

# **Social representations informing discourses of young leaders: a case study of Tanzania**

**By:**

**Valéria Cristina Salles**

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# Social representations informing discourses of young leaders: a case study of Tanzania

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Valéria Cristina Salles

Cape Town, September 2005

Supervisor:

Kathleen Jane Collins

# Acknowledgments

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is a theoretical and textual analysis of the discursive practice of **young leaders in Tanzania**, as a means to understand the dominant **representations** of a group that plans to take over the leadership of the country in the future. Representations are collective discursive formations conditioned by historical possibilities and cultural context. The exploratory approach adopts **Constructivism** as a major philosophical paradigm for social realities and presents a case study of twenty-five participants who are young political leaders operating in Tanzania and trainees on the **Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP)**, run by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a German not-for-profit organization guided by democratic values. All of the participants had 'leadership' positions in their own organizations. In 2003, they were interviewed and wrote essays on different topics related to leadership in Tanzania, while I was living in that country and working as short-term trainer for the YLTP. As a member of the team of trainers of the first YLTP, I was invited to lead its end-of-programme evaluation, the results of which left open questions regarding the **relationship between Tanzanian history and cultural contexts**, and the choice of curriculum and method of the YLTP. This research intends, in its analysis of the issues raised by these questions, to contribute to the future design of **leadership-training** programmes in Tanzania.

There are two parts: **part I**, 'the researcher, the object and the method' gives an account of my philosophical trajectory, formulates the **epistemological foundations** upon which the analysis is built, and proposes a methodological tool that has not been used in the English-speaking world yet: the *discourse of the collective subject* (DCS). Conventional explanations ignore the power of discourse and its role in construction, maintenance and resistance to ideologies. The choice of **discourse analysis** aims at unveiling the Tanzanian culture-specific ideological constructions and the powers that, in interaction, frame and mediate discourses and meaning-making. **Part II** searches for those 'relationships between history, social representations and contemporary discourses of young leaders', showing how the ideological forces operating in Tanzania determine **rules of formation** for the young leaders' discourses.

**Three types of dominant discourses are articulated** among the young leaders. One, which I named *humanistic discourse*, is framed by constructions of socialism and *Ujamaa*, brotherhood, egalitarianism and Pan-Africanism. This dominant discursive practice is, however, interspersed with *liberal discourses*, which frame the world within streams of the modernization paradigm, reconstructing meanings in Tanzania. Both discursive practices are found to be mediated by a *patriarchal discourse*, which weaves through the representations of the young leaders in that country.

The analysis of the discourses and the conclusions regarding social representations helped develop some **recommendations** in the form of insights for future leadership-training programmes in Tanzania. Those recommendations aim particularly at linking the domain of the 'personal' to the domain of the 'political', both found to pertain to different, and sometimes conflicting, genres and narratives among the young leaders.

## **Foreword: how to read this dissertation**

Often proclaimed as **the** major aspect that curbs or promotes development in Africa, leadership is said to be the “missing link”, that part of the ‘political’ domain – the ‘structural’ sector – “which reflects in all other sectors and facets of the political system and society” (Adewoye, 2000:39). This dissertation provides a theoretical and textual analysis of discursive practice of young leaders in Tanzania, as a means to understand the dominant representations of a group which will take over the leadership of the country in the future. Representations are collective discursive formations conditioned by historical possibilities. I carefully threaded my way through the pitfalls of the ‘truths’ that I found in the varied literature that composes “Tanzania”. Understanding the links between Tanzanian historical and discursive formation and the ‘collective imagining’ of young leaders sheds light on the interacting forces that are creating the future of Tanzania.

Any analysis of this nature runs the risk of representing discourse as monolithic and of constructing consensus, where diversity and discord exist. This dissertation is, then, primarily, a reflection – a representation of representations – on discourse and practice, but not an account of what Tanzania, leadership and young leaders are. This is a case study whose participants are young political leaders operating in Tanzania, and trainees at a leadership training course, the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), run by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a German not-for-profit organization guided by social-democratic values. All of the participants had ‘leadership’ positions in their own organizations. The case is a mix of participants who had just finished their training in YLTP I – therefore already influenced by ‘social-democratic values’ – and others who were just initiating their participation in YLTP II.

The text of this dissertation is composed of two major parts. Part I, **‘the researcher, the object and the method’**, sets the scene for the following analysis. It gives an account of my philosophical trajectory – I, the one who construes the ‘reality’ that will be preserved on paper. It formulates the ontological and epistemological foundations upon which the analysis is built, and it proposes a set of methodological tools that allows the data to be transformed into a product that still, in the end, resembles more a process than a fixed proposition. Part II searches for **‘relationships between history, social representations and contemporary discourses of**

**young leaders'** in Tanzania. Conventional explanations ignore the power of discourse and its role in construction, maintenance and resistance to ideologies. In this way, part two shows how the ideological forces operating in Tanzania give rules of formation to the young leaders' discourses and how their discourses re-present social constructs, digesting them, transforming them, and recreating the world.

This dissertation has to be read doubtfully, critically, cleverly, with awareness of the tricks played by the 'legitimacy' of scientific discourse. The text is *mise-en-abîme*, a story-within-a-story, a representation of representations. In presenting, I re-present, and I therefore create. Such warning does not mean that what is 'created' through this dissertation is false or fake. It is just that the "question 'what is going on here' cannot be answered without reference to the agent's own understanding of what she is doing" (Cameron et al., 2002:148). You, the reader, will also be part of the process of re-creating this dissertation. Be aware of that. Questioning so often my own right to 'produce' science might have been only a way to force you, the reader, to question your own viewpoints.

## **Table of Contents**

### **PART I: THE RESEARCHER, THE OBJECT AND THE METHOD**

<b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1. Rationale: why study young political leaders in Tanzania? .....	2
1.2. The objectives of the study .....	4
1.3. Institutional context of the study .....	6
1.3.1. The Youth Leadership Training Programme.....	6
1.3.2. The participants of the YLTP .....	7
1.3.3. My role as trainer in the YLTP .....	8
1.4. Value of this study for social development .....	9
<b>2. A METHOD FOR CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE .....</b>	<b>13</b>
2.1. Construction of a cross-cultural understanding: whose knowledge is power? .....	13
2.2. An epistemological framework to understand leadership in Tanzania .....	15
2.3. Research question and underlying assumptions of this study .....	18
2.4. Social representations as discursive regularities in Tanzania .....	18
2.5. Discourse analysis as methodological approach of choice .....	20
2.6. Research design .....	22
2.6.1. Characterisation of the case: sampling.....	23
2.6.2. Actual steps for data collection .....	23
2.6.3. Steps for data analysis.....	25
2.7. Limitations of the study.....	28

### **PART II: SEARCHING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HISTORY, SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES OF YOUNG LEADERS**

<b>3. A REPRESENTATION: THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA .....</b>	<b>31</b>
3.1. What is Africa? .....	31
3.2. What is Tanzania?.....	32
3.2.1. The formation of a Swahili culture .....	32
3.2.2. Colonial representations: German East Africa and Tanganyika.....	34
3.2.3. Constructing a discourse of nationalism.....	41
3.2.4. From Tanganyika to Tanzania: the African discourses .....	43
3.2.5. Liberal practice and discourses of resistance.....	45
3.3. Conclusions: the context for culture-specific leadership .....	49
<b>4. REPRESENTATIONS OF LEADERSHIP .....</b>	<b>51</b>
4.1. The theories that constructed the 'leadership' concept.....	53
4.2. Culture recognized as element of construction of leadership.....	56
4.3. The 'collectivist' culture of Tanzania.....	57
4.4. Representations of leadership in Tanzania .....	59
4.4.1. Representations of traditional leadership .....	60
4.4.2 Re-construction of leadership in a nationalist context .....	61
4.4.3. Construction of women in leadership: resistance and patriarchy .....	64
4.5. Contemporary representations of leadership in Tanzania.....	67
4.5.1. Socialism: reconstructing Tanzanian identity.....	68
4.5.2. Ujamaa: new meaning to an old word .....	70
4.5.3. Liberal deconstruction of socialism representation.....	72
4.6. Representations of contemporary leadership: by way of conclusion.....	74

<b>5. RE-CONSTRUCTING REPRESENTATIONS OF YOUNG LEADERS .....</b>	<b>76</b>
5.1. The youth's representations of leadership .....	78
5.1.1. The exemplary leader .....	78
5.1.2. Expectations and possibilities: the future of the young leaders.....	84
5.1.3. Women in leadership: not yet .....	90
5.1.4. Tanzanian contemporary leadership: the portrait.....	92
5.2. Democracy and development: resistance to hegemonic constructs .....	95
5.2.1. Development as freedom.....	95
5.2.2. A locally built concept of democracy.....	102
5.2.3. Choice and voice as imperative for development.....	109
5.3. A normative episteme: moral values as representations.....	110
5.3.1. Discourses of religion: inherited representations.....	113
5.3.2. Discourses of sexuality: is the personal political? .....	116
5.3.3. Discourses on the forbidden: the personal is social .....	122
<b>6. A NEGOTIATION FOR MEANING: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS....</b>	<b>126</b>
6.1. The culture-specific conditions for leadership in Tanzania.....	127
6.2. Social representations informing discourses of young leaders .....	129
6.3. Conclusions.....	132
6.3.1. Discursive regularities found among young leaders.....	132
6.3.2. A culture-specific theory of leadership for Tanzania.....	135
6.4. Recommendations for leadership training programmes in Tanzania .....	137
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>159</b>
Appendix 1: Data collection schedules.....	159
Appendix 2: Letter of permission for the use of YLTP information .....	159
Appendix 3: Example of steps taken from raw data, to key expressions, to central ideas, to discourses of the collective subject. ....	160
Appendix 4: Discourses of the collective subject – tables by topic.....	167

## **LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES**

Table 1: Research objectives.....	5
Table 2: YLTP procedures to choose the four best leaders.....	24
Table 3: Steps for data analysis.....	28
Table 4: Code of Leadership – Arusha Declaration.....	68
Table 5: DCS – the ideal leader.....	80
Table 6: DCS – the future of the young leader.....	85
Table 7: DCS – women in leadership.....	91
Table 8: DCS – development.....	97
Table 9: DCS – democracy.....	103
Table 10: DCS – the personal.....	113
Figure 1: Group picture of the YLTP I.....	8
Figure 2: Graduation ceremony – YLTP I.....	23
Figure 3: Map of Tanzania.....	32
Figure 4: Dhow.....	33
Figure 5: First session of YLTP II.....	77

# **PART I**

**the researcher,  
the object  
and  
the method**

# 1. INTRODUCTION

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In this chapter, I introduce the study of the social representations that inform the discourses of young political leaders in Tanzania. I present the reasons that determined my interest in undertaking it, and its underlying theoretical paradigms. I also formulate the research problem and its consequent research question, outline the objectives of the study, and discuss the potential use of the results. I therefore lay down the necessary insight into my motivations, my biases and my research design.

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## ***1.1. Rationale: why study young political leaders in Tanzania?***

The motivations and opportunity to investigate leadership in a changing and multicultural context arose out of my work as a short-term consultant for the Young Leadership Training Programme (YLTP) in Tanzania. A combination of personal and professional reasons led to the formulation of the research questions that guide this study of the social representations of young political leaders in Tanzania. This introduction includes a brief narrative that acknowledges the extent to which my past experiences have shaped and informed my research and interests, and therefore my findings.

...

I was first formally employed when I was 15 years old, in São Paulo, Brazil's biggest city (with about 15 million inhabitants in 2004). That first job, with the country's largest newspaper, *A Folha de São Paulo*, pushed my professional life into an investigative and critical mood that has never changed. This, coupled with marrying young, having four children, having participated in countless political rallies, public debates, and more so, being a founder and active member of the Green Party, in the board of the constituency of Minas Gerais, in Brazil, gave me the philosophical fundamentals to be the person I am today.

These philosophical fundamentals are my paradigmatic basis. I believe in education as a liberating political tool, whereby students experience education as something they do, not as something done to them. I believe in participation as the ultimate political right of human beings. My vision of an ideal

society is that of having as many people as possible participating in the building of a common vision. As a journalist, I have learned how people in positions of power – such as the journalist and the researcher, construct realities. As a geographer and environmentalist<sup>1</sup>, I have realized the interconnection of all beings. As a mother of four, I have learned tolerance and openness to the unexpected, to diversity, and to the different.

I first came to Africa in 1995, to work as a facilitator for a participatory planning process, employed by the German Agency for International Cooperation (GTZ), which was at the time supporting a governmental rural development project in the central region in Mozambique. In 1996, I left Brazil and moved to Africa to marry Peter Häussler, who was the then political advisor, in Mozambique, of the German non-governmental organization Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES). In 1998, we moved to Tanzania, where he took over directorship of the same Foundation. In 2003, we moved to South Africa to pursue our Master's degrees in Social Development. This dissertation is the product of such decisions.

During all that time, I have worked as a short-term consultant in development in different organizations and different countries of Southern Africa. Whilst involved in this work, I have been confronted with the same basic question that puzzled the educators who followed Paulo Freire's pedagogy of liberation: how can I intervene (acting as a development worker) to empower people in Africa so that she or he does not blindly accept (my own and others') interventions? I sensed that an analysis of the views that young leaders in Tanzania express might help me to understand more fully the various intersecting ideologies that produce their discursive reality. Embarking on such analysis might help me to develop an understanding of my own profession and of the possibilities of action, without patronizing people. Such understanding might lead to possible recommendations for the training of young leaders in Tanzania and elsewhere.

For the sake of this study, 'leader' will be loosely defined as a person who exerts significant influence over a group. A variety of definitions come from the different leadership theories, from the charismatic/transformational, to servant, to bridging leaders. That is the reason my definition is so loose, there is no consensus in the literature, and there is not need of one. A friend of mine who read

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<sup>1</sup> My undergraduate formal training was quite eclectic: three years of technical training in Construction and Architecture, two years in Economics at the University of São Paulo, one year in Linguistics at the same University, three years in Journalism at the Casper Libero Foundation, four years in Geography and Environment at the Universidade Federal de Alagoas.

an earlier version of this study asked me if anybody could be trained to be a leader. I have to say yes and no:

Leadership capacity does not blossom in a flash once you are appointed into a leadership position; (...) rather becoming a leader means making a conscious choice to develop qualities within yourself. (...) When you make a conscious choice to develop your leadership capacity, you free yourself to be a leader. (Sterling, 2000:48)

Chapter Four about the representations of leadership in Tanzania gives further insight into this issue.

## ***1.2. The objectives of the study***

The ultimate motivation that guides this study is to find out 'how I can intervene (acting as a development worker) to empower the other so that she or he does not blindly accept (my own and others') interventions', particularly in the context of leadership training programmes. Since my profession is 'development' and 'training', that question represents a search for a cornerstone in the ethical foundation of my work – for I want to practice an education not moulding, but liberating.

I realized that, operating in the context of Tanzania, I had first to increase my understanding of the social representations and of the discursive universe of the clientele of leadership training. In doing so, I could generate insights into the possible features of a leadership capacity building programme that is not moulding, but liberating. I chose, then, to work with a group of young Tanzanian political leaders who were trainees at the YLTP between 2000 and 2003 in Dar es Salaam. That group of young women and men constitutes the case under scrutiny.

The issues that the study sought to explore are, therefore, firstly, the contextual and historical conditions and the power relations existing in different historical moments in Tanzania that created the possibilities for 'leadership'; secondly, how the utterances of the young leaders represent and deal with those discursive universes they inherit, interwoven with contemporary influences, including their participation in the YLTP.

This is an exploratory study, with the discourses of the young leaders as the central unit of analysis. Different representations emerged from that discourse analysis, allowing some conclusions on how the young political leaders who participated in a training programme in Tanzania see the world. Table 1, on the next page, presents the research objectives in schematic form.

**Table 1. Research objectives**

**Title of the research:**

Social representations informing discourses of young leaders: a case study of Tanzania

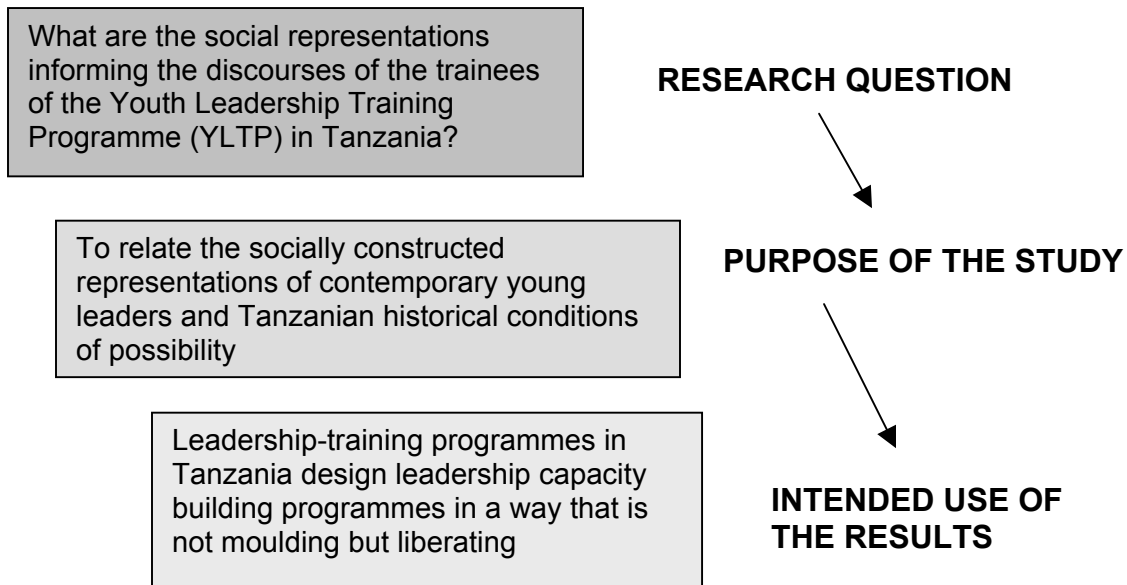
**Aim of the research:**

To unveil and explain socially constructed representations that inform contemporary young leadership in Tanzania.

**Specific objectives:**

- To explore the culture-specific conditions for leadership in Tanzania;
- To unveil social representations informing discourses of young leaders in Tanzania, discussing the relationship between those representations and their historically specific environment;
- To draw conclusions about the discursive regularities found, and formulate possible insights towards the design of leadership training programmes in Tanzania.

This is the schematic form: the intended use of the results frames the purpose, which guides the research question:



### **1.3. Institutional context of the study**

The FES is a foundation that manages the YLTP in Tanzania. FES was founded in 1925, as a political legacy of the first democratically elected president of Germany, Friedrich Ebert, who died in that year. Ebert, a social democrat of humble origins, assumed the presidency in a crisis-ridden country, following the defeat of the First World War.

The aims of the FES are the construction of a democratic and pluralistic political culture, through political education for all classes of people; the facilitation of the access to higher education by gifted young people; and international understanding and co-operation wherever possible to avert the outbreak of war and conflict (FES, 2002).

FES is a political, non-profit making, public-interest institution, committed to the principles and basic values of social democracy in its education and policy-oriented work. FES promotes a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage the existing and potential resources, and to produce lasting and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life, consistent with their own inspirations (FES, 2000a).

#### **1.3.1. The Youth Leadership Training Programme**

FES has been operating in Tanzania since 1970. Among its current objectives in this country is the strengthening of democracy. One of the measures within the scope of that objective is the YLTP, launched in October 2000. The first group of trainees participated in a pilot-programme run for 18 months, from December 2000 to July 2002. Three more groups of trainees attended, following revised programmes, which now run for 12 months, from January to December of each year<sup>2</sup>.

The major goals of the YLTP are to:

enhance capacity and moral standing among the youth so that they become future capable and reliable leaders; the promotion of good governance qualities among future leaders both nationally and within institutions; and to enhance networking and collaboration possibilities among the young leaders themselves and the institutions they come from. (FES, 2000b:3)

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<sup>2</sup> In 2005, another group of trainees was chosen to be part of the IV YLTP, representing 35 sending institutions (FES, 2005).

YLTP intends to contribute to the process of empowering young good leaders through education and training, as well as through the reflection and joint development of a set of ethical values for leadership in the country.

The concept and the curriculum of the YLTP were developed in a participatory way, by a core-group of trainers composed of Tanzanian scholars, the FES director and myself. The contents of the programme cover subjects within three major areas (Salles & Häussler, 2003):

- a) Basic knowledge of a variety of disciplines relevant to acquiring a wide understanding of the complexities of the present moment of history;
- b) Skills, techniques and instruments for good management and enhancement of managerial performance;
- c) Ethics, values and principles of good leadership, addressing personal, philosophical and institutional issues.

### **1.3.2. The participants of the YLTP**

The following principles guide the selection of candidates to the programme:

1. The biggest share (about two thirds) of the trainees are selected from candidates identified as leaders by institutions directly involved in youth policy-making.
2. The remaining trainees are selected from candidates recommended by Tanzanian non-governmental organizations, partnering with FES in civic education work.

The first group of trainees (2001–2002) was initially composed of 15 young leaders (of which 11 completed the programme): 6 women and 9 men. Of the 15, four represented political parties, and 11 other institutions (Government, NGOs and media). Three trainees represented institutions from Zanzibar, one of them a woman (Figure 1 shows the trainees of the YLTP I in one of the visits of the programme). The second group of trainees was composed of 14 people (6 men and 8 women) by the time I was able to work with them in one of the training sessions (June 2003).



**Figure 1:** A group picture of the YLTP trainees together with the Chief Minister (seated with a white cap) of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government H. E. Shamsi Vuaj Nahodha during their Study Tour to Zanzibar which took place on the 3<sup>rd</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> of August 2001. On the right of the Chief Minister is Prof. Max Mmuya; the YLTP Program Coordinator.

The assumptions of the Youth Leadership Training Programme are: (a) leaders can be trained; (b) participation and democracy are fundamental pillars of good governance; (c) without good governance development cannot take place; and (d) good leaders are the engine to promote democratisation in the country, towards good governance and development.

### **1.3.3. My role as trainer in the YLTP**

I was a regular trainer in the 'pilot' YLTP, and as such was involved in the discussions to draw up its concept and curriculum (November–December 2000). During the training programme, I was responsible for the training sessions on managerial skills. I also led the participatory evaluation of the pilot-programme in December 2002, which resulted in the publication of a brochure (Salles & Häussler, 2003), and changes in the programmes that followed the pilot. I also ran two training sessions for the trainees in the YLTP II, before I left Tanzania in July 2003.

That work of evaluation raised my interest in the social representations informing the discourses of those young political leaders, in how Western and Tanzanian cultures merged to result in discourses of leadership and development, and how leadership training programmes could do

more by intervening less. I used my last months of residence in Tanzania to collect data and interview the trainees of the YLTP. The present dissertation is the result of that journey of discovery of the young leaders' discursive representations, and of reflections on my own role as a foreign trainer and researcher.

#### **1.4. Value of this study for social development**

Social development is an evolving field within development studies, discourse and practice. It can be understood as the research, analysis, theorizing and praxis on the implications of development policies to societies or specific groups within societies (Green, 2002). Until the 1990s, "social development" comprehended a welfarist conception of social policy to cater for basic needs and social services to poor people. In the last decade, it came to be rethought and conceptualized to refer to the theory and practice of development policy, no more oriented only to the 'marginalized' people, but to the whole of society, in the understanding that all policies and programmes have social dimensions and implications (Hölscher, 2001; Green, 2002). According to Green (2002:53), social development, on the one hand, refers to the planning and outcomes that lead to social impacts, such as better indicators of health or education, and on the other hand refers to an "emerging professional discipline within development practice". 'Social' is only one of the qualifiers that 'development' has acquired during the making and remaking of the concept. The most enduring is its other, under-development. Other qualifiers of recent importance are 'sustainable', 'human' and 'participatory development'.

The roots of the concept of *development* can be found in Europe in the seventeenth century, when the notions of 'modernity', 'rationality', 'science', 'humanism' and the imperialistic territorial expansion started together to forge a new period of global hegemonic ideology<sup>3</sup>. As stated by Abrahamsen (2000:15), "with the growth of science and the rise of capitalism and industrialization, the belief in progress gradually came to replace providence, and the perception that the future could be controlled and mastered through the advance of human knowledge became inseparable from Western culture".

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<sup>3</sup> References are Newton, Locke, Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, and later Rousseau, Diderot, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Hume, Adam Smith and Kant. As a matter of curiosity, see the discussion on DWEMs - dead, white, European males - an acronym that developed in the 1980's out of the cultural wars and canon wars, which was a struggle over what should constitute the "canon" in the humanities in the United States. (Oyéwùmi, 2002).

The changes in power relations brought about by the end of World War II affected the concept of "development". American President Harry Truman in his inauguration in 1949, called the world to a global effort to eradicate poverty and introduced the term "underdeveloped areas". That was a symptom of the international shift towards economic growth and progress based on liberal and democratic values, which were exported through American economic and military expansion. With the division of most of the world into two spheres of influence, the liberal and the socialist, development theory and practice followed the two trends, elaborating two apparently different discourses: one with roots in structural functionalism<sup>4</sup> and in modernization theory<sup>5</sup>, and the other with roots in Marxism and the following dependency and world system theories<sup>6</sup>. In communist and socialist states, *development* was senseless if it did not embrace *social goals* as indicators for equitable distribution of the benefits of growth. In Tanzania, with independence following the end of World War II, these trends could also be found. Having continued for some years on the same path of modernization that informed the colonial history, the *Arusha Declaration* of socialism and self-reliance in 1967 placed the country under another sphere of influence, despite the claims by the country's leadership that its policy of self-reliance went beyond the basic antagonism between capitalism/democracy and socialism/centralism. Section 3.2.4 of this dissertation discusses this point in detail.

Later, the realization of failure in development projects and programmes either with a capitalist or communist ideology "came to be known as the 'impasse' in development theory, [which] seriously undermined the epistemological foundations" of both streams. More and more, the accusation that both theories and practices were based on Eurocentric values, and not necessarily operating towards universally desirable goals – if that was possible, opened the way to alternative approaches linked more strongly to local realities (as suggested by Graaf, 2001:5).

Social development went through a change in meaning, and development became 'everybody's affairs'. Social goals entered the agenda of the international organizations, as a way of counterbalancing the "undesirable" effects of growth and accumulation. The United Nations

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<sup>4</sup> Structural functionalism was the dominating theoretical school in British social anthropology from about 1930 to 1960, and was originally formulated in opposition to evolutionism. Theoretically, structural functionalism rested on ideas from Durkheim; methodologically, it was based on long, "classical" fieldwork (Marshall, 1998).

<sup>5</sup> A term that came to be used in the USA in the 1960's as a consequence of the efforts to develop an alternative to the Marxist account of social development.

<sup>6</sup> Dependence theory assumed that the failure of some states in achieving adequate levels of development resulted from their dependence on the advanced capitalist world. World system theory is a historical description of the growth of the capitalist economic system from centre to periphery and the effects of this growth on the societies (Marshall, 1998; Coetzee et al., 2001).

system gave birth to several development "agencies" to promote and implement its ideals of equality and justice: development organizations, development workers, development tools, and development studies and policies. Aid and development cooperation followed colonialism in the role of "helping" the "underdeveloped nations" to be what the "developed nations" already were.

The discussion of "agency"<sup>7</sup> in developmental processes touches a fundamental aspect, namely the relation of power between the groups and institutions that compose a society, including leaders and followers. Who promotes (social) development? Korten (as cited in Kothari & Minogue, 2002:13) proposes that "the heart of development is institutions and policies... The most fundamental issues of development are, at their core, issues of power". Leaders, by definition, are the elite, the powerful, and are supposed to be the ones who are charged with the challenge of bringing the followers to an objective, being that commonly decided or not. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, in the 1960's, made it clear that a proper leadership was fundamental if "poverty, ignorance and disease" were to be eliminated in the country. Othman (2000) uses a systematic attempt to discuss the issue of leadership in Tanzania, and an array of articles in journals and magazines analyses the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, who left a wealth of published speeches. In those speeches, he addresses not only the type of leadership the country needed but also what type of development and governance he thought the most appropriate for people's well being.

Currently, sustainable development, an alternative to modernization and to socialism, is presented as popular and people-centred. Pieterse (as mentioned in Kothari & Minogue, 2002:9) argues that "there is no alternative development paradigm; (...) the key elements of alternative development – which is concerned with introducing alternative practices and redefining goals of development – have successfully been incorporated, adapted and co-opted by the mainstream".

Society is composed of a collection of ideologies, sometimes blended under a process of syncretism and sometimes multilayered as a process of co-existence of alternative beliefs and practices, which do not necessarily merge into each other. The history of Tanzania and its leadership has plenty of examples of such blends and co-existence. Concentrating in better understanding the representations of young leaders in Tanzania, this study intends to contribute

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<sup>7</sup> Agency: "the network of institutions and people that through their *actions* and interactions 'produce' development" (Kothari & Minogue, 2002:13).

to the theoretical discussions in the discipline of social development and to practical outcomes in development practice, through presenting and disclosing some of the powers operating and informing the discourses, and probably the attitudes, of leaders in Tanzania.

This introduction brought together the major aspects that compose the present study. I hope that through the reading process the reader will be able to see those aspects 'cohere', that is, build up a picture that can answer the research question. Research is a journey of discovery, and sometimes one arrives at unexpected locations. In my work as a development facilitator, I am always searching for connections and relationships, as I do through this research journey. The two next chapters are important building blocks of the first part of the study; in a way, the foundations of the picture to emerge from the complete study.

## 2. A METHOD FOR CROSS-CULTURAL DIALOGUE

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This chapter contains the methodological path followed by the study and its resulting research design. It introduces the underlying assumptions of the study and presents the steps taken towards discourse analysis, introducing the tool called *discourse of the collective subject*, used to systematize the discursive material. The chapter ends with discussions on the limitations and ethical implications of this study.

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### **2.1. Construction of a cross-cultural understanding: whose knowledge is power?**

Whenever one looks *at something*, one looks necessarily *from* somewhere else. "There is power with the knowledge of observation" (Grinker & Steiner, 1997:xix). While trying to be critical and self-reflective over my power of naming what I observe, I have to recognize:

as many commentators have pointed out, (...) social science is not and has never been a neutral enquiry into human behaviour and institutions. It is strongly implicated in the project of social control, whether by the state or by other agencies that ultimately serve the interest of a dominant group. (Cameron et al., 2002:141)

There are biases inherent in any one perspective. My inquiry into the social representations informing discourses of the young leaders in Tanzania – with whom I shared quite a few learning moments, not only during the YLTP, but also during the interviews to which they willingly obliged – and my writing about it, reflect "my" power<sup>8</sup> as researcher to observe, describe, explain and legitimize.

In going through that process of legitimizing the findings of my research, I recognize that I am inevitably part of a tradition of knowledge, one that I may criticize, but never entirely escape, as Cameron et al. explains in a discussion of the politics of social science:

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<sup>8</sup> According to Foucault, power and knowledge are intimately connected and directly imply one another, so that "there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1991:27).

The question 'what is going on here?' cannot be answered without reference to the agent's own understanding of what she is doing. [However], can the researcher situate herself within the conceptual framework of the researched and thereby understand what is going on? And can she give an account of the 'otherness' for an audience of readers who can relate to her (original) conceptual framework, but not the framework of her subjects? We might be alive to the dangers of ethnocentrism, but in the end, can anything be done about it? (2002:148)

I am not a scientist of European academic origins. I am not a scientist of African origin. I may have inherited – and there is no escape there too – within the sphere of my Brazilian formation, a mixed "regime of truth", in the words of Foucault (in Cameron et al., 2002:142). What I have now must be a kind of Euro-American ideology layered together with radical critical thinking from the dependence school, mediated by a reasonable amount of invaluable experience in the field of "development work" in Brazil and in Southern Africa. I have to accept that knowledge is in its expression a social construction, and can therefore never be seen as an objective entity (Bell, 2002; Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

In constructing a reality, naming a phenomenon "*social representations informing the discourses of young leaders in Tanzania*", there is a problem of cross-cultural understanding from the point of view of the translation of ideas. Bell (2002) discusses types of translation that can take place in a cross-cultural situation, of which two are of relevance for me. The first is the

eye witness account. (...) [which has] considerable room for multiple 'readings' and 'reportings' and misunderstanding relative to one's degree of familiarity with the things observed. (...) [The other type of translation is] what takes place in an individual's understanding – the understanding *in us* that renders the acts observed or read meaningful in a 'first person' way" (Bell, 2002:16).

Cameron et al.. (2001) add to the problems of translation the challenges regarding the existence of differing and shifting conceptual frameworks, and ask "but, in the end, can anything be done about it?" (2001:148).

I accept that the result of this study is also a social representation, which is informed by my own epistemological perspectives. After all, as Bell concludes in his chapter on understanding another culture, "in the end there is no way around the issue of translation (...) and whatever is found, (...) it will be found in translation" (Bell, 2002:19). I also understand that "there is a fundamental level of shared human experiences and concepts" that would provide a

“bridgehead between different human societies, [which would make it not so] hard to see how we come to understand that somebody else can have a different idea from ours”, making sense of “even radically unfamiliar conceptual frameworks” (Cameron et al., 2001:149).

Understanding the ways that an (East) African philosophy and epistemology was constructed will help understand the way leadership operates in Tanzania. After all, leaders are agents of the construction of social reality through their articulation and legitimization of discursive practices. The late President Nyerere of Tanzania, for example, is considered by Blommaert (cited by Lwaitama, in Othman, 2000: 304), “the foremost ‘ideology-builder” of Tanzanian society at least in the 1960s through to the 1980s”. From such constructivist perspective, leadership could be then defined as a process of generating (new) meanings anchored in existing cultural and philosophical frameworks (see Morris & Straggenborg, 2002 and Robinson et al., 2000), in a way that “supporters actively interpret messages in light of their own situations, constructing an inclusive collective identity” (Morris, 2000:33).

## ***2.2. An epistemological framework to understand leadership in Tanzania***

African metaphysics is “not the fiction of a collective system of thought, but a set of philosophical discourses and texts” (Grinker & Steiner, 1997:38). Since it is impossible, within the scope of the present work, to cover many different schools of philosophical thought, what is presented here is a reduction and a simplification.<sup>9</sup> The major aim of this simplification is to touch, even if barely, the discussion of the “invention of African tradition”, and to see how that “invention” could have been operated in Tanzania. The most visible aspect of the “African tradition” is that of its otherness in relation to the West, which created much of the ethnocentric duality that we face today in approaching ‘Africa’: the dichotomy between individualism and collectivism or communalism, savage/civilized, pre-logical/logical, perceptual/conceptual, oral/written, religious/ scientific (see Collins, 1998:8-12).

One of the major sources of the belief in the “otherness” and the “unity” of African thought is the work of Father Tempels, a Belgian missionary born in 1906, who published a book in 1946

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<sup>9</sup> See in *Philosophy from Africa*, Coetzee & Roux (2002): Biakolo (pp.9-19); Coetzee (pp.273-286); Gyekye (pp.297-312); Hountondji (pp.501-507); Kaphagawani (pp.219-229); Laleye (pp.86-94); Okolo (pp.209-215); Oruka (pp.58-63 and 120-124); Outlaw (pp.137-155); Oyéwùmi (pp.391-415); Ramose (pp.1-8; 230-238 and 324-330); Serequeberhan (pp.64-78); Sogolo (pp.244-258) and Wiredu (pp. 287-296).

called *Bantu Philosophy*. According to Deacon (2002), this work initiated the discussion among African philosophers about the existence of an African view of reality, or an African philosophy. Tempels has been criticized for being part of the colonial system, but he has also been praised for denying "the assumed categories of barbarianism and primitiveness assigned to the African peoples by colonialists" (Deacon, 2002:99). Biakolo (2002) discusses such constructions of duality by Western philosophy, whereby the other – the African – existed as a function and opposition of the self-representation of the Western being. Mudimbe (1988 and 1994) has specifically deconstructed such discourses about Africa, examining "texts" about Africa by Europeans and Africans with a focus on the intellectual "invention" of a primitive African and its relationship to the changing paradigms of modern European social sciences. For Mudimbe:

Durkheim's prescription on the pathology of civilization, Levy-Bruhl's thesis on pre-logical systems of thought and Frazier's hypothesis on primitive scientists, represented the older framework, which was based upon a philosophy of conquest. These ideas in effect 'invented' the concept of 'primitive Africa' in the disciplines of social science. Their studies complemented or supplemented the explorer tales and the 'philosophical interpretations about a hierarchy of civilizations. (Mudimbe, 1988:56)

Mudimbe tries, through deconstruction, to resist his own internalized "foreign" discourse. I too, in this study, try to avoid relying on the "colonial library", to use a term of Mudimbe (1994:xii–xiii), in an attempt to escape colonial hegemony as the only source of power and cultural construction.

This dichotomisation of active Westerners *versus* passive non-Westerners seems to be, however, a lasting misconception of Western thought, one which I could have been trapped in. Hountondji (2002:131), the philosopher born in Benin, deconstructs attempts of simplified explanations that "perpetuate an ideological myth which is itself of non-African origin [which] has been reinforced by several Africans who have devoted much energy to the definition of an original, specifically African philosophy". Bell (2002:60) argues in the same direction as Hountondji, criticizing an African unanimity, or an 'African view', as simplistic and often dualistic explanations, as if all Bantu-speaking people "believed in a unified spiritual life force and because of this had a shared African view of the world". He explains that "recent African philosophical discourse has had to (...) deconstruct and liberate itself" from such unanimity.

It is in the light of these two major philosophical trends, one which tries to develop an 'African' way, and the other which says that trying to develop an 'African' way is a trap in the same dualistic perceptions one is trying to escape, that I am going to walk the path to understand the

East African framework for leadership. As I will show in Section 4.5, the strength of Tanzania's formation was the strength of its leadership articulating a discourse that could build on a culture-specific political ideology, and at the same time bridge diverse views, grafting new concepts into existing consolidated discourses (regimes of truth).

Understanding the historical conditions that created the possibilities of leadership in Tanzania, will help us see, in the contemporary discourses of young leaders, the changes in those historical conditions, and the way such discourses reflect new hegemonic values being grafted into the prevailing ones. Section 4.4 will show, for instance, that most of the leaders (men) of the nationalist movements in East Africa were schooled (in Christian missionary schools), and intellectually formed within European rationalist paradigms and values while women in leadership were illiterate and Muslim. According to Geiger (1998), most of the women who were involved in the mass movement towards independence in the 1960s were Muslim, defined themselves as 'Swahili', and were "unschooled, middle-aged and normally divorced at least once" (Geiger, 1998:42). The Christian educated women used to live apart from the Muslim, and were considered "modern and progressive", much more in line with European values, eminently male-dominated. That sort of education prevented Christian women from participating in "street activities", their role being to conform to patterns of Christian good behaviour<sup>10</sup> (Geiger, 1998:24). The Islamic world was an important influence in the construction of East African "knowing". Section 3.2.1 will discuss this influence, which commenced as early as the tenth century. In fact, when Europeans arrived in what is today Tanzania, Swahili was already a consolidated Creole culture with its major roots in Bantu, Islamic and Asian cultures (Martin & Meara, 1995).

By way of summary, contemporary Tanzanian epistemology could then be outlined as the confluence of original (East) African epistemology – Bantu/Nilotic, Islamic scholarship and Christian/Western dichotomic/rational thinking brought about by colonization and the schooling of the male leadership. While the European (rational, Christian, causal) paradigm was to be a strong influence in leadership formation, a consolidated Swahili culture already existed as a base for post-independence national identity. Tanzanian leaders were the subjects of post-colonial discursive formation. They were also products of their historical conditions.

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<sup>10</sup> See Heather Deegan (2000) for an account on the Islamic influences on modern thought and social life in Africa.

### **2.3. Research question and underlying assumptions of this study**

The research aim and objectives were already introduced in Table 1, page 5. The aim guides the **research question**<sup>11</sup>:

*What are the social representations informing the discourses of the trainees of the YLTP in Tanzania?*

This study makes the following assumptions:

- social representations are collective constructions shaped by specific economic, social, political, cultural and institutional contexts;
- these constructions inform and are apprehended in discursive practice, which in turn creates, resists and re-produces social beliefs, attitudes, interests and social relations;
- Tanzanian leadership has gone through various periods of its history, accommodating and resisting the different discourses of the time;
- the last four decades of Tanzanian leadership were dominated by nationalist discourses post-independence for nation-building, and later a change in discourse from 'self-reliance' and 'socialism' to 'democratic development' and 'liberalization';
- leadership has a central role in framing discourses and practice; leadership training programmes have a contribution to make in promoting a leader who is a critical thinker and committed to values of social justice;
- to realize that contribution those programmes should understand better their clientele in order to develop curricula that promote such values;
- the discourses of Tanzanian young political leaders can be analyzed and understood as a micro-level realization of macro-level Tanzanian social structures and dominant discursive practice;
- this analysis might result in recommendations for leadership training programmes in Tanzania and elsewhere.

### **2.4. Social representations as discursive regularities in Tanzania**

One of my basic methodological assumptions (see a and b above) is that there is no reality that my research will be able to unveil, but constructions of social phenomena – or social

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<sup>11</sup> The **aim** of the study is to unveil and explain socially constructed representations informing contemporary young leadership in Tanzania.

representations – by social agents as subject and object, which inform discursive practices. I do not see such a viewpoint as a choice but as one of the few epistemological possibilities I have, given my philosophical background, already explained in section 2.1. To write a ‘scientific work’, as this dissertation is supposed to be, is to accept rules and formations of certain academic disciplines – as those of the social sciences – and it is to be subject to that construction of knowledge, which is, inexorably, an exercise of power. To counterbalance my power to define how things are, I am using a ‘critical perspective’, adopting the definition of Fowler, who says that a critical view is:

a careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members... All knowledge, all objects, are constructs: criticism analyses the process of construction and, acknowledging the artificial quality of the categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way. (in Jaworski & Coupland, 2002:133)

Smart (1985:64), explaining Foucault, points out that “in the human sciences it has become customary both to employ an epistemological grid to disentangle ‘science’ from ‘ideology’ and to maintain that knowledge is only really possible where power relations are suspended”. But power relations are never suspended, as my power to produce *findings* about – in this case at least – powerless participants, who will not be able to have a say in the final text. “There is no power relation without correlative constitutions of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault, in Smart, 1985). My ‘thesis’ – my power as researcher – about ‘social representations of young leaders’ objectifies the leaders as part of a scientificity, while the resulting knowledge – the findings – reinforces my power to define realities.

I believe, therefore (or, *I know*, if I use my researcher’s right to bold affirmations), that social realities are socially constructed, by means of discursive practices. The *Social Constructionist* paradigm is “about interpreting the social world as a kind of language, i.e. as a system of meanings and practices that construct reality” (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, in Hoelscher, 2001:5). Those meanings and practices are expressed through texts or *discourses*, socially organized ways of thinking, talking, writing, with value systems built into familiar patterns of expression. For this study, it was thus sensible to work with concepts and methodology centered on the social and discursive construction of realities. The discursive regularities found

in 'texts' produced by young political leaders in Tanzania will "show how micro-level social actions realize and give local form to macro-level social structures".(Jaworski & Coupland, 2002:12).

Texts in all forms reconstruct, rather than reflect, the original source they represent. Texts more than *present* reality, texts *re-present*, continually creating, re-creating, resisting or endorsing phenomena – or, what is their subjective reflection. A *social representation* is the elaboration of a reality that is common to a group – in the case of the present study, the young political leaders in Tanzania who were part of a leadership training programme called YLTP. Jodelet (1989:8), in explaining 'social representations', urges her readers to adopt a perspective which shows how the thoughts and actions of individuals are embedded within the constructs and expectations of a wider community/society. She calls the process of framing individuals' social representations in collective constructs *anchoring*<sup>12</sup>. "In a word, we shall approach representations as the product, expression and instrument of a group in its relationships with otherness." (Jodelet 1989:8)

In this study, the social representations of the participant young leaders inform the 'discourse' deployed by 'young political leaders in Tanzania' as opposed to any one group. Such representations are shown in the discursive regularities of the members of the group. Guerin (1994:176) says that "investigating the social negotiations (*genèse sociale*) which function through the everyday utilization of social representations might prove more fruitful than trying to measure and describe any content of 'coherent' social representations (which might not exist coherently in the first place)". 'Social negotiations' are the struggles around meaning, determined by historical limitations or conditions of possibility of discursive formations. This study seeks to re-present such social negotiations involving the young leaders in Tanzania.

## **2.5. Discourse analysis as methodological approach of choice**

As it has been shown above, the reading of discursive practices on a macro-level is as important as the micro-text, which is given by the discourses of the members of the case

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<sup>12</sup> The concept of *anchoring*, which I shall use when referring to the framing of the discourses of the young leaders into collective (Tanzanian) constructs, is also used by Morris & Staggenborg (2002:26) to explain the 'framing perspective' of leadership. They say that "the 'framing perspective' has played an important role in revealing how meaning-generating processes anchored in cultural frameworks propel collective action". The method I use to systematize the qualitative data, the *Discourse of the Collective Subject*, shares the understanding that specific situations and ideas are *anchored* in theories, ideologies or faith.

chosen. Comparing what is said by participants with the ideological powers that dominate the context gives one the opportunity to see and *read* the social negotiations (*genése sociale*) in place. Here, I look for “patterns within large contexts, such as those referred to as 'society' or 'culture" (Taylor, in Wetherell et al., 2001:7). Fairclough (2002:203) argues that "texts are evidences for grounding claims about social structures, relations and processes and are sensitive barometers of social processes, movements and diversity". Cameron et al. (2002:156) add that "discourse, after all, is a historical construct: whether or not [its analysis] changes someone's opinions, [one gains] by knowing where those opinions have 'come from' and how they might be challenged or more powerfully formulated".

Studies on leadership or leadership theories do not relate often to the constructing power of discourse. Lwaitama (1996) is one of the linguists who dedicate efforts to that, referring as well to other studies, such as those of Gaffney & Kolinski (1991), on the language of political leadership in contemporary Europe and North America. A search on the Internet or the bibliographic lists at University libraries does not produce many results for a crossed search with 'leadership' and 'discourse analysis' as key-words<sup>13</sup>. Boje (2000:16) points out that the studies of leadership do not “attend sufficiently to discourse analysis [and that a] critical postmodern analysis of the discourse of (...) leadership would look at power and resistance” by leaders, and at how leadership discourses are linked to questions of hegemony.

Since discourse is characterized by being a kind of interpretation system, it is also a specific way to talk about and understand the world – or parts of the world (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). The words 'talking' and 'understanding' both have a place in the definition of discourse: both the expressions of the language and the meanings of the expressions are embedded in the concept of discourse. The theory of discourse views communication as the production and exchange of meanings. Discourses constitute and construct the world in meaning. When people talk and write they both create and organize their social reality, negotiating meanings. In other words, together people produce a construction of reality through communication – together people produce 'knowing'. I propose to use the analysis of discourse as a way to understand how the young leaders create their 'knowing'.

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<sup>13</sup> Libraries researched: Library of the University of Dar es Salaam, 2002; Library at the University of Cape Town (2003-2005); Library of the University of Osnabruck, Germany, 2005; Library of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn, Germany, 2005.

## **2.6. Research design**

The research design went through fundamental changes since the first inception of the research project. From the planned analysis of the discursive contents of the data, it evolved to a search for the culture specific 'knowing' of the young leaders. When the data was first collected, the research was still being designed. At that time, the project aimed at developing a profile of the 'ideal' (in the Weberian sense) leader for development in Tanzania. Therefore, the first two sessions of data collection focused on 'leadership' as a central theme (see details of data collection in Section 2.6.2).

By that stage, I was to leave the country soon, and was still under the impact of the findings of the YLTP pilot-phase's evaluation exercise, carried out under my responsibility (Salles & Häussler, 2003): it seemed that the curriculum of the YLTP had neglected what a participant called 'life skills', a blurred set of topics that were not considered to be political enough to be part of a 'leadership training'. Those topics were, to me, a sort of field of silence, since they were never even mentioned during the training sessions. As I had to finish my data collection within a short time, I brought together some 'non-political topics' to create a pack of investigation, hoping those would be meaningful afterwards (see Section 5.3).

The scholarship review helped me clarify the methodology, the theoretical assumptions and with that the possible use of the (apparently) randomly selected topics. The treatment of the raw data through the methodological instrument I came to know in Brazil (the *Discourse of the Collective Subject*) married well with my intention to apply discourse analysis. The final design therefore took shape in the making of the research. Going beyond the modern notion of knowledge (an object that to a large extent exists outside and independent of the human being), I adopted its postmodern notion, which sees knowledge as an ongoing process. Knowledge is in its expression a social construction, and can therefore never be seen as an objective entity. This research design, therefore, aimed at creating 'knowing' (a process), more than any definitive knowledge (a product).

### 2.6.1. Characterisation of the case: sampling

Discourse analysis does not require representative samples, and the selection of cases can be based on non-sampling methods (Mouton, 2001), such as theoretical selection<sup>14</sup>, as it was the choice in the present study. "Case studies have the advantage of allowing new ideas and hypothesis to emerge from careful and detailed observation. Rich ideographic information about cases has been the start of many grand theories in social sciences, and has also been used to promote critical reflection on existing theory." (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:255) A case study is a way of focusing on specific phenomena, and facilitating linkages between the general and the specific. According to Marshall (1998:56), the methods "used to assemble information are determined in part by ease of access and whether the study is accepted by the subjects".

The group of young people who participated in the Young Leadership Training Programme of FES constitutes an adequate unity for a case, where individuals are not studied as representatives of a population but, according to Neuman (1997:71), provide a "symbolic representation [that] has internal coherence and is rooted in the text; (...) the theory and evidence are interwoven to create a unified whole; the concepts and the generalizations are wedded to their context".

### 2.6.2. Actual steps for data collection

After asking permission from the coordinator of the YLTP, Dr. Max Mwuya<sup>15</sup>, I used two of the YLTP's training sessions of about forty-five minutes each, to do the following:

- (i) explain the purpose of my research project to the participants;,which were at the time roughly defined as "understanding the expectations of young leaders about the 'ideal' leadership for Tanzania".
- (ii) explain that the results would be used to develop recommendations for future leadership programmes in Tanzania;
- (iii) ask them to be candid in their responses and to allow me to use their responses as my research material ;and



**Figure 2.** *Some of the trainees of the Youth Leadership Training Programme and I during the graduation ceremony in December 2003*

<sup>14</sup> "A smaller, selective set of observations from all possible observations. It is called theoretical sampling because it is guided by the researcher's developing theory." (Neuman, 1997:370)

<sup>15</sup> Max Mwuya's letter of authorization is found in Appendix Two.

(iv) propose a question, as shown below, and leave them alone to answer.

In the first session, in September 2002, the participants wrote essays in answer to the following question: "Please, describe a person who is an example in your life and whose steps you would follow". The aim was to create a picture of an 'ideal leader', as a 'collective construct' by the group. In the second session, in October 2002, a different question was asked: "Please, describe yourself and your life in ten years time". The aim was to compare what they expected for themselves (as 'young leaders', since the questioning took place in the context of the training) in the future with the idealization of 'a leader' given by the first question.

By the end of the first YLTP, in December 2002, four of the trainees qualified as the 'best' in the training programme (two women and two men) and were given awards for their achievement (see Table 2 and Figure 2).

**Table 2.** YLTP procedures to choose the four best leaders

The end-of-the-programme choice of the best leaders was based on the following procedures:

- A written test, containing ten questions about the major contents of the training programme, and from which the trainee would have to choose three to elaborate on.
- An oral test about one random topic chosen from the contents of the curriculum of the programme.
- The average mark obtained in the assignments given during the programme.
- An individual assessment by the team of trainers, based not only on the intellectual capacity of each of the trainees, but also on commitment, motivation and team work abilities.

I invited these four trainees, and they agreed to be my interviewees. We carried out the interviews in four separate sessions of about 90 minutes each, between March and June 2003 (the interviews were recorded and literally transcribed). The purpose of these four interviews was to identify the *best leaders'* major social representations, in order to complement and compare against the whole group's discourses and other dominant social representations analysed in the literature review. Those 'four best' leaders thus represented the conditions of possibility of leadership within the context of the training programme, increasing the group's shape as a case. The interviews contained two major parts, a biographical narrative, and a

conversation circling around topics which arose from the essays' utterances and silences. These topics were also used in the step that followed.

In January 2003, FES selected a second group of 'young leaders' to be trainees of the YLTP II. In June that year, during a session of 45 minutes, I asked the participants of YLTP II to "Please, give a definition and your opinion about the following topics: *marriage; monogamy; democracy; abortion; banghi*<sup>16</sup>; *religion; development; homosexuality; women for president in Tanzania*", these being the chosen themes already used in the interviews with the 'best' leaders. They prepared the answers in writing. Some of them were not able to complete the questionnaire within the available time.

The whole set of collected data from both groups is therefore composed of:

- 11 written texts on the "person who is an example in the trainee's life and whose steps she/he would follow" (YLTP I)
- 11 written texts on the trainee's "life in ten years time" (YLTP I)
- 4 transcribed interviews following a pre-defined thematic structure (YLTP I)
- 14 written questionnaires collecting opinions on the same themes as in the interviews (YLTP II)

### **2.6.3. Steps for data analysis**

The data analysis process cannot be separated as a 'step' in discourse analysis. Part of the data collection – the four interviews with the 'best' leaders in YLTP I and the questionnaires to YLTP II – already derived from 'hunches' borne from the first two collection steps, as explained. The review of the scholarship itself focused on 'representations' and not 'facts' as the objects of analysis. For the sake of structuring this dissertation, however, 'data analysis' will be defined as a set of activities that took place from the moment the questionnaires and interviews were transcribed and edited until the end of the writing of the dissertation.

The 'analysis' aimed at confronting relationships between what was said by participants and the historicity that dominated the context, in order to *read* the social negotiations for meaning. I looked for evidences of socially constructed discourses particular to leaders in contemporary Tanzania. The *tool* used to structure the texts and maintain its discursive character was the

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<sup>16</sup> Banghi is the Tanzanian name for *Cannabis sativa*.

*discourse of the collective subject* (DCS), which was developed by Fernando Lefèvre and Ana Maria Cavalcanti Lefèvre, researchers at the Faculty of Public Health at the University of São Paulo, Brazil. Looking for a way of systematizing qualitative data in a more practical way, they developed what they have called the *Discourse of the Collective Subject* (DCS) (in the original Portuguese, *discurso do sujeito coletivo*). This is an analytical instrument for the “qualitative researcher’s organization of her or his discursive material” (Lefèvre & Lefrèfre, 2003, p. 16). During one of my visits to Brazil, in May 2004, I participated in a training session with the two researchers, working with samples of data collected for other studies by postgraduate students under their supervision.

The DCS is based on the understanding that a set of discourses on the same subject (reacting to the same questions) forms a ‘social representation’. Social representation, as it has already been discussed in section 2.4, is a socially constructed ‘imaginary’ picture, with the function of guiding, orienting and justifying ‘action’ in society. Being a set of concepts, values, ideologies shared by a certain social group in a certain historical moment and the way by which those ideas are generated, communicated and transformed, social representations can be “found not only in people’s utterances, but also in newspapers, advertising campaigns, schoolbooks and other discursive means” (Lefèvre & Lefrèfre, 2003:16).

Data in qualitative research is usually classified in ‘categories’, through a coding system. Statements considered to be part of the same ‘category’ are ‘added’ on the principle of similarity (Glaser, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 2004). The categorization, therefore, makes the utterances equivalent since they express the ‘same’ idea, symbolically represented by the category. The ‘representation by a category’ would constitute the scientific character of the method, since the ‘discourses’ are reduced – or equalized into those categories.

The DCS aims to extricate one discourse as a clue for the understanding of the collective one: to reconstruct, “with pieces of individual discourses, with as many synthetic-discourses as deemed necessary, as if it were a puzzle”, one *discursive social representation* of a phenomenon (Lefèvre & Lefrèfre, 2003:30). The collective discursive similarity will form one DCS for each social representation. A group of people will probably express a series of discourses, some more dominant in the group. The DCS responds to the exploratory aim: “what do people say/think/feel/find of something?” To prepare the DCSs, the collected data is

organized through 'methodological frames'<sup>17</sup> or 'frames'. Those are: *key-expressions*, the *central ideas*, and the *discourses of the collective subject* (Lefèvre & Lefèvre, 2003:17). A further 'frame' *anchors* the micro-level discourses in the macro-level historical conditions of possibility, as referred by Jodelet (1989) and discussed on page 29.

The *key-expressions* are literal transcriptions of parts of the individuals' utterances, which allow the essence of the discursive content to be 'rescued' from the text. They are a sort of *empirical-discursive proof* of the central idea's and the anchors' selection and adequacy. It is with the key-expressions that the discourse of the collective subject is built.

The *central idea(s)* is (are) the statement(s) that makes the essential discursive content visible. The central ideas are *not interpretations* but *descriptions* of what the key-expressions convey.

The step called the DCS is a concise discourse, written in the first person singular, without quotation marks, composed of *key-expressions* that have the same *central idea*. The DCS goes beyond the 'representativity' of the categorization, and rescues the *discourse* as the sign<sup>18</sup> for the understanding of other discourses. In fact, the various discourses do not merge into one unifying category, but reconstruct, "as in a puzzle" (Lefèvre & Lefèvre, 2003:19) as many discourses as deemed necessary to express the various social representations about a phenomenon. To build the DCS, it is necessary to order the key-expressions under a discursive sequence:

of the classical type: from a beginning to an end, from the general to the particular. To link the parts of discourse or paragraphs, grammatical conjunctions are used to give *cohesion*. Particular details are eliminated, such as sex, age, and names. Repetition of ideas are also delimited, but not the similar ideas which are differently expressed. (Lefèvre & Lefèvre, 2003:55)

By the end of the process there are as many DCSs as social representations present in the group researched, for each of the topics investigated. Each DCS is presented as *one* discourse, not using quotation marks, and are the texts used for analysis.

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<sup>17</sup> *Figuras metodológicas*, in the original Portuguese.

<sup>18</sup> The *sign* is a "combination of signifier (the material element, sound, or marks on paper) and signified (the concept with which the signifier is associated). The two are bound together like the two sides of a piece of paper (...) and the relationship between the two is socially agreed" (Marshall, 1998:592).

*Anchoring* bridges the discourses' assumptions to macro-level representations in society and in the culture, which are 'internalized' by the individual discourse. It is, strictly speaking, the 'analysis of the discourses'.

An example of the actual steps taken for data analysis can be found in Appendix Three, and are summarized in Table 3. Some of the tables with the *DCSs* were added to the text in Chapter Six, to give the reader an example of what they constitute.

**Table 3. Steps for data analysis**

Step 1	Selection and highlighting of key-expressions in each of the written texts
Step 2	Identification of the different central-ideas that the key-expressions convey
Step 3	Formulation of a table containing the central ideas and the collection of loose key-expressions found to contain that central idea
Step 4	Formulation of a revised table, with the composition of the 'discourses' of the collective subject, sometimes with a re-articulation of the central ideas.
Step 5	'Discourse analysis' itself, the process of <i>anchoring</i> the micro-text in wider representations.

## **2.7. Limitations of the study**

As Taylor (2001:317) points out, "no research is perfect, and all can be criticized". She proposes that the criteria for evaluating the quality and limitations of studies operating within Constructivism and discursive paradigms are also part of the methodological choices, that is, the criteria must correspond to the paradigms underlying the study. In Constructivism, the legitimating of findings still has to occur, although the criteria are of another nature. The knowledge generated by the researcher *is biased*, and

if postmodern theory has taught us anything, it is that knowledge and its images are constructed from individual perspectives, and therefore, by definition, can only be biased, partial, and greatly simplified reductions of more complex and nuanced wholes. All descriptions of the social world are filtered through the subjective lenses of multiple framework of interpretation. (...) Representations, in short, can neither posit unmediated authenticity nor make claims to universal validity. (Duncan and Ley, quoted in Grinker & Steiner, 1997:xxvi)

For constructionists, any research findings do not accurately reflect reality, since reality' is a social construct, therefore the findings are "*situated*, meaning that claims that are made can refer only to the specific circumstances of place, time and participants; *contingent*, in that these

claims do not have the status of an enduring truth; and *reflective*" (Taylor, 2001:319). The present study claims particular findings which were possible because and within specific conditions: it is therefore not only a country-specific result, but also framed and influenced by the political approach of the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), and my own role in the study. Each new case, each new group of 'young leaders', will create a different dynamic of interaction, and another researcher will relate differently with them. Being a 'foreigner', 'white', 'woman' and one of the 'trainers' in the YLTP certainly determined a relationship between me, 'the researcher', and 'them', my case. Validity and replicability are positivist criteria and are not quality criteria in qualitative research.

My design omitted an important step, which for practical reasons was not possible: feedback from participants. That would have made it possible to evaluate the quality of the interpretation, but it would not have been a way of *validation* of the results, since the study is an "analysis underpinned by theory and not a truth claim" (Taylor, in Wetherell et al., 2002:321–2). To overcome the absence of participants' feedback, I requested the Tanzanian Roselyn Kareithi, an expert in social development who now lives in South Africa, to read this dissertation, make comments and be my partner in dialogue, which she did. I am most obliged to her for reading what I have written about her country and her people, and for her positive feedback regarding this study.

## **PART II**

**Searching relationships between history,  
social representations and contemporary  
discourses of young leaders**

### 3. A REPRESENTATION: THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

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In this chapter, I will present an overview of the Tanzanian historical context, tracing back the development of *Tanzania* as a social construct, focusing on the conditions in which Tanzania was constituted as a possible object of knowledge. The ultimate aim is to provide the framework within which the representations of leadership in Chapter Four can be understood, paving the way to frame the analysis of the representations of young leaders in Tanzania in Chapter Five.

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#### 3.1. *What is Africa?*

*You are not a country, Africa,  
You are a concept,  
Fashioned in our minds, each to each  
To hide our separate fears,  
To dream our separate dreams.*  
(Nicol, quoted in Mazrui, 1999, p.9)

When one says *Africa*, one draws on different 'meanings', depending on the context. Therefore, it is valid to state that *Africa* is a socially constructed concept, as suggested by Nicol in the poem cited by Mazrui, above. That concept is composed of the views of the different peoples that inhabit the vast expanses of a more or less geographically determined territory and the views of the people who live elsewhere. In this study, when I refer to *Africa*, I make reference to *sub-Saharan Africa*.

Mazrui (1999:10) develops a most compelling argument in the Introduction to the General History of Africa, Vol. VIII, about the formation of the current concept for Africa. He says that Europe's "greatest service to the people of Africa was not western civilization, now under siege; or even Christianity, which is now on the defensive. Europe's supreme gift was the gift of African identity, bequeathed without grace or design – but a reality all the same. This has been particularly so in the twentieth century". Why does he say so? First of all, Europeans named and renamed lands, mountains, lakes, villages, beaches, redefined the borders, the limits, the languages, and the routes. Secondly, "racially-inspired humiliation and degradation of black

Africans across the centuries contributed to their mutual recognition of each other as 'fellow Africans'" (Mazrui 1999:10).

### 3.2. What is Tanzania?

Tanzania (Figure 3) came into being on April 26, 1964, with the merge of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, shortly after a 'leftist revolution' shook the newly independent Zanzibari state. Zanzibar and Tanganyika were earlier inventions (Mudimbe, 1988). It is said that "nowhere in Africa is the historical process of interaction and assimilation between various peoples more vividly to be seen than in this region" (Martin & Meara, 1995:91).

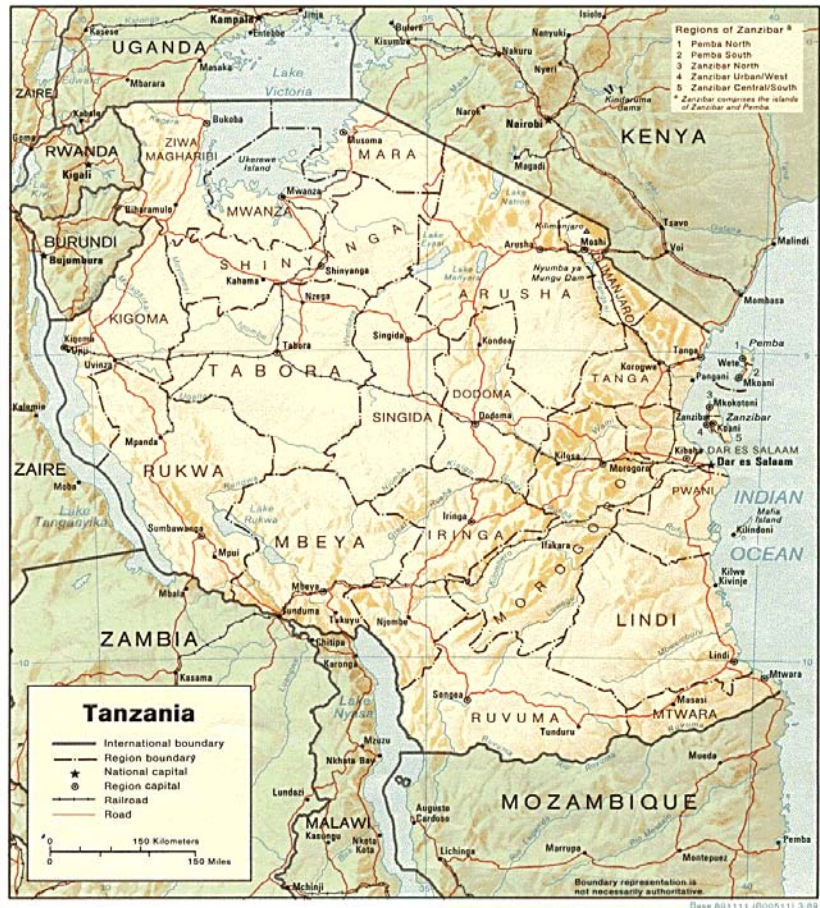


Figure 3: Map of Tanzania

#### 3.2.1. The formation of a Swahili culture

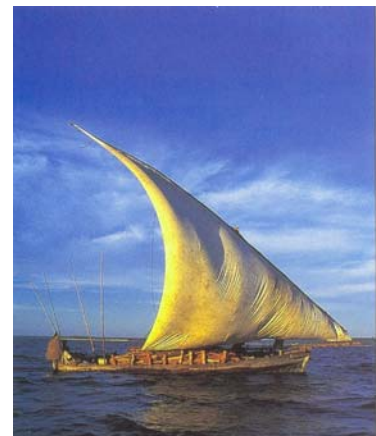
Historians tell that until the 10<sup>th</sup> century a Bantu and Nilotic past shaped the peoples who inhabited the region that became today's Tanzania. Arab, Persian, Chinese and other Asian peoples contributed to the cultural melting pot until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Europeans started to visit the region. As a result, the region became a Creole culture called Swahili. The impact of the Arabs and Asians is originally one of a commercial character. Archaeological findings suggest that Bantu-speaking fishing and farming lineages occupied the coast around AD 1000 and that by "the thirteen century, Swahili merchants had moved down the coast and monopolized the

international trade in gold mined on the Zimbabwean plateau in South Central Africa. The town of Kilwa was the coastal entrepôt for Swahili gold trade" (Hanson, 1995:104).

The Indian Ocean became the main theatre for trade routes between East Africa, the Arabic Peninsula and South-eastern Asia. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Arabs became the major traders. With bases in "Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and Malindi, Kilwa and Zanzibar in East Africa", Arabs "set off from the Gulf on the north-east monsoon, sailed down to Zanzibar, and then returned on the next south-west monsoon to the Gulf" (Menzies, 2003:102 and 121). When the Portuguese first arrived in East Africa, at the end of the sixteenth century, they found that the kings and queens of Unguja and Pemba (the two islands that compose Zanzibar in modern Tanzania) "were dressed in fine Chinese silk and lived in stone houses decorated with porcelain" (Menzies, 2003:365).

Swahili people included groups of Muslim people mainly from Arabia and Persia who were experts in crossing the Indian Ocean in vessels called *dhow*s. The dhows still ply the coast as a means of transportation of people and goods, with their unaltered design: a triangular sail and a broad, roughly planed, sturdy hull (Figure 4).

In the early nineteenth century, Swahili and Omani Arab merchants imported European firearms to expand the ivory trade, under ever increasing demand from Europe and Asia<sup>19</sup>. These activities increased slave raiding in the interior, and supported the rise of slave plantations along the coast. Sayyid Said, the Sultan of Oman at the time of these changes, established Omani political control along the coast and eventually moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar Island in 1840 (Ki-Zerbo, 1972).



**Figure 4.:** *Dhow crossing from Zanzibar to Dar es Salaam in present times*

With caravan routes pioneering into the northern, central and southern parts of the country, the mainland slowly became exposed to the Swahili people and language. The slave traffic peaked in the 1860's, when "about 20,000 slaves a year were brought to Zanzibar" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:6) from the mainland. By the end of that century, hundreds of thousands of slaves

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<sup>19</sup> By 1880, a third of the import to the region was of fire-arms (Ki-Zerbo, 1972).

worked in clove plantations, and Zanzibar became the world's main producer of that spice<sup>20</sup>. Having commerce as the axial centre, the Swahili culture, which constituted the culture before colonization, was chiefly composed of both Arab and black African influences.

### **3.2.2. Colonial representations: German East Africa and Tanganyika**

For about 20 years, Sir John Kirk, from Britain, who had arrived in the continent in 1866 with David Livingstone's expedition, had been "advising" the Sultan of Zanzibar, guaranteeing that the rich commercial centre remained under British influence, while 'protecting' the Sultan against other powers. Then, in June 1886, "came the extraordinary cable announcing that the German Emperor had declared a protectorate over the part of the mainland where the Sultan exercised most authority, because it was on the caravan route to the Lakes" (Pakenham, 1991:289). On August the 7<sup>th</sup>, the people of Zanzibar were "astounded to see a squadron of five German warships (...) steam into the lagoon and run out their guns opposite the Sultan's palace" (Pakenham, 1991:289). The Sultan had no choice but to accept the German protectorate over part of his empire on the mainland. By November 1886, 'East Africa' was partitioned between two European nations, with the border running westwards to Lake Victoria, with modern Uganda and Kenya under British rule and Tanzania under German rule (Pakenham, 1991).

Pushing into the continent, the Germans started building an extensive railway network as early as 1891. By 1914, the railway network stretched from Dar es Salaam northwards to Mount Kilimanjaro, westwards across the country to Lake Tanganyika, and down into the vast central regions. By the end of World War I, the region was inhabited by 4,000,000 Africans, 2,500 Europeans and nearly 15,000 Indians (Smyth & Seftel, 1998).

The German colonies were 'mandated' to Britain after World War I, in 1922, under the supervision of the newly founded League of Nations and Tanganyika was born. The system of mandates was for peoples "not yet able to stand alone in the modern world" (Boahen, 1990:124). The British rule covered the whole territory of mainland, called Tanganyika, while Zanzibar remained under the Sultan's 'rule' with British 'protection'. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations watched over questions of infringement of the "open-door" policy for international trade and abuses in the administration of their inhabitants (Boahen,

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<sup>20</sup> A forceful account of slavery and its methods is given by Adam Hochschild in his *King Leopold's ghost* (2000).

1990:124). The mandate from the League of Nations said that the territory was to be administered in the "interests of the 'material and moral wellbeing and the social progress of its inhabitants" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:13).

## **The planting economy**

The 'colony' had to be economically 'self-supporting', and the colonized peoples had to raise revenue for the 'general administration' and for whatever limited 'development projects' that were undertaken. The main preoccupation was to create and maintain effective conditions for the 'orderly' running of the economy, which included the building of coercive bodies of maintenance of 'law and order' (Boahen, 1991). Urban and rural people formed associations, sometimes of a multi-racial nature, leading to the appearance of leaders with managerial capacity and well integrated into the economic system (Chachage, 2002). Co-operative societies and commercial associations were also formed, e.g. the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association (KNPA), formed by coffee growers, which was "facilitated and encouraged by Provincial Commissioner Charles Dundas and Governor Donald Cameron, who saw it as an extension of indirect rule in the economic sphere" (Chachage, 2002:134).

History says that the British, especially during the administration of Cameron (1925–31), attempted to rule 'indirectly' through existing African 'traditional' leaders. However, unlike in Nigeria, where the policy of indirect rule was first implemented in Africa (see Gringer & Steiner, 1997), Tanganyika had only a few indigenous large-scale political units. Therefore, African leaders 'had to be established' in newly defined constituencies, which meant a creation when economic growth began to accelerate, not only of 'leaders' but also of 'constituencies' by colonial powers (see section 4.4.1 for a discussion of the construction of traditional leadership). The colonial economy, therefore, gave rise to a managerial type of leader while the administration created, as complementing opposition, the 'traditional' leaders.

## **The culture**

The name of the language that came to form in East Africa, *Kiswahili*, came from the Arabic word for coast, *sahel*. Kiswahili is a fusion of Bantu and Arabic languages, with the intersection of several other influences, mainly German, Portuguese and English. Kiswahili "can be traced back eight centuries if not longer" (Mazrui, 1986:89). Inter-marriage between Arab men and

African women, which started as early as the ninth century also helped form the mixed population whose language became Kiswahili.

From an almost exclusive use on the coast, developed over a thousand years, Kiswahili expanded to become the language of 'German East-Africa' with the start of German colonization. The rapid growth of the German administrative system resulted in an extension of the Sultan of Zanzibar's bureaucracy to the mainland, and the use of its language, Kiswahili. The Germans came to use Kiswahili in most official communication, contributing to its emergence as Tanzania's national language. The construction of the 'state' in Tanganyika, including its rules of administration, was thus done in Kiswahili<sup>21</sup>.

Language is considered to be a uniting characteristic, often taken to explain the concept of community or 'ethnic' group. Iliffe (1979) explains how language and identity were integral concepts in the formation of a Swahili identity, creating the basis upon which nationalism could bloom. With the advancement of the German administration towards the interior, inland people resisted coastal Kiswahili, but "wider communication made a *lingua franca* essential" (Ilife, 1979:210). "Representations and language were thus linked in this complex matrix of culture, where they inform and predetermine one another." (Grinker & Steiner, 1997:685)

Religions added to the formation of social representations in Tanganyika. On the eve of colonialism, two religions<sup>22</sup> could be identified to supplement the traditional metaphysics of native origin: the Christian and the Islamic. The colonial administration adopted a hostile attitude towards certain practices, abolished some and tried to suppress certain cults and deities. For Christians, the abolition of polygamy, 'witchcraft' and circumcision was focus of permanent campaign. For Ilife (1979:220), monogamy was a critical point of the 'new' rules of discourse formation, since it denied "African marriage as binding", influencing deeply the way men related to his wives.

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<sup>21</sup> To date (2005), Kiswahili is the official language of Tanzania and it is spoken by almost all of its inhabitants. English is also 'official', but only a small percentage of the population can speak it. Little exceptions are the Masai, who speak a Nilotic language; the Sandawe, who speak a language akin to Khoikhoi; and the Iraqw, who speak a Cushitic language. (The Columbia Encyclopedia, 2001: 1203)

<sup>22</sup> *Religion* as a concept can only apply to the two guest religions mentioned here, since the "traditional" religions are integral parts of African metaphysics. Traditional religions form a multifaceted body of a myriad of metaphysical explanations about the functioning of the world and cannot fit into one "religious category".

Resistance against colonial forces took strength in spiritual protection, as referred to in the section about the *Maji Maji* episode of African resistance against the German rule (Section 3.2.3). Another cult similar to the Maji Maji was the Nyabingi, which covered North-western Tanganyika, in the late nineteenth century. Boahen (1990:219) describes a series of confrontational events in Tanganyika over the time, between Christian missions and African peoples, primarily over the issue of circumcision:

A policy of adaptation was pursued, and it resulted in attempts to modify the *jando* (male circumcision) and the *malango* (female circumcision) by performing them under Christian auspices and eliminating whatever elements were thought or judged to be 'un-Christian'. This policy avoided a head-on collision between traditional initiation and Christian missions and practice.

The results of such policy contributed to the current view of those practices, as shown on page 122, and researched by Salakana (2004).

The birth of separatist churches points towards an attempt to reconstruct given religious discourses into narratives of resistance to colonial powers. "One example is the African National Church, which thrived in the Rungwe district of Tanganyika in the 1930s." (Boahen, 1990:225) Indigenous churches recognized the existence of forces for healing, divining, prophesying and visioning, "for there is the firm belief that God reveals the future and the causes of misfortunes through visions". Boahen credits to such a movement "the beginning of an African Christian theology". Becoming Muslim did not require much change in values. As religion, it prospered under colonial rule, since many saw it as an African religion, for so many centuries present in the region of Tanganyika. Islam was much more able to accommodate African social and religious institutions, such as divination, polygamy and communalism.

The education in Islamic schools concentrated mostly on the teaching of the Koran, in original Arabic, which did not create the necessary conditions for rising administrative careers. Young Muslim men, however, received German education aimed at the creation of a body of literate and subservient (Ilife, 1979) civil servants. "The state schools were the foundations of a territorial civil service whose members –among whom coastal men predominated – were transferred throughout the country." (Ilife, 1979:209)

Ilife (1979:208) highlights the "important tradition of secular education in Germany" as a cornerstone to consolidate education and means to construct a disciplined colonial mind.

German rule created a pressing demand for literate Africans to help staff its institutions. The first school started in Bagamoyo (see Figure 3, Map of Tanzania) in 1862, and was headed by the Holy Ghost Fathers. Other missionaries followed, the most prominent of them the Lutheran Mission of Berlin and the Universities Mission to Central Africa. Seventy government schools were opened during the German period, while mission schools rose to over a 1,000. About 100,000 children – about one out of every ten children – were receiving formal colonial education by 1914 (Smyth & Seftel, 1998; Sahle, 2002).

The history books tell us that under colonial rule, in mission or government schools, children learned that European culture and civilization were superior to theirs.

The limited education offered to a small minority of Africans did not attempt to make them the equal of the European; it prepared them only to occupy subordinate positions within the colonial systems. While educated elites sought political and social equality for themselves, they often regarded the indigenous masses as backwards and not ready for full political and civil rights until they acquired a modicum of Western education and values. (Martin & Meara, 1995:142)

Protestants and Catholic missionaries alike had the function of providing some schooling and health care. It is possible that in selectively providing Western-style education, the missionaries provided the discursive practice that would allow non-productive professional classes – soldiers, teachers, priests and clerks – to dedicate to resistance and to reframing ‘reality’.

Anthropologists say that in pre-colonial times, power and status were determined by age, family position, ability, and sometimes by gender, although it by no means constituted a rigid classification of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ chances of access to leadership positions (Martin & Meara, 1995). The Christian opposition to perceived African customs helped create those customs’ representations as concrete, fixed and unchanging. By describing, classifying, and opposing certain social features, the mission schools, representatives of the colonial rule and European scientists created those customs themselves, naming them anthropological phenomena. Ranger (1997:597–612), in his "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", puts forward the argument that the "European invented traditions offered Africans a series of clearly defined points of entry into the colonial world, though in almost all cases it was entry into the subordinate part of a man/master relationship".

Power before colonialism tended to be limited by a need for consensus. The difference in wealth between classes was not remarkable, since 'accumulation of wealth' related mostly to "women and prestige goods", to be used in ritual occasions (Geschiere, 1997:344). Martin and Meara (1995:314) locate the major change in leadership through education in the period between the two world wars, when the "power of those gerontocracies that had survive the initial conquest was undermined by the newly educated Africans, who organized themselves into political parties, trade unions, and other voluntary associations, some with international connections".

The cultural merging of educational principles from Islam, Christianity and native metaphysics gave life to the profile of the leader who would be at the vanguard of the independence movement. The men who would be involved in the struggle for freedom were often well educated and privileged. Women who were leaders had a different profile (see the next section). Women did not remain in leadership much long after independence. The leaders who succeeded were the male ones who knew the rules of formation of the discourses of the ruling powers. The new leaders knew well how to operate in a multicultural environment, how to venerate the ancestors, how to read the Koran, how to discuss socialism and Plato, and how to be a good Christian. Kwame A. Appiah extends these characteristics to "most Africans [who], (...) whether converted to Islam or Christianity or not, still share the beliefs of their ancestors in an ontology of invisible beings" (as cited in Grinker & Steiner, 1997:363.).

## **The women**

The feminist approach is relatively recent in Africa studies, having started around the 1960s, with the general trend of feminist studies around the world<sup>23</sup>. Women in leadership will be a specific topic in Sections 4.4.3 and 5.1.3 in this study. However, historicity has implications for a genealogy of gender representations in East Africa, and for the representations of contemporary young leaders.

One of the factors that made gender representations change during the colonial period was the introduction of a cash economy and urbanization, as referred to by Martin and Meara (1995:317):

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<sup>23</sup> In the "Bibliography of African research material", in Grinker, 1997:733, there are 89 references, of which only one is about women in Africa: Bullwinkle, Davis (1989) *African Women: a general bibliography, 1976-1985*. New York, Greenwood.

Men generally get more formal education than women, which means that the world of wage labour is [mostly male]. (...) To fulfil their economic responsibilities, most women have two avenues: self-employment on low-profit activities, or marriage to a financially dependable man, preferably upwardly mobile.

In rural areas, though, cash crops had the major attention of colonial investment, while the production of food-crops declined with the shift of male labour into cash production, either in agriculture or in other paid jobs in the cities. Women remained responsible for food production and had reduced access to the economy in the rural areas. Gender became, during colonial rule, a primary determinant of access to power, authority and development.

Present studies on the changing role of women argue that the priorities of Western feminist movements and African women's movements are not the same. Presbey (2002:371) remarks that "whereas Westerners think African priorities should be the eradication of polygamy and female circumcision, Florence Dolphyne of Ghana thinks development in general, literacy skills and economic wellbeing for women should be the highest priorities to be met". Such disagreement reveals a criticism to the general feminist discourse, the one that uses European eyes to see Africa's women. Oyéwùmi (2002:367) puts forward the argument that the Western notion that

difference and hierarchy in society are biologically determined continues to enjoy credence even among social scientists who purport to explain human societies in other than genetic terms. (...) In the West, biological explanations appear to be specially privileged over other ways of explaining differences. (...) The notion of society that emerges from this conception is that society is constituted by bodies and as bodies – male bodies, female bodies, Jewish bodies, Aryan bodies, black bodies, white bodies, rich bodies, poor bodies.

Paulmer's (in Ranger, 1997:609) attempt to deconstruct women's representation as oppressed by tradition includes, however, two points reflecting the impact of colonialism in the reconstruction of gender representation: "The first is the practical breakdown under colonialism of many customary institutions regulating the relations between the sexes, a breakdown almost always disadvantageous economically to women. The second was the constant appeal by men to tradition." Tradition seems to have been a construction by European ethnography, based almost exclusively on male informants, so that the traditions of women remained unrecorded.

It seems fair to affirm that economic and political competition and a Western natural/biological view of the social sciences – dichotomically organized in male / female opposition – overrode the existing securities offered to women by marriage or extended kinship relations. "The terms of reconstruction [of gender roles] were dictated by the colonial authorities in the years after 1895, when pacification came to mean immobilization of populations, re-enforcement of ethnicity and greater rigidity of social definition." (Wright, in Ranger, 1997:603)

### 3.2.3. Constructing a discourse of nationalism

In Tanganyika, resistance to the colonial occupation took different forms, sometimes violent, other times diplomatic. An especially critical period was the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1889 and 1896, over 50 regional conflicts challenged the German rule. The decade of 1890 was a disastrous decade for the people of Tanganyika; "their cattle herds were hit by a rinderpest epidemic and within five years nearly 90 per cent of all cattle caught the disease and died. (...) In 1893 and 1894 there were several attacks of red locusts, and throughout the decade the rainfall was poor. These ecological disasters, coupled with the loss of life from fighting the Germans, resulted in Tanzania's worst famine in living memory. Over 750,000 people — almost one in every five — died from starvation" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:8).

The most serious challenge to colonial rule in East Africa during the German colonial period was the *Maji Maji* (*maji* stands for *water* in Kiswahili) uprising, in Tanganyika. The rebellion resulted from resistance to a combination of forced labour, taxation, harassment and harsh conditions of work. However, the immediate cause was the introduction of a communal cotton production scheme, where people were required to work 28 days a year, having to abandon their own cotton crops during the most important times of the production. The movement against the Germans lasted from July 1905 to August 1907 and spread over an area covering one third of Tanganyika. It broke out near the city of Kilwa, and was led by a 'prophet', Kinjikitile, who arose among the Matumbi people in the South. He claimed to have a potion – a mixture of water and cereals – *maji* – which could protect the warriors against the Europeans' bullets. In the end, the rebellion was brutally suppressed by the German colonial authorities<sup>24</sup>. The *Maji-Maji* created room for the establishment of new chiefs and administrators, much more compliant with the

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<sup>24</sup> For a full account of this episode, see Pakenham (1991:616-628). *Drum* also published an article in May 1968, with eye witnesses' accounts of the uprising, "arguably the most widespread African resistance to colonial rule ever" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:9). The Maji-Maji followed the massacre of the Herero population in Namibia by German occupation forces, that left alive only 16.000 people out of 80.000 native Herero people, in 1904 (Hochschild, 2000).

colonial ruling, since the natural leaders of the mass movement had been killed and entire groups of population annihilated (Ilife, 1979:209).

Later, World War II played a fundamental role in changing discourses. According to Mazrui (1999:112), the Germans had humiliated the French, and Britain was impoverished and exhausted by the war and was forced to let go of "the brightest jewel in the British Crown – her Indian empire", in 1948. The world's political attitude towards colonization as a way of international governance changed. There was a realization that the colonial mode of production was no longer economically worthwhile, making the colonies unfashionable. In the end of the 1940's, it was clear that African countries would have to move towards independence. As prospects for independence came closer, Britain launched a "crash programme in nation building", transferring to the colonies the "Westminster" model of government – "down to the Speaker's wig" – (Pakenham, 1991:676).

The birth of the United Nations also contributed to the process of decolonization worldwide, through the construction of a discourse of international equality and national sovereignty. "Almost every new member of the United Nations following India's independence was a voice against the old systems of empire. And the trusteeship Council of the world body became a major lobby against colonialism at large" (Mazrui, 1999:112). Tanganyika was made a "trust territory" of the United Nations, and Britain was expected to ensure its progress towards self-government and eventual independence. In 1946, a ten-year development plan was introduced, which for the first time stressed the education of native Tanganyikans. Yet, by the 1950's, the country was not considered to be ready for independence by the British Foreign Office since it was "the least developed of the British East African territories" (Ilife, 1997:2).

Independence became predictable. The British Governor (from 1949 to 1958) Edward Twining, of Tanganyika, responded to nationalism, devising an electoral system for the country which "proved to be — from the British viewpoint — a disastrous error: instead of returning to a moderate, multi-racial leadership, as intended, it gave the African nationalist movement (...) a sweeping victory" (Ilife, 1997:2). Julius Nyerere was already the leader of the newly formed Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU) stronghold. Ilife (1997) mentions other reasons that pushed independence forward: the lack of opposition in a country where the few existing political ambitions could find space within a single party, and the weakness of the security forces available to the British in the country. To complete the scenario, the costs that Britain

would have to bear to bring Tanganyika to a point where independence would be considered "appropriate" seemed to be "inconceivable" (Ilife, 1997:3).

In this terminal colonial period in Africa, the prospect of independence brought together many ethnic groups or 'cultural nations' to compete for power, resulting in internal conflicts after independence was complete. In Tanganyika, the experience was different. It is a consensus in the scholarship reviewed that over 120 cultural and linguistic groups populated the country's territory, but few of them had developed strong communal allegiances, and no one group had ever been economically or politically dominant. "The inability of the land to support larger communities and the tradition of repeatedly subdividing plots, spread the population very thinly." (Smyth & Seftel, 1998: 12) Therefore, Tanganyika had neither the larger and autonomous sub-stated 'nations' nor the linguistic problems of, say, Nigeria<sup>25</sup>. Tanzania was a poly-ethnic but not a multi-national state, and it already had Kiswahili as a countrywide language, which provided an umbrella over other differences.

#### **3.2.4. From Tanganyika to Tanzania: the African discourses**

In September 1960, TANU won 70 of 71 seats in the country's first contest for the legislative council in which it was electorally possible for Africans to win a majority. It was the first country in British East Africa to accomplish such results. Julius Nyerere became 'chief minister' of an internally self-governing Tanganyika that in December 1961 became independent (Twaddle, 1999). In December 1962, Tanganyika became a republic and Nyerere its president. Nyerere came from a small ethnic group, the Wazanaki<sup>26</sup>, and found himself operating as a Christian in a country with a religious plurality.

TANU led Tanganyika through the independence process without much opposition, and it continued ruling the country until it expanded into Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1977, through the merging with the Afro-Shiraz Party, from Zanzibar (Elaiwu, 1999). In December 1963, the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba also became independent from British rule, but under a government dominated by the Sultan of Zanzibar. In January 1964, the Sultan's government was violently overthrown and the Afro-Shiraz Party took over power on the islands (Smyth & Seftel, 1998). In April 1964, the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed Tanzania. In 1965, a

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<sup>25</sup> Nigeria is said to have about 390 different languages spoken in its territory.

<sup>26</sup> Julius Nyerere was born in 1922, son of Chief Nyerere Burite of the Wazanaki. No reference was found regarding his mother.

change in the constitution promulgated the union and replaced the two parliaments with the party as the centre of power, defining the country as a "one-party democratic state" (Temwende, 2002).

### **Building an African representation: the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease**

According to Bagachwa (1994), the overall development policy immediately after Tanganyika's independence was conceived in 'conventional' terms (economic growth as the primary means of improving the quality of life). The two major policy objectives sought were to achieve rapid growth in *per capita* income and to attain national self-sufficiency in middle- and high-level personnel. The chosen way was to seek a high rate of growth in import substituting manufacturing and its increased share in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and promotion of high value cash crop agriculture.

The Tanganyikan independence slogan *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and Work) was associated with three national 'enemies': 'poverty, ignorance and disease'. The first period of independence (first Three Year Plan 1962–1964 and the Five Year Plan 1964–1969) focused on the strengthening of the machinery of governance, particularly creating "a disciplined and trainable labour force" (Mtatifikolo, 1994:27). The public sector employment increased by 24.6% between 1962 and 1967, while in the private sector employment decreased 25.9%, due to the lack of incentives for private entrepreneurship (Mtatifikolo, 1994). The government actively searched for foreign factor inputs, particularly foreign aid, and concentrated on the rapid expansion of infrastructure. According to Adedeji (1999), the failure of the liberal hope of the first years of independence led to and informed the move towards socialism, which was officially launched in 1967 with the *Arusha Declaration*.

### **Modern socialism and traditional values**

In 1967, the country's leadership under the guidance of President Julius Nyerere prepared and presented the *Declaration on Socialism and Self-reliance* ("Ujamaa na Kujitegemea"), known as the *Arusha Declaration*. The policy of *Ujamaa vijijini* ("villagisation") was introduced to "regroup the dispersed rural population in order to make various improved services, such as support to agriculture, more accessible to farmers on a collective basis" (Owusu, 1999:325). Israeli

advisors played a central role in the planning of settlement schemes, using *moshav* as a model, that is small scale individual farms with centralized services for cultivation, marketing and social welfare.

A radical development strategy was devised. Its main features were the nationalization of the major economic institutions, particularly banks, insurance business, foreign trade and manufacturing enterprises and large agricultural estates; restrictions on consumption by the 'affluent bourgeoisie' principally through the imposition of progressive taxation; decolonization of the school curriculum; greater attention to economic diversification and industrialization; and a well publicized commitment to self-reliance (Nyerere, 1973).

Socialism was to be based on the 'traditional values of the village', emphasising the group and 'mutual support' in contradistinction to the 'individualistic and exploitative values of capitalism'. Nyerere's ideological discourse tried to break language barriers between ancestral cultural philosophy and the new ideological tendency in the post-colonial era. Some scholars view Nyerere's efforts positively:

His concept of Ujamaa as a basis of African socialism was itself a brilliant cross-cultural transition. Ujamaa traditionally implied ethnic solidarity. But Nyerere transformed it from a dangerous principle of ethnic nepotism into more than a mere equivalent of the European word socialism. (Mazrui, 1999:674)

The *Arusha Declaration* contained a quite restrictive leadership code of conduct, emphasizing moral values, hard work, austerity, self-denial and dedication to the community, and forbidding the leaders from engaging in private business and owning more than one house (Nyerere, 1968). By the mid-1980's, over 80% of economic activity was in the public sector (Adedeji, 1999). The new environment under the declaration envisaged a new role for the state bureaucracy: "to enable the Central Government to give guidance and assistance to local people, as well as check on their work, while it reduces the amount of red tape and bureaucracy which is, at present, in danger of strangling our people's enthusiasm" (Nyerere, 1972:2).

### **3.2.5. Liberal practice and discourses of resistance**

The period between the mid-70's and the mid-80's saw several crises hit the country: drought; the international oil crisis of 1973–75; the break up of the East African Community in 1977; a war with Uganda in 1979; then another shortage and high prices of oil; and depression in raw

material export prices in 1979–81. Economic instability was addressed in the early 1980's by the first National Economic Strategy Plan (NESP), soon followed by the first World Bank and International Monetary Fund conditionality plans, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and the Economic Recovery Programmes (ERP) I and II (Mtatikolo, 1994).

Under the presidency of Nyerere's successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985–1995), increased international pressure from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and domestic influences towards liberalization and economic growth led to a shift in discursive trends. This was a policy emphasis on restructuring the supply side of the economy from an inward-oriented import substitution strategy towards an outward oriented export-led growth strategy. The new policy advocated the enhanced role of the private sector and the shifting of resources from non-tradable to tradables by changing the structure of incentives: exchange rate adjustment, changes in domestic prices, and relaxation of wage control policies (Isata, 2000).

The re-introduction of a political multiparty system in 1992 took place despite the results of a popular consultation by the Nyalali Commission on Party Systems set in 1991 by President Ali H. Mwinyi. The Commission interviewed over 35.000 Tanzanians, and 77% wanted the single-party model to remain in place. Benjamin William Mkapa from the ruling party won the first multiparty elections in 1995 and Salim Amour was declared the winner for the presidency in Zanzibar. By 2003 there were 15 registered political parties in Tanzania. These ranged from the socialist (the ruling party – CCM) to social-democratic parties (NCCR, TLP) to more neo-liberal (CUF, Chadema) and capitalist oriented groups such as the UDP (FES, 2003).

The social representations constructed in the last two decades are mixed. While the 'socialist' and 'one party' ideological model was still very much in place in the country, despite a worldwide discredit after the end of the Soviet empire and the fall of the Berlin Wall, there was international pressure to bring Tanzania into the blueprint of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, with a free market economy and liberal political values, represented by concepts such as 'good governance', 'democracy' and 'multipartism'. The political literature is clearly divided into two streams, one claiming for 'consolidation' of the free market model, and another resisting it. The Bertelmanns Transformation Index (BTI) is one good example of the trend towards measuring the 'success' of development in the country through liberal discourse. The Bertelsmann Foundation runs the BTI, "an international ranking of 116 developing and transition countries. It sheds light upon the political and economic status of each country as well

as upon the political management performance by the relevant actors” ([www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/home.html](http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de/home.html)). Its analysis fits within the concept of ‘good public management and reform’, good governance, and modern leadership. About Tanzania’s economic transformation, the Bertelsmann Foundation says:

The *economic transformation* of the formerly socialist-orientated, state-controlled economy **began** in 1986 with the first IMF structural adjustment program, but was implemented only erratically until the mid-1990s. Market reforms were pursued more consistently after 1995 under Mkapa’s governments. Since then, progress has been made in privatizing state enterprises, despite lingering resistance, and in deregulating the economy. Furthermore, the rate of inflation has been markedly reduced. (Bertelsmann, 2003:2, bold mine)

Such discourse places the ‘transformation’ of Tanzania as a recent endeavour, linked to the deregulation of the economy and its ‘journey towards democracy’, ignoring a political past of struggle for self-reliance following independence in the 1960s. According to the Bertelsmann Institute, the “reforms have fallen far short of overcoming the structural weaknesses of the Tanzanian economy, namely a heavy dependence on development aid and agriculture (much of it at the subsistence level), and a limited diversification of exports” (Bertelsmann, 2003:2).

On the other hand, Doug Hellinger, the Executive Director of “The Development Gap”<sup>27</sup>, suggests:

Tanzania was forced by the [International Monetary] Fund to adopt a program of trade liberalization, devaluation, tight monetary policy and the dismantling of state financing and marketing mechanisms for small farmers, [and] has experienced expanding rural poverty, income inequality and environmental degradation amidst growing agricultural export trade. Food security, housing conditions and primary-school enrolment have fallen, while malnutrition and infant mortality have been on the rise. The country, under Fund supervision, is today more dependent than ever on foreign aid. (...) Since state marketing and pan-territorial pricing programs were ended, small farmers in remote areas have found it especially difficult to market their crops. The World Bank reports that, while "...rich farmers negotiate selling prices with private traders, the poor sell in smaller quantities and at lower prices." Despite these problems, the IMF's Policy Framework Paper for 1995/96 to 1997/98 focuses on improving "marketing efficiency" rather than on fairness. (Hellinger, 1999:5)

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<sup>27</sup> See their website at [www.developmentgap.org](http://www.developmentgap.org)

When seen from such an angle, the discourses on development, democracy and good governance take a different shape. Abrahamsen (2000:22) argues that the dominant developmental discourse, that of the international financial institutions, “has created a ‘regime of truth’, and its representational practices inform contemporary relations”. She compares such discourses with the colonial ones, which “construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types (...) in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction” and claims that “the good governance discourse sanctions the right of the Western countries to intervene (...) to promote their vision of development and democracy, while simultaneously marginalizing alternative interpretations” (2000:23). Professor Issa Shivji, from Tanzania, summarizes the situation:

The contemporary neo-liberal discourse has one fundamental blind spot. It treats the present as if the present has had no history. The discourse on democracy in Africa suffers from the same blindness. The struggle for democracy did not begin with the post-cold war introduction of multiparty system. The independence and liberation struggles for self-determination, beginning in the post-world war period, were eminently a struggle for democracy. Neither formal independence nor the victory of armed liberation movements marked the end of democratic struggles. They continued, albeit in different forms. (...) This is important to emphasize in the light of the hegemony of neo-liberal discourse which tends to emasculate democracy of its social and historical dimensions and present it as an ultimate nirvana. (Shivji, 2003:1)

Nyerere himself questioned the concepts of ‘good governance, in a speech he held one year before his death, at the African Governance Forum, putting forward the argument that the rich ‘nations’ work with the notion of the ‘deserving poor’, the same concept developed by “Great Britain before the advent of the welfare state”.

The extremes of individual or family poverty within that country were dealt with through the philanthropy of rich persons to whom such human misery was unbearable. But their charity was given only to those they regarded as the ‘deserving poor’. (...) One of the criteria for a nation being classified as among the world’s ‘deserving poor’ came to be having ‘good governance’ as defined by the donor community. (...) And in practice that phrase meant and means those countries having multiparty systems of democracy, economies based on the principle of private ownership and of international free trade and a good record of human rights: again as defined by the industrialised market economy countries of the North. [It is] the arrogant and patronising manner in which it was raised by the aid givers, that discredited the whole subject in the eyes of many of us in Africa and other parts of the South. For used in this manner, good governance sounded like a tool for neo-colonialism. We have therefore tended to despise the concept even as, out of necessity, we try to qualify under it. (Nyerere, 1998:17)

### **3.3. Conclusions: the context for culture-specific leadership**

Each historical period gives rise to a system of thought or *episteme*. The episteme, according to Foucault (in Smart, 1985:32), is the “set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices (...), it is the totality of relations that can be discovered (...) when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities”. The previous sessions showed the major discursive regularities in the period of formation of Tanzania. The elite, the leadership, was formed mostly by Westernized Africans who acquired their power through the possession of Western education and verbal skills. The leadership in Zanzibar remained faithful to their history and kept more of an Islamic profile. Today, barely 3% of the total population – less than half the population of the capital Dar es Salaam – live in Zanzibar. The founding fathers of the nation, the vanguard of the struggle for political independence, were in large measure products of either missionary schools within Africa or Western colleges abroad. Nonetheless, they were conscious of the extent to which their education had also involved a degree of mental colonization and alienation from the roots of African culture. On the whole, the central dilemma of African leadership during the colonial period remained between indigenous credentials of legitimacy and the new credentials of Western education.

Collective representations "exist prior to the cogito, (...) they are pre-formed thought that structures and informs responsible thought in every way possible", it is the *ideo-logic*:

[which] by way of an hypothesis, [is] the implicit horizon of all possible forms of discourse. [Such a] complex heritage is transmitted through education [and] predisposes us to prefer certain forms of behaviour to others, certain objects to others, independently of our choices and will, and to which it behoves us to give new meaning, depending on our expectations and demands" (Hountondji, 2002:202–203).

Multiparty democracy, human rights, “good governance”, poverty reduction became the buzzwords of the ‘modern’ discourse in Tanzania. Nevertheless, the struggle for meaning is not dead.

Shivji (2003:4), who is considered to be a radical among Tanzanians and other ‘africanists’, says that the building of the discourse in the period post independence was shared by “the young intellectuals of the Dar [es Salaam] Campus who all vigorously debated with the mainstream American paradigms of political science centering around modernization and nation-building. Multiparty and liberal democracy immediately elicited even a more passionate search for ‘real’ democracy”. Such debate is very much alive in today’s Tanzania, even if such

freedom of expression is curbed by events such as the official warning given to lecturers of the University of Dar es Salaam, in 2004, threatening loss of their jobs if they got actively involved in (opposition) party politics. The Constitution provides for freedom of speech, but does not expressly provide for freedom of the press, and in practice, the Union Government partially limited these rights. The only private newspaper published on Zanzibar, Dira, remains banned.

The neo-liberal discourse is much more dominant today than before in Tanzania. Democracy in Tanzania has been an elusive concept. At the Afrobarometer opinion polls in 2003, 65% of respondents said that democracy is the best form of government, while in the 2001 polls, 84% affirmed the same (Chaliga et al., 2004:10). Such results could be credited to the 'deconstruction' of the concept of democracy, an escape from dominant discourses, and a trial to build an alternative one.

There are particular characteristics which make Tanzania a case apart. The history of social formation in Tanzania is characterized by a complex set of factors that created room for a culture of tolerance and a particular capacity to adapt and instrumentalize the varied discourses which were either imposed by unavoidable circumstances, or developed by a process of resistance, deconstruction and reconstruction of representations. Its long history of *Creole* origin; Nyerere's ability to draw from its constructed traditions to build a socialist nation; its praised performance within the complexities of the aid industry and international finance institutions; and, yet, its ability to keep alive a resistance through the discourse of its leaders, make of Tanzania a crucible of political skills, maybe inherited from long ago and born out of the need for understanding other cultures to which the people of the coast were from early exposed.

What sort of leaders are born in such an environment? The next chapter sheds light on the discursive formation of 'leadership' in general, and 'Tanzanian leadership' in particular. The Youth Leadership Training Programme is, as well, an instrument of discourse construction. Let us understand how 'leaders' are born and made in such conditions.

## 4. REPRESENTATIONS OF LEADERSHIP

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The aim of this section is to understand the worldwide dominant constructions about what 'leadership' is, and then locate specific Tanzanian constructions within its own historical possibilities. The chapter introduces the idea that 'leadership' is culture-specific and at the same time a collective representation, framed by the historical conditions of possibility given in the previous chapter. The chapter ends with the understanding that leadership is a concept in the making, a process composed as well by the conclusions of this study.

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*"Leadership is the interaction between members of a group. Leaders are agents of change, persons whose acts affect other people more than other people's acts affect them. Leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group."*  
(Bass, 1990)

*"Leadership is the ability to encourage colleagues and followers to challenge – vigorously, persuasively and actively – and, after discussion, to accept the best course of action, which may not necessarily be the leader's own."* (Boon, 1996)

Leadership in Tanzania has not, so far, been systematically examined. While the leadership of the late president Julius Nyerere has deserved quite an extensive literature, few other studies could be found during my research<sup>28</sup>. Although leadership has been studied for decades, it remains a field of controversy. Gibson et al. (2000:271) say that "even after thousand of studies, the experts still lack consensus on exactly what leadership is and how it should be analysed".

The review of the scholarship shows two major streams of thought which can be understood and read as two different discourses about leaders and leadership: one, humanistic, and the other managerial. While the latter aims at achieving results by changing the world through efficiency and effectiveness, the former seeks to empower group members based on principles of humanism, democratic citizenship and holistic personal and organizational learning. These

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<sup>28</sup> A survey at the library of the University of Dar es Salaam revealed only the three following theses related to the subject of leadership in the country: Ng'asi (1976), Meshack (1985) and Ndabaise (1992). About J. Nyerere, some published books are McDonald & Sahle (2002), Mwakikagile (2002), Assensoh (1998), Smyth & Seftel (1998), and Hodd (1989). A case study on *leadership in Tanzanian non-governmental organizations* was written by Chachage (2002).

are highly generalised categories that label complex meanings, but should suffice to provide a sense for predominant discourses in leadership studies.

As it happens with most of the dominant scientific production in current times, the mainstream theories on leadership are Western theories, based on Western (Christian, liberal, rational) values. Yukl (1998) points out that most of the research on leadership during the past half century was conducted in the United States, Canada and Western Europe. "As a result there is a growing awareness of need for a better understanding of the way in which leadership is enacted in various cultures and a need for an empirically grounded theory to explain differential leader behaviour and effectiveness across cultures." (House, 1995:443–444; see also Dorfman, 1996)

From the positivist concept of a *natural model that could be reproduced* (the trait or behaviour theory) by people in leadership positions, the evolution of the concept reflected the uncertainty and the changes that occurred in the beginning of the twentieth century, when "many of the old truisms were abandoned and few certainties took their place, apart from the continuation of constantly increasing levels of change and uncertainty. The (...) global economy became a reality and life at work became more demanding for everybody, not least the leaders" (Maurik, 2001:75). With globalization, the concern about the influences of the cultural environment on the leadership style resulted in in-depth studies on the cultural determinants of leadership effectiveness, in different cultures. The GLOBE Project (see page 57) is an example of such concern.

The rest of the chapter will look specifically at leadership in Tanzania, but one thing the review of the scholarship revealed was that there is not much theorizing about the issue by African scholars. A recent initiative, the African Leadership Institute, has as one of its projects exactly the investigation about 'what leadership is' in Africa. The project is called *Conversations with African Leaders*, and aims at "learning across various levels and sectors, doing research on African leadership" (see [www.alinstitute.org](http://www.alinstitute.org)).

Generally, the amount of responsibility for failures and successes is too big a burden put on the shoulders of leaders, and this is only possible because the socially construed discourse reinforces the idea of the charismatic leader. Madi (2000:12), telling the story of the leadership 'secrets' of emperor Shaka Zulu, revealed in a diary of his great-grandfather, shows that a

leader is a “conqueror of minds (...), someone who changes the way people think, someone who convinces people to follow his example and his advice, someone whose words are taken seriously”. Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo (Africa News Service, 2000) asked "why are we failing while the rest of the world is succeeding, yet Africa is not less endowed than other parts of the world? I believe one word answers that question: leadership. It lies in doing things right, and in having the right leadership”.

#### **4.1. The theories that constructed the ‘leadership’ concept**

The topic of leadership is popular among Western scholars. Considerable research on this topic has appeared in the literature. However, there is still no comprehensive understanding of what leadership is, nor there is an agreement among different theorists on what good or effective leadership should be. In academic terms, the first theory on leadership may have emerged in the nineteenth century, in USA, with the idea that history is the story of great men<sup>29</sup> and their impact on society (Heifetz, 1997). The theorists call this view the *trait* approach (Sheffer, 1993; Heifetz, 1997; April et al., 2000), or the *behavioural* approach (Maurik, 2001). Many scientists studied the personalities of the ‘great men’, proposing that the rise to power is the result of bravery and courage, and a set of special personal talents, skills or physical characteristics (Venson, 1995, Isata, 2000; Madi, 2000; Othman, 2000; Westlake, 2000). The *trait theory*, therefore, claims that the essence of leadership is in the leader and that a ‘leader’ is a leader in any circumstance.

By about the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Robert Spencer put forward the theory of the *situationalists*, arguing that the times produce the person and not the other way around. Therefore the most important is "to match leaders' personalities and styles to the situation in which they will be effective" (Fiedler, 1967:72). The performance of groups would be dependent on the interaction between leadership style and "situational favourableness" (Gibson et al., 2000:281). The essence of the individual *and* the context are critical to effectiveness, since it implies an alignment between the self-awareness and an analysis of the situation.

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<sup>29</sup> As one can realize, reference to women as leaders were not considered necessary yet. Oyéwùmi (2002) tells us how the myth of those born to rule was already in operation in the Greece of Socrates. In a dialogue with Glaucon, Socrates explains how women, being constituted of ‘wood’, were not strong enough to be the rulers. The situation has started to change very recently, with some leadership studies being oriented by gender dimensions: some authors we refer to are the Tanzanian Marjorie Mbilinyi and Ruth Meena, the Nigerian Oyèrónké Oyéwùmi, the Ugandan anthropologist Okot p'Bitek and the GLOBE associate researchers Linda Badjo and Marcus Dickson.

Political leadership has been discussed from the point of view of the formation of the modern state by Max Weber (1947, 1968), whose works analyse the relationship between 'domination' and 'legitimacy', and propose three ideal or pure types of domination according to the kind of claim to legitimacy typically made by each: legal or bureaucratic, traditional and charismatic. The legal or bureaucratic leadership is backed by written and systematic instruments ordering relationships and conferring powers: bureaucracy is "the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge" (Weber, 1947:339). Under the traditional authority, "obedience is owed not to enacted rules but to the person who occupies a position of authority by tradition or who has been chosen for it by the traditional master" (Weber, 1968:227). The charismatic legitimacy is based on the capacity of mobilization of followers, and the leader has an individual personality set apart from ordinary people.

Like Weber, Burns (1978) reasoned that moral values were important to leadership and developed the categories of transaction and transformational leaders (still very popular theories in recent discussions; to check such popularity, type 'leadership', 'transformational' and 'transactional' into any search engine in the Internet). For Burns, the transforming leaders focused on ends, while the transactional leaders negotiated and bargained over the means. "Transformational leaders focus on change, progress and development." (Tucker & Russel, 2004) The transaction theory, though, treats leadership as a relationship based on reciprocity: leaders not only influence followers, but are under their influence as well (Sheffer, 1993; Heifetz, 1997). "It would seem that leaders are most likely to be successful when they reflect the problems straight back to where they have to be solved – at the feet of the followers", in the words of Grint (2000).

Charismatic leadership has been strongly emphasized in the American management literature (Burns, 1978; Bass, 1985; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993; Yukl, 1998). The charismatic/transformational leadership is thought to broaden and elevate the interests of followers, generating awareness and acceptance among the followers of the purposes and mission of the group, and motivating followers to go beyond their self-interests for the wellbeing of the group (Bass, 1985; Bass, 1997; Den Hartog et al. 1997). Charismatic or transformational leaders articulate a vision of the future that can be shared. According to Bass (1985) the transformation of followers can be achieved by raising the awareness of the importance and value of desired outcomes, getting followers to transcend their own self-interests and altering or

expanding followers' needs. Charisma is considered by Bass a culturally universal value for leadership (Bass, 1991, 1997).

Transformational leadership, however, is not intrinsically positive. More recently, positive transformational leadership was qualified of "authentic" by Bass (in Price, 2003) and "responsible" by Boon (1996), in analysis of the ethical implications of *transforming* the goals of followers, sometimes through immoral behaviour. After all, "this form of leadership transforms people from the selves that they are into the selves that they should be" (Price, 2003:68). Servant leadership is also among the popular theories currently discussed (Smith et al., 2004). However, transformational and servant leadership are both rooted in the study of charismatic leadership. Servant leadership has distinct components, such as valuing and developing people, building community, displaying authenticity, providing and sharing leadership. The leader is first seen as a servant to others, one who assumes a non-focal position within a group, providing resources and support without an expectation of acknowledgement. Greenleaf (in Frick & Spears, 1996) suggests that these people were not initially motivated to be leaders, but assume this position in response to urgings of others in response to the need for group success.

Other recent variants of leadership theories fit the humanistic approach, and can be found related to a specific *episteme* or field of study. *Fostering* leadership, for instance, is "highly connective, deriving its strength from empowering others; (...) it takes on different appearances, different shapes, different directions as a web in constant redesign; (...) it is a form of inquiry; (...) there is community building, collective visioning, and democracy" (Hackney & Hogard, 1999:8). *Fostering* leadership is commonly associated with women's leadership. On the same direction, *formative* leaders "must possess a high level of facilitation skills; team inquiry and learning and collaborative problem solving are essential ingredients of this leadership approach: imagining future possibilities; examining shared beliefs; asking questions; collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data" (Ash & Persall, n.d.).

Slightly different, since it seems to give leadership a 'collective' conceptualisation, *bridging* leadership is "a style of leadership that focuses on creating and sustaining effective working relationships among key partners and stakeholders. By "bridging' different perspectives and opinions often found across the breadth of different stakeholders, a common agenda can begin to be developed and shared in order to find solutions to social and economic problems" (Meehan, 2001:5).

## **4.2. Culture recognized as element of construction of leadership**

According to Gibson et al. (2000:54), the "corporate and cross-cultural evolution" has reached a 'global phase', which is characterized by the need to understand other cultures in order to "manage cross-cultural transactions" and "manage effective global alliances". The authors explain that the "global manager is aware of and understands the major cultural differences from country to country. This awareness and understanding is acquired by observation, learning, participation, and involvement with people from different countries and cultures". This managerial approach sees the leaders in highly industrialized countries as the ones having to develop a 'global vision', in order to understand the culture of the 'emerging markets', such as China, Brazil, India, Indonesia and South Africa, where the 'global corporations' operate through the globalizing process (Gibson et al., 2000:55). From that managerial point of view, culture is "the set of values, attitudes, beliefs, and norms shared by a majority of inhabitants of a country" (Gibson et al., 2000:58). From the political point of view, culture is:

a framework for organizing the world, for locating the self and others in it, for making sense of the actions and interpreting motives of others, for grounding an analysis of interests, for linking collective identities to political action, and for motivating people and groups toward some actions and away from others. (Ross, 1997:42)

Including cultural dimensions or variables in research poses some practical problems, increasing complexity and reducing the possibilities of universal explanations. Cultural dimensions such as "religion, language, ethnic background, history or political systems have yet to be considered in contemporary leadership theories" (Dorfman, in House et al., 2002:3). In political analysis, the cultural approaches "are relatively rare and far less developed" (Ross, 1997:43) than rational or institutional approaches. Ross (1997:43) proposes some reasons why this might be so, the major of them being that "culture complicates issues of evidence, transforming hopes of rigorous analysis into 'just so' accounts that fail to meet widely held notions of scientific explanation. Culture violates canons of methodological individualism while raising serious unit of analysis problems for which there are no easy answers". Culture helps the process that Giddens (2001:700) names 'structuration', in which substantive existences get produced and simultaneously reproduce the existing social order.

The attempts to understand the cultural dimensions determining leadership were initiated towards the end of the 1970s (see Child & Keiser, 1979; Lammers & Hickson, 1979; and

Maurice, 1979). With the objective of "enhancing global managers cultural acumen" (Javidan & House, 2001:289), the GLOBE Research Project (Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness<sup>30</sup>) has been investigating, since 1996, culture-specific attributes of leadership compared with culturally generalisable leadership in over 60 countries. GLOBE's research questions the extent to which leadership is culturally contingent. "It has become axiomatic for researchers to argue that the kind of leadership attempted and the level of leadership success will depend on the congruence between the cultural values and the leadership process" (Scandura & Dorfman, 2004:282).

The findings of GLOBE have so far shown that while there is no denying the cultural determination of leadership processes, there is strong possibility that cultural universals regarding effective leadership exist. What seems to emerge from the above realization is that defining 'cultural dimensions' becomes a key aspect of the conceptual framework to discuss leadership attributes. GLOBE defines culture as "a set of shared values and beliefs. Beliefs are people's perceptions of how things are done. They are the reported *practices* [and aspirations] in a particular culture" (Javidan & House, 2001:292). GLOBE researchers find the individualism/collectivism dimension the most important to define the most successful style of leaders in a certain society. Triandis (in Scandura & Dorfman, 2004:285) explains that "in collectivist cultures, successful leaders should be supportive and paternalistic. For individualist cultures, support might be valued when needed, but *achievement-oriented* and *participative leadership* would be the key for leader behaviour".

#### **4.3. The 'collectivist' culture of Tanzania**

Tanzania as a concept was construed as a predominantly collectivist culture. Socialist *Ujamaa*, 'brotherliness', was the basic notion for nation building. "Traditionally, we lived as families, with individuals supporting each other on terms of equality. (...) This attitude is basically what we mean by saying that traditionally African society was a socialist society" (Nyerere, 1968:168). The country's attempts to build a self-reliant socialism draw from the existing in-group collectivist culture, towards institutionalised 'collective' experiences, through the cooperatives

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<sup>30</sup> The GLOBE Project is led by the Wharton School of Management and involves about 170 researchers from more than 60 nations. The initial results of the first two phases of the study were published by House (1999) and Den Hartog et al. (1999), while a book titled *Leadership, Culture and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies*, by House et al. is expected to be launched in 2004. The results of the still ongoing project that have been released can be seen at [www.ucalgary.ca/mg/GLOBE/Public/publications.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/mg/GLOBE/Public/publications.html)

and the villages of *Ujamaa*. The values of 'humanism' are reinforced by Julius Nyerere's construction of a society of 'tolerance', 'unity' and 'self-restraint'. Talking about tribalism and racial discrimination, in the *Republic Day Broadcast to the Nation*, Nyerere clearly urged people to understand the privileges which were given to some groups under colonialism and to not assume that *Ujamaa* promoted tribalism. He stated more than clearly that:

Tanzanians who had the opportunity for higher education under the colonialists were mostly Wahaya, Wachagga and Wanyakyusa. And because most of the education was provided by missionaries, most of these people are also Christians. That was our inheritance. These conditions will change, but they have not changed yet. And for these reasons, (...) the people who get [jobs] come mostly from one or other of these three tribes. (...) Anyone who refuses to accept a very obvious truth like this, and says that the reason is tribalism (...) is a fool or (...) is stirring up tribalism deliberately. (Nyerere, 1973:76)

Nyerere's views of racial discrimination is conciliatory, and his leadership 'bridging'. He does not play into the 'divide and rule' game:

Some of the people have ill-will towards Europeans or Asians, not because of any sin these people have committed, but just because they are Europeans or Asians. My brothers, do not pay any heed to these whisperers. Treat people according to their own actions, as individuals, not according to their colours. (...) We cannot claim to be socialists and at the same time distinguish between people on the grounds of colour. Socialism and racialism are like water and oil; they never mix. (...) If we have really accepted the principle that all men are our brothers, and that Africa is one, we will also believe – and more easily – that all Tanzanians are brothers and that Tanzania is one. (Nyerere, 1973:79)

The Kenyan historian Mazrui (1986) places the major East African cultural determinants on the pillars of a triple heritage: the mixture of influences from the indigenous systems of leadership, the influences from the Arab peoples and cultures, and the influences of the Western perspective, which was initiated with colonialism and continues with economic dominance and financial globalization. If culture is "a framework for organizing the world, for locating the self and others in it" (Ross, 1997:42), social representations are the product of that framing process (Jodelet, 1989). While charisma is considered a culturally universal value for leadership (Bass, 1991, 1997), the legitimating of leaders by legal means and bureaucracy is a novelty that was introduced by the European development of the concept of the modern state, and was imported to Tanzania during German and British colonialism, as the means of administration of the colony.

In Tanzania, the 'traditional leadership' was re-created by colonial legitimisation of certain leaders through legal instruments. The charismatic legitimacy of leadership was recorded in Tanzania during the mass movement towards independence, re-creating Tanzanians' social representations not only of how leaders should behave but also of the characteristics of a would-be legitimate and independent African society. The next sections will discuss the constructions and reconstructions of such representations.

#### **4.4. Representations of leadership in Tanzania**

Leadership is not simply about leaders. Leadership is a socially constructed phenomenon. Social or collective representations are processes in construction, and are "acquired, claimed and allocated within power relations" (Grint, 2002:8). What *Tanzania* is "superimposes upon a myriad of competing local, regional, class, religious, ethnic, status, and any other [representations] that pre-existed the national construction" (Grint:2002:8).

Some authors (Adedeji, 1993; Aké, 1996; Isata, 2000) have a rather negative view of the present leadership of African countries. They mention abuse of power, the absence of the rule of law, violations of human rights, and unjust legal systems. Isata (2000:82) says that "today most of the African leaders rule the African states and people as if they were their own private properties" (Isata, 2000:82). Jackson and Roseberg (1982) categorised 'typologies of personal rule', studying African leaders. They distinguish four stereotypes: princes and oligarchic rulers (Senghor, Kenyatta, Tubmann, Tolbert, Selassie, Sobhuza II, Numeiri), autocrats and lordship (Houphouet-Boigny, Ahidjo, Bongo, Banda, Sese Seko), prophets (Nkruhama, Touré, Nyerere), and tyrants and abusive rulers (Nguema Biyogo, Idi Amin Dada).

It seems that Tanzania was lucky enough to have had historical conditions conducive to the ascension of a leader such as President Nyerere, who was named as the 'most successful of the rulers', since his ideals and his political vision made a difference "not only to personal relations of power in the state, but also to social relations in the wider society" (Jackson & Roseberg: 1982:229). The authors conclude stating that "Tanzania in 1980 is considerably different, socially and economically, from what was in 1961 [with its leadership] dedicated to ameliorating the poverty and misery of the people" (1982:229).

In order to understand the representations of the young leaders in contemporary Tanzania, I find it important to show and analyse the development of the collective representation of leadership in the country. The next sections, thus, trace such cycles of construction / deconstruction / reconstruction of 'leadership'.

#### **4.4.1. Representations of traditional leadership**

The colonial period in Tanzania brought about a change in the representation of the leader – the chief. Colonial administration limited the autonomy of the local chiefs, while co-opting the same chiefs to the new colonial order. Kwayana (as cited in Campbell, 1990) argues that when the colonial offices of Britain wanted to find good leaders they focused on individuals who were the kind of leaders with whom they could negotiate. A central dilemma for colonial policy makers was whether to maintain the authority of already existing indigenous leaders and rulers with credentials of legitimacy or to cultivate a cadre of Western or semi-Westernized intelligentsia. While the German direct rule favoured the training of low cadre clerks and police forces (*askari*) in Tanganyika, the British indirect rule<sup>31</sup> needed local leaders who could participate in the 'orderly' running of the colony. Wherever there existed more centralized societies, the chiefs were 'vested' with new authority; in other areas, the colonial power used the Arabs and Swahili chiefs as rulers (Mazrui, 1999). In Zanzibar, the Sultan's rule was maintained, alongside the *advisory* services of the British.

In the principle of indirect rule, local officials mediated between the British and the people. "The British knew from previous experiences that it was impossible to abolish completely local political and social organizations, and so they needed to work with them rather than against them" (Grinker & Steiner, 1997:570). Lugard's "Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa" explains the principles of the indirect rule, placing on taxation the role of most important instrument and the "basis of the whole system" (Lugard, in Grinker & Steiner, 1997:579). The tax collection was complemented by the legitimating of the *native authority*, by means of legal appointment. Below is an account of how Lugard (in Grinker & Steiner, 1997:579) explained the system that could

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<sup>31</sup> Indirect rule: British system used in the colonies, using native people to be British representatives of the colonial power. The system was supported by tax collection, legal appointment of chiefs and education to the potential administrators.

make the 'paramount chief, "assisted by his judicial Council, an effective ruler over his own people"<sup>32</sup>.

[The Chief] presides over a Native Administration, organized throughout as a unit of local government. The area over which he exercises jurisdiction is divided into districts under the control of the Headman, who collect the taxes in the name of the ruler, and pay them into the Native Treasury, conducted by a native treasurer and staff under the supervision of the chief at this capital. Here, too, is the prison for native court prisoners, and probably the school. Large cities are divided into wards for purposes of control and taxation (Lugard, 1997:578).

The 'traditional rulers', therefore, were a creation of the British colonial system. Ranger (1997:604) goes much farther, arguing that "what were called customary law, customary land rights, customary political structure and so on, were in fact *all* invented by colonial codification". The colonial policy of nation building, as Lugard makes clear in the citation above, is a conscious determination to create a sense of identity. "In Tanganyika, chiefs were not traditional rulers. They were an idea and creation of the German and English governments." (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:20):

The task of educating [the local leaders] in the duties of a ruler becomes more than ever insistent; of inculcating a sense of responsibility; of convincing their intelligence of the advantages that accrue from the material prosperity, (...) of the importance of education, especially for the ruling class... (Lugard, in Grinker & Steiner, 1997:582)

#### **4.4.2 Re-construction of leadership in a nationalist context**

All over Tanganyika, in the immediate period preceding independence, African district councils were coming into existence, substituting the native authorities and the government. Elections were replacing nomination. By the end of the 1950s, the British government had already taken away most of the chiefs' roles. Tribute had been abolished. The chiefs got a fixed salary and a pension, and they could no longer impose limitless sentences and fines on offenders. They had also to keep books to account for any finances under their control (Smyth & Seftel, 1998). The role and representation of leadership was to change radically during the nationalist movement.

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<sup>32</sup> It is most interesting to observe that a text written in 1922 contains reference to the "effective ruler", and contains principles as modern as the latest development policies, such as *participation*, *market orientation*, and *capacity building measures*.

In Tanganyika, as in all African countries still under colonial rule by the end of World War II, nationalism was a product of opposition to colonialism. The Second World War and its representations of democracy, liberation, and the fight against the oppressive Fascists and Nazis, created the favourable international conditions for ideologies and philosophies of self-determination and of rights to political freedom. In different parts of the continent, Africa was being created as a new concept by new leaders, who aimed at uniting peoples into a representation of Africanism, a feeling of belonging, expressed clearly by Nyerere, when he talks about an African identity and unity: "If the Africans of Africa unite imperialism must go" (Nyerere, 1968:62).

The characteristics of nationalist leadership during this period contain intrinsic dialectical contradictions. Nationalist leaders tend to come from the educated middle and upper classes, are disproportionately male, and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters (see Flacks, 1971 and Oberschall, 1973). A range of leadership tasks, including:

formulating ideologies, debating, interfacing with media, writing, orating, devising strategies and tactics, creatively synthesizing information gleaned from local, national and international venues, dialoguing with internal and external elites, improvising and innovating, developing rationales for coalition building and channeling emotions – are primarily intellectual tasks. The manipulation of language and other symbols is central to these tasks. Formal education, especially at the university level, is the main avenue through which people acquire advanced reading, writing, speaking and analytic skills, and colleges and universities are settings in which many individuals absorb new ideas from different cultures.

Included in these tasks is learning the languages of other groups with which the leaders have to negotiate (Morris & Straggenborg, 2002:9). A large proportion of the national leaders, even not coming from privileged backgrounds, "were well educated and committed to continuing education, an asset that, along with their ties to the rural poor, was key to the leaders' ability to carry out successful strategies" (Morris & Straggenborg, 2002:11). Some African leaders came to deny their (indigenous) cultural roots, calling them backwards beliefs<sup>33</sup>. "Western education became a passport to the modernizing sector of society. (...) The new elite, at different levels, and given their colonial experience, suffered from cultural schizophrenia" (Elaigwo, 1999:445).

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<sup>33</sup> As Mazrui (1999:530) explains about Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who feared that 'backward' languages might jeopardize the new state's efforts at nation building.

Campbell (2000:73) describes the leaders as being "torn on the one hand by their own humiliation by the colonialists and at the same time awed by the visible economic and military power of imperialism".

Fanon (2001:119;165), in his now classic book *The Wretched of the Earth*, constructs a series of arguments to show the 'pitfalls of national consciousness'. He represents the middle class that composed the leadership of national liberation as 'under-developed', and having no understanding of the economy of their own country, an economy that "had always developed outside the limits of their knowledge". The consequence was that "the national bourgeoisie stepped into the shoes of the former European settlement: doctors, barristers, traders, commercial travellers, general agents and transport agents. (...) Seen through its eyes, its mission had nothing to do with transforming the nation. (...) A permanent wish for identification with the bourgeois representatives of the mother country was to be found among the native intellectuals and merchants".

Tanganyika may again have been a particular case in the liberation phase. Campbell (in Othman, 2000:75) puts forward the argument that the country was at the forefront of the liberation process in Africa, and that "there were two forces driving this liberation (a) a leadership which was propelled to support liberation for its own legitimisation and (b) the concept of liberation which emanated from the workers, peasants, youth, pastoralists and those social forces who wanted a transcendence of the colonial reality". Nyerere and the bold declarations of Arusha (see the *Arusha Declaration*, in Smyth & Seftel, 1998:132–133) made clear that leaders should stand for sovereignty and the unity of the African peoples. "Despite his missionary education, Nyerere had his eyes on the dignity of the African person and like Nkrumah recognised that the independence and dignity of the Tanzanian was inseparable from the dignity of the African person everywhere."(Smyth & Seftel, 1998:76)

There is a recognizable consensus in the literature about the role that leadership played during the 'liberation' phase. The British had assumed that the Africans in Tanganyika were not yet ready for political leadership, as Ilife (1997) well describes. Shortly after Nyerere founded TANU in 1954 and became its first President, a mission of the United Nations Trusteeship Council visited Tanganyika, met Nyerere and found him sound, trustworthy and a brilliant communicator. The report of the British Governor Twining about the visit reads: "they thought our constitutional development was far too slow ... regretted our attitude about elections and thought that TANU

was the finest thing in Tanganyika and that Julius Nyerere and Kirilo Japhet<sup>34</sup> were the prophets." (Ilife, 1997:6)

#### 4.4.3. Construction of women in leadership: resistance and patriarchy

According to the literature, the late president Julius Nyerere seems to stand alone in forging leadership role model in Tanzania.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately, history has not kept much register about other leaders of the liberation mass movements, the period of the construction of a Tanganyikan identity, mainly through the formation of the Tanganyikan National Union (TANU). One exception is Bibi Titi Mohamed, "the rotund el Passionaria of the independence movement" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:61). Bibi Titi Mohamed who, "in the early days of TANU, worked tirelessly alongside Nyerere to recruit people for the independence struggle" (1998:62). She was the *chairman*<sup>36</sup> of the women's section of TANU, until she resigned in 1967. It is said that her strongest ability was to "capture a meeting and hold an audience enthralled" (1998:62).

Bibi Titi Mohamed did not define herself as a feminist, although she believed that "women had a role to play in politics" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:62). Bibi Titi became Member of Parliament and a junior minister after independence, but resigned from her public positions after the launching of the *Arusha Declaration*. The newly defined code of ethics stated: "no TANU or government leader should own houses which he rents to others" (see the *Arusha Declaration*). It is said that Bibi Titi decided that the earnings from the houses she rented were worth her leaving public life (Smyth & Seftel, 1998). Two years after the *Arusha Declaration*, in 1969, she was accused of plotting to overthrow Nyerere's government, and was arrested and sentenced in 1970 to life imprisonment, along with other public figures.<sup>37</sup> She was pardoned by Nyerere in 1972 and released from prison. Bibi Titi and other Tanganyikan women are exception among a voiceless majority. The distribution of power and resources was eminently patriarchal, although the egalitarianism of Nyerere would have later a positive impact on women's presence in public life. Some of the issues of the East African edition of *DRUM* published during the 1960s report about

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<sup>34</sup> Author, lawyer and land reform activist, cowrote with Earl Seaton the book *The Meru Land Case*.

<sup>35</sup> Few other men in leadership who appear in the literature about the nationalist period are the Zanzibari communist Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, the later minister for external affairs and minister of defence Oscar Kambona, the later Zanzibari vice-president Aboud Jumbe and the later Tanganyikan vice-president Rashidi Kawawa.

<sup>36</sup> The neutral word *chairperson* was not in use yet.

<sup>37</sup> The major public figures involved in the treason trial were: Oscar Kambona, founder member of TANU and senior cabinet minister; Grey Nataka, formerly news editor of the TANU newspaper, *The Nationalist*; Michael Kamaliza, head of Tanzania's trade union movement; William Chacha, a former military attache in the Tanzanian embassy in Pecking.; Elia Chipaka, a former captain in the Tanzania Popular Defence Forces (TPDF) and Alfred Milinga, a lieutenant in the TPDF (Smyth and Seftel, 1998:188-191).

women's achievements, not failing to say that they performed well in public life, but "remained feminine in handling her children at home" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:176).

The narratives of the period portray women's achievements as exceptions, and are reported from a male perspective. *Gender* as a concept was not yet part of the Tanganyikan discourse. According to Oy wumi (2002) the concept of *gender* draws from a political discourse aligned with a biological epistemology, which is privileged over other ways of explaining differences.

(Male) scientists claimed that men were the bearers of reason and rationality, while women's temperament was adversely affected by their dominant reproductive organs which were linked directly to the central nervous system. The denigration of Africa as female body was linked to this new gender ideology, such that women and Africans were equally devaluated and made peripheral in contrast to the European ideal of rational man. (Grinker & Steiner, 1997:683)

The reinforced inequality between men and women in the colonial system was one of the main determinants of gender inequality in top levels of leadership in the liberation movement and the following socialist government. Top-level leadership has often had a male face, with women often gaining access to leadership and status through their relationships with men (Smyth & Seftel, 1998; Morris & Staggenborg, 2002). Bibi Titi, for example, was 'chosen' to be the 'party's women representative' by friends of her husband's, and then surprised everyone with her charisma and mobilization skills. Women are represented in history as playing a relevant role in the armed struggle and in mass mobilization, but a "peripheral role" in decision-making during the nation-building phase (Mazrui, 1999:17). Their role in the 'rational' construction of the bureaucratic state is secondary to a more 'adequate' role, the reproduction of family values (Grinker and Steiner, 1997).

'Education' played a determinant role in defining who was to have access to positions in the government administration, the realm of post-independence decision-making. The profile of politically active women in leadership in post-independent Tanganyika was different from other countries. "In contrast to Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone and South Africa, where African women from the educated elite were among the early nationalist activists, their counterparts in Tanganyika were not." (Geiger, 1998:42) Most of TANU's women were Muslims, and acted as audience and transmitters of nationalist constructs. They were mostly illiterate, middle aged, eminently urban and a third was divorced at least once (Geiger, 1998). Such profile contrasts with that of the few Christian educated women, who were confined to the domestic domain.

Muslims in general, and Swahili people, in particular, already shared an identity that overcame ethnic or tribal confines. Swahili women did play a role, by their example and capacity of mobilization, in construing a 'national' Tanganyikan identity, that Christian educated women would not have been able to do. The role that women played in nationalism did not result, though, in the articulation of a specific discourse of *women's advancement*. Geiger (1998:24) says that, by the time of nation building, there existed a shared interest in the control of African women among African and European men in Tanganyika. Leaders have yet to openly address the question of structural and domestic violence in Tanzania, as it might be part of the imaginary masculine essence of charisma and power (Iliffe, 1997; Fanon, 2001). The myth of the heroic leadership – or leaderism<sup>38</sup> in Fanon's words (in Campbell, 2000) – has yet to be further discussed. Tanzanian women, however, have raised new questions on the content and meaning of independence when looked at from the *gender* point of view. Meena (in Campbell, 2000:75), for example, concurs with Geiger (1998) that the gender ideology of patriarchy "was reinforced by African men who simply wanted to replace European men in the system of domination and accumulation.

The policy of *Education for Self-reliance*, launched in conjunction with the *Arusha Declaration*, in 1967, addressed inequalities in the education process, alleviated considerably the illiteracy among women, and came to be an important instrument of individual growth and liberation. In Tanzania, the economical and educational gaps between men and women are significantly narrower than in many other African countries (Hakikazi, 2001). The UN views "the increase in the education of women and girls as a contribution to greater empowerment of women" (UNDP, 1994:79), and on an individual level it was shown that higher education levels are directly related to women's opportunities to find employment in Tanzania (Katapa & Swila, 1999). A 1999 report from the *Africa Leadership Forum*, however, showed that there was no direct relation between women's individual advancement and collective empowerment. The report found that "the possible connection between education and advancement needs to be refined and more precisely stated", since findings showed that "education is a route to the advancement of an individual woman within the confines of the existing patriarchal system" (Longwe & Clarcke, 1999:8–9). An education for women that empowers society as a whole to take over

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<sup>38</sup> Meaning "leaders who set themselves up as the champions of the people" (Campbell, 2000:75).

responsibility over its destiny is still to be implemented, despite the recognition that 'the personal is political' (Chachage, 2002).

After the United Nations' *Decade for Women, Peace, Equality and Development* (1975–1985), *gender* was defined as "a social construct reflecting real conditions of oppression and exploitation" (Chachage, 2002:162). One of the results in Tanzania was the launching of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), a non-governmental organisation, which tries to reconstruct *Ujamaa*, 'brotherliness', into 'sisterhood' (Chachage, 2002; www.tgnp.co.tz). Section 5.1.3 will show that the representations of women in leadership are still framed by conditions that are, today, quite similar to those of the independence period.

#### **4.5. Contemporary representations of leadership in Tanzania**

In Tanganyika, with Nyerere heading the way, initially as prime minister, and in 1962 as the first elected president of the newly formed Republic of Tanganyika, there was an attempt to create different conditions for economic development, without the traps of immediate economical neo-colonialism. That was the policy of *self-reliance*, which came to be developed in the country. Nyerere was already writing, in December 1959, in an article published in a United States Magazine called "Africa Special Report":

...our most critical years are going to be the first years of Independence. It is during those first years that our need for assistance will be at its most urgent if our economic activity is to start off with a momentum great enough to ensure success in overcoming the poverty, disease, and ignorance which are our legacy. (...) There will, of course, be offers of help forthcoming; but, as I have already said, many of these will have political strings attached and will be for that reason worthless – rather, they will be dangerous – and we shall have to do without them. (Nyerere, 1968:73)

The policy of self-reliance, therefore, attempted to build a broad basis of an African autonomy within borders that were not built by Africans, with peoples which were for the first time working together in a bureaucracy, with economic and natural means which were not known by the decision-makers, and with few people who were educated to understand the complexities of the inherited government machine.

### 4.5.1. Socialism: reconstructing Tanzanian identity

After independence, three major leadership problems arose: the incorporation of chiefs or other types of ethnic-based leadership, who were legitimised during the British rule, to the new circumstances; the redesign of the role of the military, and the need for rapid expansion of educated cadres that could take over the bureaucracy left as a 'state' by the departing administrators (Mazrui, 1999). According to Campbell, two major forces had driven the leadership during the liberation: on the one hand, part of the leaders were geared by the wish to legitimise their own existence and position; on the other hand, the workers, peasants, youth and other representatives of the mass movement wanted a transformation of the colonial reality (Campbell, 2000). The indigenous (westernized) political elite received from the colonial model a central government with control over instruments of coercion and maintenance of law and order, such as the police, the army, the legal and the correctional systems, which in Tanzania remain more or less the same to date (Salles, 2001).

The bureaucracy the new leaders inherited after independence was the main engine of growth, since industrialization was incipient (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:14–16). Continuity in institutions, then, provided relative predictability and security for the new leaders, who did not necessarily have a 'traditional' legitimacy. Tanganyika, as an indigenous representation, had yet to be built. The new political leaders of Tanganyika set new goals for the state bureaucracy. *Good leadership* was articulated as fundamental and inevitable to

achieve the ideals of the social-oriented organization of society, whereby equality of rights and opportunities, and social justice were the major pillars (*Arusha Declaration*). Leaders were supposed to give good examples to the rest of the people through their actions and their lives. The ruling party, Tanganyikan National Union (TANU), developed a leadership code of conduct, stipulating the qualities of a good leader for the country. The code of conduct is part of the

#### Table 4: Code of Leadership

"a) *The Leadership*

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.
  2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
  3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorship in any privately owned enterprise.
  4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
  5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others."
- (Arusha Declaration, 1967)"

*Arusha Declaration*, and contains the definition of *who is a leader*<sup>39</sup>, and five other ethical principles (Table 4).

The post-independence process of *nation building* consciously attempted to widen the horizons of sub-national loyalties (tribes, clans, ethnic groups) to coincide with state boundaries. Having no dominant groups, Tanganyika had a clear advantage over other states in Africa, as it was shown in Section 3.2. The creation of a single-party state was one more element in the strategy to avoid the political cleavage of the country along ethnical lines. The Commission appointed to work out proposals for constitutional changes towards the legality of the one-party system had very clear terms of reference from the beginning of their work, in January 1964. The Commissioners would have to "observe the principles that:

- a) Tanganyika shall remain a Republic with an executive Head of State;
- b) the Rule of Law and the independence of the Judiciary shall be preserved;
- c) there shall be complete equality for all Tanganyikan citizens;
- d) there shall be the maximum political freedom for all citizens within the context of a single national movement;
- e) there shall be the maximum possible participation by the people in their own Government and ultimate control by them over all the organs of State on a basis of universal suffrage;
- f) there shall be complete freedom for the people to choose their own representatives on all Representative and Legislative bodies, within the context of the law. (Nyerere, 1968:261–262)

There are controversial views in the literature about this period of Tanzania. Charlick (n.d), for instance, defends the idea that Tanzania's leadership tried to construct a discourse of freedom and participation while in legal terms it reduced the concrete possibilities of influence in public policy decision-making. Despite claims of "participation by the people in their own Government and ultimate control by them over all the organs of State on a basis of universal suffrage" (Nyerere, 1968:261), local government for instance,

was effectively eliminated by the 1962 law which made District government the lowest level of the administration and attempted to place all control at this level in the hands of the 'disciplined mass party'. A 1968 law reorganized the administration to eliminate the District level altogether and concentrate authority in Regional governments. In 1972, in the name of decentralization, the regime eliminated all elected local government replacing it with strictly administrative authorities, principally party-appointed Regional and District level commissioners. (Charlick, n.d.)

Smyth and Seftel (1998:67) give a more pictorial view of the challenges ahead of the new leadership in Tanzania. According to them, after only seven weeks of becoming prime minister, Nyerere resigned, disturbed by the "scramble for government jobs, the rush to amass personal

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<sup>39</sup> With an observation that is not clear: "In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband". My understanding is that the rules were valid not only for men, but also for women, and that the good conduct was as well expected from the spouse of the leader in cause.

fortunes and the spate of vendettas against former officials unleashed by TANU members". Nyerere then indicated Rashidi Kawawa as his successor, who would have the task to reorganize the administration while Nyerere went to develop 'an ideology for TANU'. In 1961, Africans held only 550 of the 4,000 middle and higher government posts. By the end of 1962, almost 600 Africans had been admitted to the public service, but the remaining posts were still unfilled (Mtatikolo, 1994).

One consequence of such changes in the composition of the government cadres was the emergence of a new elite, which enjoyed a standard of living many times higher than the average African, with no access to the cash economy. "Nyerere saw with horror TANU members use independence as means to reach powerful and privileged positions, but Kawawa remained in his post, implementing policies that reflected the aspirations of the new elite." The trade unions became dependent on government's approval for functioning, and the right to strike was restricted. Other laws followed, giving Kawawa "sweeping powers of preventive detention" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:68).

#### **4.5.2. Ujamaa: new meaning to an old word**

The meaning of *Ujamaa* as a political concept has already been presented in Section 3.2.4. The importance of *Ujamaa* for the conceptualization of Tanzania as a socialist country based on solidarity and brotherliness cannot be overemphasized. Mazrui (1999:571) refers to:

A dialectic between the attractions of rapid economic development as against the disciplines of self-reliance and even self-denial. Significantly, much of the (...) discussion concerning self-reliance in Tanzania is to be found more in Kiswahili literature than in English writings. (...)To use a language more widely understood in society was itself a tribute to *Ujamaa* and the ideal of real authenticity.

*Ujamaa's* villagization provided the geographical mixture to facilitate intermarriage and interconnectedness among different peoples from the Tanganyikan territory.

From the moment of independence in 1961 school reforms were introduced: racial segregation and the teaching of religion were eliminated, the school coverage rapidly increased, and the teaching of African history was introduced (Smyth & Seftel, 1998; Nyerere, 1968). Kiswahili was the language used for the whole of the basic schooling, and it remains so to date. With the

advent of Tanzanian *Ujamaa*/socialism, however, radical changes were called in the education system. In 1967, an educational reform was launched and spelt out on a document called *Education for Self-reliance* (Nyerere, 1968:267–290), where an analysis of the education system received from the days of the independence provided the basis for policy formulation, placing education as the centre for development of the country. According to the document, the inherited system was "an obstacle to the creation of the egalitarian society we should build" (Nyerere, 1968:279). The new principles, which would guide education in Tanzania, were a) encouragement of "co-operation in all areas of life and upholding the ideas of equality and community service"; b) preparation of the youth for "future contribution to their society", which was a 'rural' one and c) leadership to the "emergence of free citizens who could play a critical role in the evolution of the country's political economy". (Sahle, 2002:91) The system was to "counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance", and to promote "an enquiring mind, an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his<sup>40</sup> own needs, and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains" (Nyerere, 1968:274). The education system was to prepare Tanzanian citizens to work, mainly in the agriculture sector, to contribute to society's development, and to understand the fundamentals of national and African unity.

The conceptual construction of *Ujamaa* as African socialism can be taken from the pages of *DRUM*, the South African magazine that had an East African branch. The pages of the magazine picture different moments of the political life of Nyerere and his striving for a society where "you are my brother", where "there is a sense of security and universal hospitality... [because] every member able to do so contributes his fair share to society, and this means work" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:76). Tanzania was also to become, in 1964, a base for the South African Pan African Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC), as well as a refuge for Mozambicans involved in the struggle for their country's independence, which took place only in 1975. Tanzania, through the figure of Nyerere, played a leading role in founding the Organization of the African Unity (OAU), in 1963, during a meeting of thirty-one heads of already independent African states in Addis Ababa. A Charter of African Unity created a "War and Action Council, charged with the specific job of assisting local liberation movements in Africa" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:81). Unity and socialism were the most important dominant

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<sup>40</sup> The whole document uses the masculine pronouns as neutral. However, sometimes Nyerere refers to "our young men and women", as in Nyerere, 1968:278-279.

constructions of the period between independence in 1961 and the start of a 'liberal' approach with the replacement of Nyerere by Ali Hassam Mwinyi, in 1985.

A meaningful episode regarding the construction of a clear role model of the leadership was the sending of 'mature' people to National Service. People like the vice-president of the Union of Tanzania, Rashidi Kawawa, the vice-president of Zanzibar, Aboude Jume, the speaker of the National assembly, Chief Adam Sapi, and members of Parliament, were all part of a training scheme for mature people, part of a plan "to get everybody to know how to handle arms in defence of the nation" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:143). This decision followed the launching of the *Arusha Declaration*, and served as example to enforce the newly disclosed Leadership Code.

#### **4.5.3. Liberal deconstruction of socialism representation**

The 1980s, in Tanzania, were difficult years. With the creation of *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), in 1977, through the merging of TANU and the Afro Shiraz Party (ASP), the one party system had become supreme. The separation of powers disappeared completely and the National Assembly was made a committee of the Party responsible for legislation. The economic situation was rapidly deteriorating, as it was shown in Section 3.2.5, mainly because of oil prices in the international market. Tanzania started implemented its home grown structural adjustment in 1981 (for the first time a common plan for mainland and Zanzibar), and signed the first conditional agreement with the World Bank and IMF in 1986, exchanging long-term loans for a) elimination of government's regulation of the economy; b) reduction of taxes; c) provision of tax incentives to businesses; d) reduction of welfare provision and e) privatisation of government services (Chachage, 2002).

A series of political crises between the mainland and Zanzibar in 1984 led to the fall of the Island's president, Aboud Jumbe. Ali Hassan Mwinyi was then appointed interim President of Zanzibar and Interim Chairman of the Revolutionary Council. Some changes immediately took place, and a new discourse started to be construed: relaxation in foreign exchange, more imports were allowed, salaries were raised. "Mwinyi kept his word and people on the islands began to enjoy unprecedented civil rights – freedom of speech, movement, association and worship." (Smyth & Seftel, 1998: 286) A liberal trade policy was introduced and tourism began to be encouraged on the islands.

All of the young leaders participating in the YLTP in 2000 had already been born by that time, and were probably schooling, somewhere in primary education. The political representations which filled the media were of a 'guided change' towards more liberal values, while socialism was (and is) kept as the official label of the country's political regime. Since the 1980's election, Nyerere had announced that he was going to step down. In 1984, he reiterated his intentions. With an admirable understanding of political processes, he explained that "people begin to ask what will happen to the country when this man goes. And the more familiar a particular leadership the more unsettling and frightening is the thought of a successor" (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:294). With his ability to graft new ideas onto old ones, he led the 'liberal' Ali Hassan Mwinyi from the presidency of Zanzibar to the presidency of the 'socialist' Union, with a 99% approval by the National Congress of the Party. The Constitution was amended to resurrect the concept of separations of powers among the executive, judicial and legislative and, for the first time, included provisions to protect aspects of the human rights. While Mwinyi took over the presidency, Nyerere remained the Party Chairman, ensuring political continuation.

It was not a good time for Tanzania; the economy was in very bad shape. Food shortages, low salaries, a weak currency and low production made up the scenario. The District councils, which had been abolished in 1971, were recreated in 1984. Donor countries' support became increasingly directed to districts, through the District Development Trusts, a new alliance between the emergent entrepreneurial middle class and the international donors. This strengthened the ties between business and politics, with the involvement of the district commissioners. "CCM's *Zanzibar Declaration* of 1992, which allowed capitalist tendencies even among civil servants, gave them greater local economic and political roles and transformed all those tendencies considered vices in the 1960s and 1970s into virtues." (Chachage, 2002:142) "It was a period marked by the rediscovery of the 'civil society' as an expression of human social will (...), a formulation [that came to] embrace social and political movements and the whole question of empowering people" (Chachage, 2002:141).

The non-governmental organizations (NGOs) started filling the gaps left by the lack of capacity of the government, made worse by the cuts in welfare expenditure. There was a 'mushrooming' of NGOs, an expression very much used by Tanzanians when referring to the explosion of organizations acting on behalf of interest groups in the country. Women credit societies (*upatu*), for instance, were numerous. From 1990 to 2000, the number of registered NGOs jumped from 163 to 2000, according to the government (Chachage, 2002). Such situation gave rise to a new

profile of leaders, the leaders of 'civil society' organizations. From there on, a representation of effective leadership would have to comply with some managerial qualities, as it is indicated by the profile of the leader proposed by the YLTP in Tanzania, whose three pillars include one solely dedicated to 'managerial skills' (Salles & Haeussler, 2003).

#### ***4.6. Representations of contemporary leadership: by way of conclusion***

Julius Nyerere has often suggested the emergency of a 'new type of leaders', who are "not corrupt and who do not generally enrich themselves" (Othman, 2000:23). The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) claims that development requires an African management and ownership, and that the idea of a new corps of African leaders is one of the cornerstones of the Partnership. The idea is supported by the "major players and stakeholders and became the anchor of hope to overcome the African crisis" (NEPAD, 2001). Chabal and Daloz (1999) also dispense special attention to the question of leadership in Africa, and suggest that the study of post-colonial political systems in the continent are conducted at an excessively abstract level, and that students of African politics would do well in analysing further the elites and the key issue of leadership.

Chabal and Daloz (1999:32) explain the relationship between leaders and followers as an asymmetrical reciprocity "akin to a trickle-down effect where resources flow downwards from the top in exchange for a recognition of the status and power of the provider", building up a sort of vertical symbolic redistribution. "A certain notion of leadership remains fundamental in Africa. [And] our research on contemporary Africa indicates that present political transitions have not hitherto changed either the role of the elites or the nature of leadership" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999:32). The political transitions they refer to are the introduction of representative democracy and multiparty politics. They propose to "uncover the reasons why the recent transitions have largely failed to sweep away the old political guard" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999:32). The two 'africanist'<sup>41</sup> authors put forward the thesis that there is no evidence that a younger generation of leaders do or shall necessarily bring about significant reforms in political order. That would be related to reasons such as the co-opting of the youth through practices of nepotism, the lack of respect that youth deserve as part of a construed tradition, and the

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<sup>41</sup> Qualification given to non-Africans who dedicate their expertise to study Africa.

willingness of the youth to acquire legitimisation of authority through being part of accepted groups. New values regarding a liberal order are being incorporated into the youth's representations, and notions such as globalization, free market, pluralism, human rights, democracy, rule of law, good governance, gender, participation and poverty reduction are already part of the contemporary leaders' discursive practices. How and why those social representations appear in the young leaders' discourses is the subject of Chapter Five.

So, it seems that politics is a game of the elite organised in political parties and that the organizations of civil society have been depoliticised to resemble social institutions, which are more able to fill the social service gaps and more attractive to foreign funding. In Tanzania, the government has resisted the formation of an independent Youth Council in favour of another organization under the umbrella of the Ministry of Labour and Youth. The formation of the independent Women's Council was also marked by struggles, since the government wanted it to remain under the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children. However, leadership in Tanzania is just now, while I write these pages, under construction, through the practice of the people on the streets, through the preparation of the elections which will reshuffle the Parliament late in 2005, through leadership training courses of varied nature. This study is a contribution to the understanding of the different powers operating in the construction of discourses *by leaders* and *about leadership*.

The review of the studies on leadership in Africa and elsewhere showed that the 'Western' – mostly American – literature focuses on the managerial leadership, and its 'effectiveness', while the African literature has a widespread tendency to view political leadership as the most important form of leadership. Leaders are critical to social movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes. The potential role of leadership in social development has yet to be better understood in Tanzania. Any approach has to take into account the structural contexts and reveal its rules of formation. While Nyerere (1968) and NEPAD's documents (2001) offer a discourse about the *new leadership*, Meena (in Othman, 2000), Chabal and Daloz (1999) argue that the essence of leadership has not changed. Do leaders and political elites remain the same while the times change? With this study, I am responding to the call that "students of African politics should pay special attention to the question of elites and the key issue of leadership [what] they rarely do" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999:31).

## 5. RE-CONSTRUCTING REPRESENTATIONS OF YOUNG LEADERS

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Chapter Five presents and discusses the various collective discourses constructed from the data provided by young political leaders who participated in the YLTP, not only identifying major representations in those discourses, but also relating them to the historical conditions of possibility in Tanzania. The chapter's main focus is discourse analysis, and for that it discusses the various social and ideological forces that interact to form and mediate the young leaders' discourses and representations.

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Lefèvre & Lefrère (2003:37) explain that the *Discourse of the Collective Subject* (DCS) is one of the ways a researcher has to “re-construct the universe of social representations existing in the investigative field”. This tool aims at “preserving the discursive characteristic of a collective thinking or representation throughout the research process” (Lefèvre & Lefrère 2003:11), instead of seeking reductionism through categories that miss the discursive qualities of social (re-)cognition.

The DCSs that follow were organized by central ideas describing discursive representations by the young leaders of the YLTP, as explained in Section 2.6.3. The DCSs shall be discussed in three parts: discourses on leadership, on democracy and development, and on moral values. The analysis shall picture and relate dominant social representations informing those discourses, identifying regimes of truth (Foucault, in Cameron et al., 2002).

The first section, on **leadership**, will explore the profile of the exemplary leader, given by the young leaders' discourses, drawing relationships with their discourses about themselves as future leaders. The analysis will explore the possible relationships between the social representations found in their young leaders' discourses and the historical construction of the meaning of leadership in Tanzania, a construction that grows closer *and* more resistant to globally hegemonic representations, as Tanzanian society becomes part of the liberal ‘globalised’ order.

**Democracy and development** were chosen as one thematic arrangement for their dominance as discourses in the field of social development, and its relationship with themes of progress and modernity. ‘Democracy’ and ‘development’ have become such a predominant truth as values for policy making, that to question their ideological construction is nearly a taboo. This section shall show how the young leaders’ re-present those concepts and will establish linkages to wider rules of formation of Tanzanian and international discursive practice.

The discussion on **moral values** has a twofold objective: one is to dig into the representations of ‘absent’ topics, or ‘silences’, in the category coined by Foucault (Carabine, 2001), such as the use of drugs and the question of homosexuality in Tanzania. Secondly, it shall explore moral values and the normative system within which the leaders operate, regarding more ‘conventional’ and ‘political’ aspects, through looking at discourses on religion, family, pregnancy and abortion, and women in leadership positions.

Each of the following sections starts either with the tables containing the DCSs on the theme of the section, or with a summary of the central ideas, organized in order of (apparent) dominance, that is, the first DCS presented is the most dominant, while the last one the least. The quotations of parts of DCSs in the text are shown in underlined font. The DCSs presented here are an arbitrary choice of mine. They could have been funnelled more and more into other discourses, showing the diversity of sub-discourses contained in each of them, but it would make the tables too long and impractical.



**Figure 5.:** *The picture shows the first session of the YLTP II, in February 2003, when the trainees ‘drew’ a participatory ‘profile of the ideal leader.’*

The demographic information collected about the members of YLTP I shows predominantly a urban middle class by Tanzanian standards (UNDP, 2004), with

6 out of 11 of them having a *per capita* monthly income between RSA 700 and RSA 3,500, roughly equivalent to US\$ 100 and US\$ 500, in average 2005 exchange rates. The declared religion of the group members is proportionate to the distribution of religious beliefs in the

country – 60% Christian and 40% Muslim. None of them declared otherwise. The respondents have agricultural roots, since 9 out of 11 are still somehow involved in farming activities; about half of the group showed knowledge of traditional medicine. Eight of them attended university. Six were still single and had no children at the time of the collection of data, one was divorced and the others were married. Of the 11 young leaders, four were women and seven men, with nine of them between the ages of 25 and 36 and two older than 36. The members of the YLTP II who participated in the essay-writing session were 14: 8 women and 6 men (see *Figure 5*). No demographic data was collected about members of YLTP II. Both groups' members represented political parties, institutions of higher education, NGOs and governmental institutions, the media, religious institutions and trade unions.

## **5.1. The youth's representations of leadership**

Leadership means organizing people. We have inherited in the government, in industries and in the other institutions the habit in which one may give the orders and the rest just obey them. (...) There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. (Nyerere, in Smyth & Seftel, 1998:158)

### **5.1.1. The exemplary leader**

The **first proposition** I made to the young leaders ("Please, describe a person who is an example in your life and whose steps you would follow") had the intention, as explained in Section 2.6.2, of unveiling the representations about '**an ideal type of leader**'. The resulting DCSs about the 'ideal leader' are in Table 5.

**Table 5. Discourses of the Collective Subject: the ideal leader**

*Answers to the proposition: "Describe a person who is an example in your life and whose steps you would follow"*

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject (the ideal leader)
<p><b>The leader is a servant of the people</b></p>	<p>He is committed to serve the others and determined to solve the problems of his people. He is a servant of the people and not the master of his people. He is willing to forgive and reconcile, despite the political torture he suffered. He doesn't suffer the so-called "I-disease". He is not temperamental, but a very calm man who can control his emotions. He is very diplomatic in the sense that he knows to approach different people with different characteristics and behaviour. He is trustworthy and shows integrity, truthfulness and co-operation readiness.</p> <p>He listens to the demands of the parties and the advice from the members of his team, despite his wide knowledge, and usually informs his people about his plans for social and economic development, being ready to be challenged, criticized, and cooperate. His individual discipline includes respect to others, involving others in decision-making and transparency. His way of sympathizing with people's problems is to the level of empathy.</p> <p>His doors are always open to anybody, either his relative or not. He makes sure that the family always lives in peace, united and in good cooperation. If anything goes wrong in the family, he is on the front line for arranging the discussion and negotiation.</p> <p>He usually encourages people. He listens very carefully to anybody who contacts him for any reasons and helps the ones who have a problem. He always works for the people who is suffering. I admire his approach of trying to alleviate, reduce and finally eradicate poverty in his surrounding environment. He was in the forefront for fighting HIV and AIDS, corruption and misappropriation of public funds. During his leadership, education and medical services were provided freely to his people.</p> <p>For him, power was not material but to serve the poor. He is against the leader who wanted to become richer and richer, while the people whom they claim to be the leader of become poorer and poorer. He is good man who does not care much of his personal interests (like many other leaders do) and hates to acquire wealth at the expenses of common people. He is so kind to the poor!</p>
<p><b>The leader is a visionary liberator and mobilizer</b></p>	<p>He is a visionary liberator. He has a vision of his country and the ability to see hope even when confidence has lost ground. His ability to foresee and predict the future is taken as "prophecy". He says he looks forward to a country where everyone is free from dictatorship, suppression and oppression, and racial segregation. He went himself to the liberation struggle and removed all rudiments of evils in his country. He was and still remains a courageous person, a risk taker. He knew his enemies and how to fight them: poverty, ignorance and diseases.</p> <p>He is ready to die to achieve the goal that he strongly believes. He has a style of leading people to the right way through his actions because his words are accompanied by action. When he takes a difficult decision, he stands for it, principled, straightforward and serious. A man of principles! He is a very good mobilizer, mobilizing the people to disagree with oppression and suppression. He can convince with his arguments and deliver his message, a great orator!</p>
<p><b>The leader is skilful and knowledgeable</b></p>	<p>He likes and is able to read and write extensively, and is characterized by his thirst to learn and acquire knowledge, trying to use any opportunity available to learn more and more. He combines Western education, Islamic education and his own culture in shaping his way of life. He can speak several international and local languages.</p> <p>He is an intellectual and a scholar, well informed, knowledgeable and an expert in international political and scientific matters. He is also fully conversant with the current political, economical and social issues of our economy. He is hardworking, a good planner, organizer and implementer. The man is creative and imaginative. He is very good in timing, however also flexible. He is very good in analysing issues and a good educator.</p>

<b>Central ideas</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject (the ideal leader)</b>
<b>The leader grows from poverty to leadership, through his or her effort</b>	<p>He comes from a very poor family. He was then brought up in a poor manner, without been sent to school or Chuo (Islamic school). Despite the humble and hostile family and political background, he rose slowly, slowly to a high standard of life. His lifestyle since childhood, despite of coming from a humble African family, depicted qualities of a good future leader.</p> <p>He rose from the ranks of rural boy to an urban activist to a statesman. He had to sacrifice and learn in a given environment, in order to make this world a better place for him to live.</p>
<b>The leader professes democratic values</b>	<p>He does not discriminate people simply because of their colour, education, background or wealth. He believed in "Humanity", and regarded all people equal, regardless of his or her race, wealth, gender and religion. I would like to quote him "All people are equal, so everyone needs his or her humanity to be recognized and respected".</p> <p>He was in the forefront in building democratic culture in our country. His contributions to the leadership of the country told a lot of his commitment to the rule of law, good governance and human rights.</p>
<b>The leader is recognized and remembered</b>	<p>He turned into a statesman and a leading person of international stature. All young people in Africa are behind him and supports him. The international community and local bodies recognise his contribution. Yes, indeed, he will be remembered by having good relations with other people. He is still remembered for his contribution to the building of the nation, also for the way he ruled the people and respected his leaders. For his funeral, people from all walks of life seemed to have freed from their busy schedules to rest this strong son of Africa.</p>
<b>The leader is a caring woman</b>	<p>She is simple in terms of her wearing, walking, charming and friendly language she used when she is in a group. This enables everyone to understand. It is really very lovely to be with her in the work. It is sometimes very difficult to control our emotions, but to this lady... she manages her emotions in such a way that always she has a "smiling face". She spends her time in teaching and devotes a lot of her time to help learners who have problems. She usually finds out individual problems which may make one not to concentrate and participate fully.</p>
<b>The leader advocates African unity</b>	<p>Africa is in his heart. All the time, he is advocating unity among Africans. The kind of unity that he emphasises is not only economic and social, but also political. He believes that through unity, the African continent can do better for its development, putting into consideration that many African countries are in extreme poverty. He believes that "Unity is Power". Very inclusive, he accommodates his opponents in his government to give it a national image.</p>
<b>The leader is religious</b>	<p>He was very religious. He was a good and modern Islamic follower without leaving aside social life. He loved all people in the world, so long as he knew that all people are created in the image of God.</p>

Summary of the young leaders' representations:

- The leader is a servant of the people
- The leader is a visionary liberator and mobilizer
- The leader is skilful and knowledgeable
- The leader grows from poverty to leadership, through his or her effort
- The leader professes democratic values
- The leader is recognized and remembered
- The leader is a caring woman
- The leader advocates African unity
- The leader is religious

The discourses about the 'ideal' leader are full of references to traits of well-known leaders of recent history in Southern Africa. References to Julius Nyerere, Nelson Mandela and Yoweri Museveni were the explicit ones in the original texts, but also 'my father' or 'my teacher' composed ideal types. The represented leader was generally male, but there were two instances where they were female.

The dominant type of discourse is the humanistic one. First of all, the leader is a servant of the people, following Nyerere's and Mandela's tradition of forgiving and reconciling. *Servant leadership* is a *humanistic* discourse, based on values of equality, building community and strength of shared morality (see page 55). The leader does not suffer the so-called 'I' disease, and knows how to approach different people with different characteristics and behaviours. The leader is trustworthy, shows integrity, truthfulness and co-operation readiness. Such representation shows the leader as a servant of his/her followers, placing the interest of followers before the self-interest of a leader. It emphasizes personal development and empowerment of followers. The leader adopts a proactive, empowering and participatory approach based on humane values (Oldroyd, 2003).

Campbell (n.d.:138) is not pleased with African leadership, but praises Tanzanian *Ujamaa* experience as:

an effort to bring the concepts of familyhood and collective solidarity to the centre of national politics. It was an effort to harness values of African humanity and dignity. (...) It was a leadership style that stressed integrity and ethical standards for the society and a set of values different from those of greed, individualism, economic injustice and violence. Julius Nyerere joined the philosophical debates on the values and qualities needed for leadership stating clearly that leaders should seek to engender the spirit of cooperation and tolerance that is the core of the African concept of *utu*.

Within the same discursive formation, the young leaders of the YLTP say the leader professes democratic values and is caring. The leader does not discriminate people simply because of their colour, education, background or wealth; he believes in the equality of people, whose humanity needs to be recognized and respected. Such leadership is characterized as open for mutual learning, and it is driven by values of community and democracy, rather than measurable results and the imperative of economic competitiveness. There is room for self-determination and continuous learning: through education we can fight poverty and ignorance. People are seen as individuals who must be respected and leadership as a way to serve the people: power was not material but to serve the poor.

The representation of a leader as a caring woman portrays a level of resistance to the dominant representation of leaders as men. Studies on women in leadership highlight women's abilities to connect, deriving strength from empowering others. "Female leadership takes on different appearances, different shapes, different directions as a web in constant redesign. They practice

leadership as a form of inquiry; they are more apt to foster organizational exploration” (Hackney & Hogard, 1999:1). Hackney and Hogard say, however, that “over the past three decades women in leadership have been viewed as anomalies, as deficient with respect to the traditional male models of leadership” (Hackney & Hogard, 1999:1).

This discourse of *femininity* fits the dominant representation of the leader as a ‘servant’. The leader usually encourages people, listen very carefully to anybody who contacts him for any reasons and helps the ones who have a problem. He always works for the people who are suffering. Studies show that some leaders develop a “feminine style of leadership (...) characterized by caring and nurturance” (Carless, 1998:39). Studies of leadership construe women as more likely than men to take an interest in the needs of the group members, encourage self-development, use participatory decision-making (the leader listens to the demands of all parties and the advice from the members of his team, despite his wide knowledge), give feed-back and publicly recognize team achievements. Those characteristics are valued for the ideal leader in Tanzania, as the discourses show: if anything goes wrong in the family, he is on the front line for arranging the discussion and negotiation, making sure that the family always live in peace, united and in good cooperation.

This contrasts with the managerial concept of ‘human resources’, in which people are seen as resources that must be developed to meet the needs of a productive and competitive economy. This discourse, although not dominant, is also present in the young leaders’ representations: the leader is skilful and knowledgeable, and is characterized by his thirst to learn and acquire knowledge (...) using all opportunities available. The leader is fully conversant with the current political, economical and social issues; is hardworking, and a good planner, organizer and implementer. However, even such discourse is counterbalanced by a concern for comprehensiveness and a wider understanding of the world: he combines Western education, Islamic education and his own culture in shaping his way of life.

The other dominant view about leaders that emerged from the discourses is the *transformational* one (also called *charismatic leadership*, see page 54), forming the representation that the leader is a visionary liberator and mobilizer and is recognized and remembered. Such representation follows the tradition of Weber’s charismatic leaders, heroes that transformed the world. The basis for allegiance to such a leader is the exemplary character of the individual, and the normative pattern ordained (or revealed) by him (normally a man). The

leader, then, went himself to the liberation struggle and removed all rudiments of evil in his country, and was a liberator. The leader has an ability to foresee and predict the future [that] is taken as 'prophecy'. The leader can convince with his arguments and deliver his message and is a great orator. As Boje explains (Boje, 2000:10), the “words mission and spiritual duty are used a lot [to characterize charismatic leadership], as are words like heroic warrior, prophet, and visionary”.

The discourse of leaders' heroism is spread throughout Africa. As part of the celebrations of its 25<sup>th</sup> year of independence in 2005, the government of Zimbabwe, for example, is busy honouring its heroes, the ones “who have distinguished themselves in different fields of endeavour and in the service of the liberation and development of Zimbabwe and its people” (New African, 2005:27). Former Tanzanian president Nyerere was one of those (posthumously) awarded with the *Royal Order of Munhumutapa*, and was called one of the “founders of our continent” (New African, 2005:27). Nationalist politicians “provided some of the first national heroes” and they have not been forgotten (Hodder-Williams, 1985:69). In the DCSs, the leader is still remembered for his contribution to the building of the nation. For his funeral, people from all walks of life seemed to have freed from their busy schedules to rest this strong son of Africa.

According to the young leaders, the 'hero' knows his enemies. In Tanzania, Nyerere's policies led the fight against those enemies, namely poverty, ignorance and disease. This statement is still current in the contemporary discourses investigated here, with the addition of new enemies: he was in the forefront for fighting HIV and Aids, corruption and the misappropriation of public funds. The grafting of new ideas (poverty, ignorance and disease are the enemies, and no longer the colonial powers, in the case of Nyerere's discourse) into existing discourses (a hero has always enemies) characterizes a mass movement leader, according to Morris and Staggenborg (2002:25), for whom effective leadership engage in creating “frames that resonate with the culture and experiences of the (...) population or other relevant actors”.

The discourse about Africa's unity is also articulated with both *charismatic* and *servant* leadership. It construes the value of an African identity, as proposed by leaders of anti-colonialist movements in Africa. Pan-Africanism has been very much part of the discursive formation of Tanzania, and Julius Nyerere is its most prominent representative. Nyerere (1973:16) articulated 'unity' even in disagreement, placing the need of consensus above a practice that could turn into 'quarreling'. He promoted a 'controlled disagreement': “the fact that

we disagree without quarrelling would, in truth, be evidence of our determination to achieve unity!” The contemporary young leaders say: Africa is in the leader’s heart.

The pan-Africanist discourse is counterbalanced, in the leaders’ representations, by the need to achieve development. Silvia Bercu (in *New Africa*, 2005:62) says that contemporary pan-Africanism needs a humanistic approach and the young leaders’ discourses reflect that idea proposing that the leader accommodates his opponents in order to create a national image. A national identity is inseparable from an African one, as it is proposed: unity is power, and therefore the leader advocates unity among Africans.

Finally, a secondary representation found in the DCSs is about leaders who are ‘religious’, of a tolerant type, since the leader is a good man and modern Islamic follower without leaving aside social life, and loves all people in the world for all people are created in the image of God. The representations of religion among the young leaders are presented in section 5.3.1.

### 5.1.2. Expectations and possibilities: the future of the young leaders

The **second proposition** I made to participants (“Please, describe yourself and your life in ten years time”) had the intention, as explained in Section 2.6.2, not only of unveiling the young leaders’ discourses about their dreams as ‘leaders’ (an ideal future) but also of showing their perceptions of the contextual possibilities in Tanzania, which would frame their attitude and *praxis* in leadership. Table 6 shows the resulting DCSs about the ‘**future of young leaders**’.

**Table 6. Discourses of the Collective Subject: the future of young leaders**

*Answers to the proposition: “Please, describe yourself and your life in ten years time”*

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<p><b>I will be married and have children</b></p>	<p><b>The men:</b> In the ten years to come I will be an adult, with many responsibilities, for example family wise, community wise and national wise. I will search for a beautiful, clever and committed girl to marry (get married to!!) and then search for children. I will probably then have my own family, maybe of five children and 3 wives. Or I will be a father of seven children and will have two wives. A family man! Very interesting. I could be married to one wife with two or three children.</p> <p><b>The women:</b> First, I will find my husband, the person who will marry me. I expect to marry, once I get Mr Right. After that – if God wish – we can get children, at least two. My plan is to have children if God wish. I think if all goes well as planned I will still be energetic to take care of my children when I am with a reasonable age.</p>

<b>Central idea</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject</b>
<b>I will hold a leading position</b>	I expect that I will be working as a leader in my professional field. I am going to be the youth's leader. I will be a great politician and I could also be a leader of my party, in the Central Committee. I could also be a Member of Parliament for one of the Tanzanian constituencies. I could be a minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania. I could be a Permanent Secretary to the Revolution Council of Zanzibar (ahead of civil service in Zanzibar). I could be a secretary general to any government institution, a minister or an Ambassador in one foreign country. I will be a leader of this nation (probably the first female president ever).
<b>I will be further educated</b>	From the first year from now I will study hard so as to pass my first degree and be awarded my certificate. Then I will apply for further study for three to four years. I will search for knowledge (to be well informed), to be an educated and learned man with a degree at least not below a Master's. After completing these studies, I would go for further studies abroad and come back as a professor, being a holder of a PhD degree. Then, I would like to more experience because I'm interested in expanding my scope through studying and exposing myself to various groups in the country and outside the country, therefore extending my hobby in studying and travelling.
<b>I will have a better life</b>	I will be well established, in terms of settlement, housing, the children will be in the best schools, etc. I will have at least a house of my own, a home and after that other assets, which will come with globalization and free movement of people. I will be in a position to have a better life: to own two beautiful houses and two motorcars and plenty of furniture and household machines. I will find the permanent place of living with our family, with a better condition. I will not be so rich but also not so poor. Additionally, I will own a shelter on a piece of land in which various crops such as banana and other foodstuff will be growing.
<b>I will be successful and well known</b>	I will be well known all over the world as strong a person (woman), reasonable and respectable. A person supposed to be respected in the society with a constructive contribution. I will be a successful leader of national and international stature, and an entrepreneur of sound financial stature. I will be a major player, influencing national decisions and policy making. A real leader. Well known and noted.
<b>I will boost my earnings</b>	I will own some private business to sustain my life and that of my family, a business which brings me an income of not less than one hundred thousand shillings a day. I have already started to save some money, to invest into a small business and later a medium, to empower myself in economic activities and to boost my earnings. I will expand my farm and use modern technology so that I can win in the competitive free market, this will help me to prepare myself for retirement. I will then be an independent person.
<b>I will be serving and educating people</b>	I will lead a very happy but struggling life (and will be a pro-poor activist!!). I will remain committed, leader, visionary. My education was attained through the contributions of the working men and women of Tanzania, through their taxes. These people are watching, they have anticipations in me. I will be serving them. I will use my skills with my profession to help the youth of this nation, sensitising them to be active in politics. I will educate youths on the issue of self-control from adultery and behavioural change, as sex plays a big role in the transmission of HIV/AIDS. Therefore my role will be to make sure that youths are in a better place, a better world. I hope I will help youth and women in various social problems. I will encourage them, also trying to empower them.
<b>Our future is determined by God</b>	I surrender all my life to God. I believe in God, therefore my future depends on the God's will. Our future is determined by God so we have to depend on him. The religious teachings in me give me the light; light to see the future, that's to fulfil the purpose of my creation under the sun, to perform "ibaad" <sup>42</sup> ; to do the right things and leave the forbidden things. That way of life is important to enable me to live a decent and peaceful life. God created us, he made water and the sun, and he gave us power and life. I will be teaching so to my family and the society: my debt to God. I will be serving you, my creator.
<b>I will work hard</b>	I will study hard. I will work hard in my party to turn it into a viable and vibrant opposition party, which will form part of the government, as a major party or on a coalition with the major party.
<b>I will not get infected with HIV</b>	I will ensure that I do not get infected with HIV/AIDS.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibaad*: one who renders 'Ibada to Allah (by complying with His Laws and Commands)  
[www.quranicteachings.co.uk/ibada.htm](http://www.quranicteachings.co.uk/ibada.htm)

Summary of the young leaders' representations:

- I'll be married and have children
- I'll hold a leading position
- I'll be further educated
- I'll be in a position to have a better life
- I'll be successful and well known
- I'll boost my earnings
- I'll be serving and educating people
- Our future is determined by God
- I will work hard
- I will not get infected with HIV

At a first level of analysis, the central ideas show that most of the young leaders' representations about the future refer to a better life, which includes being married (to one or more wives), having children, having a job (as a leader), having a good earning, and being well known and successful. Such a positive view about the future is complemented by a desire to be part of public life with a position of leader for the rest of life, and a desire to serve and educate the people. The importance of having a family appeared so uniform in the young leaders' discursive formation that the representations seemed to repeat one another. When wives were referred to, the number was also mentioned, one, two or three wives. When a husband was mentioned, he was Mr. Right. The expected number of children varied from two to seven. The women expressed a relation between God's wishes and their capacity of bear children. In Tanzania (but not only there), women are represented as responsible for fertility, and a man can justifiably divorce a woman who cannot have children, or marry a second wife. It is not a surprise then that God is expected to help the women. Such concern does not appear to be part of the masculine universe though (Izugbara, 2004).

Four representations were indicated as the way to achieve a better life: surrendering life to God, hard work, studying hard and remaining free of HIV infection. The religious discursive representation is given by the idea that our future is determined by God, as well as by women's dependence on God to have children. God is who created us, he made the water and the sun, and he gave us power and life. If God governs the future, a better life is not guaranteed, unless one deserves it, practicing ibaad: doing the right things and leaving the forbidden things.

Working and studying hard are elements of the same discourse seen in Table 5, on the 'ideal leader': the leader grows from poverty to leadership through effort, and hard work. The charismatic leader is the one who succeeds despite his humble origins. The leader was not born like that, he had to sacrifice and learn. Tanzanians learned the value of hard work for the

betterment of their lives during the last decades, when there was a deliberate construction of a discursive valorisation of personal sacrifice for the common goal. *Socialism for Self-reliance* was a policy that emphasized the importance of communitarianism over individualism, valuing self-education and teaching as important elements of liberation. Public policies such as “better house through self-help”, the “village programme”, the “gun and shovel arm”, and *Ujamaa* itself were all based on the principle that the nation needed each person’s individual effort and sacrifice to be built (Smyth & Seftel, 1998).

The representation that the future reserves a better life for the young leaders mirrors the results of an *Afrobarometer* (Chaliga et al., 2004) survey carried out in Tanzania in 2003, which compares its results with the ones obtained in the 2001 survey. *Afrobarometer* interviewed 1223 people all over Tanzania and published the results in May 2004. Tanzania is one among only three of the surveyed countries whose ‘satisfaction with the national economy’ has increased since the last survey in 2001; the other two are Botswana and Zambia (Chaliga et al., 2004:26). The level of satisfaction is relatively low, with only 33% of the population showing satisfaction with the national economy. However, if this data is seen in the light of the current ranking of Tanzania’s Human Development Index (HDI, in UNDP, 2004), Tanzanian people are quite optimistic. Tanzania is the 162<sup>nd</sup> placed among 177 countries, which would indeed lead to the assumption that people are suffering and discontent in the country. *Afrobarometer* (Chaliga et al., 2004:26) explains this discrepancy.

(...) The difficulties [Tanzanians] faced before economic reforms in terms of lack of adequate consumer supplies, poor health and educational services, [lead] people (...) to be optimistic that the future will probably be better. Availability of consumer goods in shops promises a better future hence their continued support for the [economic] reforms despite the difficulties encountered.

The GDP *per capita*<sup>43</sup> in Tanzania is low – US\$ 580; nonetheless its HDI is much higher than other countries with a greater GDP per capita, such as Côte d’Ivoire, Angola, Chad, Central Africa Republic, Mozambique and Burkina Faso, all of them with GDP *per capita* higher than US\$ 1,000. Higher literacy rates pull the HDI to a better position in Tanzania when it is compared with the mentioned countries.

The expectations of a better life reflected in the discourses on the young leaders’ future reveal that charismatic leadership is a strong representation: they will be the youth’s leader, a great

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<sup>43</sup> Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in PPP (purchase power parity) terms, in American Dollars, in 2002.

politician, a minister of Foreign Affairs, a Permanent Secretary in the Revolution Council of Zanzibar, or the first female president ever. Leadership is seen as *positional leadership*, the one based on official authority. I have already discussed this type of bureaucratic legitimacy of leadership (on page 54), the one that is backed by written and systematic instruments ordering relationships and conferring powers. Legitimacy is also linked to recognition and respect, concepts intrinsically associated with charismatic leadership; respect is due to the leader because he will remain committed and visionary. Charismatic leaders have success and influence. One of the women says she will be known all over the world as strong, reasonable and respectable. This combination of influence and respect is very much part of the Tanzanian narrative.

Mirroring the change of values from Nyerere's frugality and the leaders' obligations to be humble to the liberal *Zanzibar Declaration in 1992*, the young leaders construe their future as well established, with at least a house, the children in the best schools, two motorcars and plenty of furniture and household machines. These assets would come with globalisation and free movement of people. The fascination with modern gadgets infects all of us, in one way or another. *Afrobarometer* (Chaliga et al., 2004) relates higher levels of satisfaction with the economy among respondents in Tanzania to the availability of goods on the shops' shelves. Discourses on development (Table 8) name television broadcasting and the Internet as the realm of novelty. The number of 'internet cafes' in Tanzania is overwhelming<sup>44</sup>, and the number of cellular communication subscribers is one of the greatest among countries with a similar HDI.

The importance of owning a shelter on a piece of land, in which various crops will be growing, reveal not only the importance of having a farming activity<sup>45</sup>, but also that 'ownership' refers to the shelter and not to the land itself. Tanzania remains one of the few countries in Africa that resisted pressures to privatise land. Although the right to access prime quality land has been continuously concentrated in the hands of people who can rent it, the *Village Land Act* number 5, of 1999, contains provisions that keep the land as public property and entrust the Village Council to manage all village land, acting as a trustee. "The Village Council is prohibited from allocating land or grant customary right to occupancy without the prior approval of the Village Assembly" (FES, 2002:82). Campbell (*n.d.*: 140) attributes to Nyerere the construction of a

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<sup>44</sup> In 2002, the number of Internet connections was 2.2 per 1,000 people (UNDP, 2004). In 2003, Internet users were estimated as 7.6 per 1,000 people ([http://www.uneca.org/aisi/nici/country\\_profiles/tanzania/tanzinter.htm](http://www.uneca.org/aisi/nici/country_profiles/tanzania/tanzinter.htm)).

<sup>45</sup> As it would be expected, given the hegemonic representation of 'Africans' being deeply linked to the land.

historical possibility for such discourse about land as a communitarian resource. Discussing the qualities required for leadership “that emanate from the *Ujamaa* experience and the actual political leadership of Julius Nyerere”, the author says that a “crucial point on the leadership of ideas is the resistance to the idea of private property in land that was inscribed in the *Ujamaa* experience” (Campbell, *n.d.*: 140).

Times have changed since the *Arusha Declaration*. Since 1992, “capitalist tendencies even among civil servants gave them greater local economic and political roles and transformed all those tendencies considered vice in the 1960s and 1970s into virtues” (Chachage, 2002:142). The young leaders will be successful and will have national and international stature as entrepreneurs of sound financial stature. That which would have been a sin in the past is wished for the future.

The representation of success as element of a better life is associated with attaining further education. The young leaders are concerned not only with their own education but that of their children. All of them stated in one way or another that they want to apply for further studies, that they will search for knowledge to be well informed, and will expand their scope. The representation includes the idea that studying is a hobby. This idea might well have come from the education policy pursued by Nyerere, and still present to a certain extent in the country, the *Education for Self-reliance* (Nyerere, 1968). During the phase of consolidation of independence in Tanzania, education stopped being an instrument of “creation of a class-based society”, which generated “among those who succeed a feeling of superiority” being “an obstacle to the creation of the egalitarian society we should build” (Nyerere, in McDonald & Sahle, 2002:90). Being able to go for post-graduate studies sounds so formidable and exceptional that it is likened to a hobby.

Family is a fundamental aspect of the representations of the young leaders about their own future. Representations of marriage and children will be further discussed in Section 5.3.2, but for now it suffices to say that marriage is an integral part of being fully accepted as a respected adult in Tanzanian society. According to Mzinga (2004:1) “the dominant features of masculinity in Tanzania continue to be economic autonomy and marriage”, while “many still regard girls merely as persons who should get married, with the family benefiting from the dowry paid by the husband's family”. Such representation of *a man who marries a woman* frames the discourse of the YLTP young leaders: I will find my husband, the person who will marry me. That person

should be Mr. Right. Meanwhile the male young leaders will search for at least one beautiful, clever and committed girl to marry.

### 5.1.3. Women in leadership: not yet

The young leaders discussed the concrete possibility of a woman in the highest leadership position in the country – the presidency – during the four interviews I held with members of YLTP I, and expressed their opinions through the questionnaires to YLTP II.

I present in table 7 the central ideas that compose the representations of the young leaders. The complete table with the DCSs is in Appendix Four.

**Table 7. Representations of women in high leadership**

<b>Question:</b> What is your opinion about the possibilities of having a woman for the presidency of Tanzania?
<b>Central Ideas:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Tradition does not see women as leaders</li><li>• Women are considered to be an inferior class</li><li>• Women cannot be 'big men'</li><li>• Women are just jealous of each other</li><li>• Women can have a chance in the future</li><li>• Women are good leaders</li><li>• Women do not represent the views of women</li></ul>

The three first central ideas are bound to the representation of leadership as male. The young leaders blame the customs and the patriarchal system to which Tanzania is bound for the reservations they have in relation to the idea of a woman in presidency. The presidency is seen as a position of strength, a position of migt, a position of privilege, a position of authority. According to the DCSs, the party top positions are controlled by men, therefore, who would propose a woman as candidate? In Tanzania, one becomes a president by the party's support, and the party functions within the patriarchal system. The situation is worse at the local levels, where elections and selection of candidates are regulated by the elders. And, in Tanzania, when you say elders you mean men. The DCSs shows that there is 'understanding' of the situation, but do not show an attitudinal resistance: if these are the structures that we have, it will be very difficult for a woman to become president.

Leadership is a position of might and strength, therefore women cannot have access to it, since women are weak (Hawa hawesibwana!). One cannot stand being associated with a woman in a position of high leadership. In principle, you cannot look at a woman as a Mheshimiwa, a honourable member. Women who seek a higher position would be mistreated, even at the family level. Positions of leadership are identified with being Mheshimiwa, and these enjoy a lot of political clout, and make things work. Women are afraid of standing because the big men can crush them.

One of the DCSs construes an intrinsic jealousy between women. If a woman comes up with the idea that she wants to be a leader of this nation, the first person to maybe criticize her will be a woman. Representations of weakness and incapability of women are incorporated in that discourse: the women themselves are not prepared and if they reach a high position they will badly treat others. This might be a born issue or a relation between women, that they cannot cope. Such representation is complemented by the idea that women do not represent the views of women. Imposing gender affirmative policies will not work, since she'll never be accepted or receive the cooperation to make her stand in her position. Women in high position will reproduce male discourse, for she has to reflect either party positions or government positions, which is male dominated.

Such discourse is in line with findings from the *African Leadership Forum* (Longwe & Clarke, 1999:9) showing that the advancement of women with higher education takes place “within the confines of existing patriarchal system”. There is hope in the future and a solution is given: if it were normal that a number of women have a higher position, it would be normal like it is with men. To implement the changes, however, we need to change a lot of things, we need to change the laws, we need to create awareness within the community at the early stages of a girl upbringing, at the family level. Those changes however will take time: it is a dream for another 15 or 20 years.

A minor representation makes women good leaders, even better leaders than men. Nevertheless, ‘feminine’ traits are expected from those who are given the chance: a women in high position should be a woman who is kind, who volunteer to develop other women in her country, help her people to solve their problems. Human security would gain from women in leadership, since women would develop consensus. With recent socio-economic changes in

rural and urban Tanzania, men have been disempowered, which has resulted in men's lack of values and self-esteem. Silberschmidt (2005:6) shows that while the "ideology of men as breadwinners is forcefully alive", they can no longer fulfil those expectations and their status is seriously challenged. While men are "in power structurally and in theory, they have become increasingly marginalized and disempowered in practice" (Silberschmidt, 2005:7). It seems that the major reason for such disenfranchising is the increasing importance of the income generated by women to make ends meet in the family.

Silberschmidt's (2005:8) research found that more than half of the men in the households visited thought that it is a "God given fact that they were born to be the head" and that "women are like children and should be guided by men". The young leaders re-produce such a representation: with a women in the presidency, there is a risk that the economy may collapse because motherly tendencies cannot breed a good economy – economics is not about passions and feelings.

The representations of the young leaders create a distance from 'traditions' and 'customs', 'analysing' them, objectifying 'gender imbalance' as a problem to be solved. The interviewees are 'leaders' after all, and a leader in Tanzania 'knows' that gender discrimination is 'wrong' and 'against the human rights'. They cannot escape their historicity though, and individual leadership takes definitely a patriarchal character while 'leadership' is understood as 'serving the common good'.

#### **5.1.4. Tanzanian contemporary leadership: the portrait**

Foucault (in Simons, 1995:24) calls discourses "sets of presuppositions", epistemes, a way "to elevate perception to the level of objective knowledge". Those 'sets of presuppositions' are limited by 'historical conditions of possibility'. In this section, the representations of contemporary leadership in Tanzania emerged and revealed its historicity. That whom Foucault (in Smart, 1985:128) calls 'stewardship leader', is the one Nyerere calls the 'servant leader', who "must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive" and who "respects people, scorns ostentation, and who is not a tyrant" (Nyerere in Smyth & Seftel, 1998:158).

The predominant discourse shows *charismatic* leadership as the most valued one, with its characteristics of *transformation*, visioning, influence, courage and ability to lead followers

towards a united society. The leader is able to remove all rudiments of evils in his country, and to fight against injustice and the oppression in his country. The charismatic leader in Tanzania is, however, a *servant* leader, who hates to acquire wealth at the expenses of common people.

Although servant and transformational leadership are both rooted in the study of charismatic leadership, they respond to different historicity and motivations. In Tanzania, the charismatic leader is a “champion of justice and equality” (Nyerere in Smyth & Seftel, 1998:158). The ideological formation is much more humanistic and not much oriented by values of ‘effectiveness’ and efficiency. The ‘meaning’ of leadership responds to two major contemporary historical needs, namely the need to build a nation, and with it a ‘Tanzanian’ national identity, and the need to build an ideology of ‘brotherhood’, beyond tribal allegiances that could “poison democracy” (Nyerere, in Mwakikagile, 2002:23).

Under the servant leader model, the leader's motivation to lead arises from an underlying attitude of egalitarianism. In other words, the leader's belief system says he or she is no better than those who are led. The transformational leader emerges from a different motivation base. Where the servant leader has a sense of egalitarianism, the transformational leader is motivated by a sense of mission to recreate the organization to survive in a challenging external environment. (Smith et al., 2004:4)

*Afrobarometer* (Chaliga et al., 2004) shows the societal need for such kind of guiding leadership. Contemporary Tanzanians very much rely on their leaders, and if they have a problem, ‘leaders’ will be called to help: most Tanzanians (56%) would contact a religious leader, 34% would contact a party leader and 27% would contact a traditional ruler (Chaliga et al., 2004: 3). One third of the respondents to the 2003 *Afrobarometer* survey still support a one-party rule, and the current President Benjamin Mkapa enjoys the approval of 84% of people who “are satisfied with his performance” (Chaliga et al., 2004:4).

Such satisfaction with the ruling party does not result in that opposition parties are ideologically represented as disruptive or enemies, and a good omen for tolerance is given by the fact that 28% of the respondents “trust a lot” the opposition political parties (Chaliga et al., 2004: 18). Nyerere (in Mwakikagile, 2002:21) himself supported the introduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania, stating in 1998, not long before his death:

I don't believe that our country would be where it is now if we had a multiplicity of parties, which would have become tribal and caused us a lot of problems. But when you govern for such a long

time, unless you are gods, you become corrupt and bureaucratic... So I started calling for a multiparty system.

The leader portrayed by the young leaders professes democratic values, believes in 'humanity' as an important value and regards all people as equal. *Afrobarometer* shows that Tanzanians do believe that their country is a democracy (81%), although 'support for democracy' has declined from the 2001 to the 2003 survey. While *Afrobarometer* (Chaliga et al., 2004:4) sees this decline as a result of the "lack of competition from the opposition parties [which] seems to cultivate negative attitudes to democracy", I see this phenomenon more as a resistance to the hegemonic discourse of 'liberal democracy', which tends to be associated with exogenous and 'neo-colonialist' ideas (see section 5.2 for further discussions on that topic).

Another relevant finding is the changing gender roles in Tanzanian leadership. While 'the leader' is mostly referred as 'he', confirming leadership as a male attribute, some of the values that guide 'leadership' are 'feminine', such as caring and helping people who suffer. One of the central ideas proposed (see Table 5) is that the leader is a caring woman. Altogether, however, masculinity guides the discourses, for even the caring woman is able to manage her emotions in such a way that she has always a smiling face, proposing that showing emotions is a negative quality typically associated with feminine traits.

At this point in time, there are important conditions towards a change in representation of leadership in the country. "Tanzania is among very few sub-Saharan countries whose Constitution refutes any kind of discrimination based on sex, and recognises gender equity and equality" (Mzinga, 2004:3). Social roles are changing with urbanization, economic hardship and advocacy for women's rights. However, the dominant discursive practices on leadership are still re-producing patriarchal representations, despite being framed by a humanistic ideology.

## **5.2. Democracy and development: resistance to hegemonic constructs**

The tenacious opposition to *Ujamaa* and the efforts to distort and devalue the leadership of Julius Nyerere by the intellectuals of the West is part of a wider problem of the philosophical and conceptual challenges presented to Africa by those who hail from societies where the god of the market is triumphant. (Campbell, *n.d.*:140)

### **5.2.1. Development as freedom**

The study of development as discourse is relatively recent. Abrahamsen (2000) refers to Edward Said and his *Orientalism* as a benchmark to understand how “European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, militarily ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period” (Said, in Abrahamsen, 2000:15). I have already extensively discussed the discursive construction of the meaning of development in Tanzania (see Section 3.2), and in this section I will show how the discourses of young leaders in Tanzania reflect that historicity, unveiling representations that are articulated with the macro discursive practice, reflecting specific ‘rules of formation’.

The YLTP itself spells out its ‘training assumptions’ as: (a) leaders can be trained; (b) participation and democracy are fundamental pillars of good governance; (c) without good governance development cannot take place and (d) good leaders are the engine to promote democratisation in the country, towards good governance and development (see Section 1.3). The meaning construed by the above assumptions is clear: ‘development’ can only take place where ‘good governance’ is present and ‘good governance’ is defined by its ‘democratic’ quality, of which ‘participation’ is an inextricable part. Table 8 presents the young leaders’ discourses on development and table 9 their discourses on democracy. Section 5.2 relates the representations informing the youth’s discourses to a wider representation on the same ‘themes’.

**Table 8. Discourses of the Collective Subject on Development**

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
It enables the citizens to meet their basic needs	I see development as a process of enabling the citizens to have all the basic needs that are required... Facilitating them with the necessary basic things. That I can call development: the availability of social services, hospital, water services, electricity, so also Education, how many people are managing to get their basic education, secondary education, higher education. ... For example if we are saying we are developed then we should be able to look at, for example, what are our problems and what do we really need and how does that relate to the others. I think that is what development is all about, it is a process of getting better services, it removes poverty, and people become more educated. If I talk from the country's perspective, I mean the ability of the country to satisfy the needs of the individuals.
Development is the movement from the lower state towards the higher state	Development to me ...I guess, is trying to move from one situation to another situation, from the worse situation to the better situation, towards the higher state from the lower state. Development is a process of bringing about betterment in social, economic and political issues. Is the process of society or people's changes from low to high standard of living. It also depends on which way you are talking, but generally development is just moving towards and not backwards, like the... advancement of something, infrastructures, ja, physical and electronic infrastructure. It's easier to communicate and to travel than it was before. You can also measure the national income, if we are moving or if we are not moving forward. We can see it and we can measure it, economically, socially and politically.
Communities know what they need	I take development as a totality, that is a process whereby the community, through individuals themselves, individuals from the community can master the environment, they can influence the environment. So when I say communities my focus is from the village level ... and villages ... have different needs. To some villages here in Tanzania... electricity is not a problem anymore, because they have electricity, they use the electricity and they don't cut trees in the forest anymore. But in some parts of the country, in some villages, they don't ... they have never seen even a gas cooker.... Some of the places maybe have only one radio in the whole village. That's why when we plan for the development of the country and we should focus on the community level, on the village level, then we are focusing on the people, because people reside there in the villages, and they know what they need there, they know what's development to them, there, at the village level.
Its meaning is elusive	What are the costs of development that we are talking about, what do our people have to forego in order to be developed, can they achieve it? Is it possible with in their means? Can they achieve what we perceive as development? I think these are the questions that we have to ask. And I think that's why it has become very elusive for people to define it. The biggest problem is for example who defines quality and who defines quantity. These are things, which I really find challenging. In the future...maybe we have to change how we look at this perception of development. Issues of distribution make it difficult to know when development has actually occurred. When you are saying development is a better life, it depends on what level we are talking about and whom we are comparing with whom.
We have the right to define what's development	People must be given the right to say and define what's development and what is not. Development must be determined by the people concerned themselves. The Western nationals should not force things to us and call this development, they should also accept our creativity. I'm saying that for example ... you can live on depending on donor's support ... and say that my country is developing, but in the real sense ... it is not ...a tangible development ... because we are still depending on something, and the people remain poor. The most important thing is how the citizens influence the decision-making, the decisions that affect their lives. We should create a self-sufficient society which is independent socially, economically and politically, without being threatened by integration with other countries.
It is a persistent increase in quality and quantity	Development from what they tell us is a persistent increase in quantity and quality of output. Isn't it? There must be some kind of persistent increase in the quality and the quantity of what you are producing or what you are consuming. There must be these two paradigms of quantity and quality. There are so many indicators on the issue of development, but I can mention two: standard of living, ja, you can say that now we are developing because people were using a dollar a day, and then they are using two dollars a day...and the way it is with the electronic way of communicating, of ordering things through the internet...

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
It has side-effects	Everything has a negative and a positive side. It's development, but there are some negative sides of it, there is a positive and a negative side. Some people can get always the bad side. Other people can get the good and the bad. So the side-effects are there, so it's a challenge for the leader to cope with those. For example, you can see now the rate of criminal issues is becoming very high, ja, but they say it's <i>maendeleo</i> (development). Development can bring about conflicts, wars, terrorism. You have to expect something bad of development, because some people accept it, others not, people are not uniform, ja, we differ. The human being is very difficult. I mean, also life is becoming very difficult. So it's there, some side-effects of it.
We are mixed up with different cultures	Now we are developing and we are mixed up with different cultures, with different people. There are various factors that make the issue to be so, for instance, this globalization opened up the borders. The people are mixing up with different cultures more than it was before, so people are trying to copy whatever they see, rather than thinking twice, if this is correct or not. People should be aware of the dynamics of the world and weigh things before accepting them. So people are trying to survive the global era. There are some issues, which we were not used to see before, but now you can see it via TV and so on. It's now like if you have to be developed, you have to tow some kind of line, how to be a capitalist, a liberal capitalist to be developed, which is something quite debatable.
The prospects of developing are dim	The prospects of developing are dim in the third world countries for the West survives due to their underdevelopment. As a fact, if the Western countries are genuine in what they call developmental programmes, they would have ended up African poverty within a very short period.

#### Summary of the young leaders' representations of 'development'

- It enables the citizens to meet their basic needs
- It is a movement from the lower stages to the higher stages
- Communities know what they need
- Its meaning is elusive
- We have the right to define it
- It is an increase in quality and quantity
- It has side-effects
- We are mixed up with different cultures
- The prospects of development are dim

Despite re-producing the mainstream modernization representations of 'development' as 'growth' and 'improvement in stages', the discourses of the young leaders also provide a visible de-construction of that representation through central ideas showing that the (normally voiceless) communities know what they need, that development's meaning is elusive, that 'people' have the right to define development, and that development has side-effects making the prospects for 'real' development dim.

Development theory and practice is a contested field. Amartya Sen (2004:1) states that "the idea of development is a complex one: it is not surprising that people think that the way development is defined could be improved". Abrahamsen (2000:14) confirms: "underdevelopment and poverty do not exist as Platonic forms; they are discursive constructs and their constitution as object of scientific inquiry can be understood only in the context of the

prevailing balance of forces at the time of their formation”. Such context constitutes the historical possibilities that make room for the representations shown in the discourses of the young leaders in this study. Kothari and Minogue (2002:7) put forward the thesis that “the history of the development discourse over the past 50 years has been complex, [but] the modernization project continues to underlie any apparent change in the development project”. They continue: “That is to say, the mainstream, dominant and powerful development ideology remains within the framework of neoclassical economics”. The contemporary dominant discourse on development is neo-liberal, determined mostly by the making of history and international relations after World War II.

Over the years, a regime of truth was constituted. (Under)Development came to be constituted as ‘lack of’, ‘absences’, and ‘needs’. The modernization paradigm frames the world like windows<sup>46</sup>, reproducing patriarchal representations where the weak has to become strong, the simple has to become complex, and the ‘bad’ has to become ‘better’. Fighting ‘poverty’ is a logical consequence of such a paradigm: the ‘poor’ and ‘poverty’ have to be managed, constituting a “development area for techniques designed to structure an organic social order which, whatever the concrete localization of the human subjects it deals with, is able to bring under its management those zones of social life which have hitherto remained formless” (Proccacci, in Abrahamsen:17).

According to a well-known theory by Rostow (1960), there are ‘stages of economic growth’, and all ‘countries’ would eventually reach the stage of ‘high mass consumption’. The word for ‘development’ in Kiswahili is *maendeleo*, which means also advancement, growth and progress<sup>47</sup>. The discourses of the young leaders reflect the ‘modernization’ paradigm and the theory of the growth in stages when they exemplify development with the advancement of physical and electronic infrastructure, being now easier to travel and communicate than before. Development could then be measured economically, socially and politically. Income is an indicator to measure economic development. These representations show that development is the movement from the lower to the higher state.

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<sup>46</sup> How appropriate a name for a compulsory computer software ‘operation’ programme that frames the world for us nowadays: Windows!

<sup>47</sup> See <http://www.cis.yale.edu/swahili/index.html>

The young leaders say that development is trying to move from the worse situation to the better situation and liken worse with lower and better with higher, reproducing a normative system of hierarchical stages of development. The ‘developed’ world is placed ‘above’ the ‘underdeveloped’ world, with evolutionary views articulated through discourses on advancement, just moving towards and not backwards, like the ... advancement of something. While the movement forward is also part of the discourse, moving towards is even more meaningful, since it implies a movement into an ultimate and indisputable ‘model’.

Another ‘central idea’ reflecting the same lenses is development as a persistent increase in quantity and quality. An analysis of the discourse itself, though, shows important elements of resistance to such ‘understanding’ as in “development from what they tell us is a persistent increase in quantity and quality, isn’t it?” Such representation of development sounds like a mere reproduction of an obligatory discourse, a duty expressed through the expressions isn’t it? and there must be a kind of increase for what’s called development.

A much more complex level of analysis is needed to understand the central idea development enables citizens to meet their basic needs. While anchored on the ‘lack of’ definition of (under)development, such discursive representation goes closer to Amartya Sen’s (in Evans, 2002:54–55) idea of “expansion of capabilities’ [as means for] people to lead the kind of lives they value – and have reason to value – which is Sen’s definition of freedom”.

Unlike increases in income, the expansion of people’s “capabilities” depends both on the elimination of oppression and on the provision of facilities like basic education, health care, and social safety nets. Basic education, health care, and women’s rights are themselves constitutive of development. Growth in real output per head is also likely to expand people’s capabilities, especially at lower levels of income, but it cannot be considered, in itself, the ultimate yardstick of development or well-being. (Sen, in Evans, 2002: 55)

The role of the state would then be that of enabling the citizen, empower a certain community or individual, facilitating people’s lives with the necessary basic things. Development would be determined by the ability of the country to satisfy the needs of the individuals, being those needs determined by the citizens themselves because we should be able to look at what are our problems and what we really need and how that relate to the others. The last statement – how we relate to the others – pertains to the Tanzanian culture of *Ujamaa*, still present in the discursive practice: consideration of the collective, respect for the individual. People should be able to look at what we really need and how that relate to the needs of the others.

“Central to the idea of *Ujamaa* was the concept of *Ndugu*. This concept of *Ndugu* was supposed to be the antidote to conceptions of social Darwinism that bred inequality and ideas of superior humans.” (Campbell, *n.d.*: 141) *Ndugu* can be equalled to citizenship, a realm where differences do not turn into discrimination. The ‘other’ was not constructed in Tanzanian post-colonial history through differences, but through identity and *africaness*. An early account of ‘enforcement’ of equality as official policy is given by Listowel (1965:xviii), who reports the voting in Parliament of the *Citizenship White Paper*, in 1961, which “offered citizenship to all Tanganyikans, regardless of race, religion, colour or sex”. A Member of Parliament held a speech in which he argued, “Europeans and Asians, to whom he referred as foreigners, should not be given equal citizenship rights with Africans so easily” (xvii). Nyerere in his turn replied: “Some people behave like little Hitlers, drunk with atmosphere, talking rubbish. (...) This evening we will have a free vote. Vote according to your consciences. If the decision goes against us, the Government will resign” (xviii). Listowel thinks that, then and there, “Nyerere had defeated the racialists” (xix).

Those points of resistance articulate with a more affirmative and elaborated representation of development as choice: we have the right to define what development is. Evans (2002:2) points out that “economists have been (...) leery of emphasizing the importance of political debate and discussion in setting the goals of development”, which Amartya Sen proposes as a condition, in his theory of social choices. Sen (in Evans, 2002:2) argues that the “increasing amount of information taken into consideration in making a decision” allows comparisons and, therefore, choices. There would be a need to “assign explicitly evaluative weights to different components of quality of life (or of well-being) and then to place the chosen weights for open public discussion and critical scrutiny”.

The young leaders propose that people must be given the right to say and define what development is and what it is not. They say that Western nationals should not force things on us and call this development, they should accept our creativity. The role of a democratic environment for development centred on people’s choice is underlined through the young leaders propositions, when they say that the most important thing is how the citizens influence the decision-making, the decisions that affect their lives. Here, the representations de-construct the centralized decision-making of the state of *Ujamaa*, where the choices were made by an omnipotent leader who knew better.

The role of the West as an exogenous force operating in the construction of discourses about what development is appears in the idea that Tanzanians are being mixed with different cultures. The representation is a resistance to the formation of preferences and choices marked by the modern distribution of economic power. People are trying to copy whatever they see, rather than thinking twice, if this is correct or not. The young leaders' wording could be a citation of Sen's: people should be aware of the dynamics of the world and weight things before accepting them.

Sen (in Evans, 2002:7) argues that to resist the hegemonic powers over the production of knowledge, culture and information, "collective capabilities" are necessary. Such collective capability would be found in "more purposive organizations" (Evans, 2002:7) whose basis could be given by "naturally occurring forms of associational life – as in families and neighbourhoods" (Evans, 2002:7). The young leaders resist: it is like if you have to be developed, you have to tow some kind of line, how to be a capitalist, a liberal capitalist (...), which is quite debatable. This line of resistance is also seen in the idea representing communities and villages as **the** realm of decision-making: I take development as a totality, a process whereby the community can master its environment. While Sen (Evans, 2002:7) proposes day-to-day democracy to "stimulate and sustain (...) the quest for development as freedom", and the need for specific public policies that are "open to contestation", the young leaders say, we (the leaders) should create the conditions on the community level for they know what they need.

The representation of development as elusive advances a (careful) proposal that in the future ... we may have to change how we look at this perception of development. The results and costs of development are very difficult to measure. Issues of distribution make it difficult to know when development has actually occurred. The young leaders reflect about their own role in imposing (exogenous and hegemonic) standards to their people when they ask: "Can 'they' achieve what 'we' perceive as development?" After all, we, the leaders, reproduce and re-construct the discursive formations and regimes of truth given by our historicity. We see ourselves through dominant lenses, which created for us the 'identity' third world. 'Development' is elusive, ultimately making the prospects dim, for the West survives due to the third world countries' underdevelopment, as famously construed by Walter Rodney (2001).

### 5.2.2. A locally built concept of democracy

The influence of postcolonial<sup>48</sup> critique and its Tanzanian representatives (from the ‘Dar Campus’, the University of Dar es Salaam) is reflected in the discourses of the young leaders. Nyerere himself has never been a conventional thinker; he was always turning, challenging and re-constructing ‘widely’ accepted categories, such as ‘democracy’, ‘good governance’, ‘unity’ and ‘socialism’. If social choices can only occur if public policy creates an environment ‘open to contestation’:

it implies that choices about (...) growth strategies must be ‘democratic’, not just in the ‘thin’ sense of having leadership succession determined by a regular electoral process, but in the ‘thick’ sense of messy and continuous involvement of the citizenry in the setting of economic priorities. And, this democratic imperative does not flow from the fact that ‘democracy is *also* a good thing’. It flows from the fact that it is not possible to evaluate economic outputs without such full-fledged discussion and exchange. (Evans, 2002:5)

If ‘democracy’ is ‘imperative’ and a precondition for ‘choice’, and if representations of the young leaders show, in fact, development as choice, what kind of *democracy* do the YLTP participants construe? Table 9 below introduces the DCSs on that topic.

**Table 9 : Discourses of the Collective Subject on Democracy**

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>It needs a local perspective</b>	We really need to demystify democracy to come down to the people. We also have to demystify that democracy did not come with Americans or British or Mzungu. First of all, to tell people "look, democracy is not only about politics" ...you do not necessarily look at it in the form of one-man one vote. The form I don't know, whether...you are going to bring a parliamentary kind of system or whether people will use their own kind of way of choosing and expressing choice. Democracy means for example how to choose whether to have a school or whether to have a hospital. Because one of the problems facing our people at the moment is their immediate needs. That's I think the biggest challenge. We have to look at this concept from a local perspective. Without democracy, you will never talk about people having water, people having schools, girls going to school, people having a decent education, people having a house, people having land. I believe that how we teach democracy...is to give people the...pillars... If we do not do it, then it will remain again a foreign concept for them...and then you go to the village, you talk about democracy... people will look at you as... there they go again...They look at it as ... academic jargon which has no meaning... These guys are telling us ...democracy... my children are starving ... why do you have to teach us democracy?...we have to change that approach.
<b>It has been here before colonial times</b>	Democracy is not a Western concept, it has been here. Historically in Tanzania... there were nation states before colonialism, nation-states, some of them reached a very high level of organizing themselves ... We had our own way of ... representation and participation in

<sup>48</sup> There is no simple definition of what ‘postcolonial’ critique is. Kothari (in Kothari & Minogue 2002:39) explains it as an “umbrella term for diverse critical approaches that deconstruct Western thought, and the term refers not to a simple periodisation but rather to a methodological revisionism that enables a wholesale critique of Western structures of knowledge and power”.

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	decision-making ... although you never had the word Democracy. In Central Tanzania, we had a Kingdom called Nhamweze Kingdom, we had our own king, a chief, we had an Advisory Council of the Chiefs of Baraza, and these were selected by people in the villages. Every village had a King's representative. They were called the small chiefs. These were to represent the needs, the feelings, and the ideas of the people they represent to the Baraza, to the Council of the Chief, you know. So, this was one of the forms of representation. There was no formal election, and they were chosen, for example, among some of them, the one who will become the representative depends on the family he had, how big the family was, how many wives one has, how many children are you able to feed in your family? These things influenced the decision in their villages.
<b>It is freedom of opinion</b>	Democracy is freedom of ideas, beliefs, and attitude. Is the process whereby people are given freedom to speak out their views, ideas and feelings, worship any kind of religion etc without going against the rules. It is a good process since enable people to challenge, criticize or add important views whenever they see things are not well performed. This is the process whereby the citizens become more free in their country, is the total freedom for people to act on their rights and responsibilities, is the freedom of thoughts and expression for all. People were used to express their opinions in different ways and what we need is just to ensure the system continues... that people understand that to express their view is important. A particular country is democratic because it gives chances for the people to talk. It gives chances for the people to correct the leaders when they have been mistaken... different to the dictatorship that they will be imposing things to the people.
<b>It is a Western concept</b>	Western democracy is inapplicable in Africa. Maybe the concept itself is a foreign concept. Africa should look for another model of democracy. It is a Western concept intended to push its economic interests. It's like a topic in books. And most people really believe that what is in the books is something that came from the West, because education in the books came from the West, and it is still from the West. We do not have the word democracy in our own lingua franca. It's a foreign word. Democracy should be emphasized, but not on the form of Western Democracy, like multiparty system.
<b>It is participation in decision-making</b>	Democracy is the participation of people in making decisions that affect their lives; it is the freedom of the majority in deciding things for the society, is a process of Government to the will of the people. People themselves decide "This is our leader" and these are our ideas. Not the ideas from the top that are going to the grassroots. It should involve participation by analysing the hindrances of democracy and after doing so, it could be integrated and transformed in the society, giving the people the right to participate in decision-making at economic, social and in political level. Free participation by all, for the achievement of the interests of all.
<b>It is difficult to explain</b>	Democracy, I don't know, okay. Democracy, mm, I can say ... is the ...ummm ...you can say, is the ruling ... for people ... and for the development of the people ... that... you put that element which can make people participating in that er er ... ruling ... or in that er ... The kiswahili word for it is Demokrasia. I'm trying to think ...how can I put it? (long think). Democracy is just a matter of how do you define the criteria. Democracy is a very difficult concept I must admit. It's very difficult concept. We don't have a single name for it... how to define democracy! When say ... we have democracy ...or this is a democratic country, ... you have to fulfil that ... particular feature which is a standard for your country...
<b>People sing about democracy when they want to go into power</b>	Normally, people are singing about democracy ... they know what is Democracy, but their problem when they go into power, they forget about those, and don't encourage people to speak out. They don't come back to the people, to hear what people are saying, they are not transparent, they do not follow the rule of law, so it's completely... (forgotten). People talk about it – they're just singing when they are looking for the chances to go ahead... but normally when they got their seats, they forget all about these things. You know, the rulers, normally they have their system to make sure that they continue to be there.
<b>It needs civic education</b>	I can think it is really a problem that most of the people don't have civic education, they don't know their rights, their responsibility as the citizens of this country, okay?, so the leaders use that as a tool to win them. The solution is to encourage civic education to make people able to be aware of what they're supposed to do, or what their leader is supposed to do to them and so on...For example, for the people to choose what they need and don't need they need also the ability to be informed in choosing what they need. This is very important.
<b>There is need of limitations</b>	Liberation. It is an unguided "animal", one must take care on dealing with it. There are limits and extents to which democracy can be practised. I believe in "guided democracy". Individual freedom associated to democracy should be taken carefully, not to put community rights in

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	jeopardy, we need to be aware to drive it with limitations to some areas, eg the issue of "changudoa" (prostitution).
<b>It is necessary</b>	We need to have this thing called democracy. I don't know, but we need it. It is inhuman to deny your fellow human being a freedom. Having an election is the proper way that the people can have a say on the person he or she represents. I strongly believe that it's necessary in whichever form that people want to look at it.
<b>It is a way to find consensus</b>	I think (a conflict is) a part of it, because it will come to the point (when)... there is no winner between the two, so they have to stick together and find the consensus. It is the best way for problem solving and conflict resolution. If a country practices a real democracy there will be no conflict. Is a good way to conflict reduction.
<b>It helps development</b>	It is a good process to help the progress, sometimes it is a way forward, towards a better situation. It helps and speeds up development, and it encourages social development. It is good as you can estimate the needs of the majority and helps to criticize for the better.
<b>Is the government of people for the interest of God</b>	Democracy is the government of people for the interest of their creator. God created people for nothing but to obey him. He must know the best way of how people should be governed. The moment my government ceases to stand for the interest of the Almighty, it is not democratic.
<b>It does not exist</b>	There is no total democracy in the world because of the type of leadership we have. Democracy is fictitious, there is no real democracy in a class society. The interests of the haves will be protected against the have-nots and that's not democracy.

#### Summary of the young leaders' representations of 'democracy'

- It needs a local perspective
- It has been here before colonial times
- It is freedom of opinion
- It is a Western concept
- It is participation in decision-making
- It is difficult to explain
- People sing about democracy when they want to go into power
- It needs civic education
- There is need for limitations
- It is necessary
- It is a way of finding consensus
- It helps development
- It is the government of the people for the interests of God
- It does not exist

Discussing democracy in (my) Brazilian culture is a delicate task, since challenging it sounds like a blasphemy, 'dared' only by the ones who think 'the people' are not able to choose, which is a highly politically incorrect thought. Nonetheless, a first look at the representations of democracy expressed by the group of young leaders in Tanzania is enough to see that "democracy is one of the most contested and controversial concepts in political theory (...) and remains an ambiguous concept, open to diverse interpretations, uses and abuses" (Abrahamsen, 2000:67). Electoral or representative democracy, for instance, was clearly reaffirmed as representation, although only by a secondary discourse arguing that it is necessary. Sounding resigned, and using an expression that demonstrates distance, the young

leaders say: we need this thing called democracy, since it is inhuman to deny your fellow human being a freedom.

The dominant representation however is given by the discourse stating that the local perspective will give meaning to democracy, and not only the elections in the form of one man – one vote. Democracy is expressed as people having a choice: whether to have a school or a hospital. Basic well-being of the people would determine their possibilities of choice. Without democracy you will never talk about people having water, having schools, girls going to school, people having a decent education, people having a house, people having land. If democracy is not closely linked to those needs then it will remain a foreign concept. In the villages, they will look at it as an academic jargon, which has no meaning.

The Tanzanian scholar Shivji (2003:1) remarks:

The struggle for democracy [in Tanzania] did not begin with the post-cold war introduction of multiparty system. The independence and liberation struggles for self-determination, beginning in the post-world war period, were eminently a struggle for democracy. (...) The struggle for democracy is primarily a political struggle on the form of governance, thus involving the reconstitution of the state.

The 'struggle on the form of governance' is the construction of a new realm of participation in decision-making, creating possibilities of choice. The 'reconstitution of the state' mentioned by Shivji is the institutionalised shape that mechanisms of governance take. This 'shaping' of Tanzanian institutions of governance is not a consolidated process yet, and it has been quite turbulent since independence; that does not mean to sound 'negative' since turbulence can be equalled to what Sen (2002:5) calls 'space of contestation', a precondition for democracy. The young leaders say: the form [of democracy] I don't know, whether you are going to bring a parliamentary kind of system or whether people will use their own kind of way of choosing and expressing choice.

Under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, either as president of the country or chairman of the ruling party, from the independence until the 1990s, there was an attempt to bring together two apparently contradictory categories: the one party system and democratic participation. The practical outcomes of that experiment could neither be considered 'development' (as choice and fulfilment of basic needs), in the sense that the young leaders presented in the previous section,

nor 'democratic' since participation in decision-making and freedom of opinion were restricted. However, Nyerere's discursive construction succeeded, despite its practice being heavily criticized by a range of political scientists (Lamb, 1986; Hartmann, in Hodd, 1989; Chachage, 1999; Russel, 2000).

For the young leaders, democracy, as Nyerere used to point out, was already in Tanzania before colonisation, and it is not a Western concept. Small chiefs were chosen in the villages to represent the needs, the feelings, and the ideas of the people. This 'choice' was not in the format of a formal election, but based on 'traditional African' values, such as how big his family was, how many wives he had, how many children, how able he was to feed his family. This masculine and patriarchal picture of leadership is neither surprising nor very different from many other countries. The varied central ideas show how multifaceted the concept of 'democracy' is for the youth, making room for 'contestation' and re-presentation. Since Tanzanians were indoctrinated to see a controlling regime as a 'democracy', where 'brotherhood' was the most valued principle, and consensus the aim of disagreement, discursive tensions show easily: democracy is difficult to explain.

Institutional changes in Tanzania were profound in the last five decades. Until the beginning of 'liberalization' in the 1980s (which included a Structural Adjustment Programme, multiparty politics and other elements of a 'liberal' package), the exercise of democracy as the freedom of opinion and participation in decision was actually quite small.

Members of parliament were, *inter alia*, not permitted to criticize government principles; nor criticize a policy decision of the National Executive Committee of TANU; nor could they be contemptuous of TANU party principles and party ideology; nor were they permitted to speak with cynicism of TANU's socialist goals. (Munnik, in Hugo, 2000: 9)

The central idea "democracy is difficult to explain" is the one that most precisely reflects the various contradictory elements between preaching and practicing it (table 9).

What transpires from observing the historicity of 'democracy' is that politics and political 'participation' in Tanzania came to be dominated by TANU – and since 1977, by the renamed ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Policies were decided by the party's National Executive Committee, and 'participation' should not disturb 'brotherhood'. One-party presidential and parliamentary elections were nonevents. Nyerere (in Hugo, 2000:7) argued that it should "hardly be expected that a united country should halt in mid-stream and voluntarily divide itself

into opposing political groups just for the sake of conforming to (...) the Anglo-Saxon form of democracy”. The young leaders say people sing about democracy when they want to go into power. When politicians succeed getting there, they forget about that and don't encourage people to speak out. In power, politicians don't come back to the people, to hear what people are saying, they are not transparent, they do not follow the rule of law.

Nyerere was an extremely skillful orator, and could construct such an engaging argumentation that resisting it sounded like going against the will of 'the people'. Mazrui (in Hugo, 2000:11) remarks that Nyerere's "African form of socialism at first captured the imagination of millions of reform-minded Africans all over the continent and elsewhere [but] by 1987 disenchantment was widespread" ... The young leaders analyze: You know, the rulers normally have their system to make sure that they continue to be there.

The representations that show the influence of a much more 'open' and 'exposed' society, where the 'space of contestation' grow and public policy become more 'conducive' to people's articulation of their dissent are given by defining democracy as freedom of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, whereby people are given freedom to speak out their views, ideas and feelings, and worship any kind of religion, without going against the rules. The people can then correct their leaders when they have been mistaken, without breaking the rules of their country, and acting on their rights and responsibilities. From this point of view, democracy helps development, since you can estimate the needs of the majority. Such civism and representation of democracy as freedom of choice and opinion *within the rule of law* is reinforced by the central idea that civic education is needed. People do not know their rights and responsibilities, giving room for leaders to use that as a tool to win them. Civic education is very important for people to make informed decisions (see Sen, 2002 and 2003).

It is relevant, at this point, to remind the reader about the context that framed the participants' statements in a 'research' session, during their YLTP-training. The promoter of the programme is a German Foundation (see section 1.3) linked to the principles of social democracy, committed to promote civil and political education, dialogue and the human rights. However, while approximately half of the research's participants had already been 'exposed' to those values and discursive formation through attending the YLTP, the other half of young leaders had just started the programme when the texts were collected. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation is but one of the myriad of organizations providing support to the enhancement of 'civil society' as

'actors' in the 'democratization' process of Tanzania. One element of the DCSs that pertains to the sphere of possible influences of the YLTP on the young leaders' representations is that democracy is a 'positive' conflict, because it will come to a point when there is no winner. Consensus is a Tanzanian construct. Conflict and competition, though, are ideas that were not part of the political vocabulary before multipartism started in the country. FES also promoted *Principles for Free and Fair Elections* in Tanzania, and some of the participants in YLTP were nominated by organizations that were partners of FES in that project. *Competition* was presented by FES as a 'democratic' principle representing political 'fairness'. That was a great change for Tanzanians who were for so long under a one party rule (in fact, a one-institution block of governance)<sup>49</sup>.

Dogmatic representations are not absent from the discourses of the young leaders. Democracy is seen as a western concept, and therefore inapplicable in Africa, since it is a concept intended to push the Western countries' economic interests. It is like a topic in the books, and people believe that what is in the books comes from the West, as it is with education, which still comes from the West. In fact, democracy does not exist, because of the type of leadership we have, and cannot exist in a class society.

As part of the same representation (shown on Table 6) about God deciding the leaders' future and their right to bear children, democracy is as well the government of people for the interest of their creator since He must know the best way of how people should be governed. Despite the Tanzanian Constitution declaring that the state is secular, it is clear that one representation of the young leaders is that the moment the government ceases to stand for the interest of the Almighty, it is not democratic. I will discuss the question of religion in Tanzania in more detail in section 5.3.1. It is, however, important at this point to realize that such representation is part of a discourse that sees the state as a vehicle to defend the interests of Christians or Muslims. According to the young leaders, democracy needs limitations, because it is an unguided 'animal' and could put community rights in jeopardy because of individual freedom.

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<sup>49</sup> The constitutional change of 1977 cemented the one-party rule by declaring that the "single party was the supreme organ of state under which all activities were to be organized. On the basis of this provision, not only opposition political parties were disallowed but major institutions like the armed forces, labour unions and cooperatives and even cultural bodies such as the Church and the Mosque were either institutional members of the only party or affiliated to it." (Mmuya, in Engel et al, 2000:75)

### 5.2.3. Choice and voice as imperative for development

The young leaders' discourses construe representations of development and democracy that cohere to form two predominant 'regimes of truth'. Development and democracy are defined as people's ability and freedom of opinion, expression and participation in decisions that affect their lives. To accomplish that, people need to have their basic needs – food, shelter, clothing, land – fulfilled. This is, nevertheless, not enough, since in order to be able to understand their rights and duties, people need schooling and civic education. Such representation reflects a combination of Amartya Sen's theory of social choice and a liberal definition of development as growth. Electoral democracy does not appear relevant as a representation. On the contrary, the representations that emerged reflect much more a desire for democracy as a space of debate, opinion-making, and 'contestation'.

A dominant discourse of resistance to what is seen as 'exogenous', Western and imposed, is clear. Various representations help create this picture of defense of *africaness*. Those representations are informed by a regime of truth that articulates the idea of *Africa* against what is *non-African*, a duality which, according to some philosophers, entraps the thinker into applying him/herself to a category created by others. Campbell (*n.d.*:139) talks about "humility and confidence in the abilities of the ordinary peoples to discover their strengths and to combat weaknesses" as the essences of *africaness* and African leaders, "as opposed to the distorted images that have been imposed by the successors of those who benefited from the Atlantic Slave Trade".

The community is the centre of decision, democracy and development, and should prevail over individual interests. Globalization and exposure to foreign cultures are seen as threats, introducing values, which people copy uncritically. One year before his death, Julius Nyerere (1998) opened a *Conference on Governance in Africa*, arguing that African States need, yes, 'good governance', yet not the kind of governance imposed by international institutions to approve loans and grants, as if the countries were 'good poors'. On that occasion Nyerere spelt out his understanding of 'good governance':

The key to a government's effectiveness and its ability to lead the nation lies in a combination of three elements. First its closeness to its people, and its responsiveness to their needs and demands; in other words, democracy. Secondly, its ability to coordinate and bring into a democratic balance the many functional and often competing sectional institutions which groups of people have created to serve their particular interests. And thirdly, the efficiency of the

institutions (official and unofficial) by means of which its decisions are made known and implemented throughout the country. (1998:4)

Nyerere sees 'democracy' within the realm of 'government', while the young leaders take it back to the 'people'. Cooperation and brotherliness are, however, essential for both past and contemporary leadership. 'Brotherliness' means equal access to services, bringing the 'government' close to the 'people'. Results of the *Afrobarometer* 2003 survey (Chaliga et al., 2004:21) show that 72% of respondents are of the opinion that Tanzanian leaders "look after people's interests, 71% say that their leaders listen to the people, and half of the respondents say leaders listen to people all the time". The Tanzanian president, Benjamin Mkapa, enjoys the highest level of trust (79%) of all countries surveyed, and even the opposition political parties enjoy the trust of 36% of respondents, "double the figure of both of its neighbours (Kenya and Mozambique), which average 16 percent" (Chaliga et al., 2004:19). The 'people' and the 'government' are still close together.

The analysis has shown so far the strength of a representation that was built through a particular Tanzanian historicity, one that is able to accommodate (understanding, re-presenting) internal tensions, interpretations and challenges. Tanzania has many problems. Nevertheless, its young leadership is able to re-articulate discourses lest they be carried by simplistic and hegemonic ideologies. As Nyerere said (1998:9):

Finally, good or bad, the first generation of our leaders is fast being replaced by the second or even the third; most of these are better-educated, relatively free from the mental hang-overs of colonialism, and have had the opportunity to learn from the mistakes and the successes of their predecessors.

### **5.3. A normative episteme: moral values as representations**

In sociology, a norm is a "shared expectation of behaviour that connotes what is considered culturally desirable and appropriate" (Marshall, 1998:453). A normative episteme would then be 'knowing' what is 'right' and 'wrong', 'desirable' or 'undesirable', 'just' or 'unjust' in society. These are 'moral values' which frame what the 'world is': black, white, cold, developed, progressive, poor, scientific, good or dangerous. I have already discussed some important values – shown as socially constructed representations – informing the discourses of the young leaders of the YLTP. The previous sections 5.1 and 5.2 discussed those representations as reflection of a much wider discursive practice which embeds Tanzanian youth's values, with or without their realization, on leadership, democracy and development. These themes have been

part of the curriculum of the YLTP since its inception in 2000, and are part of the assumptions the training programme makes about political life (see page 7 and 8).

The coming section, however, concentrates on explaining representations on areas of life that were mostly absent from the YLTP. While issues related to 'gender' were slightly touched (Salles & Häussler, 2003), religion, marriage and sexuality, use of drugs and abortion were non-issues. According to Bujra & Adejumobi (2002:163), since the end of the 1980s Tanzanian "women saw their work as political, challenging the growing patriarchal system imposed on their societies through colonialism, (...) religions and educational influences. (...) They posed the questions of social justice and equality of rights more sharply. The slogan was 'The personal is political!'" If the 'personal is political' for women, it must be so for men as well. As a programme to train political leaders, the YLTP missed the 'personal' altogether indeed.

Section 5.3 will present and discuss themes that were not part of the leadership-training curriculum of the YLTP. I have chosen them. They come from the 'field of silence', as I have called it on page 22 of this study. The complete tables with the *discourses of the collective subject* are in Appendix Four, since showing them all here would have made this chapter excessively long. I therefore exclusively 'present' the 'central ideas' that summarize the young leaders representations (Table 10). Citations in underlined font are taken from the young leaders' DCSs, as it was done in the two previous sections.

**Table 10. Representations of the ‘personal’ by the young leaders**

Theme	Central ideas
<b>Religion</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It is an individual choice which must be respected</li> <li>• It has become commercial</li> <li>• It has become politicised</li> <li>• Paying tribute to the ancestors is a form of worshipping</li> <li>• There are many imported religions</li> <li>• It promotes positive values</li> <li>• It is alienating</li> <li>• It is culturally determined</li> <li>• Religion comes first</li> <li>• It can be cause of conflicts</li> <li>• It is not important</li> </ul>
<b>Marriage</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Its meaning is changing</li> <li>• It is a social obligation</li> <li>• It has its specific rules</li> <li>• It can take different forms</li> <li>• Women do not have much of a say</li> <li>• It is a bondage between two people</li> <li>• It is an agreement between a man and a woman</li> <li>• It gives better status to people</li> <li>• It helps the continuation of the family and the society</li> </ul>
<b>Monogamy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monogamy prevents from diseases</li> <li>• Having multiple partners bring the economy down</li> <li>• People must be free to practice their system</li> <li>• A person cannot divide his love</li> <li>• Men continue to opt for multiple partners</li> <li>• Monogamy gives the couple respect to each other</li> </ul>
<b>Sexuality</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Homosexuality is becoming popular</li> <li>• Women are below the line to negotiate</li> <li>• Homosexuality starts with abuse</li> <li>• Men cannot be defiled</li> <li>• Sex is dangerous</li> <li>• Homosexuality is immoral</li> <li>• Early sex happens because of financial problems</li> <li>• Homosexuality came from the islands</li> <li>• Homosexuality has been here</li> <li>• Sex is people’s decision</li> </ul>
<b>Abortion</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abortion is a social problem</li> <li>• Sexual education could prevent problems</li> <li>• There are legitimate reasons for abortion</li> <li>• Abortion is against human rights</li> <li>• Girls now can go back to school after delivering</li> <li>• Abortion is not on the political agenda</li> </ul>
<b>Banghi (<i>Cannabis sativa</i>)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Banghi is a traditional thing</li> <li>• It is destructive</li> <li>• It is used to escape reality</li> <li>• It does not help to improve the economy</li> <li>• The government must stop it</li> <li>• It is a burden to the health system</li> <li>• You can go to prison</li> <li>• It can cause conflicts</li> <li>• It is easy to get</li> <li>• I don’t know</li> <li>• It can be used in certain circumstances</li> </ul>

### 5.3.1. Discourses of religion: inherited representations

The Constitution of Tanzania spells out freedom of religion and the secular character of the state (United Republic of Tanzania, 1998). The relationship between Muslims and Christians has by and large been harmonious in Tanzania, with some episodes of violence being the exception. Nevertheless, in his valedictory address in 1985<sup>50</sup>, Nyerere stressed the fact that the risk of religious conflict in Tanzania has been greater than ethnic strife. Most of the underlying religious tensions regard access to education and to positions in the civil service, which still today seems to privilege 'Christians' over 'Muslims'. An initial disparity in access to positions in the administration after independence was easy to accept, since Christian missionary schools provided most of the 'educated' people during colonial times. However, the continuation of such policy is visible through figures showing the discrepancies that still exist in the country<sup>51</sup>.

It was probably not a coincidence that Nyerere has always chosen a Christian to head the Ministry of Education throughout his ruling, from 1961 to 1985, trying to be 'in control' of the education process, and trusting more the institutions he knew better. The young leaders repeat Nyerere's concerns and understand religion as a potential cause of conflict in the world. Religious issues should be well handled by the leaders, otherwise one religion becomes powerful and the government tends to follow only one religion. Such a one-sided view could end up in wars and it is very dangerous.

The Tanzanian Ilife (1979:203) refers to religion as "an intellectual system charting and explaining the world". According to him, the indigenous religions "offer remedies for ancient evils but are ill-equipped to explain or control the larger (...) world". Islam would "provide solutions at both levels" but lack practicality, while Christian religions are the "best able to explain the larger world but are ill-equipped to combat misfortune". He proceeds explaining that together they could provide a good chart for the world in transition (1979:205) and have had an important role in resisting colonialism, vulgarisation of knowledge and eradication of witchcraft. Other authors

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<sup>50</sup> [www.islamfortoday.com/Tanzania.htm](http://www.islamfortoday.com/Tanzania.htm) (retrieved on June 24, 2005).

<sup>51</sup> I could not find recent figures to document this statement. I have myself witnessed the grievance about disparity in access to education and jobs in the civil service in Tanzania. An example of such disparity is given by the enrolment at Secondary Schools in 1983, of which 78% were Christians and 22% non-Christians; and enrolment at the University of Dar es Salaam between 1986 and 1990, where 87% were of Christian students, and 13% Muslims. In Khatib M. Rajab al-Zinjibari's *Nyerere Against Islam in Zanzibar and Tanganyika*, n.d., <http://victorian.fortunecity.com/portfolio/543/nyerere-and-islam.html>. See too US Department of State, 2004.

have also referred to religion as element of construction of nationalism and identity in Tanzania (see Legum & Mmari, 1995; Nchimbi, 1995; Geiger 1997; Geschiere, 1997; Pels 1999).

The dominant discourse among the young leaders on the YLTP is that religion is an individual choice that must be respected. They say that since different people have different ideas, one can be a Muslim, but different from other Muslims. They think that people should be free to believe or have faith in whatever they want as long as respect between religions is observed. Such respect is not construed as regarding only the two 'religions', but also 'traditional' beliefs: people should not interfere with someone's beliefs be it in tree trunks, in pigs or monkeys or whatever. The young leaders represent people combining their beliefs in Christianity and Islam with paying tributes to local gods: people benefit more from the ancestors when they have some problems. This representation is articulated with Ilife's explanations given above (1979:205): traditional religions would be better equipped in combating 'misfortune'. For the YLTP youth, Islam and Christian denominations are imported religions, which marginalize the relationship that exists between African people and their gods. Religion pertains to the realm of society, since the religion a person professes is culturally determined. Therefore, what is represented as an individual choice is actually determined by culture and history.

The religious 'institutions' are predominantly construed as commercial and becoming politicised. Religion has been hijacked by business, for instance. This happens because of the economic hardships that lead people to come to religion to enrich themselves. Religious organizations are compared to NGOs, which are mushrooming. People would be using those institutions that have purportedly religious objectives to make money<sup>52</sup>, in two ways: the managers would make money promising better economical conditions in exchange for allegiance, and the followers would put money in front of God, exchanging things like killing your child, having to go naked and other evil things for promises of economic benefits.

Religion has also become politicised. According to the young leaders, this has happened because religion seems to be the only immediate threat to politics, particularly politics of

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<sup>52</sup> The Government requires that religious organizations register with the Registrar of Societies at the Home Affairs Ministry. In order to register, religious organizations must have at least 10 followers and must provide a constitution, the resumés of their leaders, and a letter of recommendation from their district commissioner. Groups no longer are required to provide three letters of recommendation from the leaders of registered Christian churches or from registered mosques. <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2004/35386.htm>

capitalism and communism. When Tanzania introduced multipartyism in 1992 it was understood that all parties should have a national profile and that religion and ethnicity must not constitute the base for new parties. Especially Muslims were warned not to use the multiparty system for religious purposes. Nevertheless, people now believe that politicians can no longer solve their problems, and politicians then incorporate a religious discourse to attract the masses: that's why you find that Osama bin Ladens of this world become role models...he portrays himself as religious leader.

Since religion is something that society needs in whichever form it is (...), because it gives people direction that you look up to, it is not difficult to understand that its role in promoting positive values is praised by the young leaders. Religion has a code of conduct, which guides people's behaviour. Religion brings peace and harmony to society, encourages humanity of the people and social cohesion. Religion preaches courage and belief in what one does not see, which helps people to believe that change is possible.

The wider discursive practice in Tanzania is still sticking to the historical construct of 'harmony' and ecumenism. As recent as in April 2004, the mainland mufti – an Islamic leader elected by the National Muslim Council of Tanzania – said that the true meaning of *jihad* was to promote development in society and not to fight against non-Muslims. The number of advocates of the establishment of *Shari'a* law remains small and confined to Zanzibar. Recently, episodes of violence have been more frequent, yet with minor consequences. In 2003 and 2004, several confrontations between Muslims and Christians occurred and proselytisers were more active and widespread<sup>53</sup>.

A very diverse representation pictures religion as a pollutant of mind, because it reduces human capacity of thinking. Religion would then be impediment to development, for people surrender their problems to religion instead of being productive. This discourse about human beings as productive beings whose religion would keep them alienated and blindfold, unable to understand the exploitation caused by the class nature of the society (see Shivji, 2003), reproduces Marxist representations: religion is an opium of the people.

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<sup>53</sup> For a more factual account, see the International Religious Freedom Report (US Department of State, 2004).

### 5.3.2. Discourses of sexuality: is the personal political?

Sexuality in religious discourses is largely hetero-patriarchal. Izugbara (2004:15) remarks powerfully: “Christianity represents a powerful moralistic discourse of sexuality, condemnatory and hostile towards anything outside procreation, men’s control of women’s body and hetero-patriarchal relations”. The author proceeds: “The Islamic discourse on sexuality is no more different from the Christian narrative” (2004:16): women are supposed to be chaste, and avoid contact with men.

In Tanzania, before 1971, Muslims, as well as Christians and Hindus, followed their own marriage and divorce laws. Traditional judiciary systems of the different ethnic groups practising customary law were also in force. In addition, one could marry monogamously in a civil marriage. In 1969, the government presented a White Paper on the issue of marriage with the aim to create more “uniformity in the sphere of family laws and to improve the position of the woman” (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:182–183). One of the tangible proposals was that the minimum marital age for boys was to be eighteen and for girls fifteen. The proposal that caused the most serious debate was the idea that a man who wanted to marry a second wife had to get permission from his first wife. The proposal that would forbid men to punish their wives corporally was also met with some resistance. Despite what *DRUM* (Smyth & Seftel, 1998:182) calls “Tanzania’s great wedding debate”, the law was approved with minor changes and is still in place<sup>54</sup>. The Marriage Act is not applicable in Zanzibar.

A government task force created in early 2003 continues to examine possible reforms concerning women’s rights<sup>55</sup>. Under a Zanzibari law popularly known as the ‘spinster act’, unmarried Muslim women under the age of 21 who become pregnant are subject to 2 years’ imprisonment, and a man found guilty of making a woman who is not his wife pregnant can be imprisoned for 5 years. In the past, Zanzibari women have successfully had these convictions dropped or overturned in the Zanzibari courts. No men have been ever tried under this law (US Department of State, 2004).

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<sup>54</sup> The Law of Marriage Act of 1971, amended in 1976, 1980 and 1996, stipulates in its section 10 – *kinds of marriage* – that “A marriage contracted in Tanganyika, whether contracted before or after the commencement of this Act shall (a) if contracted in Islamic form or according to rites recognized by customary law in Tanganyika, be presumed, unless the contrary is proved, to be polygamous or potentially polygamous; and (b) in any other case, be presumed to be monogamous, unless the contrary is proved”. [http://www.equalitynow.org/english/wan/beijing5/beijing5\\_marital\\_en.html](http://www.equalitynow.org/english/wan/beijing5/beijing5_marital_en.html)

<sup>55</sup> The reforms have not yet been approved by the time of writing, July 2005.

The young leaders represent marriage as a concept in change, and fix the Marriage Act as the date of commencement of that change: before the 1970s, marriage was a concern of the two families, but now we are developing and we are mixed up with different cultures, with different people. The new ways into which marriage is changing are represented as a) the marrying people can decide by themselves; b) as a sort of a renewable contract, whereby a period of 'testing' can take place before a decision is made, with no need to live together throughout your life and tolerate everything simply for the title of marriage; and c) something that could be avoided if it is too expensive; after all, frequent meetings and communication can replace the institution of marriage. Marriage could take different forms, as a union between two people: a man and a woman or a man and a man or a woman and a woman, or one could have more than one spouse. There should be a shared kind of bond, sharing common problems, sharing a common destiny.

Marriage is mostly represented as ideally monogamous. Marriage is a bondage between two people and polygamy is not okay. Monogamy is romanticized as a bond that must be there. Such bond implies sacrifice, strain, costs, and overcoming unexpected problems, represented as very funny things that really apart the couple. That bondage would be made of love and thereafter faithfulness. Having more than one spouse makes men the centre of forces and weaknesses, increasing the chance that the centre may break, in the form of lack of care for the family and children. Having more than one wife makes marriage a process of legalizing sin.

A complementing representation is that marriage is a social obligation and has its specific rules. These rules are determined by culture, since marriage is consecrated under religious laws, and confirmed by 'traditional' ceremonies. The 'culture' that determines the rules can differ, but these are essentially patriarchal, since women do not have much of a say in it. Even considering the changes that have been happening, decisions are not jointly made regarding the 'rules of engagement', neither regarding the decision to have (or not) children, nor about the pursuit of individual interests, since a woman is required to adapt to the husband. One trainee poses the question: "How about your own satisfaction?"

Marriage is a social obligation and a must. Being married gives better status to people, since after marriage your voice is heard more in family meetings. Women who are not married have a very low respect, lower than a male, and might be compared to prostitutes. Marriage gives

honourship to the people. In Tanzania, customs that subordinate women remain strong. The representation of forced sex within the marriage is given by the statement that 90% of the married women are raped by their own husbands, and this is happening even among educated people. In both urban and rural areas, “women may be punished by their husbands for not bearing children. Wife beating occurs at all levels of society and a large number of women are killed by their husbands or commit suicide as a result of domestic battery” (AFROL, 2004:n.p.).

The justification for ill treatment of women who do not ‘bear’ children is given by the representations surrounding marriage as means to the continuation of family and society. The young leaders say that marriage is good and compulsory to increase fertility rate, and this would help the society to have more manpower. Children who are born within the institution of marriage have social security, since the family is a nursery for upbringing respected members of the society. Such patriarchal statements are not exceptions and there is a myriad of studies showing that women in Tanzania, although in better situation than in similar countries, have worse living conditions, less access to secondary and higher education, earn smaller wages and have much more restricted rights to own properties than men. Domestic violence continues to be widespread (Social Watch, 2004. For more information, see Mukangara & Koda, 1997; Nagar, 1998; IRIN, 2005 or just search for ‘women’ and ‘Tanzania’ with any search engine at the Internet).

Confirming the dominant patriarchal discourse of ‘men’ in the centre of life, monogamy is represented as preventing diseases, since it helps men to be responsible for a single wife and to take care of himself. Through monogamy, men will be able to avoid running with many wives, hence avoiding Aids. This construct of monogamy as means to ‘liberate’ men to ‘be able to avoid running with other women’ shows men as well entrapped in customs and trying to escape through an argumentation which is ‘modern’ and ‘politically correct’ (avoiding HIV/Aids), without having to confront ‘tradition’. The official discourse around prevention of sexually transmitted infections focuses on abstinence and fidelity in Tanzania (Mukangara & Koda, 1997).

In other discourses, men will continue opting for multiple partners, even if that implies that the financial life of the family goes down, leading to poverty, or to children not having a chance to go to school, due to the lack of care of a father who has more than one wife. Otherwise, people should be free to practice their systems; therefore traditions and customs should be tolerated as far as members agree on their free will. This representation of ‘free will’ in traditional customs is

a male discourse. Although 'women must agree' before a man takes a new wife, cultural determinants restrict women from exercising that right; if a woman cannot have children, for instance, she must accept a new wife. In the rural areas, the situation is much worse: women are below the line to negotiate.

Representations of sexuality inform two types of predominant discourses: the 'normative' one, stating very clearly what is right and what is wrong, and the 'modern', liberal or managerial one, which sees problems from a 'welfarist' point of view and considers that individual choice exists. Such a 'liberal' view does not take into account the hierarchical and patriarchal systems within which choices have to be made.

Homosexuality is constructed as a deviance and immorality that is becoming popular. Those discourses construct what is 'normal' as 'homophobic'; therefore homosexuals are 'abnormal' (as women who cannot bear children and can be punished). Izugbara (2004:5) refers to "patterns of identity formation and indigenous cosmologies that give lie to the notion that such sexualities emerged as a result of contact with foreign cultures", and quotes abundant scholarship on that. The young leaders see homosexuality as a practice coming from the 'islands', but also admit: this thing has been here. The 'thing' is abnormality again, but 'modern' discourses oblige one not to blame 'others' for the problems of Africa. The dominant discourse is however that "Hivi ni tabia... za wazungu bwana" (these are behaviours for Europeans), "Africa hazipo" (not in Africa).

From a 'social welfarist' perspective, homosexuality is seen as result of sexual abuse of boys, a problem which has not been looked at so far in Tanzania<sup>56</sup>. Construing sex and abuse together, the young leaders realize the actual lack of 'freedom to decide about one's body'. The theme of sex and coercion is recurrent here: women are below the line to negotiate, and girls find themselves serving (having sex) even the elders. They elaborate on the relationship between girls and 'elders': because of the difference of age, the elders cannot compromise with the young people. So they do raping. This representation meaningfully shows non-consented sex as permissible if the 'elders' could 'compromise'. Marriage solves the dignity of the girls after sex. There is no construct for the rape of a boy: Men cannot be defiled. If a boy is gang-raped

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<sup>56</sup> I had the opportunity to discuss sexual abuse of boys with human rights organizations while I was working with the Legal Aid Network in Dar es Salaam, but I could not find any scholarship on the subject.

by other boys, it is not a crime. I cannot go to court and say I was raped. By whom? By a man?  
A boy has to be strong and 'resist': under the law and social understanding, he is never weak.

Pregnancy is represented as a 'female' issue, even if it involves non-consented sex, which is caused by economic problems. Rape and poverty are related. Poverty and ignorance (of the girl or woman) are causes for rape, early pregnancy and abortion, all of it caused by women's (ir)responsible behaviour. Pregnancy is a thing that you can protect yourself against; that is why girls have to be educated about how to protect themselves and use preventive measures. Pregnancy is a woman's issue, and so is abortion, a topic the young leaders represent as a social problem. Most people choose to abort because they feel they cannot care for the child or maybe the child was got out of very funny ways. These funny ways are associated in the texts with rape, again represented as linked to poverty and ignorance (of the women). Abortion is illegal, but people do it. The elders can have it done safely but the girls are doing it in the street, which is costing their lives. Doctors are performing it, so it is business with some of the doctors. It becomes a social problem because the health facilities are very dilapidated and do not offer conditions to make sure people abort safely.

Representations of the young leaders on matters of sexuality are predominantly patriarchal and sexist, mirroring societal discourses on gender relations. The religious and 'traditional' narratives constructed by male dominated anthropology reinforce such representations. Colonialism did its part, essentially represented by the 'able-bodied men' as the "most important qualification need to work as guides, servants, tax collectors, cleaners and stewards for the colonizers" (Izugbara, 2004:21). Young leaders are not sure about what is 'right' and 'wrong' in this case, and are slightly divided between patriarchal morality and modern liberal representations. There is no big debate here in Tanzania regarding the abortion policies. It is very, very tricky, because the feelings of the society in general are that abortion is a bad thing (...) and in my view the Government shouldn't, couldn't, shouldn't support abortion. We don't put this thing on the agenda, we consider it not existing. On the one hand, dogmatic moral repudiation of the practice of abortion takes defence in religious discourses – God does not allow killing – and on the other in 'modern' discourses of protection of the 'human rights', since abortion is against people's rights.

Sexual education could prevent problems, but the customs do not allow parents to talk freely with the youth about their development and reproductive issues. We need to change men's and

women's attitudes, and men become more responsible for the pregnancy so as to stop abortions. Such discourse of openness reflects the narrative of some of the NGOs operating in the country, whose influence can be felt in the representations of the young leaders, many of them working for such organizations. Mzinga (2004:3), from TGNP, reconstructs 'traditional' forms of initiation (as seen on page 37) into a narrative of 'sexual education':

Till the late 1950s, in many parts of the country special traditional sexual health training was given to boys and girls at age 13, openly discussing sexual and reproductive issues. Girls were taught how to become good mothers (*unyago*) and boys were taught how to become good fathers (*jando*). New socio-economic patterns, urban-to-rural migration and formal education systems have led almost all 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania to abandon this traditional sex education. Currently, a big gap in sex education exists, as the primary school system has no reproductive and sexual health curriculum. Many boys and girls enter puberty before completing their primary school. Hence, at this important stage in their lives, boys and girls are forced to learn about sex and sexuality from their peers.

In Tanzania, historical conditions preserved some room to reformulate narratives and articulate discourses of resistance. Since independence, 'equality' has been a word present in speeches and policy documents in all areas of society. The Constitution also emphasizes equity in distribution of basic services, and primary schooling is free and compulsory. The subject of the rights of women was a niggling concern during *Ujamaa*, and as a result the laws take women's view into consideration to a certain extent (Mukangara & Koda, 1997; FES, 2002; Social Watch, 2004). The measurement of the *African Gender and Development Index* (AGDI) shows improvement in some areas, particularly those related to 'capabilities' and 'agency'. (TGNP, 2005)

There are powerful organizations advocating for women's rights in Tanzania, such as the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), the Tanzania Women Layers Association (TAWLA), the Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC) and others. Those organizations, which include women and men as 'activists', are also reframing and producing discourses of resistance to the dominant narratives, seen here in their micro-level manifestation through the young leader's representations. Nevertheless, they are not fully aware of their own culturally inherited patriarchal representations. Their welfarist

concern for topics such as early pregnancy and abortion<sup>57</sup> shows that those young leaders could be re-framing these representations into a ‘good governance’ discourse – towards a ‘managerial’ narrative, transforming the ‘personal’ into the ‘social’, but not yet ‘political’.

### 5.3.3. Discourses on the forbidden: the personal is social

Notions of what is ‘public’ and what is ‘private’ vary in different cultures. Despite discursive evidence that the ‘individual’ gradually becomes an ‘object’ of ‘knowing’ and public policies, the social and the communal are more forcefully re-presented in the discourses of the young leaders than the ‘individual’. In asking the young leaders their opinion about a ‘drug’, whose use is controversial all over the world, I was trying to unveil their discursive formation on what is politically a ‘non-issue’; in this case, *banghi*, the local name for *marijuana* (*Cannabis sativa*). In two separate occasions, senior male researchers and ‘africanists’ told me that such interest of mine was irrelevant, since drug use is not ‘one of the pressing problems of Africa’. With their help, I came to realize that, firstly, ‘Africa’ has to be thought of in terms of ‘pressing problems’ – and I refuse to share that approach. Secondly, I became more curious about the subject; after all, Tanzania would be an exception if the use of illicit drugs were not increasing there, as it is all over the world. The opening speech by the UN Resident Representative of a ‘Drug Demand Reduction Training’ in Dar es Salaam (UN, 2004:1) sets the pace:

Various research studies on the situation of illicit drugs trafficking and abuse in Tanzania show an increase in the problem as manifested by increase in seizures of drugs of abuse at airports and border points of entry, and court appearances for drug related offences. The evidence is that over the past decade Tanzania has gone from being a transit route to being a transit, consumption, production, and distribution point for illicit drugs, with serious consequences to the health of the population and the poverty reduction efforts that this nation has embarked upon.

How do YLTP trainees see such issue? The dominant representation seems to reproduce official Tanzanian discourses, which brings ‘youth’, unemployment and bad parenting together, to create a picture of social unfitness to those who are involved with the ‘drug’: the use of *banghi* is distorting our young people’s thinking capacity. The ‘youth’ becomes the object of ‘controlling’, since the use of *banghi* is destructive and has to be restricted. It can destroy one’s life and is a very bad thing. It causes permanent damage that we can never change. It may cause cancer and confusion. The ones who use drugs are already dead. The treatment of drug addicts is very

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<sup>57</sup> I urge the reader to refer to the tables with the Discourses of the Collective Subjects about these themes in Appendix Three, to have your own understanding about the leaders’ representations and types of discourses.

difficult since the social and health system are not existent. Those ideas re-present Tanzania's official line of argumentation, as given by the minister for labour, youth development and sports (Rwegayura, 2000):

The rising wave of illicit drugs trade and consumption puts 33 percent of Tanzania's population at risk. (...) Times are changing for the young in ways that affect their lives both positively and negatively. The resulting confusion leads many of them to find peace of mind in drugs. Our youthful population, aged between 15 and 35 years, accounts for 68 percent of the national workforce, but the swelling illicit drugs trafficking and consumption may be their death knell. (...)While some parts blame the drugs problems on the weakness of the education system, analysts of prevailing lifestyles find fault with family heads who habitually fail to keep their kids from becoming spoilt and drug-addicted. (Underline, mine)

*Banghi* would be used to escape reality or, in the words of the minister, to achieve 'peace of mind'. The youth would consume *banghi* because they believe that it takes you to a different world. People like this cannot be part of the 'national workforce'; no one is consuming *banghi* because he wants to produce more. People who use drugs affect the social fabric and become inefficient. The drug does not help the country's economy, because the people who are getting rich are very few. The policy that has to be adopted is prohibition: the government has to use extra force to stop its use among youth. It is illegal and it should remain so.

A more careful discourse avoids dogmatic statements, representing *banghi* as a traditional thing that can be used in certain circumstances. People would use it for food, so it was their normal plant. Since the plant was not used for sale and to distort the community it was not a problem. But now it is used by drug dealers. Some admit being confused and not having a clear opinion, since they have seen some people getting mad while they have seen others in their best performance when they smoked. One suggests: the use of a minimum quantity should be legalized.

The predominant representations regard the sphere of the communal: it destroys the fabric of society, it burdens the health system, and it does not contribute to the economy of the country. The domain of the 'privacy' of the individual remains secondary. The 'destructive' powers of the drugs cause personal damage, which make addicts a problem to the nation. Interestingly, one absence is noteworthy: not one discourse represents the 'problem' as caused by the 'others'. According to Laniel (2001:409–411), "Southern African societies seem to view themselves as being made of distinct ethnic communities that live side by side but do not mix". This would lead

to “ethnic divides”, reinforced by the state mechanism of privileging one group over the other. “Fear and distrust of ‘others’, combined with the sudden influx of imported drugs seem to have structured new social roles as scapegoats”. The causes of the ‘increasing’ problem of drug consumption would then be linked to the ‘increasing number’ of ‘foreigners’ – or groups perceived as foreigners. The South Africans blame the ‘Nigerians’, Lesotho police suspect the Indians of trafficking Mandrax and the Chinese of importing amphetamine. In Mauritius, the suspects are Creoles. “The sudden development of the drug trade is perceived, rightly it seems, as a direct consequence of the recent opening of regional societies to overt outside influence.” (Laniel, 2001: 411) These representations are not present at all in the discourses of the young leaders. I understand that in Tanzania the socialist policy of *Ujamaa*, with its emphasis in self-reliance, brotherhood, equality and non-racialism, succeeded in creating little ideological room for Tanzanians to blame the ‘others’ for their problems. The spirit of communal responsibility is still there.

■ ■ ■

### **A normative presentation of representations: *mise-en-abîme***

The analysis carried out in Chapter Five responds to the research question: *what are the social representations informing discourses of the trainees of the Youth Leadership Training Programme in Tanzania?* That was done by investigating texts produced by the young leaders through my mediation (and intervention). The answer to the research question can, therefore, be considered a joint answer, a (my) representation of the young leaders’ representations, in a process that a friend of mine called *mise-en-abîme*<sup>58</sup>, a mirroring of a picture *ad-infinitum*.

The group of young leaders were ‘my case’, and as such formed a ‘community’ with a shared moral culture, mediated by their own historicity, by the influence of the YLTP – where the data collection took place – and by my values, which guided the possibility of translation of their ideas. Chapter Six will draw conclusions from the answers to the question what and generated some ideas about how those representations came to be. That is the purpose of the study, spelt out on page 5: to relate socially constructed representations of contemporary young leaders to

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<sup>58</sup> A French friend of mine, Michelle Coeur, offered a definition: Literally, ‘placement *en abîme*’, where ‘*en abîme*’ refers to the habit of representing a small shield inside a larger one in traditional heralds and coats-of-arms. Most “story-within-a-story” situations can be called an example of *mise-en-abîme*. The device is especially common in modern literature, television and films, but it occasionally appears in art, e.g. a religious scene tucked into the background of a genre scene with very different kinds of activity.

Tanzanian historical conditions of possibility. In so doing, some suggestions about the designing of leadership-training activities in Tanzania will be formulated. As I have said before (see page 20), investigating the social negotiations that take place through the deployment of representations might be more fruitful than only describing the representations themselves, thus creating a space of 'struggle' for meaning and opening possibilities of resistance and reformulation of social realities.

## 6. A NEGOTIATION FOR MEANING: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Chapter Six discusses the main findings obtained by drawing together the results from previous chapters, elaborating conclusions about the relationships between history, culture and the narratives of contemporary leadership in Tanzania. The chapter ends with the presentation of recommendations – in the form of insights – for leadership training programmes which are geared by democratic values.

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The aim of this study was **to unveil and explain socially constructed representations informing discourses of young leaders in Tanzania**, through the study of a case, the participants of the Youth Leadership Training Programme (YLTP), run by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation – a German Foundation based on social-democratic principles – in Tanzania.

The specific objectives of the study were (see page 5):

1. To explore the culture-specific conditions for leadership in Tanzania;
2. To unveil social representations informing discourses of young leaders in Tanzania, discussing the relationship between those representations and their historically specific environment;
3. To draw conclusions about the discursive regularities found, and formulate possible insights towards the design of leadership training programmes in Tanzania.

While Part I set the frame, defined the perspective from which the 'object' of the research was to be seen, and presented the methods chosen to do that, Part II sought relationships between history, social representations and contemporary discourses of the young leaders in Tanzania. Chapter Three presented 'Tanzania' as a construct and Four, the country-specific representations of 'leadership', addressing therefore the first of the three specific objectives of the study.

Chapter Five analysed the discourses of the young leaders, which unveiled and explained their representations on leadership, democracy and development, religion, sexuality and use of

drugs, linking these to contemporary narratives on the themes. The choice of those ‘themes’ broadened the field where social negotiations take place; while leadership, democracy and development were ‘official’ themes of the curriculum of the YLTP, the others were not. My assumption is that these were considered ‘non-political’, or at least not political enough, to deserve a place in such a programme: given the time limitations of the training programme, choices had to be made regarding priorities.

Chapter Six summarizes the findings regarding the objectives one and two of the study, while it addresses particularly the third one, therefore “drawing conclusions about the discursive regularities found, and formulating possible insights towards the design of leadership training programmes in Tanzania”. My conclusions are determined by the historical and cultural conditions of possibility concerning my discourse. I ‘know’ much more now than in the beginning of this project, and such ‘knowing’ makes me more reluctant to form conclusions, for I know they will establish a ‘truth’ – at least a temporary one, until another researcher takes interest in the same topics. There are many possibilities of ‘framing’ or structuring these conclusions, and the one I chose should not discourage the reader from reaching his or her own conclusions.

### **6.1. *The culture-specific conditions for leadership in Tanzania***

Chapters Three and Four focus on exploring the culture-specific conditions for leadership in Tanzania, analysing the historical formation of the meaning of ‘Tanzania’ and ‘leadership’. The East African region, or what became Tanganyika and later Tanzania, is said to have had a unique “historical process of interaction and assimilation between various peoples” (Martin & Meara, 1995:91), more vivid than anywhere else in Africa. The Swahili culture and language, a Creole melting pot of Bantu, Arab, Asian and Western people, have their origins nearly ten centuries ago. A spirit of tolerance and consensus based on common commercial interests has grown along the centuries, even if exploitative and violent practices – particularly slavery – have often taken place.

The Kiswahili language has had a major role in creating a common ground for a consensual cultural narrative among different peoples. When European colonial powers started dominating the administration in the nineteenth century, both Germans and Britons adopted Kiswahili as *lingua franca*, helping develop bureaucratic legitimisation of leadership within an existing cultural realm, which somehow smoothed potentially tense relationships and reduced conflicts. High

leadership, however, not only had to be legitimised through *legality* and *bureaucracy*, but also needed other characteristics that Weber (1947) called *charisma* and *tradition*.

I have shown that ‘tradition’ and ‘legality’ were mainly a colonial narrative in Tanzania. While ‘tradition’ was construed by a set of anthropologic definitions and administrative regulations, ‘legality’ reinforced the representation, as it is shown by the appointment of ‘traditional’ leaders by British rule, where there had been none before. *Charismatic* leaders, however, retain a character that I attribute to the Swahili culture – traits that characterize charisma as ‘heroism’, yes, but that imprint a particular feature of communitarianism to it, namely *servant* leadership.

The vanguard of the nationalist movement for independence, and of the nation-building phase from then on, knew very well, mainly through the acknowledged extraordinary leadership of Julius Nyerere, how to graft new ideas of socialism and ‘development’ into ‘traditional’ communitarian values. The policy of *Ujamaa*, socialism equated to brotherhood, has had a fundamental role in building a consensual representation of ‘unity’, inter-group respect, solidarity and brotherliness in Tanzania. Those representations are still very much alive in the young leaders’ discourses discussed in Chapter Five.

The representations of the roles of women also show a meaningful particularity of the Tanzanian culture. There is a constant tension between a political practice of solidarity and equality and a private practice of oppression and violence. While Swahili women played a fundamental role during the mass movements pro-independence, they were mostly left aside during the period of nation-building and political decision-making. While girls make half of the population receiving primary education, few women reach higher education. The few women who graduate may have access to jobs and acquire a respected position, although this has not represented a collective advancement to women’s conditions, since such achievements take place within a patriarchal system of domination and male meaning making. While the values of *Ujamaa* compose discourses of equality and solidarity, it reinforces ‘traditional’ values, which were jointly constructed by a “shared interest in the control of African women among African and European men in Tanganyika” (Geiger, 1998:24; see also Meena, in Othman, 2000).

The Constitution of Tanzania states that the country is a *socialist state*. However, since the mid-1980s the country has irreversibly adopted a liberal development policy, deregulating the economy, opening the market, and reducing the government role in promoting development.

While this has caused Tanzanian's social indicators to worsen – particularly in education and literacy, life expectancy and food security (UNDP, 2004; Social Watch, 2004) – the opening to participation of non-government organizations in society's problems has helped raise questions about oppression of women and children in Tanzania. Not enough, though. Non-governmental organizations have to comply with the *NGO Bill*, approved by Parliament in 2002, which has a series of shortcomings, particularly regarding the organizations' independence from governmental policies, since it states that NGOs should “harmonize their activities in light of the national development plan” (FES, 2002: 98).

The cultural narratives of Tanzania and Tanzanian leadership, therefore, create conditions of possibility for particular forms of discourse, which were shown in Chapter Five. The tension between *Ujamaa* and ‘liberal’ values is visible. This tension also encompasses an increasing religious polarity, not separate from the global polarisation created by liberal American ‘war on terror’ and the expansionist Muslim *jihad*. As I have shown in this study, the wider discursive culture in Tanzania still construes ‘harmony’ and ecumenism. As recent as in April 2004, the mainland mufti – an Islamic leader elected by the National Muslim Council of Tanzania – said that the true meaning of *jihad* was to promote development in society and not to fight against non-Muslims (see page 116). The number of advocates of *Shari'a* remains so far confined to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (US Department of State, 2004).

## **6.2. Social representations informing discourses of young leaders**

Chapter Five unveils social representations informing discourses of young leaders in Tanzania, and discusses the relationship between those representations and their historically specific environment, tackling the second objective of this study. The chapter analyses the DCS under the light of the historical and cultural framework set up in Chapter Three and Four. The *collective subject* is ‘*young leaders part of YLTP in Tanzania*’ and their discourses are presented in tables either in the text or in the Appendices. The method – DCS – used to ‘organize’ the data opens various possibilities of ‘reading’ the texts, revealing a variety of discourses related to the different ideological forces operating in society. Chapter Five discusses representations of ‘leadership’, of two major ‘political’ topics, namely ‘development’ and ‘democracy’, and of various ‘non-political’ issues, such as religion, illicit drugs, family and sexuality – which I have called ‘moral values’.

The representations of leadership show predominantly a discursive narrative of the *charismatic* and *servant* leader. Charismatic leadership encompasses values such as visioning, courage, influence and ability to lead the people and to fight the enemy. In Tanzania, however, the 'enemy' is represented by 'poverty, ignorance and disease', the 'vision' is of Pan-Africanism, and the 'courage' is geared towards self-reliance and to curb corruption and oppression. The leader, then, becomes a 'servant' of the people, 'caring' for the poor, and is "forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive" (Nyerere, in Smyth & Seftel, 1998:158). The DCSs portray the leader "professing democratic values, believing in humanity and regarding all people as equal" (Table 5).

The representations show a leader that 'grows from poverty' to success and recognition through individual effort and sacrifice. Education is a highly regarded value, and it is seen as the way to personal development and economic independence. The leader is predominantly male, and his success is linked to a fruitful familial life: all of them represent their own future as 'married', and parenting children. The representation of familial arrangement varies, and polygamy is not strongly contested, despite a dominant representation showing that 'monogamy' is better not only for familial 'development' and 'economy', but also to create a more responsible bonding between wife and husband. The young leaders reflect the scholarship on the conditions of women in Tanzania, and show their disbelief in the concrete possibility of women achieving high leadership in the country. Nevertheless, there is awareness that such 'impossibility' is determined by cultural and structural conditions, and that these 'should' change, although only in the far future.

The discourses on democracy and development show a predominantly 'self-reliant' narrative, resisting what is exogenous, Western and imposed. While democracy and development are construed as people's active participation in taking decisions about their daily lives and freedom of want, a secondary discourse shows 'modernization' as a narrative used to frame the same two 'political' topics. Development is 'growth' from a 'low' towards a 'higher' situation, but has inevitable 'bad side-effects'. Democracy is 'necessary', but it 'needs limitations' to avoid 'jeopardizing communal interests'.

The 'community' is the realm where development and democracy occur. Globalization and exposition to foreign cultures constitute a threat, since people 'copy' new values without being fully aware of the consequences. On the other hand, new technological possibilities for

consumption and communication and a perspective of economic advancement attract the young leaders, and that shows particularly in the analysis of the representations of their personal 'future'.

Religion is represented within the domain of the 'personal' choice which has to be 'respected', while there is also a recognition that it has become 'political' because the 'politicians' have failed the people. Islamic and Christian faiths are represented as 'foreign' and 'dominant' religions, which people adopt to be part of a group, since it plays a role in building cohesion and group acceptance. Religion also helps in 'creating moral values', for it 'encourages humanity' and people's belief in 'what they do not see', opening the way for the possibility of 'changes'. A secondary discourse, however, represents religion as 'pollutant of the mind', diverting people of the 'class struggles' and 'blindfolding' them. Religion is deep rooted in people's self-perception: all of the participants in YLTP I declared 'Christian' or 'Muslim' when asked if they professed any religion. Nevertheless this identity does not superimpose on the 'Tanzanian' or 'professional' identity, as Chaliga et al. (2004) demonstrated when discussing the results of an *Afrobarometer* survey in the country.

Patriarchal discourses frame representations of family and sexuality. While secondary discourses question oppression of girls and women, there is dominance of a view that such issues pertain to the realm of the 'private'. Marriage is a social obligation; heterosexuality is the normality; and women alone are responsible for pregnancy and abortion. Such issues are not part of the 'political' arena and, according to the young leaders, should be kept so. Chapter Five shows the links between religious constructs and patriarchal representations, since 'family' is the domain of 'social security' and 'respectability'. The use of illicit drugs is framed as constituting a 'social' problem, since it 'destroys the fabric of society'. The consumption of drugs is not viewed in its linkages to regional or international economic relations, and repression is said to be the best way to deal with the problem, since the 'health institutions' are not capable to address the 'risks' of such behaviour. Interestingly enough, the young leaders do not reproduce what the scholarship review showed to be a recurrent representation linking the use of illicit substances to the presence of 'foreigners', blaming them for the increase of the problem (Laniel, 2001).

### **6.3. Conclusions**

The third objective of this study was to take “conclusions about the discursive regularities found, and formulate possible insights towards the design of leadership training programmes in Tanzania”. This chapter completes the study presenting such conclusions and formulating recommendations to be taken into account not only by the YLTP, but also by other initiatives whose aims are similar to those of the YLTP.

#### **6.3.1. Discursive regularities found among young leaders**

From the study of the representations of young leaders in Tanzania, it is possible to conclude that these inform predominantly:

- Dominant humanistic discourses, formulating a set of social values, and a shared understanding of the ‘good’ that is eminently social and communal;
- Secondary liberal discourses, which formulate values of individual rights and possibilities of choice over values of communal interest;
- Entrenched patriarchal discourses, where both humanistic and liberal discourses reproduce representations that domesticate and subordinate women and the ‘weak’.

Those three ‘rules of discursive formation’ are not mutually exclusive, but form an intertextuality that characterizes contemporary young leaders’ representations. The influence of *Ujamaa* and Nyerere’s formulation of self-reliant socialism, with its representations of a united and just society, and a development that is geared towards communitarian goodness, is still the dominant discursive practice. This is, nevertheless, counterbalanced by the “embrace of Western economic doctrine” (Campbell, 2002), provoking socio-economic rearrangements in society (Silberschmidt, 2005). Humanistic and liberal discourses create tension, making room for resistance to patriarchal discourses, a possible change in gender roles borne out of the representation of the ‘personal as political’ and of the socio-economic changes which occurred from the 1980s on.

The discursive domain of public life is embedded in *Ujamaa* values of brotherhood and equality and values of charismatic leadership. The predominant representations of charismatic leadership as ‘transformational’ and ‘servant’ by the young leaders show significantly the tensions between the ‘individual’ who ‘removed all rudiments of evils in his country’, having a

vision which could transform the followers into 'better' ones, and the 'leader who is committed to serve the others' and does not suffer of the 'I-disease'. These are very much linked to Nyerere's constructions of a society where it was possible to conciliate both apparently opposing ideologies, dissolving the dichotomy individuality *versus* community into a narrative of the individual responsibility for the communal good. As late as 1997, constructions by Nyerere (2000) kept the same line:

I believe in the equality and dignity of all human beings, and in the duty to serve. (...) I am an ardent believer in the freedom and welfare of the individual. (...) But I believe that what gives humanity to our individuality is a sense of community and fellowship with all other human beings wherever they may be.

In humanistic discourses, the leader is the 'father', who guides and protects. The leader is also the 'brother', who supports, shares and cooperates. The leader 'forgives', as Nyerere did with Bibi Titi Mohamed<sup>59</sup>, but he or she is courageous, a risk-taker and determined to fight oppression. Development and democracy are centred on 'people' and are realized at community level. That which is 'bad' is understood as 'side effects', which have to be dealt with. The communities know what 'they need', and have the right to define what development and democracy are. Development means having a 'better situation', and it goes 'in stages', but the goal is not Rostow's (1960) society of high mass consumption, although such idea is somehow present in the discourses: the young leader sees her/himself being 'neither rich nor poor' in the future, but able to 'own a house or two', having a motorcar, and 'plenty of household machines'. The goal for the young leader is represented predominantly as receiving recognition and respect, and consequently holding a leadership position, preferably in public office.

In liberal discourses, democracy is "the total freedom for people to act on their rights and responsibilities" (Table 9), it is freedom of opinion and participation in decision-making, increasing realization of the individual's chances and possibilities. Development is the gradual increase in quantity and quality, and it is represented by better electronic communication, for example. Education is an 'asset' towards a 'better life'. Valued skills are linked to managerial roles, such as planning, organizing, and time management. The future is represented with examples of entrepreneurship, success, and recognition: "I will expand my farm and use modern technology so that I can win in the competitive free market" (Table 6).

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<sup>59</sup> Bibi Titi was sentenced to life imprisonment accused of treason in 1970, but received a pardon from President Nyerere in 1972.

The 'goods' of democracy and development are, nevertheless, more often than not, expressed as a collective one: people having access to hospitals, to education, to water, and to land. When democracy is represented as the individual right over the collective good, there is a warning: there is need for limitations to avoid putting communities in 'jeopardy'.

Individualistic discursive constructions are much more visible in narratives of private life, where women and men have to face a very concrete gap in decision-making power. There, 'women are below the line to negotiate'. The tension between individual rights and the collective good are fully expressed in the way with which the young leaders treat the issue of marriage: on the one hand, it would depend on an 'agreement' between the parties; on the other, it is necessary to create the conditions for women and children to be 'honoured' and have 'security'.

Religion is probably the realm where discursive rules and practice more forcefully inform the discourses of the young leaders in private life. The freedom to practice a religion is reaffirmed, but its practice is patriarchal. As well shown by Izugbara (2004:12), both Christian and Islamic religions are "ideologies of manhood". The Koran and the Bible enforce 'identities [which] have become inseparable from certain forms of [hetero-patriarchal] sexuality', framing those who "fail to fit into these (...) as sinners, infidels, and ungodly people". Homosexuality is evil, and unmarried women 'are seen' as prostitutes. In Zanzibar, more than in the mainland, the law guarantees that the patriarchal system remains in place: unmarried women under the age of 21 who become pregnant continue to be subject to two years' imprisonment (Mzinga, 2004). Since 'tradition' has also been re-constructed to fit colonial modes of governance and political economy, and later to fit *Ujamaa*, there is plenty of 'traditional' practices that undermine the 'democratic' participation in public life, on an equal basis, of Tanzanian citizens.

Although Tanzanian women have raised "new questions on the content and meaning of independence where the gender ideology of patriarchy was reinforced by men who simply wanted to replace European men in the system of domination and accumulation" (Meena, in Campbell, 2000: 75), the discourses of young leaders do not show a clear resistance to patriarchal ideology. In fact, the young leaders' discourses reflect the national and regional policy-making level; the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), for instance, calls for a "return to 'traditional' African cultures, without taking into account the fact that 'traditional culture' is often the means employed to subordinate women" (Schoeman, 2004: 16).

The 'forbidden' at the individual level is represented as a public concern: abortion and the use of drugs are 'social problems', which affect the economy and cannot be looked after by the health system, which is 'dilapidated'. These are represented as 'non-issues' on the policy sphere, and should continue to be 'prohibited', although a representation which makes room for allowance of 'abortion' and 'use of *banghi*' in certain circumstances is present. The representation of a solution for those social problems is 'education', a strong value that appears constantly. 'Education' is the realm of possibility to escape 'diseases, ignorance and poverty', a narrative very in much in line with *Ujamaa's Education for Self-reliance*.

Tanzania is a very particular case in Africa, with its long-lasting ideals and values of solidarity founded on the principles of *Ujamaa*. Such social-democratic ideas were not only a philosophy, but also a concrete and practical policy implemented in the country, in opposition to those values of economic injustice and violence. The leadership of the country has managed, so far, to keep threading together those principles of communitarian goodness and individual rights and dignity, and the representations of the young leaders in the public domain show that. Nevertheless, if *Ujamaa* failed to address the sphere of the private, there is sign that the young leaders could be up to the challenge. Resistance does not seem to be enough though. There is significant disparity between discourse and practice, between the right to public 'freedom of opinion' and the lack of right to private freedom of choice and decision. After all, democracy and development, surely, start at home.

### **6.3.2. A culture-specific theory of leadership for Tanzania**

As discussed in Chapter Two, if discursive practice is determined by societal powers in interaction, which are the powers making the discourses of the young leaders be what they are? And how does that fit with the contemporary leadership theories, which are, themselves, an instrument of 'power' defining what 'leader' and 'leadership' is? As the scholarship review showed in Chapter Three and Four, cultural determinants and the wider ideological constructs of a society shape the 'effectiveness' of a leader, or the ability of a person to exert leadership qualities or not.

Unpacking discursive choices demonstrate that culture and the relationship among institutions, each one with its specific discourse and domain, construe the way leaders see and are seen within a particular society. This, in turn, strongly influences ways people define and represent norms concerning the status, influence and privileges granted to leaders. As Triandis (1993)

suggests, leadership researchers will be able to 'fine-tune' theories by investigating cultural variations as parameters of those theories. In addition, a focus on cross-cultural issues can help to uncover new relationships by including a much broader range of variables often not considered in contemporary theories, such as the importance of religion, language, ethnic background, history, or political systems (Dorfman, 1996).

Leadership theories as well construe, filter and guide the exercise of leadership, the acceptance of leaders, and the perception of leaders as influential or acceptable (Sipe & Hanges, 1997). "Thus far, contemporary theory does not accommodate or account for cultural change. For example, exposure to international media, cross-border commerce, international political and economic competition, or other forms of cross-cultural interaction may introduce new competitive forces and new common experiences, which may result in changes in cultural leadership variables" (Javidan & House, 2001:302).

Tanzania was construed in this study as a predominantly collectivist culture, whose socialist political philosophy – *Ujamaa* – created the institutions that still frame the discursive possibilities of young leaders. The discourses around the notion of self-reliance as a fundamental value helped form powerful conditions where values as well as problems are taken to be 'home-grown'. This can be seen, for instance, in the discussions about the use of illicit drugs, where the findings do not corroborate the literature in associating the increase of the problem with the greater presence of foreigners in the country. Pan-Africanism as a societal discourse seems to be very much present when the young leaders construe the 'humanity' and 'unity' of people as an important Tanzanian value. Religious tolerance works on a hermeneutic level, where acceptance of the other is based on the premise of 'understanding': the leader promotes equality among people of all races, gender, age and religions.

Praising 'tradition' as an important construct and base for socialism development, the leadership of the country may have kept resistance to non-patriarchal discourses at bay. The findings of this study show that there is tension between 'communitarian' discourses of solidarity and social justice, and a private practice of violence and oppression, particularly against women and girls. The leaders reproduce a 'modern' and humanistic narrative that is reinforced by 'international' hegemonic discourses of 'democracy'. Such 'democratic' discourses, on the one hand, generate changes in the institutional playground and therefore a change in the power relations among groups in society, creating room for 'equality'. On the other hand, 'democracy' has a stigma – it

is considered to be a Western value imposed by economic agreements forced on Tanzania in times of great hardship.

I hope this study has contributed to culturally endorsed leadership theories, as developed by GLOBE (Javidan & House, 2001). Tanzanian identity and its representations of leadership are culturally bound, which means that the effectiveness of the Tanzanian leader is also bound to its historical conditions of possibility, presently changing towards a more liberal and individualistic narrative. Chabal and Daloz (1999:32) suggested that the “present political transitions have not hitherto changed either the role of the elites or the nature of leadership”. They put forward the thesis that there is no evidence that a younger generation of leaders do or shall necessarily bring about significant reforms in political order. ‘Changes’ are not, however, necessarily for the good of the people, and do not mean that societies are ‘changing’ towards a better model. The struggles for meaning found in the representations of the young leaders make evident a space of negotiation where the leadership that they represent as ‘ideal’ could come true. There is no straight way. There is no power without resistance, and resistance can only occur where there is power struggle.

#### ***6.4. Recommendations for leadership training programmes in Tanzania***

The intended use of this study, as formulated on page 6, is to offer recommendations that might help organizations to design leadership capacity building programmes in Tanzania in a way that is not moulding, but promoting an independent mind, within the principles of the ‘liberating’ education, as proposed by Paulo Freire (McLaren & Leonard, 1993). The YLTP selected in 2005 its fourth team of trainees, this time a group of 22 people. In its four years of existence, a quarter of participants represented political parties<sup>60</sup>, “contributing to political stability and dialogue” in the country (FES, 2005). The YLTP’s aims remain the original ones, established in 2000:

to enhance capacity and moral standing among the youth so that they become future capable and reliable leaders; the promotion of good governance qualities among future leaders both nationally and within institutions; and to enhance networking and collaboration possibilities among the young leaders themselves and the institutions they come from. (Salles & Häussler, 2003)

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<sup>60</sup> Political Parties: 24%; NGOs: 22%; Government Institutions: 18%; Media Organizations: 12%; Students Organizations: 12%; Trade Unions: 6% and Religious Groups: 6%.

By the time of the evaluation of the first programme, in 2002, the recommendations for the curriculum of future programmes were mostly content-wise: presentation of more themes related to fundamental economics; environmental questions should be addressed; poverty reduction and other multilateral agreements should be better discussed; peace, security and stability should enter the curriculum; Islam should be discussed for the sake of diversity in points of view, and there should be provided more 'life skills' to the trainees (Salles & Häussler, 2003). As result, YLTP II introduced changes in its curriculum, of which the most visible were the increase in economic topics and more focus on 'gender'. Environmental and legal issues were added to the programme in 2005.

The 'recommendations' formulated in this section follow the conclusions of this study, and do not mean that the YLTP is not addressing those issues in its permanently evolving process. These recommendations, thus, will be made available to FES and to the YLTP, with my gratitude for their stimulating this research process. I hope the results of this study can contribute to leadership training programmes' role in the deconstruction of dominant representations and ideological discourses, "re-making history in accordance with the right of all to live their humanity as fully as possible" (Lankshear, 1993:91).

What are these 'life skills', which one participant suggested being included in the programme? (Salles & Häussler, 2003: 37) Only after the completion of this study I came to realize the dimension of the 'personal' as political in Tanzania. Several times, while living in that country, I met women who were working for NGOs helping other women, particularly during my time working with the Legal Aid Network. As it happened, some of them mentioned that they were the leaders of their organizations but had no voice at home, and had the same problems, as did the women they helped.

A programme to build capacity of the leaders has to make room for discussions that disclose structures of power distribution, in various dimensions. The question here is not what sort of contents should be added or cancelled from the curriculum, but how to promote that 'disclosure' of the social negotiations that take place in society, in order that trainees are aware of what in fact outlines, or even determines, their possibilities of 'choices'. Understanding the history and negotiations which took place to create and re-create certain 'concepts' – such as democracy and development, marriage and 'gender' – create room for those concepts and ideas to be challenged or be more powerfully formulated.

Programmes to train 'leaders' operate necessarily in the sphere of the 'political'. Whatever form leadership takes, leaders are opinion makers. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation aims at "a specific type of development for people: the process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage the existing resources, to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life, consistent with their own aspirations" (Salles & Häussler, 2003:6). The YLTP "wanted to contribute to the process of empowering young leaders" through a process of 'education', 'reflection' and the "joint development of a set of ethical values for leadership in the country" (Salles & Häussler, 2003:6).

While I have no doubt about the democratic inspirations of the YLTP, I have reservations towards some 'capacity building programmes'. Leadership training events have increased at frightening pace in the last years. A search in the Internet with the key-words "leadership training programme" provided 7.110 sites<sup>61</sup>. The political and the managerial are merged into a vocabulary of 'vision' and 'action', 'team-building' and 'personal evolution'. Campbell (n.d., 146–151) is a forceful critic of those training programmes that "seduce young and aspiring leaders (...) to spread the dogma that the role of government is to provide the necessary conditions for attracting foreign investment". A liberating education will help students to think critically about subject matter, doctrines, the learning process itself, and their societies. Leadership training programmes such as the YLTP must make a contribution for that. Therefore, if a training programme to build leadership capacity in Tanzania shares democratic values, it must:

a) Work with **problem-posing approaches**, stimulating the trainees to question the set of solutions presented and their consequent implications, under the viewpoint of Tanzanian life and history. Such an approach teaches trainees to question answers. The training and teaching acts are political, and politics resides in the way discourse is deployed, reproduced, de-constructed and re-constructed in the training relationship. There is politics in choosing the themes that will be in and the themes that will be out. There is politics in the choice of standardized tests, homework, the grading system, and the selection of the 'best'. The pedagogy of the learning, of the room's arrangement, of the choice of language, and the choice of literature has to be consistent with the objectives set by the programme. Participatory monitoring and evaluation practice, where trainers

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<sup>61</sup> Searched on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 2005.

and trainees observe, reflect and take conclusions for the future in a joint way, creates the openness to question one's own values and attitudes.

b) Work with the notion that the '**personal is political**' and bring to the group personal experiences that reflect, contradict or reproduce models of political relations discussed in the curriculum. Use instruments and careful choice of trainers and teaching material to promote the emancipation of women and the humanization of men. Find out the diversity of identities that unite and separate people, and work out the origins and history of such representations, creating room for the formulation of creative and innovative identities. To question political paradigms is to question the use of fixed lenses to see the world. A pedagogy that uses role plays, participatory formulation of meanings, and dares to work the 'political' from daily and common experiences will succeed in sowing the seed of liberation.

c) Carry out the **training in Kiswahili**, as rule, and English, as exception, and not the other way around, as it is now. There is need of a deliberate effort to translate the world of international politics and economics from English into Kiswahili. Such exercise of participatory translation creates room for deconstruction of the categories, concepts, understandings inherited from languages that have no roots in local cultures. It helps to deconstruct 'traditional' values, identifying those which no longer fit the new socio-economic conditions. The dominant discourse formation of the young leaders, Humanism, will create room for a process of 'knowing' that is not moulding but liberating.

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I strongly urge other researchers to take up the challenge to understand better the role of discourse in constructing representations of leaders and of leadership. I hope my findings stimulate colleagues to proceed with what I have barely touched. While the dominance of humanistic discourses seems to hint into the possibility of equality and justice to be achieved in Tanzania, patriarchal discourses give a sign that there is struggle over power and meaning on the micro-level. The system is alive.

Local struggles are effective only so long as they remain figures of allegories from some larger systematic transformation. Politics has to operate on the micro and the macro levels simultaneously.

(Jameson in McLaren & Leonard, 1993:71)

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix 1: Data collection schedules**

1. Essay writing, by eleven trainees of the YLTP (September 2002, 60 minute session).

Proposition: *“Please, describe a person who is an example in your life and whose steps you would follow”.*

2. Essay writing, by eleven trainees of the YLTP (October 2002, 60 minute session).

Proposition: *“Please, describe yourself and your life in ten years time”*

3. Guided face-to-face interviews with four YLTP trainees, who received the award of “best participants” (approximately 90 minutes each session, between March and June 2003).

Guiding questions:

- *Please, tell me a bit of your life story*

- *I'd like to hear your opinion about ...*

*development; democracy; women in leadership, a woman for president in Tanzania; marriage, monogamy; abortion, homosexuality; religion; banghi (local name of Cannabis sativa)*

4. Open written questionnaire to fourteen trainees participating at the YLTP 2, during a session of 45 minutes, in June 2003

*Please, give your definition and opinion about...*

*Marriage; monogamy; democracy; abortion; banghi; religion; development; homosexuality; women for president in Tanzania.*

### **Appendix 2: Letter of permission for the use of YLTP information**

“Valéria Cristina Salles-Häussler was part of the core-group of trainers of the Youth Leadership Training Programme – YLTP. She is authorized to use the available information about that programme for her post-graduate studies at the University of Cape Town, at the Faculty of Humanities, Department of Social Development. The YLTP expects her acknowledgement and that the result of her studies is shared with the YLTP.”

Dar es Salaam, June 2003. Prof. Max Mmuya, YLTP Coordinator (signature).

## **Appendix 3: Example of steps taken from raw data, to key expressions, to central ideas, to discourses of the collective subject**

Essay: "Please, describe a person who is an example in your life and whose steps you would follow".

### **A) Raw data**

#### **ORIGINAL WRITTEN TEXTS AND FIRST HIGHLIGHT OF KEY-EXPRESSIONS**

1. Kinjiketile, a boy born in western part of Kufikirika country. His parents were poor peasants. At the time of his birth, Kufikirika was a colony of a given western nation. When he was in school he organized a club of young people to discuss weekly the destiny of their nation – independence. Kinjiketile liked to read extensively. Thus, he was knowledgeable and well informed. He also insisted others to learn. He was a very good mobilizer and educator. He had a vision of his country and he wanted to realize the dream he had of becoming the President of Republic of Kufikirika. Therefore, he passed well in school and went to university in a neighbouring country of Akirikifuk. There he organized students towards supporting liberation of some African countries. In his endeavour (endeavour) to know what was really happening in the front line of liberation war, Kinjiketile went himself to the frontline. Three things can, in summary, describe Kinjiketile (a) The empathy to the oppressed and suppressed people. (b) The thirst to learn and acquire knowledge. (c) Love to his family, friends, nation and Africa.

When he went back home, new regime had taken power militarily. He decided to fight against the regime. He was alone. He mobilized, young people to fight the regime until he was in the new government that was formed. New elections were called. Elections were rigged, he went to bush himself and remove all rudiments of evils in his country. He is now the president of Kufikirika Republic. I admire Kinjiketile because, as I have described above, he is ready to bear risks for betterment of the nation and its people. He is a very good mobilizer, mobilizing the people to disagree to be oppressed by dictators and disagree suppression. He undertook very unpopular means, but it became popular and all young people in Africa were behind him and supported him. So he took a difficult decision and stand on it, principled. A very good organizer, organizing a liberation movement is not a single task. Very inclusive, he accommodated his opponents in his government to give it national image. He directed his youthful energy to the liberation of his country instead of being a drunkard, sexist or just be selfish. Africa was in his heart. His way of sympathising with people's problems was to the level of empathy. I like to be like him. Situation has changed. I cant go to the bush, at least, at the moment; I will use the available political space to realize my dream of having a country, Akirikifuk, in which people live in peace and justice.

Kinjiketile has changed now dramatically. His old age might have contributed to this. He has invaded militarily neighbouring African country called Ngoco. His police have killed a student; He doesn't like to change and allow more political space. However I am not concerned with what he does now, but what he did. He drove Kufikirika from very unstable, chaotic and violent country to a stable, less violent. Moreover the economy is growing at a very faster rate.

Kinjiketile, a mobilizer, organizer, emphatizer, well informed, liberator, risk taker, committed, visionary and implementer is the Kinjiketile. I admire and surely I would follow his footsteps.

2. Human beings are influenced by the environment. So within their environment somebody may be influenced and tend to admire a politician, musician, scholars etc. And me, also as a human being, used to admire somebody towards whom I always direct my way of life, I took as much as I can to resemble like that Mr so and so. First of all, this man is an intellectual and a scholar. At present, he is almost in his middle sixties. He speaks several international and local languages. He is very good in analysing issues. He comes from a very poor family but rose slowly, slowly to a high standard of life. He is a man of the people. His door is always open to anybody. He did not discriminate people simply because of their colour, education, background or wealth. To him all human beings are equal, and equal in a real sense. Education and wealth never changed his way of life. He always works for the people suffering. He combines western education, Islamic education and his culture in shaping his way of life. He is so kind to the poor. He hates to acquire wealth at the expenses of common peoples. He is in the forefront in building democratic culture in our country. I greatly admire Mr so and so because of the above mention behaviours. I always dream to be a man of such behaviour. Besides the above mentioned behaviour, the man is creative, imaginative and critical. Because of his attitude, his creates more friends than enemies.

3. An extensive description of someone may sometimes appear difficult because of the possibility to over praise or exaggerate the qualities of the person under description. However, for the brief essay that follows, I attempt to describe the persona and person of Nelson Madikizela Mandela, the former president of the South African Republic. From his early childhood throughout his life and ascendancy to power in 1992, Mandela has remained my most admired person. He had the following features as major characteristics that are necessary to admire. Firstly, Nelson Mandela was and still remains a courageous person. Mandela was born in a rural village in Umtata, rose from the ranks of rural boy to a urban activist to a statesman in South Africa. It was also because of his courage that Mandela was able to resist the forces of oppression against the black majority. Mandela has excellent characteristics of determination. Despite the humble and hostile family and political background, he was able to forge ahead and turn into a statesman and a leading person of international stature. Mandela was determined to fight against the injustice and the oppression of the minority. Mandela also is a man of vision, who has the ability to see hope even when confidence has lost ground. During the struggle against apartheid, Mandela rallied the support of poor African and enlisted their strength, promising a better future. During the Rivonia trial, for example, he said he looked forward to a country where every one was free from dictatorship and

oppression. He was ready to die to achieve that goal that he strongly believed would happen. This was a sign of vision and capable leadership. Fourthly, Mandela as a leader demonstrates excellent strength in soliciting public trust. Mandela is trustworthy. The Black South Africans trusted Mandela as a liberator and yet he demonstrated that he was not ready to abuse that trust. These are characteristics worth admiration. He was also transparent and open to criticism during the mediation process in Burundi. Mandela demonstrated the failure to be biased to any single political inclination. He listened to the demands of all the parties and the advice from the members of his team, despite his wide knowledge. Mandela is willing to forgive and reconcile; despite the political tortures he suffered from the white regime, Mandela was able to forgive and absolve the whites in Government of National Unity. These remain characters with deserve admiration. Conclusively, Mandela remains a person with my admiration and a great leader and statesman of our century whose skills and personality is worth to be admired and followed as I graduate into adulthood.

4. A person whom I admire and whose steps I would follow. I admire one person. She is a lady who professionally is a moderator in social and administrative issues. The main things I admire in her and that I want to follow in my life includes:

a) Personality: The personality of this moderator impresses me, she is simple in terms of her wearing, walking, charming and friendly language she used when she is moderating.

b) Professional skills: I really admire her intellectual capacity/ability to moderate, she is conversant in the topics and techniques she uses in moderation, it enables everyone to understand.

c) Interaction/participation: I sincerely admire the capacity to socialize this moderator has, to the trainees, although she is a foreigner, she doesn't know properly our local language, she usually tried her best to interact and participate in every event/discussion. It is really very lovely to be with her in the session.

d) Considerate/time management: it is sometimes very difficult to control our emotions, but to this lady... she managed her emotions in such a way that always she has a "smiling face". In her moderation techniques she usually find out individual problems which may make one not to concentrate/participate fully, she usually encourage her trainees and she is very good in timing, however she is also flexible.

From the above categories which I admired from that lady, and for my willingness to be like her, I'll try my best first to educate myself in moderation skills. Not only that but also to build a hobby in studying so that I can widen my scope of understanding in various national/international aspects. Secondly, I have to socialize with other people and learn from them, because someone's personality determines his/her acceptance in the community. Thirdly, I have to improve my individual discipline in my life and my work. This will include respect to others, time management, involving others in decision making, transparency. Lastly, I have to admit that this person I'm admiring was not born like that, but she had to sacrifice to learn in a given environment in order to make this world a better place for her to live.

5. Mr X was the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania. He is the one who led the struggle for independence of Tanzania, by then called Tanganyika. Professionally, he was a teacher but he became to be a politician and a president of Tanzania for more than twenty years. Mr X was a leader who was committed and determined to solve the problems of his people. He was ready to forego his job for the sake of his people who were under the colonialism. Mr X was transparent and accountable to his people. He used to inform his people about his plans for social and economic development of his people, he was ready to be challenged and criticised and he was flexible. During his leadership, education and medical services were provided freely to his people. All the time in his life, Mr X was advocating unity among Africans. He was against all forms of oppression, racial segregation, poverty, illiteracy and diseases. Not only that, but also Mr X was truthful, his words were accompanied by action. Mr X was against the leader who wanted to become richer and richer, while the people whom they claimed to be their leader are becoming poorer and poorer. He also opened the door for his people to participate in decision making and in the implementation of those decisions. Another thing that makes me admire him is his style of leading others to the right way through actions, this enabled those who were led to follow him and become successful. It is from this background that I admire him very much for his commitment to serve the people, his transparency, integrity, truthfulness, co-operative readiness, leading through actions and his ability to read and write a lot of literature. To me Mr X is a model and therefore I would like to follow his steps in my life.

6. Mr S is a smart young man. He always arrives at the office early. He is charming enough but very committed person. He listen very carefully to anybody who contacted him for any reasons. He is a kind man and he acts on the matter presented carefully and intelligently. He is knowledgeable and expert in the aspects of Public Administration and Political Science. He may sometimes take necessary actions towards a person that misbehave, even if you are a blood relation. He is always fair and just. He speaks politely but with evidence and confidence. That man has all qualities of a good leader. His expertise in political and international aspects gives the extent in which all the international community and local bodies recognise his contribution, by his speeches and approaches. The man is a politician and economist. I admire him just because he is still young and he didn't put his personal interests ahead of the people before him. It is very few people like him in Tanzania. He is unmarried and he spends some time in sports. He is not a gossiping man; he is transparent and straight forward. He doesn't allow anybody to talk behind his neck. He didn't worry about the others' leisure and love matters. But he is not ready to see one doing love during office time. His policy is that the door of his office is opened to anybody, anytime, unless he has an appointment. The way he presents issues or answers to the freelance questions... he is so polite and bright and brief. The way he appears on the screen explaining something is very nice. These are reasons why I decided to admire that man and hopping to follow him in my life. He is in the forefront for fighting HIV and AIDS, corruption and misappropriation of public funds. He can spend time in public rallies and be accurate and well understood.

7. Mr ... was born in Jan 1929 and died in June 2001. He was coming from a poor family of 6 children and very few other relatives. His father was a hunter, leaving nearby the bushes most of his lifetime. A man brought up in a poor manner, without been sent to school or Chuo (Islamic). On his adulthood, at the age of 18, he joined Chuo and studied for 6 years. After that he married and started his own family. When he was at the age of 45 he joined the Adult Education programme and managed to join the group of people who went to school. And he didn't end there, but managed to continue several steps further. The man was courageous, ambitious in the sense that he tried to use any opportunity available for him in learning more and more. In his lifetime, the man was open, transparent and straight forward. He was also committed in whatever work assigned to him. He was the head of the clan, as well as he chaired several positions within his political party, in the cooperatives, in schools etc. At the end of his life he was the Member and Head of the School Boards, secondary and primary schools, a street chairman and the chairman of Tegeta Tailoring

Cooperative Union. Apart from all activities, being social and political, he was a good farmer and respected farming to the extent that he was ready to provide support to anyone who would like to join the sector, either his relative or not. Again he didn't left aside some morals, he was good, and modern Islamic follower without leaving aside social life as well. At family level, he was very much concerned in fulfilling family needs, such as food, cloths as well as sending children to school at any reasonable cost. Also he was making sure that the family is always leaving in peace, united and in good cooperation. If anything went wrong in the family, he was on the front line for arranging the discussion and negotiation. On the public level, he is still remembered due to his contribution in the building of the nation; also by having good relation with other people, and for the way he was committed in the duties assigned to him, and for how he ruled the people and also how he respected his leaders. To conclude that, I can say the man is really missed and being remembered all the time not only for being a father but also for being a good leader at family and public level. I pray to almighty God to rest his soul in peace at heaven. The man is my late father.

8. Mrs P is a facilitator at the Institute of Adult Education. She teaches Education Psychology and Philosophy. She devotes her time to help learners who have problems. She spends her time in teaching, giving advice and counselling the learner whom misbehaves due to the environment they live or come from. But when she is teaching she is very serious with the lesson. She doesn't want any interference such as latecomers etc. She was very happy when her students did well in her subjects. Not only that, but also helped students to use his or her potentiality, for instance when they wanted to select their leaders. They should choose the person who can help them, not to betray them. Also she is very interested in the students who work hard. She advised them to look for further study, as we know education has no end. Myself, I learned that through education we could fight poverty, ignorance and reduce the number of unemployment as well as to take care of our body, as our facilitator always told us.

9. I always admired Mr. B's steps of life and his leadership style because he is always committed to his professional work and he is a hard-working man. As the world is dynamic, he is always ready to learn some leadership techniques from others and from the past experience. He is a good planner for what he decides to do in the long run. Once he decides to do something he tries to identify first the consequences of what he does. He is ready to participate with others because he knows that nobody knows everything and that everybody can have different talents with which he can utilize in performing a certain task or solving a certain kind of a problem. He is not hot temperamental, he is a very calm man who can control his emotions. But he is very serious in decision-making, and in performing his duties also he is not laissez-faire. I admire him because he is fully conversant with the current political, economical and social issues prevailing in our economy. I greatly admire him because he loves all people in the world; so long he knows that all people are created in the image of God. But he hates criminal offences, which could be committed by a person whom he loves. I admire his approach of trying to alleviate, reduce and finally eradicate poverty in his surrounding environment. He knows that the major problem in his life is poverty. He is also confident with what he does. Simply because he does things after a critical analysis of the issues. He is very diplomatic in solving the problems occurring in his life. He is diplomatic in the sense that he knows to approach different people with different characteristics and behaviour. I admire his way of life because he is not selfishly self-centred, he gives more advice and material things to others, with no expectation to get more from the others then. Actually he is not suffering the so called "I - diseases".

10. He is the champion of African Liberation struggle, the force behind Tanganyika and Zanzibar union, advocate of African Union, the son of Tanzania, my admirer! His lifestyle since childhood, despite of coming from a humble African family, depicted qualities of a good future leader. Yes, indeed, he became a prominent world figure. The son of a chief who had every opportunity to inherit chieftdom, but he strongly abolished it for the cause of the union of his motherland! Those he went to school with know him as a bright chap, hardworking and great orator! He could convince with his arguments and deliver his message. Yet, he was ready to admit and reconcile where he had gone wrong. His ability to foresee and predict the future was taken as "prophecy". Yet, he was very religious and respected the freedom of worship of his subjects, irrespective of their denominations, gender etc. His policy of socialism was accepted by his people and neighbouring states though others misunderstood him. He was a man of vision. He knew his enemies and how to fight them; poverty, ignorance and diseases. For him power was not material but to serve the poor. He once left the premiership and went to consolidate his party for the wellbeing of the people. People wanted him to serve more and more years but he had one word only – KUNGATUKA - leave the power before retiring. His contributions to the leadership of the country even after leaving power told a lot of his commitment to the Rule of Law, good governance and human rights. A man of principles! But gosh!... His death, the natural death was unbelievable. I cried, everybody cried. But we accepted; he was a man, a human being, a man of the people. Both rich and poor, strong and weak. For his funeral, people from all walks of life seemed to have freed from their busy schedules to lay to rest this strong son of Africa. I love him for he made me educated. I admire him for his contributions to the pillars of the state, has made the country reach where we are! May God rest his soul in eternal peace. Amen.

11. There are so many people in the world with various ideas, characters, views, knowledge, skills, professions, to mention just a few. But in my life I have come to know and admire someone called Mr. J. I admired him because of his character, view, and the way he used to perceive issues. But on top of it I admired him because of his personal confidence. He was the man of the people, who believed in "humanity". He considered all people equal, regardless of their race, wealth, gender etc. He considered much on the issue of respecting the "Human Rights". I would like to quote him "All people are equal, so everyone needs his or her humanity to be recognized and respected". The issue of considering humanity is really the point of attraction, which made me to admire MR. J. very much, and I would like to follow his steps in my life. Apart from humanity, Mr. J also emphasized on "Unity", especially African Unity. The kind of unity that Mr J. emphasized was not only economic and social, but also political. He believed that through unity, the African continent could do better for its development, putting into consideration that many African countries are in extreme poverty. Therefore, Mr. J. believed that "Unity is Power". I personally admired him because of his constructive idea like this of Unity, whose validity has been witnessed in the current days though Mr J. gave or proposed the idea of Unity in the 1970's. The African Unity (AU). Mr J. however attracted me very much on another issue, the "peace keeping". It is true that a peaceful country or even a peaceful mind is something which everyone in the world admires. We are all aware of the various conflicts that are taking place in most corners of the world. The conflict situation is not good at all. Nobody who does not know the effects of lack of peace. Wars are destructive; life costs, deaths, refugees, etc and as a result many development programmes cannot take place; hence increase of poverty. As in many countries, particularly in Africa, for example Rwanda, Burundi, Congo, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, to mention but just a few. The entire situation facing those countries is due to lack of peace. So, Mr J's idea on the peace making is really

attractive to me and I admired him so much, I wish to follow his steps and give emphasis on the issue of peace. Mr. P was the man of the people and I admired it so much. During his lifetime (Now he is dead - May the God rest his soul in peace. Amen), Mr. J respected everyone of his country (he was empathizing with people rather than sympathizing with them). He was a good man who did not care much on his personal interests (like many of today's leaders do), rather he cared much for his brothers and sisters. So I term him a good leader, who was a servant of the people and not the master of his people. He was leading and ruling. I really admire Mr. J so much, and I would like to follow his steps, I hope we could not be where we are now. Generally, those are just some of the ideas/views and characters which made me admire Mr J very much. There are many; which I decided to put down all, this short period of time can not be adequate. My remarks are "Let us now retrieve those good ideas which were made by Mr. J (especially we young) and use them in our leadership profiles". We need a new world, the Africa, a good place to be. Let us join hands and say NO to conflicts, no to neo-colonialism, thereafter it will automatically be NO to poverty hence development of Africa.

## B) Central ideas and key-expressions

Central idea	Key expressions
The leader grows through great effort	<p>His parents were poor peasants. He wanted to realize the dream he had of becoming the President of Republic. Therefore, he passed well in school and went to university in a neighbouring country.</p> <p>He comes from a very poor family but rose slowly, slowly to a high standard of life. Mandela was born in a rural village in Umtata, rose from the ranks of rural boy to an urban activist to a statesman in South Africa. Despite the humble and hostile family and political background, he was able to forge ahead and turn into a statesman and a leading person of international stature.</p> <p>Lastly, I have to admit that this person I'm admiring was not born like that, but she had to sacrifice to learn in a given environment in order to make this world a better place for her to live. He was coming from a poor family of 6 children and very few other relatives. A man brought up in a poor manner, without been sent to school or Chuo (Islamic).</p> <p>His lifestyle since childhood, despite of coming from a humble African family, depicted qualities of a good future leader.</p> <p>He was a man, a human being, a man of the people.</p>
The leader is knowledgeable	<p>Kinjikefile liked to read extensively.</p> <p>He was a very good educator. He was characterized by his thirst to learn and acquire knowledge.</p> <p>He was well informed. This man is an intellectual and a scholar. He speaks several international and local languages.</p> <p>He combines western education, Islamic education and his culture in shaping his way of life. I admire his ability to read and write a lot of literature.</p> <p>She advised them to look for further study, as we know education has no end. Through education we can fight for poverty, ignorance and reduce number of unemployment as well as to take care of our body.</p> <p>He tried to use any opportunity available for him in learning more and more. He is always ready to learn.</p>
The leader is a good manager	<p>He is very good in analysing issues. The man is critical.</p> <p>Her intellectual capacity/ability to moderate, she is conversant in the topics and techniques.</p> <p>He is knowledgeable and expert in the aspects of Public Administration and Political Science.</p> <p>His expertise in political and international aspects is great.</p> <p>He is bright and brief. He can (...) be accurate and well understood.</p> <p>He is a good planner. He is fully conversant with the current political, economical and social issues prevailing in our economy.</p> <p>He was hardworking, a good planner, organizer and implementer. The man was creative and imaginative.</p> <p>He was a bright chap.</p> <p>She has an ability and intellectual capacity to moderate groups, managing her emotions in such a way that she always has a smile on her face.</p> <p>He is transparent and open to criticism.</p>
The leader has a vision	<p>He had a vision of his country and had the ability to see hope even when confidence has lost ground. His ability to foresee and predict the future was taken as "prophecy". He was a visionary liberator and a very good mobilizer. He could convince with his arguments and deliver his message, a great orator! A man of principles!</p> <p>He was and still remains a courageous person, a risk taker. He was able to resist the forces of oppression. He went himself to the liberation struggle and removed all rudiments of evils in his country. He was ready to die to achieve that goal that he strongly believed.</p> <p>He had a style of leading people to the right way through his actions because his words were</p>

Central idea	Key expressions
	<p>accompanied by action.</p> <p>When he took a difficult decision, he stood for it, principled, straightforward and serious. He was determined to fight against the injustice and the oppression of the minority. He said he looked forward to a country where everyone was free from dictatorship and oppression.</p> <p>When he was in school he organized a club of young people to discuss weekly the destiny of their nation - independence. He organized the students towards supporting liberation of some African countries. He empathized with the oppressed and suppressed people. He directed his energy to the liberation of the country.</p> <p>Let us say no to conflicts, no to neo-colonialism, thereafter it will automatically be no to poverty hence development of Africa.</p>
The leader believes in unity	<p>Africa was in his heart. He believed in the cause of the union of his motherland.</p> <p>All the time, he was advocating unity among Africans.</p> <p>Apart from humanity, he emphasised on "Unity", especially "African Unity".</p> <p>The kind of unity that he emphasised was not only economic and social, but also political. He believed that through unity, the African continent could do better for its development, putting into consideration that many African countries are in extreme poverty.</p> <p>He believed that "Unity is Power".</p>
The leader is a servant of the people	<p>He was a man of the people, a good man who did not care much of his personal interests. He was committed to serve the others and determined to solve the problems of his people.</p> <p>He was trustworthy and showed integrity, truthfulness and co-operation readiness. He was an empathizer.</p> <p>His way of sympathizing with people's problems was to the level of empathy.</p> <p>He loved his family, friends, nation and Africa. He is so kind to the poor. He hates to acquire wealth at the expenses of common people.</p> <p>She usually encourages people.</p> <p>He doesn't put his interests ahead of the people before him.</p> <p>He is not temperamental, but a very calm man who can control his emotions.</p> <p>He was a servant of the people and not the master of his people. He didn't care much on his personal interests (like many other leaders do); rather he cared much for his brothers and sisters.</p> <p>To him, all human beings are equal, and equal in a real sense.</p> <p>He always works for the people who are suffering. For him, power was not material but to serve the poor.</p> <p>He believed in "Humanity", and regarded all people equal, regardless of their race, wealth, gender etc.</p> <p>I would like to quote him "All people are equal, so everyone needs his or her humanity to be recognized and respected".</p>
The leader is forgiving	<p>His doors are always open to anybody. He did not discriminate people simply because of their colour, education, background or wealth.</p> <p>Very inclusive, he accommodated his opponents in his government to give it a national image. He demonstrated the failure to be biased to any single political inclination. He listened to the demands of the parties and the advice from the members of his team, despite his wide knowledge.</p> <p>He is willing to forgive and reconcile, despite the political torture he suffered.</p> <p>I admire her capacity to socialize. Although she's foreigner, she usually tries her best to interact and participate in every event and discussion.</p> <p>Someone's personality determines his/her acceptance in the community. The individual discipline will include respect to others, involving others in decision-making and transparency.</p> <p>He used to inform his people about his plans for social and economic development, and was ready to be challenged, criticized. He was flexible. He opened the door for his people to participate in decision-making and in the implementation of those decisions. He is ready to cooperate.</p> <p>He listened very carefully to anybody who contacted him for any reasons. His policy is that the door of his office is opened to anybody, anytime; unless he has an appointment. He will be remembered by having good relations with other people.</p> <p>Before doing something, he tries to identify the consequences of what he is about to do. He knows how to approach people with different characteristics and behaviour.</p> <p>He doesn't suffer the so-called "I-disease". He is very diplomatic in the sense that he knows to approach different people with different characteristics and behaviour.</p>
The leader is a negotiator	<p>He may take necessary actions towards a person that misbehave, even if you are a blood relative.</p>

Central idea	Key expressions
	<p>But he hates criminal offences, even if committed by a person whom he loves.</p> <p>He was ready to provide support to anyone who would like to join his profession, either his relative or not.</p> <p>He gives more advice and material things to others, with no expectation to get more back.</p> <p>She helps the ones who have a problem. She spends her time in teaching, giving advice and counselling. She is very serious when teaching and very happy when the students go well.</p> <p>At family level, he was very much concerned in fulfilling family needs, such as food, cloths as well as sending the children to school at any reasonable cost. He was making sure that the family is always living in peace, united and in good cooperation.</p> <p>If anything went wrong in the family, he was on the front line for arranging the discussion and negotiation.</p>
The leader has democratic values	<p>My dream is of a country in which people live in peace and justice.</p> <p>He is in the forefront in building democratic culture in our country.</p> <p>During his leadership, education and medical services were provided freely to his people.</p> <p>He was against the leader who wanted to become richer and richer, while the people whom they claimed to be the leader of become poorer and poorer.</p> <p>He is in the forefront for fighting HIV and AIDS, corruption and misappropriation of public funds.</p> <p>She helped students to select their leaders, and showed them that they should choose the person who can help them, and not betray them.</p> <p>I admire his approach of trying to alleviate, reduce and finally eradicate poverty in his surrounding environment. He knows that the major problem in his life is poverty.</p> <p>His policy of socialism was accepted by his people and neighbouring states though others misunderstood him. He knew his enemies and how to fight them: poverty, ignorance and diseases.</p> <p>He was against all forms of oppression, racial segregation, poverty, illiteracy and diseases.</p> <p>He once left the premiership and went to consolidate his party for the wellbeing of the people.</p> <p>People wanted him to serve more and more years but he had one word only: <i>kungatuka</i>, leave the power before retiring.</p> <p>His contributions to the leadership of the country, even after leaving power, told a lot of his commitment to the rule of law, good governance and human rights.</p> <p>He considered much on the issue of respecting the "Human Rights".</p> <p>He also attracted me in the idea of "peace" keeping. Wars are destructive: death, refugees etc and as result many development programmes cannot take place; hence increase of poverty.</p>
The leader is a good religious	<p>He was a good and modern Islamic follower without leaving aside social life.</p> <p>He was very religious and respected the freedom of worship of his subjects, irrespective of their denominations, gender etc.</p> <p>He loves all people in the world, so long as he knows that all people are created in the image of God.</p> <p>His ability to foresee and predict the future was taken as "prophecy". Yet, he was very religious.</p>

### C) Central ideas and the discourses of the collective subject

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject (the ideal leader)
<b>The leader is a servant of the people</b>	<p>He is committed to serve the others and determined to solve the problems of his people. He is a servant of the people and not the master of his people. He is willing to forgive and reconcile, despite the political torture he suffered. He doesn't suffer the so-called "I-disease". He is not temperamental, but a very calm man who can control his emotions. He is very diplomatic in the sense that he knows to approach different people with different characteristics and behaviour. He is trustworthy and shows integrity, truthfulness and co-operation readiness.</p> <p>He listens to the demands of the parties and the advice from the members of his team, despite his wide knowledge, and usually informs his people about his plans for social and economic development, being ready to be challenged, criticized, and cooperate. His individual discipline includes respect to others, involving others in decision-making and transparency. His way of sympathizing with people's problems is to the level of empathy.</p> <p>His doors are always open to anybody, either his relative or not. He makes sure that the family always lives in peace, united and in good cooperation. If anything goes wrong in the family, he is on the front line for arranging the discussion and negotiation.</p>

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject (the ideal leader)
	<p>He usually encourages people. He listens very carefully to anybody who contacts him for any reasons and helps the ones who have a problem. He always works for the people who is suffering. I admire his approach of trying to alleviate, reduce and finally eradicate poverty in his surrounding environment. He was in the forefront for fighting HIV and AIDS, corruption and misappropriation of public funds. During his leadership, education and medical services were provided freely to his people.</p> <p>For him, power was not material but to serve the poor. He is against the leader who wanted to become richer and richer, while the people whom they claim to be the leader of become poorer and poorer. He is good man who does not care much of his personal interests (like many other leaders do) and hates to acquire wealth at the expenses of common people. He is so kind to the poor!</p>
<p><b>The leader is a visionary liberator and mobilizer</b></p>	<p>He is a visionary liberator. He has a vision of his country and the ability to see hope even when confidence has lost ground. His ability to foresee and predict the future is taken as "prophecy". He says he looks forward to a country where everyone is free from dictatorship, suppression and oppression, and racial segregation. He went himself to the liberation struggle and removed all rudiments of evils in his country. He was and still remains a courageous person, a risk taker. He knew his enemies and how to fight them: poverty, ignorance and diseases.</p> <p>He is ready to die to achieve the goal that he strongly believes. He has a style of leading people to the right way through his actions because his words are accompanied by action. When he takes a difficult decision, he stands for it, principled, straightforward and serious. A man of principles! He is a very good mobilizer, mobilizing the people to disagree with oppression and suppression. He can convince with his arguments and deliver his message, a great orator!</p>
<p><b>The leader is skilful and knowledgeable</b></p>	<p>He likes and is able to read and write extensively, and is characterized by his thirst to learn and acquire knowledge, trying to use any opportunity available to learn more and more. He combines Western education, Islamic education and his own culture in shaping his way of life. He can speak several international and local languages.</p> <p>He is an intellectual and a scholar, well informed, knowledgeable and an expert in international political and scientific matters. He is also fully conversant with the current political, economical and social issues of our economy. He is hardworking, a good planner, organizer and implementer. The man is creative and imaginative. He is very good in timing, however also flexible. He is very good in analysing issues and a good educator.</p>
<p><b>The leader grows from poverty to leadership, through his or her effort</b></p>	<p>He comes from a very poor family. He was then brought up in a poor manner, without been sent to school or Chuo (Islamic school). Despite the humble and hostile family and political background, he rose slowly, slowly to a high standard of life. His lifestyle since childhood, despite of coming from a humble African family, depicted qualities of a good future leader.</p> <p>He rose from the ranks of rural boy to an urban activist to a statesman. He had to sacrifice and learn in a given environment, in order to make this world a better place for him to live.</p>
<p><b>The leader professes democratic values</b></p>	<p>He does not discriminate people simply because of their colour, education, background or wealth. He believed in "Humanity", and regarded all people equal, regardless of his or her race, wealth, gender and religion. I would like to quote him "All people are equal, so everyone needs his or her humanity to be recognized and respected".</p> <p>He was in the forefront in building democratic culture in our country. His contributions to the leadership of the country told a lot of his commitment to the rule of law, good governance and human rights.</p>
<p><b>The leader is recognized and remembered</b></p>	<p>He turned into a statesman and a leading person of international stature. All young people in Africa are behind him and supports him. The international community and local bodies recognise his contribution. Yes, indeed, he will be remembered by having good relations with other people. He is still remembered for his contribution to the building of the nation, also for the way he ruled the people and respected his leaders. For his funeral, people from all walks of life seemed to have freed from their busy schedules to rest this strong son of Africa.</p>
<p><b>The leader is a</b></p>	<p>She is simple in terms of her wearing, walking, charming and friendly language she used</p>

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject (the ideal leader)
<b>caring woman</b>	when she is in a group. This enables everyone to understand. It is really very lovely to be with her in the work. It is sometimes very difficult to control our emotions, but to this lady... she manages her emotions in such a way that always she has a "smiling face". She spends her time in teaching and devotes a lot of her time to help learners who have problems. She usually finds out individual problems which may make one not to concentrate and participate fully.
<b>The leader advocates African unity</b>	Africa is in his heart. All the time, he is advocating unity among Africans. The kind of unity that he emphasises is not only economic and social, but also political. He believes that through unity, the African continent can do better for its development, putting into consideration that many African countries are in extreme poverty. He believes that "Unity is Power". Very inclusive, he accommodates his opponents in his government to give it a national image.
<b>The leader is religious</b>	He was very religious. He was a good and modern Islamic follower without leaving aside social life. He loved all people in the world, so long as he knew that all people are created in the image of God.

## ***Appendix 4: Discourses of the collective subject – tables by topic***

### **Women in high leadership**

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>Traditions do not see women as leaders</b>	I have reservations whether it's possible to elect a woman for president in Tanzania, because Tanzania is bound with customs, which are part of a patriarchal system. The patriarchal system is very, very dominant in this country. I think the position of presidency is looked at as a position of service. It's seen as a position of strength. It's seen as a position of might, it's seen as a position of privilege, a position of authority... You see? So how a person go there is not based on abilities or capabilities. It's based on those factors. Who controls what? Who will propose or vote for a woman, if in the top cabinet of all political parties all top positions have been monopolized by men? The election of females does not show a good side, it does not show the real representation of women in the country, because ...most of the females participate in the special seats of their parties. They don't go straight to the electorates. In our system, you become a president either by a popular vote, or by party allegiance. You become president by the party's support, you become a president by military allegiance. If these are the structures that we have, it's going to be very difficult for a woman to be president. The situation is worse at the local election, the counselors at the Municipalities. Ja, because down there the problem is that ...at that level...you go more to the ... villages, so close to the traditions... you know... and the traditions don't... doesn't see the women as... as leaders, as political leaders. As a result, since their participation is very limited, you find out that their representation in the village councils, their representation in the municipal or City councils, their representation in the National Parliament is very, very small...Women always played a very limited role in the Council of Elders, very limited role. And in Tanzania if you say "elders", you mean men. That's because the system is like that. The system is like that, the system is like that. That's what makes it difficult for women to become presidents.
<b>Women are considered to be an inferior class</b>	Talk about a woman president, people will tell you: women are weak ( <i>Hawa hawezi bwana</i> )! That position, "aah being a president is difficult", "women are very weak", so associating it with a position of strength. Talk about a woman president, "aah bwana, women cannot control the military" so you can not have a woman president, again associated with power, it's like "women are inferior", and one cannot stand being associated with a woman. There is a risk the economy may collapse because motherly tendencies cannot breed a good economy - economics is not about passions and feelings. Despite your position, they look at you as a woman and a woman by virtue of our social construction is weak, is inferior. We believe that the men are higher than women. Women still are considered to be an inferior class in this country. If you are not a married woman, the respect you receive is really very low, lower than a male and if you are not a married woman, some people can look to you just as a prostitute. In principle you can not look at a woman as a <i>Mheshimiwa</i> , a honourable member, they will always look at you as a woman. Women can never be equal, they would not want to have a woman to become <i>Mheshimiwa</i> . Until having any high position, women have to sacrifice a lot, because of the mistreatment, even at the family level.

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>What a big man says others follow</b>	It's going to be very difficult for a woman to become president in this country, because Tanzania still has what I would describe as a Big Man phenomenon, you know? where a big man still enjoys a lot of social and political clout. A few individuals are looked at in society as "big men", addressed as Big Men, "Mheshimiwa". <i>Mheshimiwa-Kuheshimu</i> is to give respect. What a big man says others follow. You see? And apparently, as I speak, all the Big Men are Men. Men have a lot of political clout, so he has access to all the decisions, access to all the economic resources, all the economic connections of the country, he can make things change. You see? It is a big man who makes things work. So that kind of clout makes him very powerful, you can't go against him. Who are you? If you go against him, my friend, you are in problem, your business won't survive, because he has the economic connections, he can crush you, so we still have that kind of Big Man phenomena.
<b>Women are jealous of each other</b>	Women normally ... are jealous of the development, individual development, of another person - small things...If a woman comes up with ideas that she wants to be a leader of this nation, the first person to maybe criticize her will be a woman, a fellow woman, you see? If we don't remove the differences among the women themselves, it becomes a problem. The women themselves are not prepared, they are not aware, they are jealous of each other, you can't give them that kind of positions. A woman in high position will be badly treating others or probably when she is there, she will have her money and then she can wear good dresses, her children will study in a good school, she can put on gold, rings and whatever. That is the small jealousy women have... I can say just as a short outlook, we don't have a development, simply women are like that. I don't know if it is a born issue or if it is a woman and woman relation that they can't cope. If she is a manager, she could better treat men in that particular workplace than women, it is normal to happen. If it were normal that a number of women has a higher position, it would be normal like it is with men, but very few ones manage to reach that and when they reach it, they say "let me be alone there". It can be seen like as a sign of prestige to me, a woman, to remain alone in leadership, but for a man... it is common that there is a lot of male managers and leaders... You can see this when the women are doctors or professors. Sometimes they find themselves something VERY SPECIAL (laughter), but if you go to a country which has women doctors in hundreds and hundreds, they are a little bit different, they find it normal.
<b>Women can have a chance in the future</b>	We need to change a lot of things; we have to remove a lot of things underground. We need to change our laws to give room to the women. We need to create awareness within the community in the early stages of the upbringing of the young girls, at the family level. The gender issue is not well known to the society. From the very beginning we need to do a lot of things to bring up a young girl or empower her so that she can have a high position in society. It is a dream for another 15 to 20 years in Tanzania, as it is difficult to be accepted by the masses, and compete with men and the society's attitude. I can say that in Tanzania, it needs, first of all, to clear the way for women as leader, because even if we force it to be, she'll never be accepted or, or receive the co-operation to make her standing in the position. The changes will come up when the women, the women themselves, come up, and fight for lower positions, such as Member of Parliament, to be the Party Chairman and deliver what people expect, you see. When women have already delivered, coming for a second time, people can think twice. People base their decisions on the history, so you have to make your own history, fight for certain chances, if you've got it, deliver what people expect you to be deliver, then in future you can have your chance. I think women should be encouraged to compete with men, get together and join the movement towards change, the structured set up of the society must be rid off. I believe if a woman comes and be serious with a serious idea of being a leader, people can change, but not now, at least sometime in the future. But is the male chauvinism ready for that?
<b>Women are good leaders</b>	I am looking forward to having a woman in high leadership in our country. I do not have a problem at all with a woman for president of Tanzania. I believe the women are better leaders compared to men... There are capable women who have solidarity to campaign for women, or to lobby for women. We have few of them. A woman in high position should be a woman who is kind, a woman who volunteer to develop other women in her country, help her people to solve their problems. A woman has the capability to understand and even acknowledge things in the society; hence a woman should take a great chance in convincing other people to vote for her. Women are motherly and it would be interesting to see a mother at the State House, and maybe the security would be fine because a woman would develop consensus.
<b>Women do not represent the views of the women</b>	The women themselves who are advocating for changes, I will say some of them have failed. And... this concept of affirmative action. I was one of those who advocated for it, but maybe it has failed the women themselves. The women who go to parliament on the ticket of "women" do not represent the views of the women. Quite often women's position on issues has tended to reflect, you know, either party positions or government positions, which is male dominated. The

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	constituency of women is the party or the government. Not the women, you see? This artificialism is very important. When women get to parliament they forget they are equal, so they begin to look like someone talking from a very different level from the level of a local woman, so some women are frustrated...Did female attitude towards men and women change?

## Religion

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>It is an individual choice which must be respected</b>	For me religion is the relationship between a person and their creator, God. I strongly believe that the relationship between a creator, a god, and an individual should be an individual thing or a community thing. At the community level, because communities have their unique ways of worshipping. I can say that one is Islamic, I am a Moslem, but I can be different from other Moslems, you see? Because of different people with different ideas. The same religion, but have been diverted in small, small groups and normally, each group has a way of believing, or the way of practicing, which is different from the other. I think sectarianism is much important that people should be free to believe or have faith in whatever they want as long as respect between religions should be observed. So long as I have the Bible I will try to find the interpretation of that Bible by reading it, and trying to weigh out what I'm getting from those who are preaching, and have my own standing to that particular direction. People should not interfere with someone's beliefs be it in three trunks, in pig or monkeys or whatever. It may be good or bad depending to individual needs. If the individual follows a certain religion so as to see God (if he/she) believes in God, the religion may be good if fulfils the individual needs of seeing God. My character is to believe that all people are right, but in different ways. In Tanzania, the Government doesn't have a religion, because in the Government there are so many people different from different religions, so even in the constitution, they state it clearly that the Government of Tanzania doesn't have a religion, but people... it's their right to believe in any religion, so long as it does not disturb the others. Let it be left to each individual to belong to their own religion i.e. each person with a different religion, other than groups of people in one religion.
<b>It has become commercial</b>	Religion... I can say... nowadays...it's become more or less something which is losing its meaning. There are many things that have happened so far as religion is concerned. My opinion is that religion has been hijacked by a number of factors... of course one of this could be the economic factor. I believe that religion now has shifted its originality, to the business way, I can say. Because if you look on the previous religions and look the situation of religion today, it's becoming more like a commercial thing. It is all, many times, money orientated. Now there are many economic hardships and people have tended to use religion for their own use. Some people who are wise have tended to use religion to enrich themselves. It's more or less commercial because it's going with putting money, injecting money and then buying people to come to the religion, in that "multiparty" people are being bought. So it's becoming now like individual NGOs, ja, so it is changing the complete direction of the religion you have before. When you go to the church you don't pay actually, really payment only if you're taking sometimes the services... but when you come to this mushrooming NGO, you have to pay highly. Now it's becoming a business and who is benefiting? The one who is benefiting is that person who was with that particular NGO. It is turning to a commercial thing, associated with becoming rich, not in a real sense praying to God. A big problem is that when you put a moral thing as a commercial one, there is a lot of conflicts happening between the people, and if there was a lot of conflict even that moral thing does not appear because I look at you as a person, not really in the way of God. They put money in front of God, they're struggling for the money, and you even have to kill your child, you have to go naked and other evil things that are being done in the church. They are the ones bringing that God and I am seeing their children go to study abroad with my money and then I am paying a lot of money, now this is diverting the moral issue we are talking about.
<b>It has become politicised</b>	There is this important factor of religion becoming politicised. Which is very dangerous. You hear of this thing of Islamic fundamentalism, this is politicisation of religion. I think it's not really new but may be the magnitude is now distinct. Now it's been over-politicised in a sense that religion seems to be the only immediate threat to politics, you see. And especially politics of capitalism. Religions seem to be the only thing different from politics of capitalism and communism. And now communism is gone, so now it's like it seems now religion seems to be the only independent thing which is trying to challenge politics. So that's why it's highly politicised at the moment. I agree that religion right from the start and politics were almost the same from the old days. Now, people have lost interest in politics. People no longer have trust in politicians, you see. Most people really believe that politicians can no longer solve their problems. So they seem to believe

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	<p>more in issues related to religion. That's why you find that Osama bin Ladens of this world have become role models because everybody people look at them as as...If Osama Bin Laden says something, is most likely to be found correct as compared to what President Bush says. So that is the paradigm... Osama... he has tried to portray himself as a religious leader and that is why he is getting a lot of support more than if he declared himself as an outright politician. If he said I am the King, I want to take over Saudi Arabia, it would not work so well. But that is it because people believe politics has failed them... "These politicians are the same", "they are hopeless", "we are suffering" ... which is related to this disappointment... that's my view... I really see it as something that is going to take us time to overcome. I do not know how we can fight this but I see it some task is going to be around for quite some time...issues related to religion, fundamentalism, I don't know but they are going to stay there for sometime.</p>
<p><b>Paying tribute to the ancestors is a form of worshipping</b></p>	<p>Paying tribute to the ancestors is a form of worshipping. When you go in the villages, you can find some people still believe on trees and water, something like that. For example, you find out that here, in Tanzania, at the end of every year, he or she goes back home in the village to pay some tributes to the local gods, if I can say tribal gods, something like that. To the ancestors, ja. It is an old system of worshipping, so you find out the largest proportion of the life of this individual is dominated by Islam, for example, or Christianity. And the smallest part ...- at the end of the year or maybe if she gets some problems in between -, you go to the village, to the older people, so that they can communicate with the ancestors. In terms of a person and a family or a clan, my view is that they think they benefit more from the ancestors' side, once they go there for their things or to negotiate for whatever they want. I think they believe more there, that they are going to get for what ever they are praying for rather than with Christianity or Islam. I am sure if I go to my ancestors, they will help me on this and this and this.</p>
<p><b>There are many imported religions</b></p>	<p>The dominant religions are Islam and Christian. And here in Africa these are imported religions ... so since they are imported religions, they marginalize the relationship that existed between African people and their gods. So I don't see if these imported religions are supposed to be imposed to the African people because we have our own way of believing, our own way of having a relationship with our god. But for the majority, the largest proportion of their life is taken by these two religions, that's why I say they are dominant. Islam and Christianity do not accept traditional religions. No, no, no - I think for example I am a Muslim, the Islam does not accept this (paying tribute to the ancestors) at all. But people engage in that. There are a lot of churches which are erupting from different areas, probably from other countries like China, you find they come more, that person and then he comes with his own religion and changes the mind of the other people. Even the believers, I don't know if it is right or wrong, even the believers are trying to divert the original books we have, the Koran and the Bible. We now find religions where people don't put on clothes because we are not born in clothes. Now this is also changing the customs of the people. You go to the church and then you put off all the clothing and then you go to church. There is also the religion where you have to sacrifice your own child so that you can be rich. Now see, it is diverting completely the beliefs you have, it's coming to another thing.</p>
<p><b>It promotes positive values</b></p>	<p>There are some tenets in religion that would assist in shaping people. You know... religion has some code of conduct that you always follow. It is good because it helps harmony in society and helping each other with high respect. Most of religions guide people the good morals, help people to have a good habit and also encourage humanity to the people. It is good as it creates peace and harmony in the society, as it helps to keep the people in the right track and avoiding make evils. One of the things that are very important about religion is that ...is that it preaches for example courage, it also preaches to believe in what you do not see. That's a very fundamental element in religion and this is very important, also especially building up youth that they should learn to believe in what they don't see. This is important in shaping the direction of an individual, a family and society.To believe for example that things are possible and for example that change is possible, so religion contributes to that. I think people ... what they get from being, for example, a member of a religion, is the social cohesion maybe, hum? that they go to churches, communities in the churches, and it promotes the social cohesion.</p>
<p><b>It is alienating</b></p>	<p>Is an opium of the people, intended to blindfold them from the exploitation caused by the class nature of the society. Is an opium of mind, a pollutant of mind. To develop it takes some boldness to put aside religious beliefs and act quickly. Religion must be/should be abolished. It reduces human being capacity of thinking. I hate religion. Some have tended to use religion, since it teaches you to believe in what you do not see, so some people have surrendered their problems to religion. And they believe that is the way out. In a way you have to wake up in the morning and go to Kakobe's church and pray from morning to midnight and God will forgive your sins. So there is that kind of category of people who have actually surrendered their problems instead of being productive. You get someone staying at Kakobe's Churh for weeks, praying to God hoping God</p>

<b>Central idea</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject</b>
	will come, which is a pity to me.
<b>It is culturally determined</b>	It is the culture of a certain group to believe like Christianity, Muslim, Paganism etc. In terms of religion, myself I'm a Moslem. I've been born as a Moslem, because my parents were Moslem and I've been trained in those directions and I believe there is a God like some other people believe that there is no God. So I have been brought up to that direction whether I like it or not, so other beliefs can be probably imparted. I was brought up to be a Moslem, but when I grew up of age, this... the Saved People, these people who would say their Saviour is Jesus, they've received Jesus as Saviour...when I'm adult probably someone can impart another belief which make me diverge from my previous belief and come up to the new beliefs.
<b>Religion comes first</b>	I am a strongly God fearing person so I don't drink, I am strongly God fearing. I go to church every Sunday of the week and attend the English service, but I also like listening to gospel music. Religion! That is very interesting... As I told you I am a strong believer...I am religious, I strongly believe in religion. I am not an expert in this area but I believe, it's something that society really needs in whichever form it is. Whether it's Christian or Muslim or paganism, at least there is need to have some kind of religion because it gives you some kind of a direction that you look up to. Is the system that is supposed to govern human life. Religion must always come first before anything. With religion nothing will fail; without it nothing will succeed. Is a way people express their faith to almighty God.
<b>It can be cause of conflict</b>	It is now a potential cause of conflict in the world. To the extreme case, I think religions, I think that they are sources of so many wars in the world, because you can find there's a lot of fighting between people or among people in the same place or nation or region just because of religion, because they believe in different things. If it is not handled well one religion become powerful and the government tends to follow only one religion, it causes conflict, which ends up in wars and it is very dangerous.
<b>It is not important</b>	I am not a strong believer in religions, I am a Muslim because my parents are Muslim, but I don't go to mosque. My girlfriend is a Roman Catholic so I don't put much emphasis on religion.

## Marriage

<b>Central idea</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject</b>
<b>Its meaning is changing</b>	Marriage before in our Tanzanian culture, before let's say 1970's and back, it was a concern of the two families – the family of the lady and the family of the boy, but now we are developing and we are mixed up, with different cultures, with different people. It's becoming more or less the idea of the two, ja. Now the families issue has been left aside, because what I remember, in those days, if I wanted to get married, my father and my mother would decide for me to whom I would get married, okay, but now I'm the one who select a partner and introduce to my parents. Yes, now the trend has changed. So people can meet and decide we are friends and we need to stay together longer, they introduce to their parents and then the process it starts there and then people they get married. I actually stayed with my husband before marriage for a short time. Because (my father) was saying, he was very strict sometimes, he was saying, "try to see it and be very careful and then you can see if you can manage to live with him for some few, for a reasonable time". Ja, so I stayed with (my future husband) and my father told me that, if you see any problem during this pre period, you are allowed to come back home and see another choice. So after staying (together) for sometime and I feel I'm satisfied and I say I'm ok, then I arrange for the marriage. Ja, you try first... nowadays it is coming... To the new outlook, as it seems now, marriage has become ... has new terminology, marriage being a contract, that there is no need of living with the person throughout your life. It is becoming as a contract, that you are going to live for a second year and then if you still have the same willing of living together, you can extend the contract. Marriage is becoming something which not is necessarily to tolerate everything in the family, just simply for the title of the marriage. There is no need, later on, of living with that unfulfilled satisfaction till you die. Let's say you have two children, they've already grown up, they're out of your house. Now you can't be fed up remaining with the person or receiving that bad treatment, and say so long as they're married they will stay there... You have to see also your own life, how do you want it, because you, although you are married, you have your own perception of life, you have your needs. Previously, a woman could just stay without working and the man could fulfil the (needs). Now, you women are always busy trying to look for something for the help of the family. Even the husband is now looking for something for the benefit of the house. Marriage is a good way of showing intense love for each other, but it can be avoided, especially if it is too expensive to live together. Lovers do not of necessity have to live together - frequent meetings and constant communication can replace the institution of a marriage. Some

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	people has also come up with new ideas, because of HIV/AIDS at least, people they are now careful. But nowadays marriages are not staying longer. There are so many things. There are what we call “the empty shell marriages”.
<b>It is a social obligation</b>	Shortly I can say that that it means a lot in our society. It is a social institution, which consummates relationship between male and female. Since relationship between male and female is a must, there is no way we can avoid it. It's something that you do not have to do without! People have to marry. Marriage. Yes it's necessary. In fact it's an obligation every one has got to marry if God wills. Normally when you are growing at home, if you are a girl or if you are a man, your parents are expecting one day you will get married, okay, and even yourself, you are expecting that, I think. If you are the age that everybody thinks that you must be married, ja, they generally agreed that a girl and a boy are supposed to get married... you are respecting the society's law. Sometimes ... people are influenced to do things just because they want to please the families. For example, my girlfriend's mother is very conservative. Really, a roman catholic conservative. But her father is very liberal. So, it will all depends on the... how much do they pressure us, but as I say it's something that people have to do...Yes, if there is a chance. I know people who have been looking for marriage for the last seventeen years and have never married. I have an auntie who has been looking for marriage since when she was a girl, she now has seven children but she has never married. All these seven children are from different men. And my sister, one day a prospective husband made an appointment. So she goes to the appointment and then they discuss a lot of things, and then he says that “actually he needs to get married, he has been there for a long time, so he thinks... he sees it's the right time to have the party now. He was 40.
<b>It has its specific rules</b>	The African tradition, as far as marriage is concerned, has a very big influence. Rather than the religious influence. Ja, religious and traditional. Ja. The religious come at the part that you have to go to the church, or to the mosque. You have to get a priest or a ..to bless your marriage, hum? But all the other arrangements, ceremonies, are done in a purely African way. Anyway, it needs some special ceremony. You have the government marriage at the District Commissioner but it is not important in the society, in the general feelings of the society, it is not well-recognised. The religious one is much recognized. And the second is the... traditional one. A union can be made under the religious rules, government rules or traditional and customary rules. In different tribes there are different ceremonies. For example on the male side, when you go for the circumcision, there are ceremonies, at the puberty age. And for the female side too. But these ceremonies are in the form of trainings. Now you are grown ups, how you are going to handle your family, how you are going to handle your wife, whatever. On the male side, in Swahili, they call it <i>Jando</i> . On the female side, they call it <i>Unyago</i> . They learn how to keep the house, how to handle the husband, and the children. For males, 15 years old, for females 12, 13, 14. Then, the age of getting married differs from village to town. In the villages at the age of 18. For girls you can find even 15 or 16. But in town, in the cities, in the municipalities, it can go up to the age of 30, if you are a boy. Because most of young people in town are either in education, in the Universities or in colleges, something like that. So, even for girls, in cities, they're married later. Men, the future husband, pays <i>mahari</i> (dowry) to the family of the future wife. You only pay for the preparation for the marriage ceremony.
<b>It can take different forms</b>	Marriage is a union between two peoples one can be a man and a woman or a man and a man or a woman and a woman. Whether you could have more than one spouse, it's a personal decision. There are two people or four, I don't know, but at least living in a common bond with a shared kind of bond, sharing common problems and sharing a common destiny. I don't foresee myself marrying more than one but again I said you can never say never. Marriage, in the religion... let's say the Christians... they have to live until death. In another tradition like Moslem, they can receive other wives. It depends on the ceremonial costumes of that particular type of marriage they are making, by following the rule and law of their beliefs. They can follow their religious move, or the government way, so people start to live together. They're officially declared that they are married, okay and with this being their religious or and the Government, ja, but at least two people of different sex. The social structure of a particular society determines the character of marriage. The custom of polygamy is still there, when you go to the rural areas. In the economic sense, in the rural areas, I can say that having more than one wife is helping the husband to live better, but it still is a problem to those wives, who are living together. When you go to the rural areas, those wives are the main producers – biological producers and the physical producers and normally the husbands, they're just there towards them...But poligamy is not okay now, it is traditional and also it's part of the Moslem belief, but people simplify things. When you go on the Moslem issues, when you want to get another wife, there are some processes which you have to follow. It has been written in the Koran, you have to follow, but people they just take it for granted

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	that I'm allowed, but the real thing, what it is said there, is not the way people they're practicing. Some people have some forces beyond them, I believe such, you can have a... someone at home you're married to, but she unfortunately, can't get children, then someone is opting for another way (having another wife).
<b>Women do not have much of a say</b>	<p>My father has got other two children with other women, but he has been with my mother throughout. My mother is very, very calm, she don't talk much ... probably deeply in the heart she was feeling bad, but normally she's a person who can't determine (things) and actually that was not that much harassing. Me too, I did not decide of course (to have the children), to have them and actually I didn't decide even to have one after another, but sometimes it becomes the procedures, that you don't talk (.) even on your own issues and then you find yourself in that trap. I didn't know much (about reproduction). I was not very much conversant in using this let's say contraceptives. (My husband and I) didn't discuss this. You know, men usually say, 'I don't like another child', but they don't agree to discuss on how to avoid that child. Then after my five children, I just used contraceptives. It was my decision, although he did not want a child any longer, it was my decision on how to do it. But he didn't say anything; I didn't discuss it with him. I just started taking contraceptives, and then he finds that nothing is coming. That's all. He has never asked me. He has never asked me. And he has never seen me if I'm using it. I use it without his knowing. I don't know if he will find it, I don't know. He knows it, of course, because he don't see me conceiving, so he know I am using that thing, but he don't mind to ask me what I am using.</p> <p>Sometimes you can be in a marriage with two different ideas - sometimes different hobbies, let's say – and normally a women is required to adapt to the husband. How about your, your personal satisfaction? And also the custom issue here in Tanzania, the women are still below the line to negotiate even their own rights. ..., we hear that most of the women, 90 %, they are raped by their husbands, so raping is being done even with the educated people.</p>
<b>It is a bondage between two people</b>	<p>According to my definition, marriage is just a bonding between two loved ones who want to stay together, and live together and support each other. So that kind of bond must be there. The bond must be there. It is an act which is done when both sides are ready and mean to live with each other forever, in good and bad times. I believe there are things that are sacrificed under a marriage, and that bond says whether you guys are married or not. If you do not have a bond then it's not a marriage. You may call it a relationship or something else... If it's not there...forget about the money... Sometimes things may strain you, really apart you, see? there are some things that test you. You need to have that kind of bondage.</p> <p>A marriage must be bound to love and thereafter to faithfulness. Because marriage, as I said, comes with a lot of strains, costs... very funny things... then, if you have more than one spouse the chances are that this bondage is weakened. You have many weakness and forces that are being applied to the one common centre. You become a centre and you become a centre of forces against you. So it cannot really be strong so there are chances that the centre might break, not necessarily in the form of divorce but it may break in very many ways, it may break for example in how you care for your family, how you care for yourself, how you care for your children! And quite often it's these ones who suffer most in these kinds of situations. Marriage is good, but what's the point of having marriage if the spouses don't treat each other and love each other? Man can decide to have concubines, which makes marriage the process of legalizing sex as sin.</p>
<b>It is an agreement between a man and a woman</b>	<p>Marriage, I can say ...is a big agreement between two different sexes. Er... husband and a wife. A male and a female that now they live together in an institution called the family, for procreation and love for each other. It is a contract between a man and a woman to live together as husband and wife, and have a family, a union between man and woman to share their daily activities. For marriage to be considered as a kind of agreement it is good since it enables the people concerned (man and woman) to get experience from each other.</p> <p>I think having only one spouse is better than having more than one. Marriage is a union of only two people, who willingly agreed to live together... to live whether they bear children or don't bear children, but they agree principally to live together. (Poligamy) I can say it's not a good thing, because what I believe, love is something inside your heart and I believe you can't divide love between the two and it can't be equal. But if you love someone, you can't love him or her on the same way as you love the "B". There the problem starts.</p>
<b>It gives a better status to people</b>	Once you're married even in the family meetings and whatever, your voice is heard more, so your status comes up. If you are not a married woman, really your respect is really very low, lower than a male and if you are not a married woman, some people can look to you just as a prostitute. So once you're married you have the respect in the society, so it plays a role in the society, ja. Some of the people they think that to get married is a prestige, some other people, it's just for their living

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	purposes, "I'm not working, so I have to go to someone who will help me", take care of myself. My opinion is that "marriage" should be preserved as a sacred institution for a better and sustainable society, because it is a nursery for upbringing respected members of the society, as it gives children who are born in marriage a social security; it gives honourship to people.
<b>It helps continuation of the family and the society</b>	Marriage is good and compulsory to increase fertility rate, ultimately (leading to) enough manpower. It is an agreement between a man and a woman to help each other and to bear children. Of course, the fruits that you get out of the marriage are children. People say well these are the fruits. They are blessings of marriage. It is good to get married because you can share your ideas with your partner, get to know how to handle each other and take responsibilities of one another and of the children they are going to bear, which is the rule of God. I don't know, I know you can have a marriage without children. If you get the children fine, it's a reward that you get, so it's something which is good. It also makes the existence of different generations in the world, and ensures a relationship to other families.

## Monogamy

Central ideas	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>Monogamy prevents from diseases</b>	This kind of monogamic marriage is encouraged since it helps men to be responsible for a single wife, not many, and also it enables men to be able to take care of himself, since he will be able to avoid running with many wives, hence avoiding AIDS. It should be encouraged for health reasons. It also helps for the partner to be safe, to avoid HIV victims, preventing the couple from different diseases which are existing now.
<b>Multiple partners bring the economy down</b>	Monogamy should be encouraged for economic reasons, it reduces the size of the family, increases responsibility in the family, and gives children their rights to social issues e.g. education. With multiple partners, the economy will go down, which lead to poverty, the children will not get a chance of going to school, which will lead to a increased number of uneducated people.
<b>People must be free to practise their system</b>	Some marriage systems involve more than one male and more than one female, and provided that the system is acceptable to society people must be free to practise their system. Traditions and customs should be tolerated as far as members agree on their free will.
<b>A person cannot divide his love</b>	There are things you can share but not your man or woman. Monogamy is the best way to be married since one cannot divide love to more than one woman, he will just love one therefore there must happen a problem in the family. Love is for one people at a time, and if you have many you can not give equally love.
<b>Man continue to opt for multiple partners</b>	The problem comes when one partner starts cheating. Monogamy will slowly die out as men continue to opt for multiple partners. Indeed, I think it must be done away with because very few man live without relationships outside the marriage, they should then be encouraged to be polygamous and not monogamous.
<b>Monogamy gives the couple respect to each other</b>	It is good for it makes the couple or family to be strong and having good direction as all decisions will be made by one woman and man and one can think of positive goals and successful responsibilities of the family. It is the perfect act, because it increases trust, understanding and mutual relationship between husband and wife, giving the couple respect to each other, faithfulness, and love.

## Sexuality

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>Homosexuality is becoming popular</b>	Homosexuality is becoming popular nowadays, because a lot of frustration is occurring in our society. The society is being disintegrated and leaving behind the norms and custom we had before. Nowadays, we have free market, technology, freedom of the writers and so on, I don't know if you can put it as the impact of the globalisation or impact of transparency, so whatever (laugh), even the mixing now of the people. This thing has been probably done before but in a very little rate and it was not really publicize, now it is becoming known. This open talk spreads it very, very much, that's why these things are now spreading. When I was young, I used to hear about homosexuality, but now I can see it with my naked eyes. What I can comment on this, it's a part of development...Boys, there are so many, what they call "the gays", stuff like that, there are so many. The trend is so bad, especially for boys, you see. For ladies, just in the future they are having the same. It's a real social problem, yes, because we don't used to believe like that

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	and it's not normal in our tradition, so it's disturbing the society. Before, if he's a boy, you can find him dressing LIKE a boy, but he's doing some other business, but nowadays, you can find a boy like a lady wearing a skirt or a dress, so I can see the trend is becoming bad. Some people are just copying from other places and they think that it's okay for them, but traditionally for us, it's not okay, it's not normal.
<b>Women are below the line to negotiate</b>	For the moment, the situation is still the same, in rural or urban areas, women don't answer to their husbands. The choice of women is very minimal for the time being here, it's not easy (for a wife to say no to her husband), because people didn't train you to do so. When you are married, the first thing as a wife is to do so and so and so, and if you don't do that, the husband has the mandate to send you back to the elder people and you can be punished because of that. So that is a major thing which you are going to do (say yes to the husband), I think, and you have been trained like that, you see, so to stop the women being like the sexual instrument... The women are still below the line to negotiate even their own rights, so raping is done even with the educated people. It is said that in Tanzania most of the women, 90 %, are raped by their husbands. Many African men don't help their wives, they don't help their children and so on, they just give out the commands, that's all, and whether (women and children) like it or not, you need to follow. I think it's better training the ladies still young and change the trend, the whole system of growing up ladies. To the sons, there are not so many things which have been told, ja? The only thing, you are head of the family, you have to make sure that your family is okay and your wife is not above you. That is the training which the son has been given, you see?
<b>Homosexuality starts with abuse</b>	Homosexuality is a very difficult topic to discuss. It starts with abuse. Most of the boys, when you ask them, they say they started like that. I think it's because they were abused and because of the economic problems, ja. Abuse has increased. If not, it was not reported before, because when we were growing, you couldn't find a boy practicing like a lady in an open area. You could find people hiding themselves, you could hear rumours and so on, but now it's open. Girls also find themselves serving (having sex) even the elder people, and because of the difference in age, the elders can't compromise with the young people, then they do raping.
<b>Men cannot be defiled</b>	Raping goes also with that HIV/Aids epidemic, that you can, you have people, they fear the disease, now they have that bad talking that if you go to the young lady probably they are not getting HIV/ Aids. This is also associated with the wrong belief of diseases, that put in using that anal part you can not having the HIV/Aids. They find the boys to be safer, that's why you can see homosexuality spreading now very fast. Sex with a minor who is a girl is illegal, especially in the books, in the laws; when any old man goes with a young girl... it's defined as defilement, that is criminal. Men cannot be defiled. Yes! Men can't be defiled. Rape also defines a man and woman. So if a young boy is gang-raped by other boys, it's not there in any legislation as criminal. I cannot go to court and say I was raped. By whom? By a man?
<b>Sex is dangerous</b>	Sometimes we go outside (the marriage) and then find out (the pregnancy) and abort it. (Sex is) a very dangerous issue, and when you see people doing that, most of them are doing it without a condom, plus the risk of HIV/Aids, so people continue to be in really very dangerous situation. Most of them are those school ladies nowadays. They are doing Matric. Even primary school ladies are doing such a thing (sex). And it's dangerous for them, because I can see if they're doing so, they are doing it without any protective measures, so they're at risk also to get HIV/Aids.
<b>Homosexuality is immoral</b>	Homosexuality in my view is immoral. It is an act of pretending to be the other sex rather than what you really are, and it is a barbaric wicked and senseless act. The practice is bad, we must admit, that a boy can go with a boy. Well, in our case, it's not allowed. It surely abuses the very reason for sexual intercourse - enjoyment and procreation because I submit none of the two is gained in a homosexual relationship. I think...it's quite bad... we have to condemn it and maybe try to teach our young people that it's something that has not to be done. And we should try as much as possible to tell people that it's not something which is good, it is bad and must be stopped. It's socially "illegal", not in the books because there is no law listing it as a crime, I don't think it's listed in the penal code as a crime, so you can't be prosecuted in court...it's a moral thing...I think it should remain so. I think we should treat homosexuality as some other crime. Something that's not acceptable in society, something that's not good. It is one of what we would call discordant behaviours and we should actually look it like a crime. Nobody says crime is good! Stealing is not something good but people choose to steal but society knows if you steal, it is really something which is bad. It's very unfortunate, as it erodes morality and ethics in the society. It is bad because it leads to different kinds of diseases and it is against the human rights. Homosexuality is not good in the social life, as it destroys your personality. I do not know how we are going to control it, it should be condemned and discouraged with all the necessary force and

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	at any cost. It is nauseating, I feel like vomiting. I hate it; someone, somewhere should stop it.
<b>Early sex happens because of financial problems</b>	Most of the young people (who have sex) are doing it because of economic purposes, not because of love, ja. The girl can find a man with his money and ask him, if you don't do this or if you do this, we use a condom. I'm going to be no problem. And he says you do this without a condom, I can give you 50. Then they opt for the higher (risk and money) without looking back at the problems which they are going to get, ja. It is associated with poverty issues; sometimes these people with money take young boys, so that they can use them. Usually (early sex) is because of financial problems, people think that they can get a job, or people will come and pay me money. Homosexuality problems also go with the prostitution problem. Now, even here, the market for prostitution will increase, because they're finding it to be a normal work nowadays. I can say many put ... wealth or something concerning the money up, because a lot of raping happen with the need of getting wealth, that if you rape someone, or you rape a young girl, you can be, you can have the wealth, as part of a (witchcraft) ceremony.
<b>Homosexuality came from the islands</b>	The customs were especially of the people of the coast... Traditionally it was coming from the islands, Pemba, Zanzibar and Tanga. If you go to Zanzibar, you can find there are a lot of homosexuals in Zanzibar and this is historical with Arabs. The influence came from the Arabs who were living there before, but now it's shifted even here. So it was there in a very high rate, but it was not really publicised. Now with that confusion we have, the people now are travelling from Zanzibar to the mainland...
<b>Homosexuality has been here</b>	Homosexuality... hummmm ....first of all I don't want to get up in the belief that homosexuality is a Western concept. It's the belief that this thing came from the West. " <i>Hivi ni tabia ....za wazungu bwana</i> " (These are behaviours for Europeans), " <i>Africa hazipo</i> " (Not there in Africa). It's not a fact. This thing has been here. Maybe we did not have the word for that. Its called...what?.. " <i>Ushoga</i> " in Kiswahili, it's a new word. But this thing has been there...
<b>Sex is people's decision</b>	Sex involves choice, somebody decides to choose to be a homosexual. I just decide to become one. It is a freedom of people in life and that is a really democracy. It depends on the society. Nowadays there are homosexual associations, they are doing it legally in other countries, now they are coming up...They can now come out and look for their rights to be in the society. They are demanding to have their rights, because in other countries they're legalising it.

## Abortion

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
<b>Abortion is a social problem</b>	Abortion is taking place, especially in the urban areas, but it's not allowed legally, but people are doing that and they know that it's illegal. Abortion I can say is a real problem we are facing, it is a social problem, not only for young people, but also for the elder people. Most people choose to abort because they think.....one of the factors....because they feel they can not care for the child or may be because the child was got out of very funny ways. May be the mother was raped...she does not want to associate herself with this kind of the past. It was brought out by a lot of things but basically the poverty of the people. Rape and poverty are related. This is a very big problem, the poverty issues, on one side and also on another side, the ignorance. You find now, especially nowadays in Tanzania, in every magazine, you find someone who has been raped, young people or the house girl, let's say, are being just raped and then they end up to that thing (pregnancy)... Young people then go to the extent of abortion, which is also related to the problem of baby dumping. The young people are falling into that trap, they're ignorant of the real sense of that development (pregnancy), and then they abort. Doctors are doing it, so it is being practiced, although it is illegal. Schoolgirls are doing that, so it's business with some of the doctors, while others think maybe it's the proper way to do. We cannot just call it a bad thing, since elder people at least can have it safe, but the young people... they are doing it in the street, which is costing their life. We have very dilapidated or bad health facilities, and we lose so many people through abortion practices, because people die when they are trying to abort, we don't have the proper and appropriate tools to make sure that people abort safely.
<b>Sexual education could prevent problems</b>	We are talking about reproductive health knowledge among the young people. Many young people don't have that knowledge, and not only they don't have that knowledge, but because of the customs we have, parents cannot talk freely with their young people about their development and their reproductive issues when they're entering those stages. We have to try to educate people on that issue because the issue of poverty, you can't remove it completely. Pregnancy is a thing that you can protect yourself against. There are so many ways to educate the young ladies on how they can protect themselves. You can go there, be advised and start to use some preventive measures. When you teach them how to protect themselves, I think they are going to

Central idea	Discourse of the Collective Subject
	<p>adapt to it – the using of condoms, so you are going to solve, to solve both two problems (pregnancy and HIV/AIDS), hey? Another issue is actually advocacy, creating awareness of the impact of aborting. I think there is a lot of need of awareness creation and education. We need to change men and women's attitude, and men become more responsible for the pregnancy so as to stop abortions.</p> <p>I have to make sure that I grow my son up and make sure he copes with the current situation, you see, study from morning to the evening, without depending on a house boy or a house girl. That's the way I try to grow him up and when he's old enough, I will try to change him from the prevailing situation, whereby anybody in the house can do whatever it is there, compared to those days before when we were restricted: the ladies had to wash and cook and boys had to play outside for football and that stuff. I used to talk with my brothers, young brothers, because they were growing up and I knew they were able (to have sex). Ja, it's better to talk with them, because when you wait, and the boy has already done it, then to revert the situation is very difficult; but when you talk to him before, you are trying to make him plan his life forward. It's not normal (for a mother to talk to his son about those matters). It's an exception and when some people find it, they do not understand it, really, but I think it's high time to talk to the boys, even the ladies, you have to talk to them. That's your role, you're a grown up. Some say that traditionally we don't do that, they go separately, men and women, to different areas in the bush.</p>
<p><b>There are legitimate reasons for abortion</b></p>	<p>I think there is a time now to decide that if we have real data that that pregnancy will pain you, or if you have a health problem, let it allow it to be an abortion. Under certain conditions it is reasonable and rational that abortion must be carried on, some situations where there is no way out. For medical reasons, abortion is okay. If the woman is pregnant and the pregnancy could cause some problems - health, health problems to the woman - I don't see any problem with that woman to abort, hu? Maybe the mother's life is at risk, if it has been proven that that woman has a risk to die. So, under such circumstances, it's wise to terminate the pregnancy...I agree. We are reaching a time to allow some of the abortions, because if you are not prepared, it is a psychological torture bearing a child whose father you don't know, and even if you know him and don't really like to have that child... There is this experience of unwanted pregnancies, which affect the majority of young people, young girls, especially here in Africa, in Tanzania in particular. So I, I don't see any reason of having a child you can't bear, so I, I do support abortion in those circumstances - medical reasons and the unwanted ones. Society must understand victims of such unwanted pregnancies - they must not be condemned. Even if you are married, the pregnancy could be a problem to you, if you are not ready to take care of the child. A lot of people are making abortions; sometimes they are doing it. I don't have those strong feelings against abortion. No, no, no, no. Since now it is criminalized, hey, it could be de-criminalized and softened in such a way that there could be some degree of allowing for it, make it legally, and done in the way it's ok. It's not just that anybody who just don't want a child, abort now, but there should be some circumstances which could lead to, so you could have a policy for example, explaining in detail the circumstances...</p>
<p><b>Abortion is against the human rights</b></p>	<p>Abortion is an important injustice and is against the human rights. It is a curse killing an innocent child. It is akin to murder and must be discouraged. When I see someone aborting, really, I don't feel okay, because she's going to bleed purposely. We might look at it in terms of human rights...human rights law... All these things... but... because life in itself remains a mystery, I strongly believe that we should always give it a chance. I still really have difficulties to accept this, that if you have a pregnancy you should have a right to decide to terminate it; it's like saying if you feel you cannot feed your children you should have the right to shoot them dead. Of course it translates to the same... It means to kill a baby before she is born. It is not good if it is done for the purpose of just killing a baby, because you don't want it to be a girl or to avoid responsibility of raising that baby. The situation is not good, because it could kill an innocent child who could become an important person of the tomorrow's nation. I believe in God and God doesn't allow killing. It is against people's rights. With the help of the religious people, we could teach that if you abort you are killing something.</p>
<p><b>Girls now can go back to school after delivering</b></p>	<p>A pregnant girl is expected to leave school, and the pregnancy will make her suffer in schooling. When young people are in the school age and get pregnant, they fear being dropped out from the school, but if you can improve the situation and allow young people to deliver and then come back to the school, it can be one of the things which can solve that particular problem, using that policy of allowing the young people to go back to the school, not necessarily to abort. You have to support her and when she delivers, again counsel her and send her back to school. At least now the girls can fight that when they deliver they go back to school.</p>
<p><b>Abortion is not on the political</b></p>	<p>According to the Tanzanian laws, abortion is illegal and once you commit that act, you can be, the woman can be, imprisoned for some years in jail. There is no big debate here in Tanzania</p>

<b>Central idea</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject</b>
<b>agenda</b>	regarding the abortion policies, there is no big debate. It is very, very tricky, because the feelings of the society in general are that abortion is a bad thing. That's the feeling of Tanzanian society in general, and in my view, the Government shouldn't, couldn't, shouldn't support abortion. But we don't put this issue on the agenda, we consider they're not existing.

## **Banghi**

<b>Central idea</b>	<b>Discourse of the Collective Subject</b>
<b>Banghi is a traditional thing</b>	There are some cultures that encourage usage of Bhanghi. Even myself I can hear from people, they are saying that Bhanghi is a traditional thing, something for their food. I must agree that it's one of our traditions and from the humble literature I have read is that in those days people used to consume it as a way of getting them strong. Someone would consume it and would go to the bush and clear the bush and cultivate, so it was used for production. People used to consume it to produce. They used to smoke it then it was used for production purposes. They did not know the long term effects, so you would somehow justify it, that it was wise to do that at that time, because it was the only way for mass production, people did not have tractors, they did not have ox ploughs, they had to produce food and feed their families... that is how they used to do it. Bhanghi has been, historically has been, there for a long time. In some of the regions it is just to be used like the food, they just use that Bhanghi plant and cook it as a food, for a long time, in Iringa and some of the regions, so it was their normal plant. They didn't put it as a drug, to the extent that it would be distorting our young people or something which could be used for sale and distorting the community. For instance, people from Iringa they use it with other foods, such as rice and ugali and so on. They cook it. And they eat it. I think to eat is no problem, when you cook it. (Now) It is a traditional drug which is used by drug dealers.
<b>It is destructive</b>	It can destroy one's life: that's my opinion on Bhanghi. I must say it's a very bad thing. Because it has a permanent damage that we can never change. This kind of plant is not good since it may cause cancer and confusion to the users. It's destroying the young people in the communities and the life of tomorrow's manpower. So it does not help anything. I must tell you that Bhanghi right now is one of the biggest problems and I would condemn it because of a number of factors, one of them is that there is no justification for it. Actually Bhanghi is just currently been taken as one of the drugs, which are worst to, especially young people in Tanzania. It makes people who take it to be weak and addicted: without it, no normal life. So I can say the use of the Bhanghi have nowadays come up as something destructive and it must be understood that Bhanghi is harmful. It's really now becoming a real problem because actually they are distorting our young people in the thinking capacity, being dependant on that so they are falling in another problems to the nation. It disturbs the brain and when you continue to take this for a long time afterwards the brain is distorted, so on my view, despite the fact that people are eating this and they're okay up to the moment, but if you smoke it, it's really a problem. Not good, it brings people to the danger of drug abuse. It's almost the same way as taking alcohol or heroine or cocaine. I put Cocaine, Mandrax, Heroine, and things like that as drugs. Last month we had a workshop in Zanzibar and I think it was...they told us that in Zanzibar 20% of the youth are like they are there but they are non-existent, because they are already dead. They are moving but practically dead! Any time they can die! Yes they do... it is dangerous to human mental activity. I don't know what sort of drugs, just take a walk along Cocoa Beach you will see those syringes. I went to Cocoa Beach and that's what I saw. So that tells a lot in terms of how many people are affected by drugs. Most of our young people have been destroyed, because of this. Is a drug used for different reasons, but in most cases for wicked acts. This is very dangerous. Ja.
<b>It is used to escape reality</b>	It's not really something that I would encourage because I look at it as a distraction. People consume it just because of fashion or because the others consume so I must consume. They consume it as ... as... a way of trying to escape from social problems. I do understand that the social problems are very many. Young people have a lot of social problems. And sometimes people consume Bhanghi because they believe it takes you to a different world. That is the perception that people have. So I can say it's associated with the...a, a lot of things...something can be in the part of the frustration, you can say. I can talk much on young people because I am the one dealing with it. Young people are getting a lot of the economic problems and the poverty. The frustration makes them now to use that Bhanghi as a misuse or their normal uses they have had for a long time. It is cheap, available within the country, they cost them almost nothing and they use it to solve their problems, short solving the problems, not to look for their future. If I don't have money to eat, I just smoke this one, then I feel myself undisturbed, something like that. It is sometimes used by the people so as to reduce pain that they have in their body or boosting up

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	their feeling even to get a little bit higher. It gives illusive confidence and feeling.
<b>It does not help improve the economy</b>	It does not have any economic contribution to the country. I know in some countries like Colombia, where people are making a lot of money out of Banghi ... but here it does not have any economic contribution to the economy. The people who are getting rich out of it are very few. Consuming it doesn't contribute to production. No one is consuming Banghi because he wants to produce more. Even if they're using it, selling it or whatever, it does not contribute in any GDP of the country because they are just selling it illegally, so they're just moving it without contributing anything, it cannot add anything in the country.
<b>The government must stop it</b>	Banghi is one of the illicit drugs abused by so many youth in Tanzania. In Tanzania, it is illegal to use it and I think it should remains so. The Government should find a solution for that and should use extra force to stop its usage amongst the many youths. It is a worldwide problem then the world should prepare a network for stopping this illicit and dangerous drug. It's really forbidden and I think it's a good policy because it's not, that's not real. It should be prevented from youth in order to have a good nation.
<b>It is a burden to the health system</b>	Our immunity systems are weak and are not compared to your or our forefathers. So the more we consume Banghi, the more we become weakened. It's not easy to rehabilitate someone who has taken on drugs for our health systems and medical systems. The social and health system are not existent. We have very few rehabilitation centres that could work to change someone who has taken on drugs. So completely it affects our social fabric and also makes many people inefficient.
<b>You can go to prison</b>	People they are selling it in terms of tons, but it's illegal within the nation, so, if you are being caught, you are in trouble, but if you MANAGE to sell it, people they're getting income from this, but I will not recommend, because anything which you are selling and you are sure that if I've been caught, everything is over, that is a really problematic.
<b>It can cause conflicts</b>	It is bringing a lot of con-, conflict among the people in the community. If you heard the conflict between the people at the northern part of country, Mara, I think, they are quarrelling because of the big farms of the Banghi in the areas, which were there before, but after knowing that, they are getting a lot of market or need, now they are quarrelling on the land.
<b>It is easy to get</b>	The other drugs such as Cocaine and the Heroin, they're also illegal, but people manage to get them, you can hear, day to day on the newspapers and the radio people has just been importing them and for instance now, they are selling at a cheap price in the Kariako or, or in the city centre, whereby with 200 shillings someone can get a small amount of it.
<b>I don't know</b>	Banghi! I don't know how far I should go into this. I don't know much about that, I don't know much about that. I don't know. I sincerely get confused about what should be done to Bhanghi. I've seen those who get "mad" after consuming it as well as those who are at their best in performance when they smoke Banghi.
<b>It can be used in certain circumstances</b>	It can be used if it has been recommended by the doctor or suggest it should be used in Hospital if useful but not otherwise because in excess it has a lot of effects. A minimum quantity use should be legalized.