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are legitimate ambitions of the African peoples, and by their desire to connect the natural and human resources for the advancement of the Continent in all scopes of human effort. The early founders of OAU were encouraged by an equally common purpose to endorse understanding between the African peoples and mutual relations among the African States, and to reawaken the objectives of the African people for brotherhood and solidarity in a greater unison exceeding language, political, ethnic and national variances. The Initiating precursors were entirely convinced to accomplish these distinguished ideas for peace and security. The strong conviction of the leaders was directed by the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The African States

had no choice but ought to combat the difficult tasks and challenges of decolonization, economic development and upholding peace and security in Africa (OAU, Assembly of Heads of State and Government, 1993).

During the ceremonial launching of the new Peace and Security Council (PSC) Council the Heads of State and Governments of the Member States of the African Union (AU), summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 25th May 2004, they evaluated the situation of peace and security in Africa. According to the statement, the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, contributed to the progress of Africa towards solving disagreements and led to enduring peace, security and order. They also reiterated their commitment to elevate peaceful and advanced Africa to a significant step by realizing the principles enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the Union for Peace and Security.

The Peace and Security Council after reviewing and analyzing the past protocols and declarations of the collective efforts and commitments to peace, pointed out the rejection of the use of force in settling disputes as the main constraint. (AU, Peace and Security Council, 2004).

The Peace and Security Council (PSC) is the permanent structure of the AU established to prevent manage and seek solutions for tensions or disagreements taking place across the continent of Africa. The main purpose of this organ was to create a collective security mechanism of early warning plan with the capacity of appropriate and effective reactions in case of conflict and crisis conditions. Mainly the central roles of the PSC targets early warning and precautionary diplomacy, allowing peace-making and arranging peace support processes. In other cases, it creates positive conditions, propose intermediations in Member States to foster stability, peace and security. The PSC further facilitates, and coordinates the process of peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction including humanitarian aid as well as disaster management (AUPSC, 2015).

Protocol relating to the establishment of the peace and security council of the African union, adopted by the 1st Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union in Durban, 9 July 2002, Article 3 mentions the objectives for which the Peace and Security Council was established as follows:

- a. promote peace, security and stability in Africa, in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the well-being

- of the African people and their environment, as well as the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development;
- b. anticipate and prevent conflicts. In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, the Peace and Security Council shall have the responsibility to undertake peace-making and peacebuilding functions for the resolution of these conflicts;
 - c. promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence;
 - d. co-ordinate and harmonize continental efforts in the prevention and combating of international terrorism in all its aspects;
 - e. develop a common defense policy for the Union, in accordance with article 4(d) of the Constitutive Act;
 - f. promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law, as part of efforts for preventing conflicts (AUPSC, 2002).

The PSC concept had its historical roots related to OAU's Central Organ of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. This Organ carried out its task at summit, ministerial and ambassadorial ranks. Its main Organ was the OAU's operational body authorized to make decisions on matters of peace and security. Initially, it comprised nine and then 14 Member States. Presently the PSC has 15 members. All are elected by the AU Executive Council and endorsed by the Assembly. Among these, five members are elected for three-year terms and 10 for two-year terms. The election is based on mechanisms of balanced regional representation and the principle of national rotation. The national rotation needs consensus within the regional groups taking into consideration the geographical positions of representatives: For example, the composition of the PSC members according to the region is as follows (AUPSC, 2002): Central Region - three seats; Eastern Region - three seats; Northern Region - two seats; Southern Region - three seats and Western Region - four seats.

3. The Panel of the Wise

The Panel of Wise members are selected by the Chairperson of the AU Commission and approved by a decision of the Assembly for three-year renewable terms. The appointment of the members of the Panel initially took place in December 2007. The members included Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria, who served as chair, Salim Ahmed Salim from Tanzania, Elisabeth K. Pognon from Benin, Miguel Trovoada from São Tomé and Príncipe, and Brigalia Bam from South Africa. Ben Bella and Ahmed Salim were reappointed In July 2010 at the Summit in Kampala, for the next term including new members, Mary Chinery Hesse from Ghana; Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia; and Marie Madeleine Kalala-Ngoy from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Among its duties, the Panel of Wise, works on issues relevant to peace and security concerning women and children in armed conflicts. The Panel of Wise reports its duties to the PSC and then to the Assembly of the PSC. The Panel of Wise may proceed with its work at the request of the PSC or its own initiative. The Panel holds its meeting at least three times annually to discuss on important issues to identify regions or countries related to its main tasks. Additionally, annual workshops on issues concerning conflict prevention and management are organized, which could be reported to the Assembly of African Heads of State and Governments for discussion and approval (Panel of the Wise, 2018).

4. African Union Security Cooperations with UN and Regional Organizations

Forceful conflict and the power of armed nonstate actors continue to be the main concern in contemporary Africa. As a consequence of violence, millions have lost their life and exiled many citizens. Others are exposed to disease and starvation. Williams, describing the scale of the problem writes that, “*such violence has also traumatized a generation of children and young adults, broken bonds of trust and authority structures among and across local communities, shattered education and healthcare systems,*

disrupted transportation routes and infrastructure, and done untold damage to the continent's ecology from its land and waterways to its flora and fauna" (Williams 2013). He also focuses on the financial problems and the direct and indirect costs of conflicts in Africa since 2000. In addition, he mentions the cost of the conflict which was estimated to be closely nine hundred billion USD. This strategy was to efficiently confront and promote conflict resolution procedures and to identify nonstate actors when the host state's security forces cannot control and combat effectively (Williams, 2013).

According to Congressional Research Service, as of August 2019, there were 14 peacekeeping operations worldwide, comprising more than 100,000 military, police, and civilian personnel. Among them, the following 7 missions are found in Africa (Congressional Research Service, 2019):

- the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), established by the Council in 2014;
- the U.N. Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), established in 2013;
- the U.N. Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), established in 2011;
- the U.N. Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), established in 2011;
- the U.N. Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC, MONUSCO), established in 2010 to succeed the U.N. Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC);
- the U.N.-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), established in 2007; and
- the U.N. Mission for the Organization of a Referendum in the Western Sahara.

Operations conducted in Africa show how U.N. peacekeeping has significantly engaged since the beginning of the first mission in the Middle East in 1948 (Congressional Research Service, 2019).

The African Union's partnership with the UN is based on the principles of cooperation with regional organizations concerning, among others peacekeeping operations within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. There has been a great demand for

Table 1. List of Past Peacekeeping Operations in Africa

Peacekeeping operations	Year of establishment
United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)	1988
United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	1991
United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)	1991
United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)	1994
United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	1993
United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI)	2003
United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	2000
United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	1999
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)	1998
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)	2007
United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	1997
United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)	1993
United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)	1993
United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)	1993
United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	2004
United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	2004
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	1992
United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	1992
United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)	1993
UN Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	2005
United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	1960
United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	1999
United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	1989

Source: Adopted from United Nations Peacekeeping, List Of Past Peacekeeping Operations, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/list-of-past-peacekeeping-operations> (July 2, 2023).

peacekeeping over the past decade in Africa. According to the Report of the Secretary-General of the UN in 2015, the bulk of the peacekeeping efforts are undertaken in Africa, with over 87% of peacekeepers deployed in Africa. This shows how far the African Union was dependent on the United Nations regarding security issues. The commitment of regional partners in peacekeeping alongside United Nations operations has become a well-known standard. This fact is more evident in Africa, where the participation of the African Union, subregional mechanisms, as well as international organizations such as the European Union cooperate,

alongside United Nations operations where ever conflicts occur in Africa. The report of the Secretary General of the UN in 2015 reveals that, there were nine United Nations peacekeeping operations on the continent, six peace support operations led by the African Union and regional economic communities or regional mechanisms, one hybrid United Nations-African Union operation, and nine European Union civilian missions and military operations (Report of the Secretary-General, 2015).

The problem of the latest instances of Mali and the Central African Republic operations was introduced by subregional actors. The African Union approved the operations which were finally to be later redeployed as United Nations operations. Both operations and deployments were supported by the United Nations and the European Union.

Following the transfer of authority, some changes have been performed. The African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) was changed to the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), in which the African Union has reserved a political role with the launching of the African Union Mission for Mali and the Sahel (MISAHEL) in which the organization further continued to support the inter-Malian comprehensive dialogue.

On the other hand, the Central African Republic, after the transfer of authority from the African-led International Support Mission in the Central African Republic (MISCA) to the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). The African Union, through the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), maintained the role of continuing change and stabilization.

The Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union in December 2003 significantly increased the powers of the African Union in matters of conflict prevention and resolution. As a result, the African Union and the regional economic communities as well as regional mechanisms have achieved qualitative and quantitative progress in case of taking initiatives on peace and security, and their role regarding security issues has increased. As a result, the partnership between the United Nations and the African Union has evolved from a capacity-building model to a partnership. The African Union and the United Nations Secretariat and Commission have fostered close relations. The

United Nations-African Union Joint Task Force on Peace and Security has been verified to be a significant instrument in promoting greater unity, allowing the Secretariat and the Commission to manage short and long-term tactical problems of mutual interest and categorize areas for common achievement (UN, 2012; MINUSCA, 2014; Report of the Secretary-General, 2015).

According to Allen, more African-led peace operations have taken place in recent years. The process of conflict management in Africa has been changed due to vision differences between the United Nations Security Council, which led to the deployment of multidimensional UN-sponsored missions to be decreased. Allen further states, “No *new UN mission has been authorized in Africa in close to a decade, the UN will only have five remaining active missions on the continent. Meanwhile, the AU, RECs, and regional actors have authorized 16 new peace operations over the past decade, 10 of which are active*” (Allen 2023). This situation encourages African Union member States to rely more on themselves.

5. African Union and European Union Security Partnership

The problem of Peace, security and governance have been areas of long-lasting important mutual cooperation of the EU-Africa relations. EU-Africa peace and security partnership is based on the legal framework of the 1989 Lomé IV Convention. Unlike previous conventions, which emphasized on trade relations, the Lomé IV Convention outlined the need for the EU and Africa, to stand for human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law including provisions of aid. North Africa is of paramount magnitude for equally the EU and the African Union (AU). On the other hand, the Horn of Africa and maritime security in the Red Sea are significant to the EU’s global commercial benefits. That is why strong bilateral cooperation of peace and security involving both the EU and Africa became highlighted within the structure AU. The EU remains the AU’s major funder and has been an important partner in financing various peace support operations deployed by the AU and its regional

economic communities across the continent. (Shiferaw and Paviotti 2022). During the joint Africa-EU Strategy in Lisbon in 2007, both parties agreed concerning Security and Stability in Africa and Europe as the core of the partnership between Africa and the EU. They agreed upon the need for strengthening dialogue and institutional cooperation. This was to address issues of peace and stability in Africa, as well as challenges that Europe is facing. In line with this, they agreed to share information, perspectives and lessons learned, as well as to consult on issues of common interest. They believed, this improves the ability of both continents to respond timely and appropriately to peace and security threats. In addition to that, they also envisaged facilitating the coordination of efforts concerning the United Nations Security Council (Council of the European Union, 2007). The EU and AU have revived their cooperation from time to time. In 2022 both Organizations had a joint vision to consolidate a renewed Partnership for solidarity, security, peace and sustainable and sustained economic development and prosperity for their citizens and their future generations, bringing together their people and regions (European Union and African Union Summit, 2022).

Cooperation for peace and security between the European Union and the African Union was renewed at the 6th European Union - African Union Summit in which both parties reached an agreement to enhance collaboration related to the long-term Joint Vision up to 2030. The Heads of State authorized this relationship based on the principle of African solutions to African problems. This statement was included in the African Union - European Union Memorandum of Understanding on Peace, Security and Governance. Following the agreement, the EU endorsed international support for African Peace and Security. In addition, the EU promised political support and considerable backing for national efforts, the African Union and Regional Economic Communities. For the facilitation of the African Peace and Security agenda, the EU has financed more than EUR 3.5 billion. The EU also helped activities and crisis response in 28 African countries with a cost of EUR 650 million between 2014-2020; among others: in Somalia, Sudan, the Sahel and Libya, peace-building initiatives in the Central African Republic and Mozambique and conflict prevention efforts across Africa. Further financial support has been planned by the EU for conflict prevention,

Peace and Security initiatives at the national and regional level in Sub-Saharan Africa between 2021-2027, expected to be EUR 1.5 billion (EU-AU partnership for peace, 2022).

Supplementary funding regarding international human rights law and international humanitarian law is also offered for Africa under the European Peace Facility (EPF), which allows the EU to provide all types of equipment and infrastructure to the armed forces of EU partners. For example, EPF assistance measures supported AU-led Peace Support Operations, the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram, the SADC Mission to Mozambique – (SAMIM) and other organized dialogue and support for conflict prevention and mediation in Africa. The EU also envisages financial aid for combating radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism in the Sahel and West African states which encompasses mechanisms of strengthening counter-terrorism training based on respect for the rule of law and strengthening of the entire criminal justice system (EU-AU partnership for peace, 2022).

6. Conclusion

Among the African Union's multifaceted institutional framework, the Peace and Security Council (PSC) which was formally launched on the 25th of May 2004, was the ambitious design based on the principle of solving African problems by Africans. The idea that African governments pursued to achieve a more peaceful and stable continent through collective security is encouraging. The concept undoubtedly contributes to guaranteeing the protection and preservation of life and property, and the well-being of the African people across the continent. Generally, there was the hope to contain severe and complex problems of security. Despite that, the African Union and the PSC, largely failed to stop the challenges that the continent faced, mainly security issues which continue to be obstacles to the continent's development. The African security is part of international security. In line with this, the African Union's cooperation with international organizations such as the UN and EU regarding the

management of African security continues to be a priority. Even though African Union (PSC), shows visible efforts towards containing conflicts in Africa, self-reliance concerning security situations still needs more financial and organizational capacity to realize the plan of the strategy.

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Chapter 19

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The Contemporary Borders, the Idea of Cross-Border Cooperation and Paradiplomacy in Africa: Preliminary Reflections

Abstract: At the beginning, the importance of borders in the context of the post-colonial African states is underlined. Then, the African Union's attempts to establish an institutional infrastructure to tackle the border issue in the context of promoting cross-border cooperation will be analysed. The category of paradiplomacy as a concept of new foreign policy is defined. The state of research on paradiplomacy in Africa and the implementation of this kind of diplomacy on the African continent will be explored.

Keywords: borders, cross-border cooperation, paradiplomacy, Africa, African Union

1. Introduction

This chapter continues the author's research interests in borderlands, cross-border cooperation and paradiplomacy in both theoretical and practical dimension (Modzelewski and Żukowski 2013a; Modzelewski and Żukowski 2013b; Żukowski et al. 2012a; Żukowski et al. 2012b; Żukowski 2013; Żukowski and Chełminiak 2015; Żukowski et al. 2018a;

Żukowski 2020; Żukowski 2021), including Sub-Saharan Africa perspective (Żukowski 2009; Żukowski 2012c, Żukowski 2018b).

2. Borders in Africa

The borders drawn by the colonial powers in Africa were completely arbitrary and ignored the differences between different areas and the ethnic groups that inhabited them (Mbembe 1999).

This was already reflected in the 1958 resolution of the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra, which stated that borders dividing areas inhabited by tribes of the same origin were unnatural and their maintenance did not guarantee peace. However, the vast majority of African states, fearing separatist tendencies, expressed themselves against any change to national borders established after independence, following the end of colonialism. This principle found its way into the statutes of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963 (Zajączkowski 2010, 193).

On the other hand, it is increasingly emphasised that the integrity of the African state within its current borders is not a fundamental value (Trzciński 2010: 243-262). It is emphasised that in today's world, the old accepted agreements on the integrity of state borders are increasingly being challenged. Once strong states are disintegrating and national and/or ethnic identities are being reinforced (Menkiti 2001, 148).

Normal coexistence in a state with post-colonial borders in Africa was and is a very complex and difficult issue (Nugent and Asiwaju 1996).

3. The African Union and Cross-border Cooperation

The African Union (AU), as the successor to the OAU, has relatively recently begun to establish an institutional infrastructure to tackle the border issue in the context of promoting cross-border cooperation.

Cross-border cooperation is intended as a tool for local development, which is particularly relevant for border and peripheral regions.

In 2007, the African Union Border Programme (AUBP) was announced which main objective is to promote peace, security and stability through: delimitation and demarcation of borders, cross-border cooperation, and capacity building (Declaration on the African Union). The Programme should be a platform for the negotiated resolution of border disputes and the promotion of regional (e.g. Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS; East African Community, EAC; Intergovernmental Authority on Development, IGAD in Eastern Africa; Southern African Development Community, SADC) and continental integration through cross-border cooperation. What is also important, the Programme implementation is affected at national, regional and continental levels based on the principle of subsidiarity and respect for the sovereignty of States (African Union Border...).

The effective implementation of the Programme is to be supported by the African Union Strategy for a Better Integrated Border Governance which was adopted in 2020 by the AU Heads of State and Government.

There were also relevant Ministerial Declarations on the topic (Declaration on AUBP 2007 1st Conference of African Ministers; Declaration on AUBP 2010 2nd Conference of African Ministers; Declaration on AUBP 2012 3rd Conference of African Ministers; Declaration on AUBP 2016 4th Conference of African Ministers) as well as Communiqués of the Peace & Security Council (PSC) on the AUBP (Communique 930th Meeting – 2020; PSC Communique 901st Meeting Natural Resources Governance - 2019; PSC Press Statement 777th Meeting Delimitation of Borders – 2018; PSC Press Statement 603rd Meeting Border Disputes - 2015) and Decisions of the Decisions Making Organs as Specialised Technical Committees, Executive Council and Assembly.

An extremely potentially important role is fulfilled by the African Union Convention on Cross-Border Cooperation (Niamey Convention) from 2014 which was the first legal framework for cross-border cooperation in the Continent (The African Union Convention). This convention provided opportunities to accelerate the process of regional and continental integration and to resolve border disputes peacefully.

Another important document in this regard adopted by the African Union was the African Charter on Values and Principles of Decentralization, Local Governance and Local Development which was announced

in 2014 and entered into force in January 2019 (The African Charter). Unfortunately, major federal and decentralised states such as Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, and Ethiopia are yet to sign the Charter (Omiunu 2020).

Several other initiatives were undertaken by the African Union. As part of the African Union Border Programme, a series of guidebooks on various topics in the area of border governance from across the Continent were published. African Ministers in charge of border issues adopted 7 June as an African Border Day to popularize the importance of the African Union Border Programme in promoting peace and regional and continental integration in Africa. The first African Border Day was celebrated in 2011 under the theme “Uniting and integrating Africa through peaceful, open and prosperous borders” (Celebration). Such celebrations are organised every year and each year under a different theme.

In summary, in recent years the African Union has created an institutional framework for the development of cross-border cooperation on the Continent.

4. Paradiplomacy as a Concept of New Foreign Policy

Paradiplomacy is described as a non-traditional or unconventional diplomacy, “new” non-state diplomacy, “alternative” diplomacy with the “new” actors. It is related to “multi-level governance”.

Originally, the term “paradiplomacy” was referred only to the international activities of regions in federal states. Later was used also in the context of foreign activities of regional and local governments in unitary states. Paradiplomacy is defined as the involvement of non-central governments in international relations (Soldatos 1990). The broader definition treats paradiplomacy as the involvement of the authorities of sub-state entities in international relations by building contacts of a formal and informal nature, both permanent and *ad hoc*, with foreign public or private entities in order to pursue socio-economic, cultural and political interests, as well as any other international dimension of their constitutional powers (Cornago 1999, 40).

Paradiplomacy should align with overall governmental priorities (Tavares 2016, 119).

It is highlighted that identities and interests are essential components of paradiplomacy. According to Alexander Wendt's constructivist approach, the identities of actors in international relations shape the existence of these relations (Wendt 1994, 384-396).

Paradiplomacy is increasingly essential in contemporary international relations. Sub-state actors challenge the paradigm of international relations in which nation-states are the only relevant main actors in international cooperation (Kuznetsov 2015).

5. Paradiplomacy in Africa – State of Research

The research on paradiplomacy in Africa, with a few exceptions, is still in its beginning stages. Only very few scholars from the Continent are deeply engaged in the topic. By far the largest number of research studies in this area are being conducted in South Africa. The first study of paradiplomacy in South Africa seems to have been prepared by Deon Geldenhuys (Geldenhuys 1998). However, in fact, only Fritz Nganje from the University of Johannesburg has conducted systematic research on paradiplomacy in the context of primarily South Africa and its provinces (Nganje 2013; Nganje 2014a; Nganje 2016c), but also South African cities (Nganje 2021). In the latter case, he prepared a joint study with Bosele Tladi (Nganje and Tladi 2023). His studies also deal with more general issues related to democratisation, decentralisation and urbanisation in South African foreign policy (Nganje 2014b; Nganje 2016a). He has also examined these issues jointly with Letlhogonolo Letshele (Nganje and Letshele 2020) and Odilile Ayodele (Nganje and Ayodele 2022). Nganje's studies also have the value of comparative analyses - a collaboration between cities in Brazil and Mozambique (Nganje 2016b; Nganje 2022). He has also studied the nature of relations between South African national governments and provincial governments in the area of foreign affairs (Nganje 2015).

Also, to be mentioned are Nolubabalo Magam's works on the legal foundations of paradiplomacy in the context of the objectives of the

African Union's Agenda 2063 (Magam 2019), paradiplomacy in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal (Magam 2021) and theories of paradiplomacy (Magam 2023). In another, the international activities of the Limpopo provincial government have been studied by Nyasha Alex Hungwe and Ricky Munyaradzi Mukonza (Hungwe and Mukonza 2021) and earlier by Vhulenda Edna Matshili (Matshili 2013), and in the context of South African provinces and municipalities by Jo-Ansie van Wyk (van Wyk 1997) and Siphamandla Zondi (Zondi 2012). The theoretical issues of the foreign activity of municipalities in South Africa were investigated by John Ntshaupe Molepo (Molepo 2021). In turn, the issues of paradiplomacy in South African foreign policy have been tackled by Philip Nel, Ian Taylor and Janis van der Westhuizen among others (Nel, Taylor and van der Westhuizen 2000).

It must be emphasised once again that research on paradiplomacy is by far dominated by South African researchers.

Issues of international cooperation between cities in the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, on the example of the Zimbabwean capital Harare was recently dealt with by Enock Ndawana from the University of Zimbabwe (Ndawana 2022). Apart from this, there have been isolated cases revealing the developmental potential and value of paradiplomacy, e.g. on the example of cooperation between Brazil and Angola in the construction of hydroelectric power plants, among others, by Brazilian researchers André Rodrigues Corrêa and Douglas de Castro (Corre and de Castro 2016) or the case of the construction of the Orokawe hydroelectric dam and the uses of indigenous paradiplomacy, by Richard Meissner and Jeroen Warner (Meissner and Warner 2021). Elisabeth Peyroux has researched the Johannesburg international relations strategy (Peyroux 2018), while Marie-Odile Blanc has examined the collaboration of the authorities of the South African provinces of Gauteng and Mpumalanga with their Mozambican partners in creating to strengthen the Johannesburg-Maputo axis (Blanc 1997). Paradiplomacy in Africa was mentioned by Ohiocheoya Omiunu from De Montfort University in Leicester (Omiunu 2020).

It is important to mention that issues of paradiplomacy in Africa are raised quite often in the context of cross-border cooperation and researchers do not always write explicitly about this type of diplomacy.

6. Paradiplomacy in Africa – in Practice

In African contexts, paradiplomacy is understood primarily as the activity of subnational governments (SNGs) in international relations. This diplomacy is treated as a kind of sub-state diplomacy which could be largely explained using variables such as globalization, nationalism, regionalism and federalism.

Subnational governments are primarily understood as provincial governments and to a lesser extent local governments. Additionally, metropolitan cities are mentioned among the actors of paradiplomacy in the African setting.

If we are talking about the legal framework for paradiplomacy in Africa, then this applies in principle only to the states defined as democratic or democratising. The question of whether a state has a federal or unitary political system seems secondary. This is confirmed by South Africa, a unitary state, where, after the overthrow of apartheid and the introduction of liberal democracy after 1994, legal opportunities were created for the paradiplomacy of provincial governments and cities.

South Africa appears as a unique example of the practical application of paradiplomacy on the African continent. Especially, South African provinces have increasingly engaged in international relations. The motives and goals of this paradiplomacy are quite obvious. Usually, subnational governments treat paradiplomacy as the most effective and preferred strategy for economic development to promote provincial foreign trade, support provincial businesses abroad and attract foreign investments. Other purposes to strengthen the identity of the province internationally, to build an international brand of the province. South African subnational governments are oriented on their own legitimacy and sovereignty.

In South Africa, a special directorate within the Department of International Relations and Cooperation is responsible to coordinate the international relations of every of nine provinces.

The African National Congress, as a ruling party in South Africa, in 2012, mentioned “para-diplomacy” among the six areas of foreign policymaking processes coordination (meaning the international relations conducted by provincial and local authorities) (Kotzé 2012, 8-9).

It is clear that paradiplomacy must respect and follow the national foreign policy goals of the state and not conflict with these goals. This requires among representatives of subnational entities to be knowledgeable about the meanderings of international relations. As an example, the visit of Tshwane (earlier Pretoria) mayor Solly Msimanga to Taiwan in 2016 is cited as a glaring action inconsistent with the main principles of South African foreign policy. The visit amounted to treason and violated the “One China” policy between South Africa and China, which means the People’s Republic of China (Tshwane...).

In relation to South Africa, and even more, so the entire African continent, Rodrigo Tavares’ statement is still valid that „paradiplomats are still poorly trained, have no specific career track, and only a few universities and policy making research institutes provide any major training on the topic” (Tavares 2016, 230).

Another initiative, relatively young, was the creation of the African Paradiplomacy Network in Lagos, Nigeria in July 2019. It is an interdisciplinary network and partnerships between researchers (e.g., International Relations, Law, Urban Studies and Public Administration), policymakers (e.g., municipal councilors, city officials), and non-state actors (e.g., civil society groups and businesses) in Africa and beyond. The network promotes the study of paradiplomacy and other internationalisation strategies adopted by African subnational governments/regions/cities. An important scope of interest is to explore the international relations of African subnational governments and their impact on sustainable development in Africa (socio-economic development and social cohesion). The network has ambitious action plans: to raise awareness about the internationalisation strategies of African subnational governments; to build capacity by encouraging interest among a new generation of students and early career researchers in issues of paradiplomacy from an African perspective; to generate empirical data that feeds into debates on the international partnerships and strategies of African subnational governments (African Paradiplomacy...).

There are quite a lot of examples, especially in South Africa how paradiplomacy was tried to be implemented. Three South African provinces stand out: Gauteng and Western Cape, as well as KwaZulu-Natal. Another attempt, out from South Africa, of using paradiplomacy to ease inter- and

transnational tensions and conflicts came from Orokawe hydroelectric dam on the Kunene River on the border between Angola and Namibia.

7. Conclusions

In Africa, only the beginning of potential process of forming its own paradiplomacy has just begun. African self-government's participation in international relations as independent entities under the state limitation and supervision is at a very early stage. There are exceptional experiences of successful implementation of paradiplomacy. Such diplomacy should be constricted in the formula of state limitation and supervision which is very difficult to introduce there.

It is still strongly rooted in Africa's central governments' policy orientation, even in quite stable states. Central state institutions want and do control lower levels of governments, especially regional and local governments. The subsidiarity principle, which is the foundation of the European Union's regional policy, is not only little noticed in African states, but also not accepted by those who are in power. There is also the institutional weakness of the African states, mostly at lower levels of government.

Moreover, the vast majority of the members of the African Union (45) are unitary states, where the most of governing competences are in force of the central government and only minor or local issues are within the authority of regional or local governments, especially when it comes to conducting foreign policy. A similar situation also applies to formally federal states such as: Comoros, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Sudan and, to a largely smaller extent, African states with certain features of federalism such as: Madagascar and Tanzania. There is a lack of synergy between the national foreign policy and paradiplomacy. Among the recommendations for the creation of a legal framework for paradiplomacy in Africa, the need to include the possibility of foreign subnational governments' actions in national constitutions and to define the scope of these actions is often emphasised.

Extremely important factors hindering the introduction of paradiplomacy in Africa are: political destabilization; lack of well-established

democratic procedures and institutions; lack of experience in multi-level governance; existing political culture; lack of adequate knowledge about paradiplomacy among not only political elites, but among representatives of regional and local governments; lack or insufficient financial funds to conduct paradiplomacy. There is also the previously mentioned problem of artificial borders in Africa; the situation of war or border conflicts; and the suspicions of the central authorities towards regional and local authorities of separatism or secession. In this case, a new approach to cross-border relations could improve ethnic conflict management and contribute to the better administration of common ecological resources (Asiwaju 1994b; Nugent and Asiwaju 1996; Asiwaju 2010). We are also dealing with progressive subnational government marginalization in African states (Omiunu 2020).

Other factors should also be taken into account, such as the unfavourable socio-economic situation, especially during and after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Summing up, still in African states the involvement of subnational governments in international affairs is a very difficult task (Cornago 2000). However, we must remember that paradiplomacy has not only immense developmental potential but also has the potential to promote continental development and aid the African Union in achieving its 2063 Agenda (Magam 2019, 179). The significant role of paradiplomacy was displayed when international ties between non-central governments produced great direct benefits for some subnational entities by providing the much-needed resources to fight against COVID-19. It could be also added that according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, an estimated 65% of the 169 targets behind the 17 Sustainable Development Goals will not be reached without the engagement of local and regional governments (Achieving...).

Even in the case of South Africa, Nganje's opinion is still valid that paradiplomacy of the most provincial and local governments has remained an elusive goal and there were unsuccessful efforts to align paradiplomacy with South Africa's foreign policy and national priorities (Nganje 2014a).

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