

Building ‘capacity’ for education research among scholars of the global South:
Learning from the case of an international research collaboration in Tanzania

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In much of academia, it often seems, at least to me, that there is an aversion to anything bordering on the supernatural. Aspects of Christian faith, in particular, appear to be pushed to the periphery of the periphery, if welcomed into scholarly discussions at all. I believe this is a sad state of affairs and therefore would like to begin this more reflective section of the dissertation that follows the way I endeavor to begin each new day: by acknowledging my Creator, Sustainer, and Lord. I never succeed at being the type of Christian, or person for that matter, that I long to be. Yet, out of abundant grace and mercy, God loves me all the same. I could not have completed this journey without my faith and belief in God. As a scholar I hope to instill in my students new knowledge; as a Christian I hope that “the earth be filled with knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea” (Habakkuk 2:14). For your continued sustenance and hope for things greater, I thank you, God.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the many research participants, friends, and family members that made this journey possible.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the process of engaging in transnational knowledge production vis-à-vis a case study of one research collaboration between scholars based in Tanzania and the United States. The Teaching in Action Research Project involved nine faculty based in Tanzania in an applied, multi-sited team ethnography that examined aspects of pedagogical practice in Tanzanian secondary schools. Its broad aim was to build the research capacity of these faculty at Mwenye University College of Education (MWUCE), a higher education institution in Tanzania that has experienced significant growth in recent years. Through this partnership, faculty and graduate students from the United States engaged with the faculty from Tanzania in a collaborative process of piloting and revising research instruments, collecting and analyzing data, and writing and publishing book chapters and journal articles based on this research collaboration.

This study uses qualitative methods to explore how these faculty in Tanzania experienced this research collaboration. It examines their experiences with the collaborative research process, including their perceived benefits and challenges of participating. The dissertation also explores the issue of research capacity by investigating how MWUCE as an institution has sought to develop a robust research culture amidst substantial institutional expansion reflective of the broader higher education sector across much of sub-Saharan Africa. The findings suggest that faculty and institutions may face significant challenges to conducting and disseminating research, but that research capacity building initiatives, though not perfect, can serve as a means to involve faculty from Tanzania in scholarly activities that make meaningful contributions to extant research and also increase their capacity to conduct research.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJOL	African Journals Online
APA	American Psychological Association
BTP	Block Teaching Practice
EFA	Education for All
ESR	Education for Self Reliance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LCP	Learner-Centered Pedagogy
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MOEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MWUCE	Mwenge University College of Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PI	Principal Investigator
PTR	Pupil to Teacher Ratio
RFP	Request for Proposal
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy
SBW	School-based workshop
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TARP	Teaching in Action Research Project
TIA	Teaching in Action
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union

CHAPTER ONE:

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Much of the published educational research in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has been produced by researchers from the global North or through collaborations with researchers from SSA where control of the research design and knowledge production is maintained by organizations from the global North (Maclure, 2006). This situation could lead to imbalances in the ways in which education and development in SSA are understood and constructed. With limited contributions of scholars from SSA, there exists the possibility that knowledge will continue to be conceptualized and interpreted primarily through Western lenses, further perpetuating the cultural and contextual bias of research across various fields (Marfo, Pence, LeVine, & LeVine, 2011). An implication of this condition includes increasing power imbalances that have real consequences for producing and using knowledge across countries of the core and those of the periphery, whose relations have been framed as “catching up to the West” (Porter & Sheppard, 1998, p. 111). Furthermore, the value of research conducted by scholars from SSA also extends to the production of policy-relevant educational research with the capability to inform educational practice based on knowledge of local contexts and ways of thinking: “Inquiry needed to generate the locally relevant knowledge base to guide policies and interventions cannot be sustained unless there is sufficient local expertise capable of conducting conceptually and methodologically sound research” (Marfo, Pence, LeVine, LeVine, 2011 p. 106). In order to address this need for research in Africa by Africans,

international development agencies, universities, and other entities have established research collaborations with the intent of empowering researchers in SSA to produce new knowledge conducted in and relevant to their local contexts (Barrett, Crossley, & Dachi, 2011).¹ This dissertation examines these issues and the ways in which institutions and individual scholars in SSA are actively and passively involved in the process of producing new knowledge through their involvement in research collaborations.

Research Problem

Given the condition noted above, a new discourse has emerged within the field of international development that envisions egalitarian research collaborations between higher education institutions and researchers in the global North and South (Barrett, Crossley, & Dachi, 2011).² Both neoliberal scholars and their critics envisage university faculty from the global South as the engines of a transformation in knowledge production if only collaborative institutional structures can be created across countries and continents. It is assumed by many scholars that collaborative research will ‘build capacity’ and provide African faculty, in particular, the skills necessary to contribute to

¹ I would like to acknowledge the problematic nature of using blanket terminology, such as ‘Africans’ and ‘Western’, in reference to vastly different groups of people who have a multiplicity of nationalities, beliefs, and experiences. The literature used throughout this dissertation is drawn from a variety of sub-Saharan African contexts because there is not an adequate body of literature specifically from Tanzania. Therefore, I will use the term ‘African’ when discussing the extant research even though I recognize the limitations of this general term and reject normalizing and generalizing discourses.

² The term ‘global South’ will be used throughout this dissertation in reference to nation-states considered ‘underdeveloped’ by some national governments and international aid agencies (Porter & Sheppard, 1998). Because the majority of these nation-states are in or near the southern hemisphere, this term has been used by scholars and practitioners to describe nation-states that receive a significant amount of international aid and therefore are highly influenced by the actions of nation-states in the core. Again, however, there are problematic issues with this general term.

transnational knowledge production arising from international research efforts.³ In the context of SSA, however, placing this onus on faculty largely ignores the fact that the rapidly expanding higher education sector is staffed largely by young instructors and lecturers who have minimal mentoring opportunities (Obong, 2004), demanding teaching loads (Maclure, 2006), and limited research training (Sawyer, 2004).

My own experience working with young faculty in Tanzania suggests a desire by many to engage in university-to-university research collaborations but also wariness to do so when intellectual and material resources are unevenly distributed across international research teams. Without relationships that directly addresses the unequal access to international publications, uneven fluency in academic English skills, limited exposure to new research methods, or the integration of localized epistemologies or ways of knowing into research approaches, it is likely that the call for collaboration will remain largely rhetorical and show little change in the relations of power that plague international collaborations (Anderson & Steneck, 2011).⁴ Furthermore, without interventions that aim to improve this inequity, the gap between countries with more developed research capacities and those with less will likely widen (Boshoff, 2010; Sanyal & Varghese, 2006).

³ A brief definition of 'faculty' is necessary here in order to allow for common understanding of this term across national borders. While the term 'faculty' in American English often refers to a group of faculty members, it typically takes on a slightly different meaning in the academy in Tanzania (or at least the one in this study), where the term 'faculty' implies a specific department or division of the institution, such as the 'humanities faculty.' One does not refer to all faculty members in Tanzania merely as 'faculty.' The phrase 'the lecturers' might be a more appropriate reference for the entire group of faculty members. However, the term 'faculty' will be used in this dissertation due to its grounding in an American higher education institutional setting and in the academic literature on comparative higher education.

⁴ The vast majority of research about this topic in SSA has been written in English and I have therefore decided to focus on Anglophone SSA, but the situation is likely similar in Francophone and Lusophone countries (see Boshoff, 2009).

The international discourse on higher education situates faculty from SSA as the locus of knowledge production despite the challenges they face in conducting research and publishing in international academic journals. This study does not assume that international research collaborations are able to redress power imbalances or fully empower faculty in SSA to accrue the research currency necessary to be competitive in the international academic arena; rather, the study seeks to interrogate the assumed relationship between international research partnerships and ‘capacity building.’

The phrase ‘capacity building’ will be used throughout this dissertation, and it is therefore beneficial to suggest a common understanding of the term. Research capacity includes the “skills, competencies, attitudes, and values” that are developed and “nurtured by the assembling of a critical mass of researchers, cultivation of a positive research culture, and the presence of incentive systems that make a research career attractive” (Sawyer, 2004, p. 217). Implicit in this definition of research capacity is a conceptualization of ‘knowledge production’ where disciplinary and university structures codify fields of scientific research according to cognitive and social norms that determine “what constitutes good science” (Gibbons et al, 1994, p. 3) as well as in line with the political and institutional uses of knowledge. Thus, throughout this dissertation ‘knowledge production’ is framed in this manner primarily because the discourse of international research collaboration presumes this more formalized understanding of knowledge produced by researchers.

The definition of ‘capacity building’ above does not address the process of developing or ‘building’ such capacity, however. Although capacity building has many different conceptualizations and applications across contexts (Crisp, Swerissen, &

Duckett, 2000), de Graaf's definition of capacity building for development is helpful for this dissertation: "capacity building is seen as an effort to increase the self-sustaining ability of people to recognize, analyze and solve their own problems by more effectively controlling and using their own and external resources" (1986, p. 8). This definition can be easily applied to the context of faculty development through international research partnerships, wherein institutions aim to build capacity through collaboration with the final goal of empowering faculty to conduct their own research on the topics that are most interesting and relevant to them.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the experiences and perceptions of research and international collaboration among faculty at a university college of education in Tanzania that aims to promote research and scholarship. Using Mwenge University College of Education (MWUCE) as a case study, the study examines the challenges and constraints of building research capacity among faculty in SSA through research collaborations and the role of these partnerships in empowering faculty or perpetuating transnational power imbalances. While the experiences of faculty across SSA are not identical—those in South Africa, for example, likely experience different material contexts than those in South Sudan—the experiences of faculty at MWUCE are probably quite similar to others across the continent in comparison with the broader politics of international knowledge production. This dissertation therefore also explores how faculty members in Tanzania are positioned as knowledge producers at the national and international levels and how they view their roles vis-à-vis educational research and potential knowledge production in international academia.

Research Questions

This study aims to address the issues noted above by investigating the following research questions:

1. How do faculty in SSA experience both local and international demands of higher education in institutional contexts?
2. How do faculty at MWUCE experience the institutional expansion of higher education and its concomitant shift towards cultivating a research culture?
 - a. How do faculty members negotiate the tension between their roles as educators and researchers?
 - b. What incentives exist for them to conduct and publish research?
 - c. What strategies do faculty employ to engage in knowledge production?
3. How do faculty at MWUCE who have participated in an international research collaboration that aimed to build capacity perceive its value and their role in the project?
 - a. What skills, dispositions, and knowledge did they learn through the process?
 - b. How did their participation in this project influence their research pursuits?
 - c. How did faculty experience relations of power through their involvement in an international research collaboration?

Addressing these research questions will contribute to policymaking and program development by identifying the research needs and desires of a group of faculty who have experienced a research mentoring program and by suggesting directions for further

development of such programs by national and international institutions and by African universities themselves. The findings will also explore how faculty conceptualize their roles in the international discourse of research capacity building and in the local context in which their research is conducted.

Conceptual Framework

The research questions for this study are derived from both my review of relevant literature and from a critical interpretivist research paradigm. This ‘blended paradigm’ assumes that meaning is subjective and co-constructed by actors, and that the meanings that become authoritative in any context are due to relations of power marked by histories of race, gender, and ethnicity, and by economic resources that are unevenly distributed across interlocutors. The study also uses a critical lens to examine relations of power between institutions engaged in research collaborations and the very notion of building capacity for African researchers and institutions.

Although the theoretical framework and relevant literature will be described in greater detail in Chapter Two, it is beneficial here to outline briefly a few of the scholars I used to help frame my work. First, Arjun Appadurai’s (1999) scholarship regarding ‘research imagination’ was helpful in conceptualizing this study. His concepts of ‘weak internationalization’ of research—inviting scholars of the global South to learn and adhere to the dominant research norms and conventions—and ‘strong internationalization’—challenging all researchers to consider how multiple ways of knowing and representing information could be valued—have been especially productive lenses through which I viewed this research. Moreover, the notion of strong

internationalization links closely with Richa Nagar's work related to unequal material contexts, who asks, "What does it mean to co-produce relevant knowledge across geographical, institutional, and/or cultural borders?" (2002, p. 179). Nagar's question was present in my mind throughout the processes of collecting, analyzing, and writing about the data. It stands as a core question for researchers who intend to pursue collaborative research in the international arena.

Other scholars whose work has been instrumental in guiding this study include those who research higher education in the context of SSA. In particular, Teferra and Altbach (2004) have produced literature examining the significant growth of higher education in Africa and how institutions have adapted to this shift. Other scholars have viewed the higher education sector and its development from a more critical lens. These include Maclure (2006), Samoff (2013), Samoff and Carroll (2004), Sawyerr (2004), and others. Many of these critical scholars have challenged the structures and procedures funding agencies use to support or ignore the needs of higher education institutions in SSA, including those in Tanzania. In many ways, this dissertation adds to this growing body of critical literature on comparative higher education.

Preview of Research Site

This research was conducted at Mwenje University College of Education (MWUCE), a 12-year old teacher training institution located near Moshi, Tanzania. MWUCE was founded in 2001 by the Catholic Diocese of Moshi and graduated its first cohort of teachers in April 2003, all of whom completed a diploma in science education (Raraiya, 2010). In 2006, MWUCE began offering a bachelor of education in science

program and phased out the diploma program with the express goal of training upper-level science teachers for secondary schools in Tanzania.⁵ The institution has offered a bachelor of education in art for several years and in 2011-2012 began offering a master's in education degree (M.Ed.). The institution has also been working on the creation of a Ph.D. program in education that will offer several different tracks, including educational leadership and program evaluation.

MWUCE was selected as the research site of this study for several reasons. First, the administration has a relatively new commitment to building the research capacity of its faculty members, which resembles changes at other small universities throughout the continent. A Research Coordinator position was created at MWUCE in 2010, and the administration is in the process of launching a new academic journal that aims to publish work by faculty and other local scholars. Furthermore, MWUCE was involved in the Teaching in Action Research Partnership (TARP) in 2010, an international university-to-university partnership between the University of Minnesota, Columbia University-Teachers College, and MWUCE. This research collaboration was designed and directed by two associate professors who served as the principal investigators (PIs)—Dr. Frances Vavrus from the University of Minnesota and Dr. Lesley Bartlett from Columbia University-Teachers College—after being asked by MWUCE to create a research program that would help develop the research skills of its young faculty. It was funded

⁵ When MWUCE first opened it offered a diploma program, which certified teachers to work at the lower secondary level, known as Ordinary Level, or O-Level in short, in Tanzania. A bachelor's degree, which is a higher level of qualification, enables teachers to also work at the upper secondary level, known as Advanced Level, or A-Level.

through grants as well as through in-kind institutional support from MWUCE.⁶ The research for TARP focused on teachers' understandings and applications of learner-centered pedagogy—as well as other educational issues in Tanzanian secondary schools—following the Teaching in Action (TIA) professional development workshop held at MWUCE in 2010.⁷ TARP was also structured to simultaneously build research capacity among MWUCE faculty through qualitative research training and bi-national mentor partnerships. As a result of these factors, MWUCE served as an excellent case study in which to investigate the research questions regarding faculty members' experiences with research partnerships and the nature of their roles as knowledge producers. In addition, I contend that the presumed connections between international research collaborations and research capacity can best be investigated in an environment where faculty members have at least some familiarity with basic research methods and have participated in a program with the explicit aim of building their research capacity.

Second, MWUCE was selected as the research site because I have previous experience working with faculty members there (described in greater detail in Chapter Three), which made the process of gaining access and building rapport much easier. In 2010 I worked closely with faculty members who were part of TARP in my role as a Program Manager, visiting multiple research sites and working with all TARP researchers to ensure ease and consistency of data collection and submission. In my

⁶ TARP was funded by AfricAid, Open Soros Foundation, Planet Wheeler, University of Minnesota, Columbia University-Teachers College, and others. Each organization funded specific parts of the project, and the PIs and the MWUCE Research Coordinator were primarily responsible for managing the funds.

⁷ In short, TIA is an annual professional development workshop for in-service secondary school teachers that aims to help them infuse their teaching with learner-centered approaches. More information about TIA is included in Chapter Three and can also be found from the following sources: Thomas and Vavrus (2010); Vavrus and Bartlett (2013); and Vavrus, Thomas, and Bartlett (2011).

concurrent role as a field researcher posted to one specific focal secondary school, I also had the opportunity to partner with one faculty member and Tanzanian-based researcher, Allen Rugambwa, to collect, analyze, and write about data from the project and our focal school, more specifically. We worked together on several publications and have maintained a close working relationship throughout the last four years (Rugambwa & Thomas, 2013; Rugambwa & Thomas, 2012; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2013; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011). These relationships and cultural capital helped create trust between me and the interlocutors in this study. In addition, my previous relationships with a number of MWUCE faculty highlighted for me some of the challenges faculty face in conducting their own research, such as limited access to journals, heavy teaching loads, and specific notions of quality ‘research’, such as the need for control groups and research projects that utilize experimental designs.⁸ As such, MWUCE was valuable as a site for my dissertation research because I had already seen glimpses of the complexities and nuances of a burgeoning yet constrained research culture within an institution of higher education in Tanzania.

Therefore, I used purposeful sampling to select a site in which faculty research is encouraged and where attempts have been made to cultivate in faculty the skills, knowledge, and dispositions necessary for them to continue in the pursuit of knowledge production. However, my previous experiences at MWUCE and with TARP suggest that different conceptions of collaboration, minimal mentoring by more experienced senior faculty, and nominal familiarity with the conventions of academic journals published in

⁸ See Vulliamy (2003) for a discussion on the use of positivist frameworks by educational researchers working in developing countries and the more recent push for research drawing on critical and interpretivist epistemologies.

English (and primarily for the scholarly community of the global North) have affected the potential for ongoing international research collaboration. Yet, without more intensive and systematic study of faculty experiences in conducting research and preparing it for publication in venues that meet international standards, this case would be of limited value to researchers and policymakers. I believe, therefore, that MWUCE was an excellent location in which to conduct my research because I was already familiar with many of its faculty and structures. Moreover, much can be learned from this case site because of the current institutional push to cultivate a vibrant research culture among young faculty and amidst massive enrollment increases. Thus, the conditions at this site are similar to many other young higher education institutions in Tanzania and across SSA. This site therefore satisfies two primary considerations in case site selection because there is much to learn and access is readily available (Stake, 1995).

Study Significance

Higher education research shows that universities around the world are experiencing funding crises and new pressures to increase faculty teaching loads, expand access to more diverse student populations, and simultaneously improve faculty research capacity and productivity. Yet, the effects of these pressures on the development of research appear to be much greater for faculty working in most universities in SSA because they are “lacking long histories and traditions of scholarly production” (Zeleva,

2002, p. 21).⁹ Increasing numbers of scholars are voicing concerns about the limited production of social science research by African scholars at African universities and the implications this has both for democratizing the global academic community (Adebowale, 2001; Samoff & Carrol, 2004) and for democracy itself in SSA (Mamdani, 2008). Without knowledge produced by African scholars, some, like Mamdani, contend that it will be impossible to generate local solutions to problems and to “develop the range of choices which make democracy meaningful” (2008, p. 2).

My research contributes to this broader set of concerns and to this particular area of comparative higher education scholarship. Specifically, the study is likely to be significant by highlighting the experiences of African faculty as they engage in knowledge production. It is also significant for scholars who seek to understand relations of power in ostensibly collaborative endeavors that shape the transnational production and dissemination of knowledge.

A related area of research to which this study contributes concerns the rapid expansion of Africa’s universities during the past two decades and the research preparation of young faculty. For example, while Makerere University in Uganda is often referred to as the Harvard of Africa, some of the faculty do not yet have advanced degrees and have received little research mentoring (Obong, 2004). However, these faculty are increasingly expected to conduct research and assume more senior positions. Makerere has considerable prestige and therefore greater ability to attract accomplished

⁹ It is important to acknowledge that histories of scholarly production could exist but simultaneously be considered illegitimate and therefore ignored due to entrenched relations of power that privilege specific kinds of knowledge production and use over others.

scholars and researchers than smaller institutions in SSA. Understandably, smaller institutions in SSA face similar, if not more dramatic, gaps in training and preparation.

In his exploration of the conditions of higher education institutions in Africa, Mkandawire (1995) identified three generations of African scholars. The first were largely trained abroad shortly after independence (1960s-1970s) with extensive research preparation and then returned to become faculty at new African institutions or to take the place of departing foreign faculty at more established institutions on the continent. The second generation was also trained abroad in Europe and North America (from the late 1970s-1990s) but frequently did not return home to teach during this period of economic hardship in many African countries, thereby exemplifying the 'brain drain' phenomenon (see also Atteh, 1996). Now, as the first generation begins to retire and new institutions are being established, a fresh cadre of African academics is emerging—the third generation—which in many cases has had more limited international training than their predecessors and may not be 'Ph.D.-holders,' a status that carries considerable sociocultural significance as well as greatly increased familiarity with the norms and conventions of scholarly research. Nevertheless, this third generation is being called upon to produce scholarship and policy-relevant research of the same—or better—quality than their predecessors. Mkandawire contends that these third-generation faculty members in Africa are expected to achieve remarkable ends despite "little familiarity with major theoretical debates abroad" and "the almost routine rejection by international journals of articles written by these scholars" (1995, p. 80). My doctoral research adds to this emerging area of inquiry by investigating the professional development desires of these new faculty and the skills they deem necessary to achieve their scholarly goals and

advance higher education and educational research in Tanzania. It also explores how these skills are framed by international debates and influences on knowledge production processes and international higher education.

Finally, my research is significant as a concrete example of an applied capacity building project. Through my involvement in an intensive research development program with faculty members at MWUCE from June-August 2012, I was engaged in the process of providing professional development for the research participants. In brief (and elaborated in Chapter Three), I co-led a two-day faculty research training program on qualitative, classroom-based research similar to the training provided to a largely different group of MWUCE faculty in 2010. As a research coach, I then assisted a subset of these faculty in designing, piloting, and implementing a new research project as a research coach. Throughout my engagement with this core group of faculty researchers, I became even more familiar with the process of conducting collaborative qualitative research in Tanzania, engaging in meta-analytical discussions about knowledge production, and aiding them as they deemed appropriate in the logistics of collection, analysis, and dissemination of data. During the fall of 2012, I continued working with one member of this team to develop a conference proposal and presentation for an academic conference in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. We also engaged in discussions of knowledge production by considering publishing opportunities for the faculty to disseminate their research.

Limitations

Despite these potential contributions, this study has several potential limitations. First, the amount of time I spent in Tanzania had the potential to affect the reactions and honesty of my participants, in turn affecting the results of the study. While this research built upon my previous experiences at this research site between 2008-2011, and I spent more than two months in Tanzania conducting research specifically for my dissertation in 2012, it could have been advantageous to have spent an even longer period of time at the research site in order to develop greater trust and a deeper understanding of faculty members' perceptions of research. However, I was already quite familiar with some of the faculty members at MWUCE as a result of my previous work there co-facilitating TIA and TARP with MWUCE faculty. More specifically, my work with faculty during TARP deepened my understanding of the research problem for this dissertation as well as strengthened my relationships with faculty. The social relations gained through my experiences on campus and working with faculty members and administrators hopefully minimized the propensity for research participants to provide socially desirable responses.

Second, my positionality had the potential to be a limitation in the study. Although I had working relationships with some MWUCE faculty members, others may have viewed me as a representative of TARP or the University of Minnesota, and therefore perhaps perceived me to be a potential funding source for further international research collaborations. However, my experience with many of the faculty suggested that they were possibly more honest and open with me than they were with the two U.S.-based associate professors who were the principal investigators for TARP, Dr. Frances

Vavrus and Dr. Lesley Bartlett. As PIs, Dr. Vavrus and Dr. Bartlett were viewed by some MWUCE faculty as leaders and directors of the program rather than as colleagues.¹⁰ Their status as more accomplished scholars and professors seemed to set them apart in the minds of Tanzanian faculty at MWUCE, in part because of the high degree of respect reserved for experienced professors within the social hierarchy of Tanzanian higher education.¹¹ Thus, while I maintained a critical perspective of my interactions with others and how their perceptions of me might have influenced the data, I largely came to view my intermediate status as a graduate student and co-researcher as more of a benefit than a limitation in fostering open dialogue with the MWUCE faculty. I will discuss this issue and my positionality in greater detail in Chapter Three and Chapter Seven.

Third, the degree of transferability and applicability of this study may be a limitation. Although the views of faculty at MWUCE are likely to be similar to those at other African universities with similar characteristics, their views are also shaped by specific cultural, historical, and political contexts in the Kilimanjaro Region of Tanzania where MWUCE is located, in Tanzania, and in East Africa more broadly because a

¹⁰ I would like to acknowledge the openness and devotion to critical scholarship expressed by both Dr. Vavrus and Dr. Bartlett by allowing this research on the collaboration they designed and implemented. Many, many hours went into the planning of the research collaboration and—having known and worked with both of them for nearly six years—I know for certain that they worked tirelessly to carefully structure and implement a research program with the best interests of MWUCE and its faculty in mind. All projects face challenges, however, including institutional and cultural structures as well as research complexities that cannot neither be predicted nor prevented. Their willingness to explore both the positive and negative spaces within a research collaboration to which they dedicated significant time and resources serves as a testimony to both their commitments to critical scholarship and enduring desires to further educational development around the world.

¹¹ For example, my field notes from 2012 recount an informal conversation with one faculty member who stated explicitly that ‘Prof’ and ‘Lesley’, as they are often affectionately known at MWUCE, are ‘big potatoes.’ This is one of several slang terms used frequently to describe bosses or highly accomplished professionals. This particular research participant continued by suggesting that some MWUCE faculty and staff try to spare PIs like Vavrus and Bartlett from critical information because of this status.

number of MWUCE faculty are from Kenya. In addition, although the realities of teaching and conducting research at MWUCE are similar to those at other institutions (e.g., large class sizes, limited resources, few mentoring opportunities), they are not identical to all other institutions in SSA that are experiencing growth. Lastly, while the nature of this particular research collaboration might not be identical to others that exist in Africa, many of the processes, logistics, and experiences are likely similar. In order to increase the degree of transferability and applicability of this study, I sought theoretical constructs and findings from this research that have the ability to transfer across contexts and provide insight into the research process for faculty in SSA and for transnational research collaborations in general. I highlight in Chapters Four to Seven how these findings might have applicability across contexts and provide scholars and practitioners with important considerations and insights.

Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide an overview of the entire study. It began with a description of the research problem and context, highlighting the recent movement calling for increased research conducted in SSA by African scholars. The chapter then presented the research questions that guided this study and explored briefly how they were investigated at MWUCE, the research site and college of education in Tanzania where I have partnered with faculty for several years. This chapter also introduced the theoretical constructs that frame this study as well as its significance and limitations.

The remainder of this dissertation is organized in the following fashion. In the next chapter I provide an overview of the relevant literature for this study, including the

historical and geopolitical context of my research locale, the theoretical framework guiding this study, and recent research on the knowledge production of faculty in SSA and research collaborations. The third chapter describes the research methodology and attends to ethical concerns related to the data collection process. The presentation and analysis of the data begins in Chapter Four with an in-depth investigation of the institutional context at MWCUE and its developing research culture. Chapter Five explores the experiences of MWUCE faculty who participated in TARP, including how they benefited from the collaborative research process and how they envisage utilizing in the future any capacity that had been built as a result of their participation. Chapter Six extends the exploration of the capacity building discourse by investigating how power imbalances undermine attempts to engage in egalitarian research relationships. Finally, Chapter Seven discusses and summarizes the overall findings from the dissertation and suggests that international research collaborations can actually build capacity, but demand careful planning and communication throughout the process to ensure their benefits are maximized and power imbalances are minimized.

CHAPTER TWO: FRAMING THE STUDY

Purpose of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical framework and primary bodies of literature that informed this study. The chapter begins with a description of the critical interpretivist approach and theoretical concepts that frame the study. The second section outlines the higher education context for faculty in SSA. The next section explores the discourse of ‘capacity building’ and the development of transnational research collaborations. The goal of this chapter is to present a coherent whole from these bodies of literature, thus setting the stage for my field research.

Theoretical Framework: A Critical Interpretivist View of Knowledge Production

Critical theory

Different definitions of critical theory exist, but one that proved most useful in my conceptualization of this research project was theory that “call[s] current ideology into question” by “interrogating commonly held values and assumptions” (Crotty, 1998, p. 157). The values and assumptions of particular concern to critical theorists are related to the political economy and the ideologies that justify or rationalize inequality on the basis of class, race, gender, or geopolitical location in the world economy. Moreover, critical scholars seek to actively challenge the status quo and existing inequities by engaging in research and practice in order to improve the conditions for those who have been

marginalized and historically pushed to the periphery. This approach to applied research assumes that sociopolitical change is a desired goal of the research itself.

In the field of education, critical theory has often been employed to explain how neoliberalism—an ideology based on increasing the power of free market systems and privatizing provisions such as education to the extent possible—has altered the work environment in higher education. In effect, neoliberalism has promoted the commodification of faculty labor and restructuring of faculty demands and requirements in order to meet increased student enrollment amidst decreased government support (Lynch, 2006; Wangenge-Ouma, 2008). The implications of neoliberalism are significant for universities in SSA.

Kincheloe and McLaren—two noted educational scholars who come out of the critical tradition—emphasize the urgency of conducting research that examines and challenges neoliberalism: “More than ever before, critical research needs to address the objective, material conditions of the workplace and labor relations in order to prevent the further resecuring of the ideological hegemony of the neoliberal corporatist state” (2000, p. 304). Other critical scholars have called for resisting the commoditization of education to meet the demands of a future global marketplace marked by competitive corporate interests (Geo-Jaja & Zadjja, 2005; Tabulawa, 2009). Although the aim of this study is not to engage in a critique of global capitalism, my work does draw on critical theory as a way to frame the analysis of educational and economic relations as they relate specifically to how African faculty are expected to operate in the workplace as well as the commodification of intellectual labor in higher education globally.

This study critically questions commonly held assumptions about the roles of faculty as knowledge producers and the process of capacity building within a neoliberal context. Michael Peters' critical research on policies that employ the concept of the 'knowledge economy' is helpful because it challenges these global policy discourses. Peters notes the implicit power of policy to generate normative understandings of the social and economic world:

Policy, in other words, has become the 'language of futurology' - steeped in hyperbole and laced with prediction. The rules of this policy language-game seem based upon the invention of new metanarratives - overarching concepts or visions of the future - as a method of picturing these changes and presenting a coherent policy narrative. (2001, p. 12)

He also highlights the inherent power of those who are responsible for establishing and maintaining policy discourses. He posits that those in power have taken it upon themselves to decide the "new meanings of the concepts of 'knowledge' and 'learning'" as they initiate a form of "knowledge managerialism" based on their newly established definitions (2001, p. 15). In the case of international research partnerships, faculty with more power possess greater ability to suggest research questions, methods, and approaches that ultimately lead to knowledge production. Similarly, one critical aspect of this dissertation is directed at this discursive level by challenging monolithic understandings of 'knowledge' (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000).

Arjun Appadurai's critical work on "research imagination" is also useful because it envisions new metanarratives generated by those who typically have less power, such as university faculty in SSA. He analyzes the research process and its conventions

through an anthropological lens and suggests that the process of ‘knowledge production’ is a tightly controlled machine. From his perspective, conducting research and producing new knowledge is not typically an activity which one can do alone; rather, verification and validation of knowledge production is certified through a specialized, disciplinary-specific, “community of assessment” (1999, p. 234). Appadurai posits that this community ultimately helps to certify whether the authors and producers of knowledge—faculty members in the case of this study—have met the criteria of certification, namely, a comprehensive literature review, appropriate citation usage and style, and demonstration of disciplinary knowledge that is neither too expansive nor too narrow.

In an effort to broaden the breadth of perspectives and voices in academic circles, Appadurai considers two approaches to internationalizing the process of knowledge production itself. First, “weak internationalization” is described as inviting new scholars from outside of global North to participate in the status quo; to learn the conventions of research such as conducting a comprehensive literature review, using theoretical concepts to advance a research study, and proving adequate knowledge of an intellectual arena (p. 237).¹² This also manifests itself in the use of theories that emanate from the global North (Keim, 2008), theories that might have limited or ‘forced application’ in the context of SSA. Weak internationalization may also lead to the “camp-follower” phenomenon whereby scholars in SSA orient their research towards the topics that are at the fore in the academic circles of the core (World Bank, 2000).

¹² See Vulliamy (2003) for an additional discussion of these issues and, in particular, how the systematic literature review process tends to privilege the experiences and access afforded to select researchers.

The second and more difficult option proposed by Appadurai is “strong internationalization.” This option involves questioning the prevailing norms and conventions of research and knowledge production. It aims to encourage scholars to engage in dialogue about “their own ideas about what counts as new knowledge and about what communities of judgment and accountability they might judge to be central in the pursuit of such knowledge” (p. 237). These two approaches are beneficial in framing this study because both ‘capacity building’ endeavors and the notion of ‘brain drain’ are grounded in a weak internationalization approach, an approach generally critiqued by critical scholars of comparative higher education.

Envisioning the potential for ‘strong internationalization’ raises difficult cross-cultural questions. Critical theorist Richa Nagar draws attention to this when she asks: “What does it mean to co-produce relevant knowledge across geographical, institutional, and/or cultural borders?” (2002, p. 179). Her work highlights some of the dissonances between the communities of assessment described by Appadurai and the communities in which researchers are actually conducting research. Her work suggests the question, ‘How can the work of scholars of the global North be accessible and relevant to those who live in differing sociocultural and institutional environments?’ Additionally, and more closely connected to Appadurai’s point, Nagar notes that “we must continue to struggle to create new institutional spaces that favor, facilitate, and give due recognition to alternative research products and to new forms of collaboration” (2002, p. 185). Nagar’s perspective is helpful in guiding this inquiry partly because research collaborations frequently comprise ‘weak internationalization’ and may struggle to validate alternative types of research collaborations suggested by Nagar.

Finally, critical theory informs what I propose as the synthesis of both the ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ forms of internationalization. Faculty researchers in SSA might need to engage in a form of ‘research code-switching’ in order to push the boundaries of knowledge production in their contexts. In short, they might need to first ‘prove’ to other scholars that they have met the standardized conventions before engaging in new forms of knowledge production, much in the same way that an artist mimics previous painters before experimenting with new genres or mediums.¹³ In fact, the ability to engage in ‘research code-switching’ could enable scholars in SSA to select the most appropriate forms and mediums for their particular contexts. As Sawyerr suggests:

What can be said is that every society needs to insure the existence of viable indigenous knowledge systems, i.e., local institutions, structures, and cadres which, in combination, are able to access knowledge from all sources—external and home-grown, traditional and modern—synthesize it, adapt it, and generally make it usable by communities and agencies under local conditions, the inadequacy of these systems in Africa is both cause and effect of the continent’s knowledge-poverty. (2004, p. 214)

Relying on critical theory to critique this situation establishes the potential grounds for cultivating research code-switching. It is necessary to be conscious of these systems and forms of internationalization in order to switch between them. In sum, this dissertation draws on critical theory to help probe how research collaborations engage in both weak

¹³ The converse would ideally also be established, whereby the scholarly community of the global North would engage in research code-switching in order to engage appropriately in the collaborative and knowledge production contexts of the global South. Thus, one might envision a reciprocity of scholarly code-switching.

and strong forms of internationalization as well as question the concomitant assumptions of capacity building in the international discourse.

Interpretivism

This study is also informed by interpretivism, a research paradigm which recognizes the social construction of meaning and aims to understand the interpretations of actions maintained by social actors in the world. Interpretivists attempt to “understand the subjective world of human experience” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison 2000, p. 22), rather than seek the ‘laws’ of an objective world that exists independent of human engagement with it, as in paradigms such as positivism. Interpretivism also assumes that the meanings constructed by social actors have significance in the social world (Goldbart & Hustler, 2005; Schwandt, 2000); in other words, meanings are interpreted in varying ways that, in turn, influence behavior. Clifford Geertz’s (1973) discussion of interpreting a wink serves as one example of how meanings can be understood in different ways. Building on Ryle’s (1971) work, Geertz suggests that the physical motion of closing one’s eyelid is the same across multiple forms of interpretation. One person may be winking in a flirtatious manner or merely twitching to remove a speck from an eyelid. Thus, the interpreter must rely on a “socially established code” (p. 6) for guidance in deciding how to interpret the moving eyelid and its meaning in the local context.

This study, therefore, is less concerned with discovering universal laws of behavior that apply to all African faculty or higher education institutions on the continent than aiming to “keep close to the language, meanings, thoughts, activities and contexts of the people who are the participants in the study” (Norris & Walker, 2005, p. 15).

Understanding their perceptions of knowledge production and faculty research in this modern era, then, clearly necessitates significant interaction and engagement with the participants of this research study.

Consequently, the interpretivist framework was employed in this study as a means to understand the existing beliefs and conceptualizations of faculty members at the local level. At the same time, this study recognizes that these constructed meanings are situated within historical and global policy debates that are inherently political in nature and concerned with issues of power, equality, and reciprocity. Thus, a critical interpretive approach was used to investigate the presumed relationships between forms of collaboration and engagement that crossed national and institutional boundaries.

It is important to note that the theoretical framework outlined above was a starting point rather than an ending point. Naturalistic fieldwork necessitates a certain degree of theoretical and methodological flexibility as the researcher interacts with and responds to the research setting. This point is aptly described by Anyon, who notes:

The process of coming to appropriate theory and theory questions is not complete when the dissertation proposal is done, but operates dialectically with fieldwork, as the research reflects on interviews, archival and other data, or quantitative results in light of the theorists that have been read and contemplated. (2000, p. 11)

Ultimately, the critical interpretive theoretical framework that I have developed and the review of relevant literature explored below were helpful guides to assist my research rather than mandates that dictated specific outcomes or unduly restricted my research

trajectories. The next section moves from this theoretical framing for the dissertation to an investigation of the educational context in Tanzania.

Historical, Geopolitical, and Educational Context in Tanzania

The following section begins with a cursory introduction to the historical, geopolitical, and educational context in Tanzania. Numerous factors have influenced and contributed to the current political and educational environment in Tanzania, including colonialism, the struggle for independence, economic policies, and others. It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed account of Tanzania's extensive national history; however, it is important to note a few critical events in order to better contextualize this study.

Colonial era

Tanzania was under German colonial rule from approximately 1890 to 1920, when Great Britain gained control as the result of a resolution from the League of Nations at the end of World War I. The region remained a British Trust Territory until independence in 1961. The colonial era under both German and British rule was marked by extremely limited opportunities for formal schooling, which were primarily available only for the wealthiest Tanzanians and the children of prominent ethnic groups (Buchert, 1994; Mushi, 2009). During the late colonial period, from 1947-1961, education primarily served two functions, which essentially segregated the population and reflected the colonial division of educational provision: *Education for Adaptation* and *Education for Modernisation*. According to Buchert:

Education for Adaptation advocated social improvement from the bottom of the educational pyramid, aiming at the development of traditional rural sector in cooperation with the rurally based African leadership, in order to blend the existing culture with new Western elements. Education for Modernisation supported economic development at the top of the educational pyramid, aiming at an expansion of the modern urban and capitalist sector and accompanied by the introduction of Western democratic political institutions in order to establish a Western national politico-economic unit. (1994, p. 63)

These parallel streams ultimately segregated the population at that time because Education for Modernisation was provided primarily for Europeans and Indians, although a small number of elite Africans were able to attain access. Thus, limiting access to education at this higher level served as a means to moderate and constrain the educational, economic, and political potential of Africans in Tanganyika.¹⁴ The University of East Africa, which was at the time the combined institution of higher education for Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, only graduated 99 students in 1961, the year of Tanzanian independence, although the combined population of these counties was 23 million (Teferra & Altbach, 2004). However, access was not the only means through which the government attempted to use education as a political tool; the curriculum itself also served a political purpose.

¹⁴ Tanganyika Territory was the name adopted by the British after this region of German East Africa was given to them as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. This geographic region did not include Zanzibar and is today commonly referred to as mainland Tanzania. After the Zanzibar Revolution the island merged with mainland Tanganyika in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The contemporary usage of 'Tanzania' in this dissertation and much of the extant literature references both mainland Tanzania and the island of Zanzibar, but all of the dissertation field research was conducted on mainland Tanzania.

Post-colonial / socialist era

Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, was a product of the colonial education system and was, consequently, well educated. After independence in 1961, he quickly tried to move the country away from its colonial past and dependence on foreign funding and consequently instituted a socialist economic program with concomitant reforms in the education sector (Kaiser, 1996). Nyerere's socialist educational policy, known as *Education for Self-Reliance* (1967), or ESR, was closely aligned with the new state-controlled economic programs and aimed to serve the needs of the largely agrarian population.

The national curricula after independence are full of references to socialism and the political ideals of the ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). For example, in 1968 Nyerere stated, "the education system of Tanzania must emphasize cooperative endeavor, not individual advancement" (p. 267). In addition, the *Programme for Grade 'A' Teacher Education* handbook, which describes the highest level of teacher education programs in Tanzania, is laden with references to the new socialist revolution and how schooling—as well as teachers themselves—was positioned to play a substantial role in achieving political and social change. The TANU creed is clearly stated on the second page of the handbook and notes the following beliefs:

That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants; that in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principle means of production; and that it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation

of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society. (Ministry of National Education, 1969, no page number)

It is clear from this creed and its prominence at the beginning of the teacher education document that socialist ideals were to be integrated through all aspects of social and political life in Tanzania.

In terms of teacher education, the system encouraged pre-service teachers to conduct research in *ujamaa* (collective) villages. This educational policy, however, was appropriated and adapted by teachers to better fit the local context. Assessments of students, as other elements of the Education for Self-Reliance movement, were not necessarily executed as planned:

This aspect of evaluation is considered by many teachers as an assessment of self-reliance. This assessment is combined with that of the academic work (50 percent continuous assessment and 50 percent exam), to give a final grade on the Form Four Leaving Certificate. To receive a final grade (named a division) at any level, all students must gain a good or very good self-reliance assessment. However, only 2 percent of school students failed to receive a division in 1978. It may be that many teachers passed students as good or very good in the assessment of self-reliance as a formality. (Saunders & Vulliamy, 1983, p. 538)

Although attempts at promoting African socialism through education were not fully implemented as intended nor considered successful by most scholars, it is important to note the ways in which education was connected to economic and political reform, as this is a recurring theme in Tanzanian education today.

Neoliberal era

A severe economic crisis during the early 1980s and Nyerere's resignation in 1985 marked the end of the socialist era and the beginning of a neoliberal and market-oriented period of history in Tanzania. In the mid-1980s major lending institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, instituted structural adjustment programs (SAPs)¹⁵ that linked loans to a prescribed set of macro-economic reforms, which typically included greater privatization and the transition to a market economy in countries like Tanzania that had followed a state-driven (or socialist) form of economic development evident during the previous era (Buchert, 1994; Holtom, 2005; Therkildsen, 2000; Vavrus, 2005). The loans provided to Tanzania and other countries that had become heavily-indebted during the previous decade were accompanied by "an unprecedented degree of conditionality" (Bennaars, 1993, p. 87), which in Tanzania included the reintroduction of user fees for primary and secondary school students and significant increases of private health and education providers (Vavrus, 2005). It is not surprising that these specific loan conditions ultimately resulted in dramatic ideological shifts in views on the relationship between the state and its citizens, who sometimes "had to choose between education for their children and other basic needs" (Vavrus, 2005, p. 182).

¹⁵ According to Lewin, common characteristics of SAPs included the following: "pressure to reduce public sector spending as a whole increases, with serious consequences for social sector and education spending;... concentration of government support on formal rather than non-formal education increases;... emphasis grows on cost reducing reforms, which act to reduce the unit costs per child, and is reflected in increased pupil-teacher ratios and declining salaries... greater stress is placed on cost recovery schemes and more private financing to reduce public expenditure on education." (1993, p. 22)

The shift toward neoliberalism in Tanzania that began in the mid-1980s also included substantial political and economic changes. From a political perspective, this era was marked by calls for a multi-party political system since a one-party state was deemed incongruous with market liberalization and the overall shrinking role of the state (Buchert, 1994). In the economic arena, changes focused on increasing productivity in the agricultural sector through leasing and systems of credit that encouraged private investment and ownership (ibid). Another economic change consisted of reducing government expenditures in virtually all sectors, directly affecting the provision of social services such as education.

These economic policies continued into the 1990s, even as political plurality increased and the economic situation began to stabilize (Kaiser, 1996). However, user fees continued to limit access to schooling and the reduction in government jobs led to a strong dependence on the informal economy (Vavrus, 2005). These user fees “were particularly onerous for the poor,” and the education system therefore reflected a socioeconomic divide between families that could and could not afford the direct and indirect costs of schooling (Kattan & Burnett, 2004, p. 64). Cost-sharing at the higher education level is an excellent example of how government policies influenced the administration of schooling (Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Inspired by African socialism, in 1967 the government granted bursaries to all students at the University College of Dar es Salaam. However, in 1992 the government announced a new plan in which students were to pay for food, accommodation, and an assortment of fees for their application, registration, and the student union (Ishengoma, 2004).

One concern of critical scholars who study education in Tanzania has been the growing influence of international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF on 'national' economic and education policy-making during this neoliberal era. Samoff (1994), for instance, argues that a result of SAPs is that "education policy-making in Tanzania is not a solely Tanzanian activity" (p. 143). Harrison (2001) similarly contends that the influence of such institutions is profound but has become less overt because neoliberal assumptions have become internalized within government agencies, making it difficult to separate the desires of the Tanzania's government from those of international donors: "In fact, rather than conceptualizing donor power as a strong external force on the state, it would be more useful to conceive of donors as *part of the state itself*" (p. 669). Finally, Vavrus (2005) coins the term "inter/national" to describe this "blurred distinction" between the 'advice' of international donors and the implementation of policies of the Tanzanian state (p. 196).

Higher Education Faculty in SSA

The implications of these politics and policies for faculty working in institutions of higher education in SSA are significant. President Julius Nyerere stated that "the role of a university in a developing country is to contribute; to give ideas; manpower; and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity, and human development" (1986, p. 186). These goals arguably continue to guide the intent of higher education institutions in Tanzania and across SSA; nevertheless, as cited in Chapter One, they face many challenges that affect the roles and responsibilities of faculty members. In their review of the challenges facing universities in Africa, Teferra and Altbach (2004)

highlight many factors that constrain the ability of scholars on the continent to produce knowledge, or as Nyerere suggested, to ‘give ideas’ for ‘human development’:

By all measures, research and publishing activities in Africa are in critical condition. The general state of research in Africa is extremely poor, and its research infrastructure is inadequate. Scarcity of laboratory equipment, chemicals, and other scientific paraphernalia; a small number of high-level experts; poor and dilapidated libraries; alarmingly low and declining salaries of academic and research staff; a massive brain drain out of the academic institutions; the ‘expansion’ of undergraduate education; poor oversight of research applicability; and declining, nonexistent, and unreliable sources of research funds all remain major hurdles to the development of research capacity across the continent. (p. 38)

Such constraints drastically influence the ability of faculty to contribute to knowledge production, and the following sections consider in greater detail the constraints most salient to this study.

Enrollment and lack of research training

Although enrollment in higher education institutions is low in comparison to other continents, enrollment in SSA has tripled since 1990 and shown an 8.7 percent annual increase (World Bank, 2009). This increase in access is certainly exciting, but it has been accompanied by overcrowding and a decreasing staff to student ratio, causing many institutions to hire lecturers with only bachelor’s degrees (Portnoi, 2009; World Bank, 2009). For example, over 60 percent of the faculty at the University of Buea in

Cameroon only have master's degrees (Jua & Nyamnjoh, 2002). As noted in Chapter One, even at Makerere University some of the faculty do not have advanced degrees and also receive little mentoring, particularly concerning research development and production (Obong, 2004). Moreover, in many African institutions of higher education, senior faculty are frequently too involved in consultancies or other administrative tasks to engage in the mentoring of junior faculty (Sawyerr, 2004). Even when faculty mentoring opportunities do exist, they are typically informal and therefore have the potential to deny some faculty the benefits of participating in a mentor relationship (Okurame, 2008). Furthermore, faculty may be more familiar with only certain types of research methods. For example, Green and Baxen (2002) suggest that qualitative research is less developed and less reputable in South Africa as a result of the limited experience with these methods among their researchers. This was also the case at MWUCE, as discussed in subsequent chapters.

Access to resources

The lack of access to material and electronic resources also reduces the opportunities for faculty to design, conduct, and publish research in SSA. Staying current on recent research through access to journal subscriptions is nearly impossible at some institutions with very limited library budgets. Scholars are therefore unable to maintain research agendas that enable them to contribute to practical decision-making at the national level (World Bank, 2000) or to compete with scholars of the global North. One group of scholars concerned with the contributions to child development research from

Africa succinctly highlights how inequitable access influences the opportunities for scholars to join the international academic arena:

With limited, often delayed access to current literature from other parts of the world, many scholars in Africa are rendered noncompetitive in their efforts to publish their work in major international journals. The net result of these conditions is that much of the research conducted by African scholars on the continent is confined to a grey literature, the expanse and content of which should itself be a subject for research. The grey literature is defined to include unpublished theses (master's and doctoral), working papers, technical research reports, conference proceedings, as well as scholarship appearing in periodicals and monographs with limited circulation beyond the issuing institution. (Marfo, Pence, LeVine, LeVine, 2011, p. 105)

These authors continue the discussion by noting that other scholars in their field have suggested that it is sometimes easier to conduct research about Africa outside of the continent than it is inside.

This lack of access to contemporary literature confines potentially valuable research to the grey literature. Maclure (2006) refers to this as the “subterranean reality of African educational research,” where grey literature is both “overlooked and undervalued by educational policymakers and international scholars” (p. 82). Thus, although published papers do exist, much of the research produced by African scholars and consultants has appeared in formats with limited readership. While scholars in SSA published 5,893 academic papers in 1995, this compares to 15,995 and 14,426 for South Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean, respectively (Bloom, Canning, & Chan,

2006). The scarcity of accessible educational research also directly influences the ability of African scholars to produce policy-relevant research with the capability of informing educational practice that is appropriate for local contexts, including Tanzania.

Knowledge Production Discourse

In spite of the challenges, faculty at universities in Africa and elsewhere are supposed to be producers of knowledge and drivers of change. As Teferra and Altbach note, “for all practical purposes, universities remain the most important institutions in the production and consumption of knowledge and information, particularly in the Third World” (2004, p. 38). Thus, creating capacity for faculty research is deemed a vital endeavor: “In the increasingly global world that is largely being shaped by knowledge and information, establishing a strong research infrastructure has more than ever before become a sine qua non in this highly competitive world.” (Teferra & Altbach, 2004, p. 37-38). In addition to the role faculty can play in maintaining national competitiveness, research at universities in SSA is necessary to develop a full range of policy options to solve pressing problems on the continent. For example, Mamdani suggests that without adequate research capacity, nation-states will not be able to “define meaningful choices” for future development (2008, p. 10).

There exists, therefore, a new desire for research in Africa by Africans, as the limited nature of published knowledge production thus far has considerable implications for the future development of Africa. Without the contributions of African scholars, “the constraints to knowledge production and dissemination...will only serve to perpetuate the contextually slanted nature of existing knowledge, undercutting the credibility of any

claims that might be made about a global knowledge base” (Marfo, Pence, LeVine, & Levine, 2011, p. 105). Moreover, forms of innovation from various disciplines should be informed by the local context, and educational research that reflects local understandings can serve as a means to develop local ideas to address local issues (Crossley & Holmes, 2001). The inclusion of research perspectives and theories grounded in the African context are therefore crucial to establishing a broader understanding of contemporary issues and realities (Mamdani, 2008), including educational issues.

Without research infrastructures at institutions of higher education in SSA, knowledge production will continue to be primarily an endeavor carried out or led by external researchers. In many ways, African scholarship has had an “umbilical attachment to western scholarship” due to research conventions dominated by the global North, the lack of access to resources and training, and the other issues cited above (Adebowale, 2001, p. 3). One common means of addressing the lack of academic knowledge production in SSA has been the training of African scholars in the global North, an approach that embodies Appadurai’s (1999) notion of ‘weak internationalization.’ Yet, as Mamdani (2008) and others (World Bank, 2000) argue, this often serves to reproduce the same analytical frameworks and research foci as those that developed in the global North, rather than generating new, localized approaches to research. Mamdani posits the need for research conducted in Africa by Africans and asks, “What will happen if we see knowledge production as mainly an external process, to be imported?” (p. 10). Others point out that research conducted and normed in other cultures is too often uncritically applied to African contexts (Jua & Nyamnjoh, 2002). Research by African scholars may not prevent this problem altogether, but it has the

potential to develop unique insights into the educational problems facing countries on the continent and to encourage a more appropriate range of potential solutions (Maclure, 2006, p. 81).

International Research Collaborations

In order to address these policy issues and the continued relegation of research conducted by African scholars to the grey literature, there has been a recent push for organizations of different sorts to engage in international research collaborations. The goals of these types of relationships include “generating research projects, sharing knowledge, solving each other’s research problems, and cementing international relationships” (Stead & Harrington, 2000, p. 324). The discourse of capacity building has emerged out of this new emphasis on collaboration, and although these collaborations may intend to build research capacity, they may also have detrimental effects on the general development of research programs. External funding from non-African universities and major bi-lateral donor agencies has the ability to direct and control the direction and foci of research projects conducted by faculty in SSA (Crossley & Holmes, 2001; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Furthermore, with external agencies offering high-paying consultancy salaries (Hydén, 2006), access to research tools and resources, and expertise provided through experienced researchers, scholars from SSA have little incentive to pursue their own research when opportunities to fulfill the research agendas of others are more attractive (Maclure, 2006). A need therefore exists to ensure that the research funded by external organizations meets the needs of the communities in SSA

(Moahi, 2010) and the desires of the faculty themselves. Smith's critical perspective aptly summarizes the need for 'conscientious collaboration':

Partnerships, relationships, networks and compacts, then, are seen as crucial for Africa's development. It would be wrong headed, however, to unproblematically assume that partnerships always form a useful method of sharing and utilizing resources in a mutually beneficial way, or work for the public good. (2005, p. 650)

What, then, should be the goal of these types of exchanges? The following quotation suggests the outcomes of collaborations in an ideal world:

Genuine cooperation between colleges and universities, such as collaborative scholarship or the reciprocal exchange of visiting faculty, always enriches the academic life of individuals and of institutions, but it is particularly beneficial to scholars and universities at the 'margins.' (Jua & Nyamnjoh, 2002, p. 63)

In order for these benefits to be realized, however, collaborations must embody mentoring, and the next section explores faculty mentoring and research development.

Faculty Mentoring and Research

Studies related to faculty mentoring in the global North proliferate, and there is an increasing body of literature concerned with faculty mentoring in SSA within the technical and health sciences (e.g., Naris & Ukpere, 2010). For example, in 2008 an instructional manual for mentors who work in health sciences training in Uganda was published to help improve mentoring in this field at academic institutions. Although differences might exist between academic fields, it is interesting to note that many of the

constraints mentioned in this health manual are similar to those mentioned by others studies. A study of mentoring relationships among faculty in the medical school at Makerere University in Uganda found that both faculty mentors and mentees noted a general lack of time and support, minimal familiarity with the mentoring process, and too few mentors (Nakanjako et al, 2011). Similar constraints were present in the MWUCE context and are discussed in the chapter that follows.

In the social sciences, few studies have explored mentoring programs and relationships for academic scholars in SSA that aim to build research capacity. One of the few existing examples comes from research by Okurame (2008), who examined mentoring opportunities among social science faculty in a prominent Nigerian university. His study highlights the informal nature of mentoring opportunities at this university, which denied some faculty the benefits of participating in a mentor relationship because not all newer faculty members were formally assigned mentors. Okurame (2008) suggests that these informal networks were immensely beneficial for some faculty but there were significant gaps in terms of who benefited.

Green and Baxen's (2002) scholarship also contributes to this nascent body of scholarship even though they focus on the process of conducting educational research in South Africa. They identified four training models from their examination of how fieldworkers were selected and trained. These models could be helpful in understanding how research mentor relationships might differ across projects. The *Engagement Model* suggested that researchers "do not necessarily need to be 'trained' in the technical sense, but brought into the research process" (p. 323). This approach appeared to emphasize reflective practice and a shared sense of vision but perhaps lacked a systematic approach

to data collection. In the *Apprenticeship Model*, student researchers were paired with master researchers who trained them by involving them in the research process and teaching them theory through providing direct feedback and instruction over a long period of time. In this model, the master researcher maintained a strong command over the research process and directed significant practice with research methods and approaches before more substantial engagement in the field. The *Mentorship Model* involved a research partnership whereby experienced researchers were paired with less-experienced mentees in order to provide systematic training and mentoring while in the field. Despite learning and sharing between the mentor pairs, the researchers with more experience still maintained ownership over the project and it was their “voices [that] were finally most audible in the completed project” (p. 323).

Finally, the *Partnership Model* aimed to establish more egalitarian relationships between those involved in the research project. Thus, researchers explicitly discussed and addressed decisions made throughout the research process and involved the fieldworkers in these discussions. This model appeared to be rather effective in achieving the goal of ‘partnership.’ As Green and Baxen note:

Fieldworkers in a partnership model viewed the project ‘as their own’, to such an extent that one fieldworker confronted the researcher when she felt that her work had been too heavily edited, and the researcher admitted her right to do so. (2002, p. 323)

While this model clearly aimed to reduce some of the power imbalances associated with other models of collaborative research, the motives of some researchers might not have been clear, as one researcher suggested that the *Partnership Model* was best because the

fieldworkers produced higher quality data if they viewed themselves as part of the project. Thus, the sharing of power was perceived as a means to an end, not an end in itself. Despite their flaws, these four research models, nonetheless, are useful in framing how various approaches to collaborative research position those involved in the process. In each of these models, however, the learning experienced by the mentor was either underemphasized or ignored altogether. The importance of acknowledging a mutual exchange of knowledge and research partners' different contributions to research endeavors seems largely absent from the literature on research collaborations and mentoring in higher education. This issue will be addressed again in Chapter Seven, where a reflection upon the research projects from MWUCE serves as a foundation for re-envisioning the process of conducting collaborative research.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed relevant literature that is used to frame this study. The first section described the ways in which critical theory and interpretivism serve as analytical lenses to explore the research questions. The second section provided a brief overview of the historical and geopolitical context in Tanzania from the colonial era to the present. The final section explored literature concerning the constraints for faculty research in SSA, international research collaborations, and faculty mentoring. These studies demonstrate both the scarcity of research related to the knowledge production of faculty in SSA as well as the need for further research exploring critically the process of engaging in collaborative research projects and the global discourse of capacity building. Furthermore, the literature highlights many of the constraints and challenges young

faculty face at higher education institutions in SSA. These issues are explored in greater detail in Chapter Four, which uses data from this study to examine how one particular college of education in Tanzania has attempted to cultivate a robust research culture.

Before delving into the findings from this study, however, it is first necessary to describe the research methodology. The next chapter therefore contains a detailed description of my prior experiences in Tanzania and at the research site, the methods utilized for data collection and analysis, and considerations pertaining to researcher positionality and ethics.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter establishes the overarching research design and methodology used for this study. In doing so, it includes a more detailed description of the research site and collaboration program than presented in Chapter One. It also includes an overview of the methods that I used in the study, which comprised semi-structured interviews, document analysis, a survey, and participant observation. In this chapter I also discuss the data collection and analysis process, including the research timeline, as well as issues related to research ethics, credibility, and my positionality as a researcher. Before delving into the research design and subsequent sections, I will discuss my previous experiences at the research site and how they shaped my thinking, informed my study, and prepared me to conduct this research.

Previous Experience at Research Site and the Teaching in Action Research Project (TARP)

2008

My initial connection to and entrée into educational work in Tanzania—and the Kilimanjaro Region specifically—began in 2008. While completing my master’s degree at Columbia University, Teachers College, I accepted an internship with Dr. Frances Vavrus to develop a series of lesson plans and curricular maps, or “schemes of work” in

Tanzanian educational terms, based on the Tanzanian national curriculum. I chose to work on the civics syllabus and through this experience learned about the content, forms, and pedagogical methods mandated for use by the O-Level civics teachers in Tanzanian secondary schools. I also learned from Dr. Vavrus and others involved in the project that many teachers in Tanzania were not very familiar with more constructivist or learner-centered forms of classroom instruction, a situation I had anticipated based on my previous experience working with primary and secondary school teachers in Zambia.

During this same semester I also worked with Bethany (Hinsch) Willinski, another master's student from Columbia University, Teachers College. As research assistants for Dr. Vavrus, our task was to analyze the post-workshop evaluations from a teacher professional development workshop held in Tanzania in 2007. This was the first iteration of the Teaching in Action (TIA) workshop, and the analysis of the post-workshop evaluations provided an opportunity for me to become more familiar with this professional development program, MWUCE as an institution, and various aspects of the Tanzanian educational system. Upon completion of the program evaluation, Dr. Vavrus asked us to prepare curricular materials for the upcoming TIA workshop in 2008 and to accompany her and Dr. Lesley Bartlett to help co-facilitate this growing professional development workshop on MWUCE's campus.

During our June visit to MWUCE in 2008, we spent the first week collaborating with faculty members to develop and revise the activities for the professional development workshop, which we co-facilitated during the second week. This weeklong professional development workshop for in-service secondary school teachers consisted of large group sessions in the mornings and content-specific workshops in the afternoons.

Using the concepts from Backwards Design (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005) as a conceptual framework, the participants worked to infuse their lesson plans and pedagogical methods with elements of learner-centeredness such as essential questions, learning portfolios, and performance tasks for assessment.¹⁶ Through this experience at MWUCE I was able to meet a number of the full-time faculty, administrators, and staff. I also began to acquaint myself with Tanzanian culture and the Swahili language.

2009

In the summer of 2009 I returned to MWUCE with the same TIA team and another Ph.D. student from the University of Minnesota, Brent Ruter, to facilitate an updated version of the workshop. The content of the daily sessions were loosely based on those of the previous year, though the overall program from this year focused more closely on the cultivation of learner-centered pedagogical approaches.¹⁷ Each morning session focused on a different concept or theme and in the afternoon sessions participants developed lesson plans in content-specific groups.¹⁸ This iteration of the workshop maintained a stronger focus on reflection by the workshop facilitators, and the team from

¹⁶ Essential questions are large conceptual questions that cultivate critical thinking skills in students via a process of carefully considering a variety of perspectives, making connections between prior learning and phenomena, and maintaining a macro-level focus on the big ideas of specific content material. According to Wiggins and McTighe (2005), a performance task is a “task that uses one’s knowledge to effectively act or bring to fruition a complex product that reveals one’s knowledge and expertise” (p. 346). Generally performance tasks differ from standardized exams because they are more applied and require students to use their newly acquired knowledge to address real-life issues through the creation of a product, such as an oral presentation, musical performance, or self-produced book.

¹⁷ For a more detailed description of the Teaching in Action program, see Thomas and Vavrus (2010). For additional information about the learner-centered approach and its application across various contexts in SSA, see Vavrus, Thomas, and Bartlett (2011).

¹⁸ The morning plenary sessions were as follows: Monday – Introduction to inquiry based learning; Tuesday – Maintaining discipline and teaching large classes; Wednesday – Using Howard Gardner’s (1983) multiple intelligence theory to teach classes with mixed ability levels; Thursday – Creating and using locally-available teaching aids; Friday – Strategies for active learning.

the United States aimed to be less involved in organizing and guiding the flow and content of the daily sessions. At the end of each morning session we held feedback meetings where all facilitators reflected on the completed session and discussed how the plan should be altered for the next day. My anecdotal evidence suggested that the U.S. team was more comfortable with the established process of giving constructive feedback than the team from Tanzania, though this appeared to change over the course of the week, with the team from Tanzania becoming more assertive in their comments over time. The notion of providing constructive feedback is significant to note here because of its connection to TARP in 2010 and to applied aspects of this dissertation research related to the interplay between research and societal development.

2010

I was fortunate to return to Tanzania in 2010 to improve my Swahili knowledge, conduct pre-dissertation research, co-facilitate TIA, and participate in an expansive research project in six secondary schools in the Kilimanjaro Region known as the Teaching in Action Research Project. This trip yielded several positive outcomes pertinent to my dissertation. First, I completed the intermediate level Kiswahili course at the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages at the State University of Zanzibar, improving my linguistic abilities through this experience and the remainder of my time in Tanzania. My improved Kiswahili gave me greater cultural cache and also deepened my understanding of Tanzanian culture through my knowledge of meanings ascribed to certain words in both English and Kiswahili. These deeper understandings of specific words and phrases—particularly those that concerned teaching, learning, and research—

benefited me later while constructing surveys and interview protocols for my research because I had a greater awareness of how specific words might be interpreted by the research participants.

Second, I spent time in Dar es Salaam, the economic capital, and had the opportunity to make connections with several faculty members from the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's premier research institution. This allowed me to better understand the educational context of Tanzania's flagship institution and also some of the demands placed on its faculty. I also conducted research in the university library on the history and development of curricula and educational policy in Tanzania, which enabled a deeper understanding of the local educational context and the historic trajectory of educational development.

While in Dar es Salaam I also spent significant time with a faculty member from MWUCE who was completing a master's degree at the university at the time.¹⁹ Our discussions highlighted many of the constraints and challenges Tanzanian graduate students face in conducting research, such as broken photocopiers and limited access to books and academic journals. Even at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's best academic research institution, students face significant obstacles to conducting research. In the months after my trip, he frequently emailed me lists of books or peer-reviewed journal articles, asking me to obtain these necessary resources because they were unavailable to him due to the lack of subscription services, broken computers, or power outages. Interestingly, many of the articles he requested were more than ten years old,

¹⁹ Although this faculty member was not able to participate in the 2010 TARP, he served in 2012 as both a co-facilitator of TIA and as a researcher in the SBW study I co-conducted with Allen Rugambwa (funded by AfricAid, Inc.).

which is significant to note because of the pace of innovations in his area of science study. If the lack of access to materials and adequate research facilities presents challenges at a comprehensive institution such as the University of Dar es Salaam, then faculty probably face even greater hurdles at smaller institutions that do not benefit from national-level funding. This experience highlighted how difficult it would be for faculty members to conduct research at a smaller, private institution like MWUCE. These types of institutions are becoming increasingly common sources of higher education in SSA as state funding shrinks or remains stagnant while demand continues to grow, largely as a result of neoliberal reforms and their effects.

The third positive outcome of my trip in 2010 was the opportunity to partner with nine MWUCE faculty members as we conducted research in six secondary schools for TARP. This multi-sited ethnographic project was conceptualized by Drs. Vavrus and Bartlett and aimed to investigate the implementation of learner-centered pedagogy among secondary school teachers representing a variety of grade levels and disciplines.²⁰ The study utilized a multi-national team of 16 researchers who were based either in the U.S. as professors or graduate students, or in Tanzania as university lecturers at MWUCE.²¹ The use of a multi-national research team was intended to maintain throughout the project “sensitivity to national and local cultural context[s]” as well as to “subvert the

²⁰ For more information about the design and development of the research project, see Vavrus and Bartlett (2013).

²¹ The U.S.-based team comprised two American Associate Professor PIs, two American doctoral students, one doctoral student from Ecuador but studying in the U.S., and one recent Irish graduate from Columbia University, Teachers College who was working as an Assistant Professor in Ireland at the time of the study. The Tanzania-based team comprised one Tanzanian Research Coordinator and eight lecturers from MWUCE, one of whom is Kenyan by birth but was working in Tanzania at the time of the study.

traditional hierarchical power relationships characterized by expatriates researching overseas” (Vulliamy, 2003, p. 276).

The 16 multi-national researchers engaged, first, in qualitative research methods training and, second, worked in pairs (one U.S. and one Tanzania-based researcher) to conduct classroom observations and in-depth interviews with the Tanzanian teachers who had attended the summer Teaching in Action workshop that same year. Therefore, I worked alongside faculty members as we completed two one-week seminars on qualitative research methods, followed by six weeks of data collection.²² After collecting data in the schools, the international pairs co-analyzed data, presented preliminary findings during a research conference at MWUCE in May 2011, and co-authored book chapters that became part of an edited volume (Vavrus and Bartlett, 2013).

Working closely with Mwenge faculty members during TARP was very informative. During the week of qualitative research training, it became clear that many of the faculty associated the term ‘research’ with ‘more objective’ quantitative studies that have a control group. They also appeared more comfortable with post-positivist assumptions than those rooted in interpretivism or critical theory. Thus, the idea of using qualitative methods and drawing on interpretivist epistemologies was new for most faculty members. Differences between the faculty members’ notions of research were also evident during our large group discussions of the interpreted meanings of events from classroom observations and statements produced by participants during interviews.

²² A one-week general training about research paradigms, methods, and tips was offered for any faculty member on the MWUCE campus who wished to attend. All of the TARP researchers attended these sessions along with approximately ten other faculty on campus who were particularly interested in learning more about research. A second week of research training specific to the 2010 TARP research project followed the TIA professional development workshop, which occurred the middle of these two research training weeks.

Based on the comments from these faculty members, it seemed that learning about various epistemological assumptions was a valuable learning experience for them as these assumptions were unfamiliar to the majority. For members of the U.S. team, including me, this experience underscored the type and extent of previous research training the faculty received in their previous levels of education, which, in general, included few opportunities to apply or practice conducting research. In general, their training also maintained a stronger emphasis on quantitative approaches that rely on well-defined hypotheses that can be ‘tested’ with the research instruments. These experiences of attending the research trainings also brought my own epistemological assumptions to the fore as I tried to clarify and explicate my preferences and how they influenced my interactions with the Tanzania-based researchers.

I also had the opportunity to work very closely with Allen Rugambwa, my research partner for TARP in 2010 and a lecturer in physics and pedagogy at MWUCE who was completing a master’s degree through the Open University of Tanzania at the time. Through working closely with him, I began to understand the need to strengthen the research capacity of faculty in order for them to become producers of knowledge and publish their research for local, and in particular, international audiences. My work with Allen involved conducting classroom observations and interviews, analyzing data, reviewing relevant literature, and writing scholarly papers. During each of these phases, I noted differences in our research experiences and how we viewed the research process. For example, some of my implicit understandings of the research process were foreign to him, such as the types of literature that are considered authoritative in international academic circles. Due to the limited on-campus access to peer-reviewed sources as well

as a perception that all information on the internet is relatively equal in its accuracy and appropriateness for scholarly writing, Allen's first attempt at a literature review included many citations from personal websites and student papers that summarized other studies. It became clear that I could assist him in learning this implicit code of the research process by describing the types of research publications that are considered valid and appropriate for academic writing by researchers who seek to publish in venues that adhere to international standards.²³

Through the experience of working with TARP, I began to understand the faculty members' perceptions of the research process and their previous experiences and knowledge of conducting and producing empirical research. However, I was not able to obtain an in-depth understanding of how they were conceptualizing or implementing the research. Additionally, the lasting effects of this particular research experience for faculty members were unknown; consequently, there were research avenues left unexplored.

2011 to present

In May of 2011 I again traveled to Tanzania with Drs. Vavrus and Bartlett to build on the work from the previous year. This trip was somewhat different in nature, however. We did not co-facilitate the Teaching in Action workshop but rather traveled to the secondary schools that had been the sites for TARP in 2010 to conduct follow-up

²³ I am aware of the tension in my roles between striving to make the implicit codes of research explicit through direct conversation and instruction with MWUCE colleagues while at the same time recognizing that these codes emerged from somewhere, are not neutral, and favor those schooled in these standards. However, I hope that the 'action' element in this study will enable MWUCE researchers to ultimately make their own choices about research topics, design, and sources they include in their studies, and also to ensure that they are aware of expectations and assumptions about 'good' research in the larger international arena.

interviews and focus groups. In addition, Dr. Vavrus and the Research Coordinator at MWUCE organized the 2011 Educational Quality and Research in Northern Tanzania conference, where some researchers from our international team (including myself) presented the preliminary findings from our joint projects based on different parts of the TARP data. This academic research conference generated significant interest among university students and faculty members and served as an additional means of sharing and discussing the preliminary findings with many of the research participants. The conference also established the format for discussions of research that assisted my fieldwork in 2012 because faculty and students were comfortable discussing research methods and processes as well as analyzing findings and creating recommendations.

My experiences between 2008 and 2011—ranging from three to six weeks each summer—enabled me to establish a solid relationship with university administrators and a core group of nine faculty members who participated in this dissertation study. My prior relationships with these faculty helped me continue to build rapport when I was in the field (Patton, 2002) and encouraged more honest responses and interactions (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). Moreover, the experience of conducting research as a coach for MWUCE faculty during the 2012 school-based workshop (SBW) study—which is described later in this chapter—provided insights into the challenges facing Tanzanian faculty members when they attempt to engage in research endeavors and related knowledge production activities. These experiences spawned my interest in research collaborations and the international discourse that situates African faculty, broadly, as possessing the research skills and capabilities necessary to contribute to the process of transnational knowledge production. The following sections present the research

questions and describe how I conducted the study, including a description of the overall design and the characteristics of the participants.

Research Questions and Design of the Study

To review, the following research questions guided this study:

1. How do faculty in SSA experience both local and international demands of higher education in institutional contexts?
2. How do faculty at Mwenge University College of Education perceive the institutional expansion of higher education and its concomitant shift towards cultivating a research culture?
 - a. How do faculty members experience the tension between their roles as educators and research?
 - b. What incentives exist for them to conduct and publish research?
 - c. What strategies do faculty employ to engage in knowledge production?
2. How do faculty at MWUCE who have participated in an international research collaboration that aimed to build capacity perceive its value and their role in the project?
 - a. What skills, dispositions, and knowledge did they learn through the process?
 - b. How did their participation in this project influence their research pursuits?
 - c. How did faculty experience relations of power through their involvement in an international research collaboration?

To address these questions, I conducted a nested qualitative case study of faculty research at MWUCE. The central aim of the research was to explore capacity building and how it is conceptualized, experienced, and ‘done’ at the local level. Thus, the study was bounded by the institutional context of MWUCE, with the primary unit of analysis being the research culture at MWUCE and its institutional promotion of faculty research endeavors across campus. Nested within this broader case study of faculty research at a university was a specific university-to-university partnership—TARP—that aimed to build the research capacity of the faculty members involved and a new, smaller research study—the SBW project—in 2012. The faculty involved in these ongoing research collaborations were a sub-set of those in the broader case study, but I focused particular attention on how the MWUCE faculty experienced partnership and how these experiences influenced their perspectives on educational research, specifically studies utilizing qualitative methods. The study also explored how their experiences contributed to the development of research across the entire MWUCE campus.

The faculty members with whom I worked in the past represented a wide range of disciplines, educational backgrounds, and years of experience. Although the overall goal of the study was not to produce generalizable results, it was beneficial to explore these demographic differences, thus increasing the transferability of the findings. Moreover, some of the faculty were in the process of pursuing advanced degrees, which is common for university lecturers who are hired to teach in spite of only holding bachelor’s

degrees.²⁴ Thus, they were eager to reflect on the methods and approaches to research because of the connection to their current coursework.

The reliance upon primarily qualitative methods is appropriate to answer my research questions because I was interested in understanding how faculty members make sense of the international discourse of ‘capacity building’ and ‘collaboration’ as well as whether and how their participation in the project altered their perspectives of research and knowledge production. A qualitative case study therefore enabled me to better understand the phenomena being investigated because this method relies on multiple data sources, previous theories that guide the data collection process, and an in-depth exploration of a specific phenomenon (Yin, 2009). Table 1 below demonstrates how the research questions were addressed through the various data collection methods, which are outlined in greater detail in the following sections.

²⁴ The professional ranks for faculty at MWUCE and other similar institutions are somewhat different than those at higher education institutions in the United States, where assistant, associate, and full professor remain the essential distinctions for faculty members holding a Ph.D., and lecturer or simply ‘adjunct’ constituting other possible categorizations. At MWUCE, the ranks are as follows: tutorial assistant (BA only), assistant lecturer (completed MA), lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor, and full professor. The specific criteria for promotion through these ranks at MWUCE was in the process of being negotiated at the time of fieldwork.

Table 1: Alignment of Research Questions with Research Methods

	In-depth Interviews	Faculty Survey	Participant Observation	Document Analysis
How do faculty in SSA experience both local and international demands of higher education in institutional contexts?	X	X	X	X
How do faculty at MWUCE experience the institutional expansion of higher education and its concomitant shift towards cultivating a research?				
How do faculty members experience the tension between their roles as educators and researchers?	X	X	X	
What incentives exist for them to conduct and publish research?	X	X	X	X
What strategies do faculty employ to engage in knowledge production?	X		X	X
How do faculty at MWUCE who have participated in an international research collaboration that aimed to build capacity perceive its value and their role in the project?				
What skills, dispositions, and knowledge did they learn through the process?	X		X	X
How did their participation in this project influence their research pursuits?	X		X	X
How did faculty experience relations of power through their involvement in an international research collaboration?	X		X	

Methods

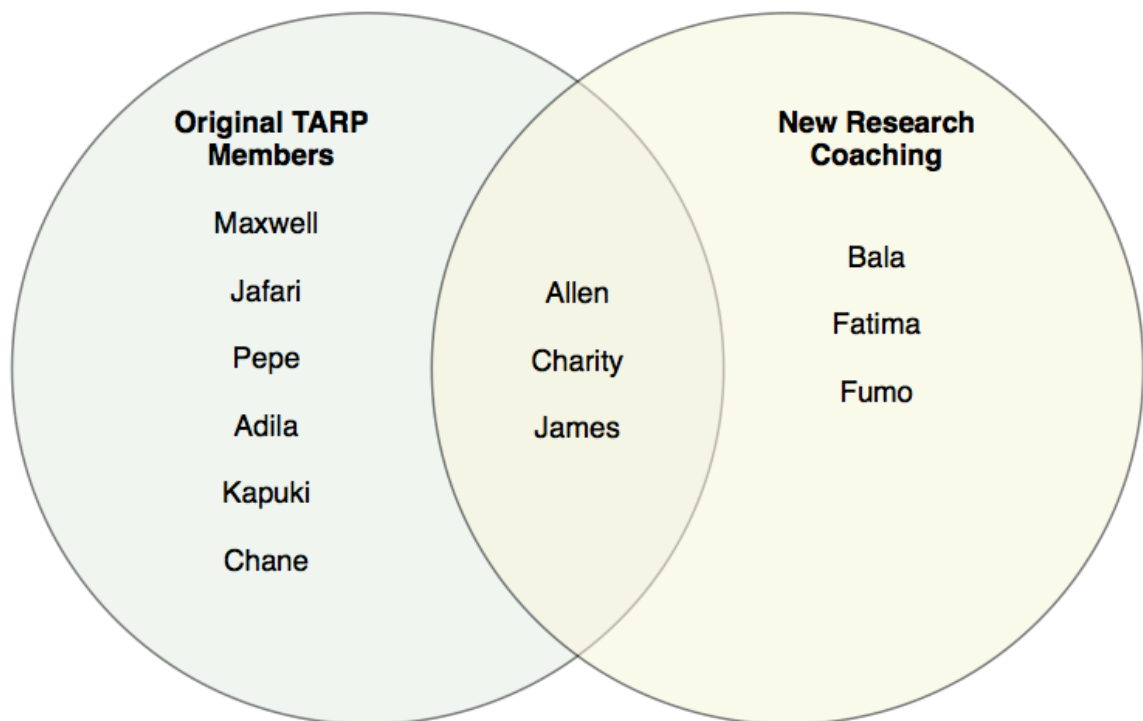
Semi-structured interviews

In order to address the research questions concerning faculty members' experiences and understandings, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with two groups of faculty: (1) the nine faculty who were part of the TARP in 2010; and (2) other faculty on MWUCE campus who played an active role in the production and facilitation of research training and research activities (see Appendices A and B to review the interview protocols). I did not know the number of faculty in the second group prior to my arrival at MWUCE in May 2013, but, in the end, seven faculty participated. I also engaged with six Tanzanian faculty members on a new research project about school-based workshops in which we collaboratively conducted all aspects of the research process: generating the research questions, creating the research instruments and protocols, coding and analyzing the data, and producing a written report to be submitted to the organization funding the research. Figure 1 uses pseudonyms to visually represent the core faculty who were interviewed and involved in this dissertation.²⁵ A select number of MWUCE administrative staff and other faculty who were interested and engaged in research activities beyond the TARP and the school-based workshop project from 2012 were also interviewed as a part of this study. These faculty are not included in the diagram but were interviewed because they taught research methods courses, directed

²⁵ Each of the research participants in this study were assigned a pseudonym to protect their identity. One exception was made for Allen Rugambwa, whose actual name is used throughout this study because it is available and implicated through our joint publications (Rugambwa & Thomas, 2013; Rugambwa & Thomas, 2012; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2013; Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011). We discussed this issue during and after the fieldwork, and he offered consent for his name to be used. Furthermore, in addition to reviewing the interview transcripts and providing consent, Allen read key chapters of this dissertation to ensure his consent with its publication.

the Master of Education program, served in research coordination roles, or were in the process of preparing scholarly works for publication in academic journals. A complete list of the participants who were interviewed as a part of this dissertation is included in Appendix C.

Figure 1: Faculty Participants and their Involvement



The faculty members who participated in TARP were not all involved to the same extent in the project, however. Although the original design of TARP envisioned each researcher following the project through to completion, TARP experienced significant attrition due to a variety of factors, including faculty members' pursuit of further studies (master's degrees at the University of Dar es Salaam and other institutions), moving to

assume other vocational posts, or leaving the project for personal reasons.²⁶ Thus, these faculty members clearly experienced the project in unique ways. Table 2 uses the faculty pseudonyms to represent visually the participants' involvement in the various phases of the project, including those who participated in the SBW study in 2012.

Table 2: MWUCE Faculty Participation in TARP²⁷

	Gender	Highest Degree Obtained		2010 TARP			2011 TARP	2012 SBW Study	
		In 2010	In 2012	Research Training	Data Collection	Analysis & Writing	Follow-up Research	Data Collection	Analysis & Writing
Maxwell	M	MA	MA	X	X				
Jafari	M	MA	MA	X		X	X		
Pepe	M	MA	MA	X	X				
Halima	F	MA	MA	X	X				
Kapuki	F	MA	MA	X	X	X			
Chane	M	BA	MA	X	X				
Allen	M	BA	MA	X	X	X	X	X	X
Charity	F	BA	BA	X	X			X	
James	M	BA	MA	X	X			X	X
Bala	F	MA	MA					X	X
Fatima	F	BA	BA					X	X
Fumo	M	BA	MA					X	X

From an interpretivist perspective, the interviews with the TARP participants helped me understand the ways in which the faculty understood key concepts connected to this study: 'capacity building', 'research', 'collaboration', 'knowledge production', and others. The in-depth interviews, therefore, served as a means to gather information

²⁶ The influence of on the project of researcher attrition is explored in greater detail in Chapter Six.

²⁷ The education levels included in this table reflect their completed education levels in the years indicated. However, some of the faculty members were enrolled in master's classes or thesis research but had not completed the degree requirements at the time of fieldwork in 2012.

and associate the understandings I held with the multiple realities of the participants (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2006; Stake, 1995). In short, the interviews allowed me to “enter into the other person’s perspective” (Patton, 2002, p. 341), at least in part. The interviews were audio-recorded with consent of the participants and conducted in English, the language of instruction at all institutions of higher education in Tanzania. My previous work in Tanzania and experience with TARP—including refining research instruments to more appropriately fit the Tanzanian educational context—informed the interview protocols used in this study. The protocols were piloted with researchers familiar with qualitative research in Tanzania before their use with MWUCE faculty members in this study. During the interviews I encouraged faculty members to discuss issues that were important to them as they answered the open-ended questions, with the goal of gaining an in-depth understanding of their perspectives (Patton, 2002). I also asked related follow-up and probing questions in order to allow for emerging connections and additional clarifications (Creswell, 2008; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The interviews lasted from 40 minutes to more than 4 hours and were conducted in private, when possible, or semi-private offices and classrooms on the MWUCE campus.

Faculty survey

All of the MWUCE faculty on campus at the time of data collection—approximately 58 full-time faculty in total—received the faculty survey, which was completed by 40 faculty members, 69 percent of faculty. This quantitative survey was used to investigate how the faculty perceived the purpose of scholarly research, their roles as producers of knowledge, their perceived capacity to conduct research, and their

specific research goals and interests. The survey was descriptive in nature and was not created with the intent of using inferential statistics for analysis; rather, the survey served as a means to gain a broader understanding of faculty opinion across campus. Many of the items on the survey were open-ended in order to allow the respondents the opportunity to explain their reasoning and thought processes. Other items utilized a Likert scale that enabled the quantification of their perceived perspectives on the question items. The scale included four options for respondents, each of which was later given a numeric value for analysis: Strongly Agree (4); Agree (3); Disagree (2); Strongly Disagree (1). In addition, a blank line was provided for each Likert survey item where respondents were expected to explain their rationales for selecting that particular option. This allowed a more nuanced understanding of their opinions and yielded additional qualitative data.

The concepts and questions for the survey were based on several sources and consultations. First, they were grounded in my previous personal experiences working on campus with the faculty members at MWUCE. Second, they were based on more recent experiences communicating with Allen and other faculty members about research conducted as part of TARP. Third, researchers with experience at the research site—including Dr. Frances Vavrus and Brent Ruter—reviewed the questionnaire items and provided valuable feedback on conceptual and linguistic framing. Fourth, I conducted a think-aloud session with Allen Rugambwa and another faculty member from the physics department who asked critical questions about the intended purposes of each question on the survey and how specific terminology might be interpreted by faculty across campus. This consultation further grounded the survey in the lived experiences of the faculty

members because Allen and his colleague suggested several new items that were missing from an earlier draft of the questionnaire. The survey protocol was distributed to the faculty at the beginning of the data collection period in order to ensure congruence with the academic calendar at MWUCE and the highest response rate possible. The questionnaire protocol distributed to the faculty is included in Appendix D.

Participant observation

I also engaged in naturalistic participant observation through four primary means. First, I reflected critically on my own involvement and notes from the 2010 TARP. This process included examining events that occurred during the original data collection period and maintaining detailed notes of my experiences, thoughts, and feelings. Conversations with the TARP researchers in 2012 enabled further development, expansion, and clarification of my initial notes.

Second, I analyzed audio recordings from a series of ‘debriefing sessions’ that were held with the TARP researchers and the U.S.-based graduate students after the first data collection period in August, 2010. I was an active participant and facilitator in these sessions. These debriefings ended the data collection phase with research reflection activities, team building exercises, and data management discussions. In these sessions, TARP researchers discussed the challenges they faced in conducting the research as well as insights they learned during the project, both in terms of the content and methods of the research. My participation in these sessions generated initial conceptual understandings which I used to frame this dissertation study.

Third, I co-facilitated with Dr. Frances Vavrus a research methods workshop at MWUCE in June 2012. This workshop was intended to provide faculty members who hoped to conduct educational research in the coming year with a series of hands-on sessions focused on qualitative research methods. Approximately 30-35 faculty members attended each of the day-long sessions. During the workshop, Dr. Vavrus and I utilized a variety of learner-centered approaches with the faculty to collaboratively explore research paradigms, practice writing research questions, create interview questions and conduct mock interviews, engage in data analysis and coding, and consider approaches to research presentation and dissemination. A handout with the workshop schedule that was provided to the participants and the essential questions addressed during each session are included in Appendix E.

Fourth, I engaged in a new collaborative study with six faculty members in July and August 2012. This SBW study was funded by AfricAid and provided an opportunity for six MWUCE faculty members to participate in another educational research project. The study focused on the feasibility of conducting school-based workshops in schools throughout Tanzania after the more centralized TIA workshop; in short, the study explored the ability to use a cascade model.²⁸ The faculty at MWUCE visited three secondary schools to observe in-service teachers who participated in the 2012 TIA as they offered school-wide professional development workshops for the teachers at their school who had not attended TIA. In addition to taking extensive observation notes, the MWUCE faculty interviewed the 2012 TIA participants who led workshops about the

²⁸ The cascade model of teacher training presumes that new knowledge and approaches to teaching 'cascade' down to the desired beneficiaries from a smaller group of highly trained teacher trainers.

process of organizing, planning, and conducting their workshops. The MWUCE faculty also interviewed two teachers from each school who attended the school's workshop but had not attended TIA 2012. Finally, they interviewed the headmasters at each school to gain their perspectives on how school-based professional development workshops might benefit the teachers, how the workshops could be organized most efficiently, and what type of mutually agreed upon remuneration arrangements could be established at the school.

My role throughout this SBW project was to act as a research mentor or coach. I worked closely with Allen Rugambwa to design the study, draft the research questions, and select the three focal schools. We also discussed which faculty would be involved in the SBW study, ultimately opting to include three faculty who had participated in TARP in 2010 and three who had not but were eager to learn more about qualitative research.²⁹ Allen and I collaboratively created interview questions and outlined a potential timeline for the research. We then provided copies of the documents to the other researchers and convened a meeting to receive feedback and make changes.

Once these research design plans were finalized and the funding was secured, we negotiated as an entire group of researchers who should visit each school and which researchers would be partners. One faculty member who had participated in TARP was partnered with one faculty member who did not participate in 2010 (and therefore presumably had less experience with an applied, qualitative research study) and the plan was set in motion. I traveled with the MWUCE researchers to two of the focal schools

²⁹ All of the researchers in this 2012 SBW study attended and participated actively in the 2012 research workshop conducted by Dr. Fran Vavrus and me. The two days of research training from this workshop served as the primary means of preparing the 2012 researchers for their roles in the SBW project.

during data collection and took observation notes during the school-based workshops and interviews but did not play a leadership role. The team of MWUCE researchers for the SBW project then met daily for two weeks to process the data, generate etic and emic codes, and co-author sections of the report for submission to AfricAid. I took detailed field notes throughout the SBW study and also reflected on my role within the project.

My approach to participant observation in the four episodes noted above generally reflected a high degree of researcher involvement and investment. In participant observation, a researcher's level of involvement falls on a spectrum that ranges from complete participation—where the researcher is involved in all activities of the community (Anderson & Arsenault, 2002)—to passive or non-participant observation, where the researcher merely observes as a “spectator” or “bystander” and is not actively engaged in the designated activities (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002, p. 19). Issues to consider when deciding the researcher's level of involvement include the ability to be a ‘true participant’, how data will be collected if active participation occurs, and whether full participation might encourage over-identification with or bias towards the perspectives of the research subjects (Hatch, 2002).

In the four episodes of participant observation, I also aimed to understand the local context in which the participants live and operate (Patton, 2002) and investigate international research collaborations and knowledge production from the point of view of the faculty and the university college of education where they work (Goldbardt & Hustler, 2005). I therefore functioned as a participant observer attempting to gain an insider's perspective of the research (Schwandt, 2000) and the institutional factors at MWUCE rather than relying on a priori conceptualizations found in the literature. As

Adler and Adler (1994) note, “qualitative observation is fundamentally naturalistic in essence; it occurs in the natural context of occurrence, among the actors who would naturally be participating in the interaction, and follows the natural stream of everyday life” (p. 378). This quote captures my approach to qualitative observation, wherein my involvement in various activities on campus, including living in faculty housing within the MWUCE compound, enabled me to collect data while simultaneously interacting with the research participants in a naturalistic environment throughout their typical academic and professional duties.

I also remained keenly aware of how my presence might influence the local context and, by extension, the research findings. Thus, this study was also framed by an understanding that the act of interpretation of data involves a process of making meaning that is by its very nature subjective (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000). Rather than perceiving myself as an objective bystander without the ability to influence or be influenced by the local context, it was necessary to recognize that my positionality and interactions affected the research process, as I was the primary “interpretive instrument” despite the active engagement of the faculty in the research process (Norris & Walker, 2005, p. 15). My positionality as a researcher is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Analysis of primary documents

In addition to conducting interviews and participant observation, I reviewed four types of primary documents to gain a better understanding of how faculty are viewed within the Tanzanian and higher education context. First, I examined national-level

policy documents concerning the role of higher education for national development, which included the *National Higher Education Policy* (Ministry of Science, Technology, and Higher Education, 1999), *Tanzania Development Vision 2025* (URT, 1999), and others. Second, I reviewed and analyzed institutional documents from MWUCE concerning the schedules and professional expectations for faculty members. I also reviewed documents related to the development of research at MWUCE, including posted notices for research paper submissions to journals, minutes from research meetings, and research proposals created by both MWUCE faculty and students. Third, I reviewed documents produced during and prior to the 2010 TARP—including email communications, handouts, and research instruments—to better understand how aspects of the research project influenced the thinking of MWUCE faculty. Fourth, I reviewed faculty members' written reflections during the research methods training program that I co-facilitated in 2012. The written reflections included short 'quick-write' activities during the training as well as written feedback and questions about the research process. These documents were generally between one to two paragraphs long and completed by individuals or in small groups at the end of each day.

My intent in these research activities was to discover key themes or phrases that might potentially influence faculty experiences and perceptions. I also wanted to investigate what might be missing from the policies and documents, including phrases or possibly entire documents (Patton, 2002). The primary goal of analyzing documents was not quantifying the usage of terms or phrases, but rather “searching for contexts, underlying meanings, patterns, and processes” in order to provide insight into my research findings and serve as an additional means to triangulate the data (Altheide et al.,

2010, p. 128). Because these texts were produced and viewed within the local context (Bereska, 2003), it was beneficial to consider how they may have contributed to notions of capacity building, knowledge production, and research collaboration.

Data Collection

The methods described above were employed to collect the corpus of data used in this study. Each method necessarily required a different data collection approach. Upon my arrival at MWUCE, I initially met with university administrators to further explain my study and ensure agreement on the research procedures. I also met with the Deputy Principal of Academic Affairs to discuss the research proposal that I had previously sent as part of the process to gain access to MWUCE for this study. We had a long conversation about my approach to the research, the types of questions I would be asking, and the methods I would be using to complete my study. This meeting yielded valuable insights into specific avenues for exploration that ultimately improved the quality of the data and the project in general.

I also conducted a ‘read-aloud’ session with Allen and one of his colleagues by discussing the survey items I had brainstormed and asking them to read through the questions and describe their understandings of each. As noted earlier, Allen is a close confidant with familiarity in both research methods and the sociocultural context at MWUCE. Our survey ‘read-aloud’ session yielded important semantic distinctions—such as the difference between a tutorial assistant, lecturer, and professor—and also

generated some new questions for the survey that were not included previously.³⁰ These clarifications and additions informed the revision of my survey and led to the production of a more culturally appropriate and grounded survey.

The academic calendar necessitated that I distribute the survey to the faculty before they left for the holiday break between June-August 2012. Thus, after piloting and revising my survey instrument, I made photocopies and began to distribute them across campus. While I was familiar with many of the faculty from my previous work at MWUCE, there were also many new faculty whom I had not met previously. Several of the MWUCE faculty, including some of the participants in this study such as Allen, Fumo, and the Research Coordinator, walked me around campus from department to department to introduce me and help explain the survey research I was attempting to conduct. Collecting the survey data would not have been possible without the assistance of these three faculty.

Although the use of a quantitative survey might seem out of place in a primarily qualitative study, the process of meeting faculty, explaining my research, leaving the surveys, and then later returning to check on the status of their completion served as an excellent means of getting to know new faculty and gauging their interest in research on campus. This was an unintended byproduct of using a survey in my study, an outcome that ultimately led to more in-depth discussions of knowledge production processes and the realities of conducting research in Tanzania. In some cases, this also led to the

³⁰ In the Tanzanian hierarchy of academia, a Tutorial Assistant is the lowest academic rank; in the case of MWUCE, it can be someone who only holds a bachelor's degree, though higher qualifications are preferred. The rank of Lecturer is next on the hierarchy, and can be someone who holds a bachelor's degree or master's degree but who has shown significant ability in teaching at the institution. The rank of Professor is generally reserved for academics holding terminal degrees such as Ph.D.

inclusion of newer faculty in my study as interviewees and research participants, whom I had not initially intended to include.

While collecting the survey instruments in June 2012, I was also preparing for the two-day research workshop on qualitative educational research open to any interested faculty member on campus. This included preparing documents, informing various faculty about this upcoming opportunity, and making logistical arrangements. I also started to schedule the interviews with the faculty who participated in the 2010 TARP. As noted on Diagram 1, some of these people were no longer at MWUCE by 2012, so after the two-day workshop I traveled to other parts of the country to interview them. I interviewed three of the TARP participants in or near Dar es Salaam in July, and I used Skype in one case because the former TARP member was completing additional graduate studies in another country.

During these two months in Tanzania, I was also engaged in the life of MWUCE as a participant observer. The MWUCE administration graciously provided me with accommodations in quarters near many of the Tanzanian and expatriate faculty. During my time in the field I took extensive field notes and typed and expanded them on a daily basis with the hope that they would assist me in investigating my own understandings and reactions to faculty life as well as “the particular meanings” attributed to research by others in the community (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 28). These field notes evolved into working memos that were later used as starting points to develop theoretical ideas and test my emergent understandings and assumptions.

Data Analysis

Inductive analysis was the primary approach used for this study. Preliminary data analysis began in the field in order to allow greater depth through revised approaches to data collection (i.e., interview questions were altered to reflect and respond to my growing understanding of the phenomena). Transcriptions of the semi-structured interviews enabled comparison of these data throughout the data collection process and beyond. I began data analysis by identifying and defining the key terms, ideas, and themes used by the participants themselves. After “indigenous concepts, typologies, and themes” began to surface, I examined the patterns that existed across the cases (Patton, 2002, p. 458). I then reread the data and refined salient themes, while seeking negative cases and examples that did not support these themes. I analyzed the themes in each larger domain (e.g., TARP benefits, recommendations for collaborative research) and sought major connections across domains (Hatch, 2002) using Dedoose, an online software program that enables researchers to explore both quantitative and qualitative data in the same program. This allowed me to explore the research questions on a both a micro and macro level and to move between quantitative and qualitative data in the construction and clarification of the emergent themes.

Research Timeline

This research was conducted primarily from May-August 2012. In early June I focused on administering the survey to all of the MWUCE faculty while concurrently beginning the in-depth interviews with the nine core faculty who participated in TARP. In mid-June I co-facilitated with Dr. Vavrus a two-day research training workshop on

research paradigms and qualitative research methods, in particular. This workshop was open to all faculty on campus and served as an excellent means of participant observation, as approximately 30 faculty members attended the first day and nearly 40 the second day. In late June I acted as a ‘consultant’ for the 2012 version of TIA, which was co-facilitated by a large number of MWUCE faculty and attended by more than 50 in-service secondary school teachers. Again, this served as an excellent opportunity to continue discussing research and pedagogical issues with MWUCE faculty. Moreover, the two intensive weeks of training and facilitation brought into sharper relief the multifarious demands on faculty members and their time at small but growing institutions like MWUCE. During this time I also conducted interviews with administrative staff and select faculty who did not participate in TARP but were eager to discuss their research. In early July I traveled to Dar es Salaam to conduct interviews with three of the TARP participants who were based there or nearby. Upon my return to MWUCE in mid-July I conducted additional interviews and began assisting Allen in designing and coordinating the SBW study about the TIA attendees from three focal schools. We met many times to develop the research design and assess other faculty members’ interest in participating as faculty researchers in this new research project. Once the plan for the SBW study was finalized, MWUCE faculty traveled in pairs to conduct research in the three focal schools. We then returned to campus to collaboratively transcribe the interviews, code and analyze the data, generate memos, and draft a summative report of our findings for submission to AfricAid, the financial sponsor of this particular study.

Throughout the two months of fieldwork (June-July 2012), I expanded my growing understandings of the data and sought clarification from faculty members. A

brief two-day return visit to Tanzania in late August following work in Zambia enabled one final opportunity to discuss my emerging findings with Allen and James, two faculty members whom I know well. Finally, after returning to the U.S. in late August I maintained regular contact with the research participants via email and Skype and reiterated my desire to assist them in research endeavors and learn about any new research developments. Although I heard updates concerning the research culture at MWUCE, I did not receive requests to work with faculty on specific research projects.

Issues of Credibility

Several measures were used throughout this study in an attempt to ensure high-quality data. First, my “prolonged engagement” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 303) with the research participants served as an opportunity to build trust. Working previously as colleagues and co-researchers together for more than two years—and in some cases up to four years—strengthened our relationships and led to more honest dialogues about the issues under investigation. Second, the triangulation of methods ensured that multiple perspectives were considered and the data were trustworthy (Shenton, 2004). The primary data for this research emanate from the in-depth interviews and survey I conducted, but relevant policy and institutional documents as well as field notes from debriefing sessions during the original research project allowed a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena under study. Third, the faculty members were provided the opportunity to review interview transcripts via email as well as comment on the emerging findings and my analyses because member checking is an ongoing process (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Most of the research participants responded by emailing me a

version of the transcript with their edits and comments, and some added further clarifications to the research findings. In general, the changes were minimal and the participants seemed eager to contribute to my research. Finally, I intend to share short research briefs based on this study with various stakeholders on campus at MWUCE either in person or via email in order to provide another opportunity for the MWUCE community to respond to and benefit from the research findings.

Research Ethics

Although I completed the requisite research requirements prior to beginning data collection and adhered to standard norms for the protection of data (i.e., all data were kept on a password protected laptop and external hard drive), issues of confidentiality and anonymity were especially complex for this study.³¹ The *Teaching in Tension* book based on our collective work from 2010 contains co-authored chapters by bi-national pairs as well as acknowledgements that specifically name the Tanzania-based researchers who participated in that project. For the purpose of this dissertation, these faculty researchers were actually the research participants; therefore, concealing their identities was a challenging task, the implications of which continued to emerge as the study progressed. Moreover, I came to struggle with both the “possibilities and foreclosures” that confidentiality and anonymity present (Baez, 2002, p. 39). Like Baez, I was interested in the institutional culture and lived experiences of faculty members at one specific higher education institution. To this end, context and specificity mattered. While a multi-

³¹ This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Minnesota and given Research Clearance from MWUCE.

institutional design or alterations to the data could have obscured identity to a greater degree, these accommodations might also lead to diminished power of the research findings or violations of trustworthiness (Baez, 2002).

With these considerations in mind, I explained to all of the research participants the complexity and challenges of maintaining anonymity, even with the use of pseudonyms.³² Furthermore, I emphasized the fact that there always exists a potential for harm despite researchers' attempts to minimize it. I also explained to the administrators who were interviewed that it would likely be possible to identify them because of their position titles, and I asked whether they were comfortable with me using their names. These explanations were made before the TARP researchers (and other research participants) signed the consent forms and all participants were offered the opportunity to ask questions or withdraw from the study at any point.

The pseudonyms assigned to the participants were used on all collected data, and I made significant attempts to protect their identities, particularly in circumstances when the participants shared potentially awkward or sensitive information. In some cases this resulted in my leaving out contextually important data because of its linkages to the research participants. In other cases, it involved removing all signifiers connected to the participants. The pseudonyms presented earlier in this chapter are not used in Chapter Six due to the critical nature of its content. Roman numerals (i.e., III, IV, IX) are used instead in order to better conceal the identities of the research participants. Furthermore, alternating pronouns (e.g., using 'he' in one sentence and 'she' in the next in reference to

³² As noted earlier, Allen Rugambwa is an exception. He consented to the use of his name and also read a draft of this dissertation prior to its publication.

the same respondent) are used in that chapter to further mask personal characteristics of the research participants. These different accommodations may slightly impede the readability of the chapter, but they are necessary out of a concern for research ethics and the potential negative impact of the findings on individual participants.

In addition to emailing the interview transcripts to research participants, I distributed drafts of data chapters to a number of the key research participants in order to ensure their comfort with the data contained within, an excellent suggestion provided by several members of my dissertation committee. I certainly do not want faculty members at MWUCE to be surprised by the data, or, worse, to experience negative consequences as a result of this research. On the contrary, the intent of this research is to promote scholarship from faculty in the global South while critiquing the broader discourses of research capacity building that naïvely position faculty in roles nearly impossible to achieve.

Positionality

It is also sometimes difficult for qualitative researchers to establish and maintain coherent roles during the course of a research project. Occasions sometimes exist when participants view researchers as members of ‘their’ group, and it becomes ethically questionable to share the group’s secret with the outside world. Taff (1988) also notes concerns about researchers’ prolonged stay in a community and concomitant issues of acculturation and subjectivity. For example, researchers may shift from a ‘stranger’ role to that of a ‘friend,’ one who has developed a ‘native-like’ approach towards certain elements of that community. These shifts of positionality may deprive them of a critical

stance that is both informative and beneficial to the research. Furthermore, qualitative researchers typically do not have control over the events and settings in the research environment or over the behaviors and attitudes of the participants towards them (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

It is therefore necessary to consider my positionality as a researcher in this specific context. Because I have had a working relationship with many of the faculty members at MWUCE, this familiarity probably affected how I was perceived and received. In addition, my role as a co-facilitator of Research Training could have affected how I was perceived. The participants' history and level of familiarity with me probably increased their comfort in discussing their research experiences, a benefit of working with participants who know the researcher prior to the project. At the same time, because I am known to the faculty as a TARP co-researcher and representative of the University of Minnesota partnership, I needed to be cognizant of how I was perceived and any effect this might have had on the clarity and honesty of the participants' responses. This representation also extended to my role as a 'representative' for AfricAid vis-à-vis the 2012 SBW study that we planned to conduct with a small number of focal schools after the Teaching in Action workshop. For example, if faculty members perceived my primary role to be a representative of an NGO that has funded projects through MWUCE in the past, this may have affected how they related to me. To address this issue, I aimed to be clear with all faculty on campus that I was in Tanzania to conduct my own study using my own money; I responded to questions from several faculty by noting that I did not receive funding from the University of Minnesota or any other entity to support my research. This approach stemmed from my desire to both

maintain close contact with the research participants while distancing myself in some ways from previous modes of operating during earlier trips to Tanzania.

Providing additional nuance to the complexity of positionality, Vincent and Warren (2001) aptly note, “a close identification between researcher and respondent is not necessarily a ‘good thing’” (p. 44). Participants can be reluctant to share comments that are openly critical or not in their political interest. Moreover, a greater degree of familiarity might lead research participants to be less likely to elaborate on interview questions due to their presumption that researchers and participants share similar experiences and therefore maintain consistent understandings of phenomena. Although I differed from the research participants in terms of nationality, age, gender (in some cases), socio-economic status, and race, our common experience as co-researchers in TARP could have had inhibiting effects. Thus, I made every attempt possible to use continuation, elaboration, clarification, and other probing questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) to elucidate the participants’ interpretations when I felt they were drawing on assumed common understandings or general references to previous experiences. Another approach I used to address this issue was asking research participants to provide comments about hypothetical research collaboration projects that might exist outside of TARP. In sum, throughout the study I attempted to suspend my prior assumptions about the MWUCE faculty’s experiences during TARP and the subsequent research process in order to delve more deeply into their interpretations and understandings (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993); however, I continued to recognize that my identity as a researcher and prior collaborations with faculty members was enmeshed with my own

conceptualizations of the phenomena (Peshkin, 2000). In sum, my positionality as a researcher was not static and required constant consideration while in the field.

Conclusion

This chapter built on the initial descriptions of research methodology included in Chapter One and began with a more in-depth description of my previous experiences in Tanzania. The purpose of this description was to explain how my relationships with Tanzanian scholars were developed over recent years and how my understandings of their vocational contexts changed. The chapter also explored aspects of the research design, including the research questions, methods, analysis techniques, research timeline, credibility, and positionality. These issues were addressed so that the research process was understood clearly, including how the methodology informed the research findings and concomitant implications. Furthermore, it is necessary to understand the multiple relationships between me as a researcher and the research participants because cultivating, maintaining, and relying on relationships are vital parts of the qualitative research processes. This chapter's examination of my relationships with the research participants and my efforts to maintain them over time underscore the complexity of conducting this type of research in a setting such as MWUCE.

The research site was described briefly but will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter, which examines the environment at MWUCE and how faculty members navigated a shifting institutional landscape. Chapter Four begins the three-chapter exploration of the site of the study and the faculty who participated in TARP and the SBW project. It describes the institutional context and how MWUCE has attempted

to cultivate a robust research culture amidst austere times and with a cadre of young faculty facing many challenges to their efforts to engage in knowledge production at the international level.

CHAPTER FOUR:
ESTABLISHING THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT
AT MWENGE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF EDUCATION (MWUCE)

Introduction

Mwenge University is similar to many of the new higher education institutions in Africa: its academic staff is mainly comprised of instructors who have completed bachelor's degrees, a growing number holding master's degrees, and very few with a Ph.D. Nevertheless, it seeks to maintain its status as a university by encouraging the faculty to engage in research even though they routinely teach 8-10 classes per week with hundreds of students per class. The TARP research collaboration indicated that some faculty are interested in research, and the university itself has sought to enhance its research efforts by appointing a faculty member as a Research Coordinator who is responsible for many research-related endeavors on campus. In addition, through guidance from Dr. Martin Desforges—an education professor from the University of Sheffield in the UK who was one of the original founders of MWUCE—a new academic journal is being launched that aims to publish research produced by MWUCE faculty and other scholars and researchers from East Africa and beyond.

This chapter therefore focuses on MWUCE as a case study of an institution in the midst of significant developments towards increased knowledge production and research capacity. It explains the recent institutional developments noted above as well as how faculty at MWUCE have responded to some of these changes and the larger discursive call for faculty research at higher education institutions in SSA. The chapter seeks to

position MWUCE as an institution similar to others in SSA because of its remarkable institutional growth and increased perceived need to compete in the international academic arena by advancing the research capacities and productivity of its young faculty. In this sense, then, MWUCE is embroiled in the larger contemporary discourse of knowledge production within the field of international and comparative higher education. MWUCE also aims to utilize methods of professional advancement befitting its institutional and economic context.

With these considerations in mind, the chapter proceeds through three major sections, each of which draws on data from the in-depth interviews, faculty survey, and other data sources. The first section provides a brief description of the institutional history, structure, and trajectory for expansion. The second section explores the faculty members' previous experiences with research and how they developed their familiarity with research approaches and conventions. This section also describes the institutional and individual strategies used by MWUCE and faculty to develop scholarly capacity and to stimulate a vibrant research culture. The final section examines two specific constraining factors to faculty engagement in knowledge production: the lack of time and the lack of funding. The chapter concludes by summarizing aspects of the overall research culture at MWUCE, the venue in which TARP was situated.

History and Organization of MWUCE

In 1995, construction began to establish St. Joseph's Teachers College in Moshi, Tanzania with funding from MISEREOR (Lyimo, 2010), the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation (MISEREOR, 2013). Beyond this initial

start-up funding, St. Joseph's Teachers College maintained connections to the international academic community through other funding and support systems. The first cohort of students was offered scholarships from a European non-governmental organization (NGO), the first textbooks were donated from the United States, and the library received external funds for computers and other equipment (Lyimo, 2010).

Over time other connections were created, including those with universities and NGOs from Kenya and some nations of the global North. The first official memorandum of understanding with another university was signed with the University of Sheffield in the United Kingdom, where Dr. Martin Desforges had previously worked before coming to MWUCE to serve as the Deputy Principal (Lyimo, 2010). Dr. Desforges has been a frequent administrator, educator, and researcher at MWUCE and played a significant role in advancing its growth. Other staff from the University of Sheffield and Hallam University provided assistance in recent years and a variety of NGOs and voluntary organizations have provided funding for personnel as well as equipment (ibid).

These connections further highlight the ways in which MWUCE as an institution has been linked with the higher education discourse, including the recent push towards knowledge production from faculty members at colleges and universities in SSA. It is likely that faculty visits from foreign institutions influenced the development of MWUCE as an institution but also strengthened its ties to the broader, international network of higher education institutions and its concomitant trends and values. This phenomenon is not unique to MWUCE, as many colleges and universities in SSA have connections to foreign institutions. Given the duration and intensity of these international connections,

the transnational transfer of academic norms and ideologies is quite likely, and might, to some degree, have been actively promoted.

In 2001, St. Joseph's Teachers College began offering a National Diploma in Education—a two-year program that certified graduates to teach in Tanzanian government schools—and graduated its first cohort of students in May 2003 (MWUCE, 2013). In the beginning, St. Joseph's focused primarily on preparing science and mathematics teachers for diocesan schools (Raraiya, 2010), and certification in 'English teaching methods' was added as a certification area in 2003. St. Joseph's garnered a strong reputation as a teacher training college, "achieving the best examination results of any teachers college in the country" (Amani, 2010, p. 16). St. Joseph's served as the precursor to MWUCE, which was established formally in 2005 as a constituent college of St. Augustine's University under the leadership of the Catholic Church of Tanzania.³³ MWUCE maintains an "open access equal opportunities policy for both staff and students," thus enabling diverse student and faculty populations (MWUCE, 2013), but is also closely linked with the Catholic Diocese of Moshi. Many of the administrators and some of the faculty and staff are ordained priests or nuns within the Catholic Church, which is common for many higher education institutions in Tanzania.

The institution maintains a hierarchical organizational structure similar to many other private universities in SSA. Reverend Dr. Philbert Vumilia Lyimo is the current principal of MWUCE, a role similar to a university president in the United States. He

³³ The Catholic Church in Tanzania has a strong tradition of working in the education sector. For example, in 1926, Bishop Henry Gadgetry opened a teacher training college at Singi Chini, "one of the most outstanding educational institutions in the whole country" (Raraiya, 2010, p. 54). This long-standing investment in education continues to the present; the Catholic Church operates many of the highest-scoring private secondary schools in Tanzania.

completed his Ph.D. from Catholic University of East Africa and has been principal at MWUCE since 2009. Working under Principal Vumilia are the Deputy Principal of Academic Affairs (DPAA); the Deputy Principal of Planning, Finance, and Development; and other administrative staff.³⁴ Many administrators at MWUCE also teach a course and some lecturers are involved in administrative tasks, such as monitoring incoming student applications, so many employees at MWUCE are involved in multiple responsibilities in an effort to keep the institution moving forward. This situation is likely caused, at least in part, by the rapid growth of the institution and the need to ensure smooth operations amidst substantial institutional developments.

MWUCE continues to train teachers but now does so through its degree program rather than the previous diploma program. Undergraduate education students have the option of pursuing either a Bachelor's in Education with an emphasis on science or the arts. Students then select two subject specializations (content areas) from within these tracks. Subject specializations for science students include biology, chemistry, physics, or mathematics, while the arts programs include English, Kiswahili, geography, and history. In recent years, MWUCE has expanded its non-teaching program options in significant ways, offering several programs that are not related to education. For the 2013-2014 academic year, a number of such course programs will be offered, as noted in the table 3.

³⁴ Due to the importance of his role and resultant inability to provide anonymity, Principal Vumilia was not provided a pseudonym for this study. This was explained to him before the interview and he provided consent to use his actual name. A similar conversation ensued with the Deputy Principal of Academic Affairs, who preferred that I use the office title rather than a specific name in this study. Several other administrators completed the survey instruments but were not interviewed as part of this study.

Table 3: Non-education course offerings at MWUCE in 2013-2014

	Bachelor's	Diploma	Certificate
Business administration and management	X	X	X
Sociology and social work	X		
Geography and environmental studies	X		
Mathematics and Statistics	X		
Accounting			X
Computer Science		X	X

Source: (MWUCE, 2013)

In the field of education, MWUCE has expanded to include post-graduate course offerings, which were launched in 2012. There is now a Master of Education (M.Ed.) program, which hopes to reach an enrollment of 40 students in the 2013-2014 academic year. In addition, MWUCE is planning to launch a new Ph.D. program and is therefore in the process of adding new staff with higher academic qualifications, many of whom are coming from Kenya and specifically the Catholic University of East Africa, the institution where Principal Vumilia and other MWUCE faculty and administrators completed their Ph.D. studies. MWUCE is also exploring the option of using visiting faculty with doctoral degrees from abroad to teach short-term courses and therefore help fill the qualifications gap and simultaneously reduce recurrent operational costs as they introduce this new Ph.D. program. In sum, MWUCE is in a pivotal phase of rapid growth and transition as it moves from being a teacher-training institution to a full-fledged university offering graduate degrees.

In order to provide these new programs and courses, several years ago MWUCE began the process of upgrading its status from a constituent college to a “full-fledged university,” in Principal Vumilia’s words. This complex and time-consuming process entails updating university policies, upgrading the education levels of its faculty, establishing new courses and curricula, and altering other structural elements in accordance with the strategic plan as well as guidance from the Board of Trustees. According to the Principal, 2015-2016 was listed as the year of transition to full-fledged university status in the strategic plan, but the Board of Trustees wants the shift to occur “sooner.” Principal Vumilia acknowledged that this timeline is ambitious, particularly because of the limited exposure of the faculty to research and knowledge production. Due to their previous training, “to their background, where they’re coming from,” faculty “are not that much used to research.” The next section, therefore, explores the prior exposure of MWUCE faculty members to various types of research in order to establish the local context in which MWUCE aims to establish a robust research culture.

MWUCE Faculty Experiences with Research

The survey, interviews, and participant observations conducted on campus all suggested that, while MWUCE faculty members have some knowledge of research methods from their university studies, in general they have limited experience designing and conducting research on their own. From their comments and questions, it appears that many MWUCE faculty had few opportunities, if any, to conduct research during their undergraduate programs. Halima, for instance, noted that she learned about qualitative and quantitative research “in classes” when she was in her first year of

undergraduate study. There was no emphasis on application, however, because “you just learn, you take [the] exam, and then you leave everything there.” Chane noted a similar situation while completing his undergraduate degree:

We did a little bit of it when I was doing my first degree.³⁵ So I had some little knowledge about doing the practice part of it. Like the qualitative one is really demanding, it takes time. It’s a wide one, that you have to go to the field and collect datas, but then [in his undergraduate program] we didn’t do that. Actually, we were doing that like a secondary research, but we went to the library and did research.³⁶

Chane’s comments suggest that his understanding of research was primarily based on experiences with secondary data. Likewise, Halima’s comments above indicate that she was familiar with the definitions and ideas associated with research methods, but only in textbook form. Principal Vumilia summarized this situation succinctly: “[In] the schools [universities] they just learn the theory....when it comes to practice, it’s something different.”

Experience with qualitative research, more specifically, is relatively new to many MWUCE faculty. These faculty noted that they had a much better understanding of quantitative research and had only discussed qualitative research for a session or two

³⁵A numeric ranking of degrees is typically used in reference to levels of education, where “first degree” is synonymous to an undergraduate degree, “second degree” refers to a master’s degree, and the less-commonly used “third degree” refers to doctoral degrees. The terms generally exclude references to diploma or certificate programs, which are stated as such.

³⁶All quotations included in this dissertation are presented verbatim and without editorialization in order to more accurately reflect the speech patterns of the participants in the study. No changes to syntax or grammar have been made.

during their studies, if at all.³⁷ The following exchange reflects Maxwell's previous experience with qualitative research:

Matthew: In your training, had you had any exposure to qualitative research methods before? ...like in lectures or in classes or in anything like that?

Maxwell: No. Not at all.

Matthew: Okay. So it was totally, totally new for you [during TARP]?

Maxwell: It was totally new.

In addition to learning about qualitative research, Maxwell learned about educational research, which "was really new" for him because he had not "trained as a teacher." This disciplinary distinction between education courses and non-education courses was a common theme among discussions about educational research. Many faculty who did not study education for their first or second degree suggested that they knew considerably less about qualitative research than their peers in education-related fields. Pepe, who holds a master's degree from the University of Dar es Salaam, clearly described this distinction:

We didn't learn much [during his master's coursework] because I did not have the background, as opposed to my colleagues who had studied education, we were in the same class but they had an education course, they had studied first degree education, so they had a lot of information on research.

³⁷ Their familiarity with more post-positivistic epistemologies may have been influenced, at least in part, by past and current uses of research itself that necessarily influence how researchers view dominant research paradigms, contexts, and topics. The historic use of research by colonial rulers, politicians, and policymakers in Tanzania remains an area of scholarship worthy of additional investigation.

While it may be true that students in education courses at some Tanzanian institutions discuss educational research, the MWUCE faculty members who participated in this study suggested that even those who did study education, such as Bala, had limited knowledge of qualitative approaches. During one working session of the 2012 SBW Study, she commented about elements of the qualitative research process: “you know, these things are very new to me. I didn’t know much about coding or qualitative research. Even though I had done my master’s [degree]!”

One of the key factors contributing to faculty members’ limited exposure with research is the quality of their experiences in tertiary education. As noted previously, many of the faculty at MWUCE are currently completing master’s degrees, a result of the national growth of higher education in Tanzania. Principal Vumilia suggested that during their master’s programs:

At the best they [MWUCE faculty] would have maybe studied research methods maybe two courses. With undergraduates [at the undergraduate level], they do very little. They do—most of the universities, if not all—they do have a project that the students have to conduct. But then, they [the students] don’t pay a lot of attention to that. And when it comes to research, it depends on how much that university is committed to research.

It is likely that the quality of research training likely varies considerably across universities in SSA and even across programs within the same institution. Pepe—the University of Dar es Salaam graduate who previously published a number of works in collaboration with U.S.-based researchers—noted that he “had a very poor lecturer, a doctor, who taught us research methods.” Pepe therefore concluded that “there were a lot

of gaps” in his knowledge, a situation that inhibited his ability to conduct high-quality research when he initiated his own qualitative study.

Limited student investment in learning about research, however, also has a significant bearing on the development of research capacity at universities that employ graduates of these master’s programs because as future faculty members they will be expected to contribute to knowledge production at universities. Principal Vumilia noted:

If it’s only because it’s a requirement to be able to get that master’s degree, then one doesn’t pay that much attention to it. You know [paraphrasing a hypothetical student], ‘It’s a requirement, it’s a requirement. So I try to do whatever it takes. However, it’s not like I’m trying to get that skill of doing the research.’ That’s why I said the background is not that strong because it’s not something which they...specialize in, or maybe use that often. Only to [later] find themselves [working as a lecturer] in the university and therefore they are required to conduct research.

This perspective of conducting research to fulfill a requirement connects to a broader question about the purpose of knowledge production in Tanzania and the preparation of faculty like those at MWUCE to serve as the primary producers of knowledge in the context of higher education. If graduate students from across Tanzania are not envisioning themselves as future researchers and producers of knowledge, they will probably not be as motivated to learn and apply research approaches during their time in graduate school. Moreover, the process of engaging in scholarship while attending universities in Tanzania is considerably more challenging than in institutions of the

global North with different material contexts. Such obstacles to research make this phenomenon more understandable from a comparative perspective.

Within the institutional context of MWUCE, however, an early emphasis on research benefited both its students and faculty. TARP faculty who had been on campus for several years, either as MWUCE students themselves or as faculty members, already had some level of familiarity with qualitative methods and therefore seemed more advanced in their understanding of these approaches. One faculty member who trained at MWUCE learned about research methods from Shelley Sams, an American educator who completed her master's degree at Columbia University, Teachers College and then worked as a lecturer at MWUCE. In addition to serving as yet another example of how MWUCE has been connected and attentive to international trends in higher education, it was through Sams' descriptions of her master's research on immigrant students in New York City that this faculty member gained "a clue on how she did that" and "got interested to be a research fellow." This was the faculty member's first exposure to a "research study," and the concrete descriptions of the process provided by Sams served as an excellent introduction.

In a similar way, others commented on the value of working with Dr. Frances Vavrus on small-scale research projects during the year they overlapped with her on campus in 2006-2007, when she was a Fulbright scholar in residence at MWUCE. Charity helped Dr. Vavrus with some qualitative research as part of a paid consultancy, and she gained initial research experience that she found transferable to the 2010 TARP. Charity reflected:

I remember when I was transcribing, Professor [Vavrus] used to say, ‘You should write everything. Write everything that you hear. And so you don’t need to change any of their answers, even if you think it doesn’t make sense, but you need to write it as it is, just to get the primary information from the respondents.’

Clearly, Charity gained insight into the value of language and its influence on making meaning in qualitative research through collaboration with Dr. Vavrus, how offered this initial instruction for the transcription process. In fact, during one long car ride to a research site for the 2012 SBW research study, Charity and I joked about how painful it is to transcribe interviews, even though it is helpful to the research process itself. It was clear that these experiences provided her with unique insights into qualitative research and an advantage over the other faculty who participated in this study but not the 2010 TARP.

Allen also benefited from being on campus at MWUCE in 2006-2007. He conducted a small-scale study about school quality using “some kind of funds” sponsored by someone through connections with Dr. Vavrus. He said he “did the research and wrote everything down...presented the analysis of the data,...[which] was done by help [from others who had more research experience].”³⁸ He concluded his comments by suggesting that this experience helped to lay the foundation for his involvement in the 2010 TARP as well as future research projects, but that he “did little about it” [didn’t direct much of the process] and therefore needed to “learn more about that one”

³⁸ In the remainder of this interview segment Allen seemed to suggest that he had significant guidance through the research process. He found this research scaffolding to be incredibly useful, but also wanted additional training and practice before conducting a large-scale study by himself.

[qualitative research methods]. This experience sparked his interest in qualitative research and his desire to learn more about how to conduct research studies.

In sum, the faculty who studied or worked at MWUCE in the past appeared to have more experience with research methods, in general, than their peers who completed programs elsewhere. Although these faculty described their research experiences as limited or heavily guided by others—in that they may not have designed and completed the research projects on their own—they nevertheless benefited personally and professionally from informal mentoring while also contributing to the initial foundations of a research culture at MWUCE. This foundation served to enable the more recent push for a vibrant research culture, a topic explored in the following section.

Cultivating a Burgeoning Research Culture at MWUCE

In response to both the national requirements for university research and international expectations reflected in the global discourse of higher education, MWUCE recently embarked on a new journey towards increased institutional research capacity and production. This marks a distinct departure from earlier professional development opportunities provided for faculty at MWUCE/St. Joseph's, which had a strong focus on improving the teaching skills of its faculty (Desforges, 2010). During an interview, Principal Vumilia stated emphatically, “in the university system there is no way you are going to get away without doing research.” There is therefore a new emphasis on professional development opportunities related to research for faculty members at MWUCE.

Despite some faculty members' limited experiences with or knowledge of research approaches, MWUCE has developed an institutional commitment to building research capacity on campus. This is evidenced by a number of developments, including the creation of a Research Director position, one first held by Jafari. He was appointed by Principal Vumilia to coordinate various research opportunities as they surfaced at MWUCE and also to provide leadership in educational research. Jafari had completed a master's degree with a specialization in research and evaluation at Catholic University of East Africa through sponsorship from AMESEA, a "cooperation of the bishops" funding higher education scholarships.

Jafari commented that there was little emphasis on research when he assumed his role as Research Director in January 2010. He noted that there was "no special organization on research," no "policy guideline," and no funds "apart from the initiatives of research from the TIA" and the small scale research projects initiated by Dr. Frances Vavrus during her year as a Fulbright scholar and lecturer at MWUCE. Once appointed, Jafari convened a Research Coordinating Committee with the sole purpose of creating a guiding policy related to all research activities on campus. He noted that this iterative process of drafting and reviewing the research policy involved "around 10 members" as well as external "experts" to help finalize the purpose and content of the guiding policy. Jafari was sponsored by MWUCE to pursue a Ph.D. in education at the Catholic University of East Africa while they were still going through the third draft of the policy. He is currently pursuing his studies full-time, and a new Research Committee "was formed based on the policy" to provide leadership and direction for the university as it moves forward with different research initiatives. Although the original Coordinating

Committee “dissolved” after fulfilling its purpose of drafting a policy, “most of the members remained in the new Research Committee” that was in the process of revising the final version of this policy at the time of fieldwork.

MWUCE clearly aims to cultivate a “positive research culture” on campus (Sawyer, 2004, p. 217), one that will provide additional learning opportunities for its students, elevate the status and education levels of its faculty, and fulfill the accreditation requirements for MWUCE to be a “full fledged” university. In short, it appears that MWUCE wants to engage in the higher education arena at both the domestic and international levels, evident by frequent references to journals, conferences, and discourses on the MWUCE campus. In order to achieve these ends, the administration is promoting a new emphasis on research, which includes the following efforts: embracing a “public or perish” discourse of research expectations, soliciting research proposals to be funded by the institutional Research Committee, scheduling Saturday Seminars for faculty where research methods and projects are described and critiqued, and launching a new academic journal that will be housed and published by MWUCE.

Given recent changes to higher education globally—including neoliberal reforms that encourage privatization, competition, and a consumer mentality—the efforts at MWUCE reflect an institutional desire to remain relevant and competitive during difficult financial times. Students now have more higher education options than ever before in Tanzania, so MWUCE initiatives that seek to highlight research productivity and their effort to increase institutional resources represent strategic choices aimed at sustaining the growth of MWUCE and its prominence as an education provider. The challenges of implementing new initiatives within a constrained material context,

however, represent the tension between the global discourses and pressures of higher education and the local realities for young institutions and faculty in SSA, and more specifically, in Tanzania. The following sections explore the negotiations and conundrums of developing a robust research culture amidst rapid and sizeable institutional expansion, a phenomenon common across many places in SSA and in other parts of the global South.

The adoption and implications of the “publish or perish” discourse

The common trope, “publish or perish,” can be heard on campus at MWUCE with increasing frequency. Anecdotal evidence from across several visits suggest that this phrase became commonplace around 2010, a shift that may have coincided with the establishment of the Research Director position and the renewed push for research development.³⁹ Regardless of the timing of its first utterance, the sentiment that lecturers should be active scholars in addition to fulfilling their teaching duties has become commonplace on campus. In many ways, this marks a departure from the previous purpose of this institution (and many others in SSA): preparing teachers, not researchers. As higher education in Tanzania has expanded, so has the need for institutions to offer new programs beyond teacher education and preparation—including graduate programs—and therefore upgrade their institutional status to that of a university in order to keep up with growing demand. The global discourse of “publish or perish” has been adopted along with the educational expansion, particularly as more colleges and

³⁹ The phrase may have been used at MWUCE prior to 2010, but this is when I first remember hearing it at MWUCE.

universities begin to offer graduate programs with a stronger emphasis on research. The presence of this discourse at MWUCE might be due, at least in part, to the experiences of Tanzanian academics and administrators who may have learned the phrase and its related implications while completing studies abroad and returning to MWUCE on holidays.

The increasing access to information and global discourses of higher education through the internet might have also contributed to its more common usage on campus.

The administration at MWUCE clearly believes that lecturers should now be engaged in research and showing evidence of their scholarly productivity. The office of the DPAA noted that “you can be a very good lecturer, but if you don’t publish, you will never be promoted....People want to be promoted but only on the basis of teaching.” Criteria for promotion at MWUCE are based on those from the Tanzanian Commission of Universities, the national body that offers accreditation to higher education institutions in Tanzania. The criteria for promotion at MWUCE were under review at the time of fieldwork and this was an important issue for its many young faculty. In general, the criterion given the most weight for promotion is education level (i.e., bachelor’s, master’s, or doctoral degree), the result of higher education institutions in Tanzania previously employing a large number of faculty who held only bachelor’s degrees.

It is interesting that the so-called “international standards” of promotion based on academic traditions from institutions in the global North have been adopted in African higher education contexts, such as Tanzania. Institutional contexts in SSA differ drastically from the material and professional environments in the United States and other countries of the global North where publishing is arguably much easier to do.

Consequently, institutional comparison or adoption of international norms does not

necessarily suit the contextual realities of institutions like MWUCE, which struggle to provide faculty with sufficient time, funding, or access to the most recent developments and research innovations to do research.⁴⁰

At the same time, the DPAA office at MWUCE suggested that “you cannot have a professor in Tanzania different from a professor in U.S.,” acknowledging the desire to maintain within the Tanzanian context the usual *modus operandi* of promotion in higher education. The “three missions of universities” (i.e., teaching, research, and service) are cited in the Employment, Staff Performance Review and Career Development Minimum Guidelines produced by the Tanzania Commission for Universities (2012), which states explicitly that “university academic members of staff is [sic] required to generate knowledge that has to be disseminated to students and other stakeholders” (p. 5). The Guidelines further note, “they are expected to publish books/compendia and other forms of publications” (p. 5). Thus, the tripartite aims of universities, including the need to be actively engaged in research, have been adopted from the international level to the national level—as represented in this document—and also at the local level at institutions like MWUCE, even though there exists a contextual incongruence and drastically different supply of academic and financial resources.

In addition to its use among the administrators at MWUCE, faculty members working at MWUCE also mentioned the adage and some seemed to embrace its meaning. Even faculty who did not participate in TARP and therefore may have had more limited exposure to scholars and lecturers from the global North were familiar with the phrase.

⁴⁰ As discussed in Chapter Three, my efforts to supply Fumo with the most recent literature in his field as he was completing his master’s degree exemplifies the comparatively different contexts in which faculty are expected to be productive scholars.

One example came from my interview with a faculty member who acknowledged this need to publish but suggested it serves a purpose beyond the utilitarian goal of maintaining his position as a lecturer: “If your ideas are not known through publication, then you will become irrelevant. You will perish.” My other interactions with him, including discussing several publications that he has in preparation, suggest that Elijah was quite intent on maintaining relevance and also positioning himself as a scholar. He seemed eager to engage in knowledge production and publish his work, which in his case might be more easily conducted in the local institutional environment because it is not in a scientific field that requires significant laboratory equipment and the associated degree of investment in cutting-edge technology.

Other faculty members with master’s degrees viewed publishing as a means to increase the competitiveness of their applications for Ph.D. studies. While hanging out in one departmental office, I asked a faculty member who did not participate in TARP whether he might have opportunities to publish anything from a horticulture project he was conducting in conjunction with an organization from France. He responded, “Of course....They [the French organization] are doing it for themselves, but of course, I am also doing it for myself....I want to go for Ph.D. studies.” In addition to highlighting some of the power dynamics inherent in international collaborations involving scholars of the global South, his comments reflected his perceived need to publish to make himself marketable in the future. He hoped to leverage publishing opportunities into future educational experiences and perhaps even preempt the possibility of perishing within the broader of higher education.

The perceived need of having publications for entrance into a Ph.D. program was common, and could be viewed as an extension of the “publish or perish” discourse. A faculty member from the Geography Department commented that, “I know that for a Ph.D. program you have to have no less than 3 publications. That is why I want to publish. I want to be there.” I responded to him by suggesting that not all Ph.D. programs require students have three publications, but he stated confidently that those he explored needed evidence of three publications, or “at least not less than two.”⁴¹

It is clear from the comments noted above that both administrators and faculty members were familiar with the “publish or perish” discourse. They sensed a need to increase publication productivity on campus in order to meet the demands of the Tanzania Commission for Universities, to remain relevant as scholars, and to gain access into educational programs. Yet, at an institution like MWUCE, maintaining a “publish or perish” mentality has significant implications for faculty. In order to avoid the perceived or real possibility of perishing within the academy, many of the young faculty on campus were interested in publishing their work despite having never published previously. They were therefore open to pursuing multiple dissemination strategies, three of which are examined in greater detail in the following sections.

International independent publishing houses

One strategy utilized by a growing number of faculty on campus, and in particular those from Kenya, involved publishing their master’s theses and other manuscripts in

⁴¹ It is certainly true that there are disciplinary differences in regards to entrance requirements across fields and national differences may exist as well.

Germany through an independent German publisher known as Lambert Academic Publishing (LAP), which offers “free publishing to academics” (AV Akademikerverlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2013). This company actively emails recent masters and Ph.D. graduates from around the world to inform them of this publishing opportunity and claims to “contribute to the advancement of science by sharing findings from your dissertation or thesis” as well as to provide royalties from the sales of all manuscripts.⁴²

On one hand, this approach to publishing monographs may not be valued or accepted by the international academic community because the publishing process with companies like LAP does not undergo significant peer review or rigorous revision and editing processes. Indeed, a cursory search of LAP on the web generates a broad spectrum of blog posts and commentaries about the apparent illegitimacy of LAP and its approaches to publication. The “Michigan Tech Thesis and Dissertation FAQ” refers to VDM Verlag—the parent organization of LAP—on its website, noting that the German publisher is not a scam, but “will not significantly enhance the student's publication record” because the published product will not be peer reviewed. Moreover, LAP owns the intellectual property rights of the author’s work but does not actively market the books beyond offering them on websites such as Amazon. Academics at institutions like MWUCE have pursued publication opportunities like these, regardless or without knowledge of the hierarchy in academic monograph publishing that generally favors peer reviewed publishing houses—frequently housed at university presses—over independent or pay-to-publish sources. It appears that LAP benefits financially from the aspirations of

⁴² I never received emails from this organization as a master’s or doctoral student completing my studies in the United States. One might imagine that LAP targets certain institutions more intensely than others, but this is speculation.

African scholars who hope to gain professional clout and perhaps even royalties as a result of publishing their hard work through LAP.

On the other hand, publishing a thesis through LAP does serve as a means to make research conducted by African scholars more readily available to a broader international readership, therefore lifting it out of the “subterranean reality of African educational research” and preventing it from being “quickly forgotten” (Maclure, 2006, p. 82). Anyone can purchase theses published by LAP on bookstore websites and they are searchable through major internet search engines. Credit must also be given to at least three of the faculty at MWUCE who sought out LAP and saw the publishing process, whatever it entailed, through to fruition. Despite its shortcomings, LAP is one potential way to make grey literature available to a broader audience.

In the local context of higher education in SSA, the faculty who publish their work through LAP might also gain some social capital through this addition to their *curriculum vita* in ways that could benefit their advancement in higher education and, by extension, educational development in the global South. This approach to publishing might in fact serve as a variation of Appadurai’s “strong internationalization,” because while publishing with LAP is not recognized by scholars and institutions in the global North as an acceptable means of disseminating one’s work, perhaps conventional legitimacy-granting forces need to be challenged through these and other forms of research dissemination that offer more open access to knowledge production procedures than those guarded by faculty and academic publishing houses in the global North. Furthermore, the research of these faculty members at MWUCE and other institutions in Tanzania has clearly passed the benchmark for intellectual rigor required of master’s and

doctoral degrees at their degree-granting institutions, suggesting that they contain new knowledge worthy of dissemination within the local context. The monographs produced by LAP are published with the approval of the authors, who have the opportunity to “review it and see if all the details are correct,” as one MWUCE faculty noted. Thus, the quality of the product is ultimately dependent upon the authors themselves and, in case of papers or theses from academic coursework, any assistance or guidance provided by their academic supervisors from previous graduate school experiences. In sum, the LAP publishing conundrum begs the question: What other feasible options are available for faculty at institutions like MWUCE who would like to publish their research?

Co-authoring with an accomplished scholar

A second strategy employed by faculty at MWUCE involved co-publishing their work with more experienced scholars from the global North or a selective few scholars from Tanzania deemed by them to be highly experienced. While co-authoring is not exclusive to faculty members in Tanzania and is also a common practice within academic institutions of the global North, the potential implications of such collaborations have more profound implications for faculty in Tanzania, particularly in light of colonial vestiges that may remain on campuses. For example, Afya conducted a mixed methods study of teacher preparation in Tanzania for her master’s thesis and hoped to publish it as a monograph or divide it into several different sections for journal publications. At the end of my interview with her, I mentioned that I would be on campus until July and wondered whether there were ways that I could be helpful. She responded:

Specific way which I think, Matthew, you can help me, is like, if you can find a journal which I can publish part of my work. Or, if we can form partner in a publication and we edit the work and we see if we can publish part of it. And yeah, that is very important. Yeah.

She then suggested that she would give me a copy of her master's research to explore the possibility of editing it and finding "some parts to publish" in an international journal. She maintained a perspective that "you need co-publishers" in order to get an article into an international journal because "you need to get somebody who has got the experience of publishing."

Afya believed that publishing in an internationally renowned journal was a better but more difficult way to advance her professional career than publishing in a "local" journal, such as one primarily seeking publications from students or faculty from that the particular institution where it is housed and published. She seemed willing therefore to add co-authors who did not contribute to the work beyond editing the manuscript in order to make it happen. In her mind, the ends of getting an article published in a respected international journal justified the means.

Initially I was excited to partner with Afya in pursuing this opportunity. It would have given me a chance to act as a critical scholar in furthering the professional qualifications of a MWUCE faculty member and increasing the amount of published research on educational development in Tanzania by Tanzanian researchers. It would have also generated additional data about knowledge production in Tanzania to contribute to my dissertation, and publish articles to advance my own academic career. However, as I reflected more deeply I was struck by the complex ways in which our

potential collaboration embodied broader power dynamics among budding scholars who have such disparate amounts of academic capital. Largely as a result of my education and socialization experiences within U.S. institutions, I had access to skills and resources Afya did not possess. She was willing to compromise ‘ownership’ of her data in order to benefit from my academic capital, an understandable but saddening situation. That evening I reflected on this situation in my research journal:

Now, here is the thing. If we work ‘together’ on turning *her* master’s thesis into an article for publication, how do I characterize my role? I realize this depends, in part, on how much work actually takes place and how much I ‘help’, but is it fair for my name to appear on a publication after her name? How are the power dynamics of transnational knowledge production perpetuated through this relationship? On one level, we have the potential to enter into a mutually beneficial relationship, where, best-case scenario, she gets part of her MA thesis turned into a published article in an internationally-known journal, and I get second author on her work, and the data from the experience as part of my dissertation. Yet, is it ‘fair’ to even put my name on her work if I have played no role in designing the study, conducting the study, analyzing the data, etc.?....Coming from a place of [academic and economic] privilege makes me uncertain about this relationship. One of the interesting things is that Afya said something about joining with someone to co-author in an international journal even before I mentioned anything about it. Thus, it seems that she is cognizant of what it might take to turn her work into a publishable journal article and also willing to add an author to an article in order to see it in an international journal

rather than a ‘local journal.’ Is this academic colonialism?...If she were a scholar in the U.S., would she have already published this in an international journal?

And of course, how I use *my* privilege and these skills matters as well. Clearly withholding them is not the correct solution. But is it ‘okay’ to benefit from them as well?

These reflections indicate how scholars from the global North like me can be implicated in perpetuating international power imbalances in academia.

This incident also speaks to issues of “academic dependency” (Alatas, 2003, p. 599) and how this might be further entrenched through the discursive shift towards “publish or perish” at institutions in SSA and the realization of the discourse in practice through the continued presence of power imbalances. Adopting in SSA the discourse of the academic community from the global North without a concomitant understanding of the contextual differences—including access to material resources, the ability to write fluently in U.S. or U.K. academic English, and others—may serve to frustrate faculty from SSA placed in the difficult position of trying to meet established international notions of knowledge production while researching and writing in a substantially different local context. Furthermore, the discourse positions these faculty within a system that is structurally unequal and in which all but a few researchers are likely to fail, thereby reinforcing the current relations of knowledge production that favor those in the global North.

Publishing in a “local journal”

A third strategy pursued by faculty to meet the demands of the “publish or perish” discourse amidst the burgeoning research culture at MWUCE was publishing in a “local journal.” The specific definition of a local journal varied slightly across the participants on campus, but in general it was considered to be one that is housed at a university and primarily aims to serve as a publishing outlet for faculty and students in that university and/or country. MWUCE faculty assumed that local journals have more limited readership, but they were also aware that publishing in such journals was likely to be significantly easier, so some faculty were exploring these types of outlets. Afya, who mentioned the local/international journal distinction in the excerpts above, described how faculty can draw on their social capital and institutional affiliation to enable publication in a local journal:

You know with the local journals, if you know somebody who has published, you can talk to him or her and [they can] help...I had my lecturer [faculty supervisor for her MA degree] who had published his work in that journal, and it’s easy if I link myself to the institution [where the journal is housed].

Hence within the broader MWUCE community, it appeared that social networks could enable publication in local journals.

Local journals were also considered to be a more affordable option than publishing in international journals. A consistent belief existed across the MWUCE campus that authors need to pay to publish in international journals. Afya commented that in order to publish in an international journal, “you need to pay some amount” because the “procedures are expensive.” James likewise stated emphatically that

publishing in an international journal was too “expensive” because he didn’t have “any money.” He continued by wondering, “who will fund, who will give us the money to publish in the journal? Because...journals are not free. You have to pay for publishing.”

There certainly are indirect costs of submitting articles to international journals from institutional contexts such as MWUCE, including paying for internet connectivity or purchasing additional journal articles or subscriptions if these are not available at the MWUCE library, but these were not the types of costs to which MWUCE faculty referred. In several instances when faculty mentioned the fees that were necessary to publish in international journals, I countered these comments by stating that the majority, if not all, of the academic journals with which I was familiar did not charge for scholars to submit articles.⁴³ So, although this ‘academic myth’ at MWUCE is largely unfounded—at least based on my experiences with and understandings of the publishing industry—in practice it contributed to the reluctance of MWUCE faculty to submit their articles to international journals despite their preference for international journals that are afforded more status.

Launching a new academic journal at MWUCE

In addition to adopting the publish or perish discourse evident at both international and national levels, the research culture at MWUCE has included launching a new academic journal to be housed and published on campus. This journal was

⁴³ While it is true that a few journals in Asia (and perhaps in Africa and elsewhere) charge authors when articles are submitted, these journals are often not considered among the top tier of publishing outlets and therefore not as highly valued among those who tend to dominate the academic community, namely recognized scholars and editors of the global North.

officially “launched” in June 2012 during my fieldwork and will be called the *Mwenge University Journal of Academic Studies* when it goes to press in 2013 (planned date).⁴⁴

The Chief Editor—a faculty member with a background in educational research and evaluation—commented that it was originally planned to focus primarily on educational research, but the editorial board felt “other lecturers in other areas” on campus would be “disadvantaged”; thus, it will aim to be inclusive in its disciplinary scope and accept publishable articles from all disciplines represented at MWUCE and elsewhere. The impetus for starting the journal is to provide a readily available outlet for MWUCE faculty, and perhaps students, to publish articles, although contributions from scholars based at other institutions will also be considered through a standard peer review process. Given the increasing focus on faculty research at MWUCE and the promotion policy that was being drafted at the time of fieldwork, this particular research development at MWUCE is an important one.

Based on my emerging understandings of how faculty at MWUCE were employing various publishing strategies to avoid perishing as scholars, I asked the Chief Editor about the types of publishing opportunities that exist for the faculty. He explained the explicit connection between the launch of the journal and the constraints faced by faculty:

Now, for this university, even why we came up with the journal is because we have not been having the promotion policy, so when we wanted to make the promotion policy we discovered that for us to promote lecturers, then we must

⁴⁴ The first issue has not been disseminated, so the ‘launch’ seemed to indicate that the journal identification number was approved and the Research Committee started working on the first issue.

give them an opportunity to publish and to contribute their articles....So, any lecturer participating in publishing articles...can meet, that could be one of the criteria for promotion....And we realized that if we tell them to publish in other journals, sometimes they might not get a chance to publish. But if we came up with a journal here, then it encourages them to publish, then they might work hard to publish in our journal.

The Editor's comments indicate that publishing and promotion are integrally connected and that lecturers are sometimes discouraged by limited opportunities to publish their work. Given the increasing ease and recent explosion of journal launches in international academia, with the number of journals doubling every twenty years (Mabe as cited in Bauerlein et al, 2010), it is not surprising that MWUCE has adopted the institutional strategy of starting its own journal as a means to provide a publication outlet for its faculty. Hosting the journal at MWUCE provides greater institutional control over the review and publication processes; therefore, there may exist an increased likelihood that the research of MWUCE faculty is privileged in the publication process.

Like many other journals based in Africa, this new journal is intended to enter the international academic publishing circle as an "international journal."⁴⁵ Principal Vumilia confirmed that the editorial board will "scrutinize the articles before they are published the way it is done elsewhere," and the Chief Editor noted that it has "been

⁴⁵ See the African Journals Online (AJOL) for a listing of journals published in Africa - <http://www.ajol.info/index.php/index/browse/category>. This repository aims to "bring together in one place" as many of these journals as possible. The *Mwenge University Journal of Academic Studies* was not listed on AJOL at the time of writing this dissertation, but the site does not post how often it is updated.

given the international standard number” for international journals.⁴⁶ The Chief Editor further noted the distinctions that make it an international rather than “local” journal: “First, articles will be received from different parts of the world, then [second] our peer advisory board comes from not only Tanzania, [also] from other countries. That’s why we have, now, one [advisory board member] from Britain, and one from Kenya.” He hoped that many articles would be submitted for each issue so that the board could “select the best” to include in the journal.

Interest in publishing in the *Mwenge University Journal of Academic Studies* was not consistent across faculty members, however. Some faculty members commented that they would prefer to publish their work in “more advanced places,” such as international journals that are more established or highly respected in academic circles. These faculty suggested that publishing in academic journals with a broader readership, more international scope, and longer tenure of publication was more desirable than the new journal at MWUCE, suggesting some familiarity with a hierarchy of academic journals. The degree of faculty awareness of codified hierarchies of academic journals was particularly interesting in light of the section above about the options for pursuing different monograph publication outlets such as LAP.

Some faculty preferred to pursue other publishing opportunities despite a provision in the new research policy that publications in international and local journals will be viewed the same for the promotion policy in order to “encourage” the faculty to be productive scholars. The current Research Director noted that if journals are weighted

⁴⁶ Similar to the purpose of assigning ISBN numbers for the identification of books, an International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) is assigned to each academic journal and maintained by the ISSN Centre.

differently, the faculty will “feel like disappointed to publish.” This policy is an attempt by the administration to implement “incentive systems that make a research career attractive” (Sawyer, 2004, p. 217). Yet, one faculty member with a master’s degree still commented that publishing in a more established journal would be preferable—if he is able to “get access”—because it would provide a broader readership for his work. He saw the value of “our own journal here” because he recognized that it would be “easier to publish an article,” but he maintained interest in keeping both publishing options open and waiting to see where his work would fit best.

One faculty member at MWUCE, however, highlighted the difficulty of bringing international attention to a journal based at a small but growing institution such as MWUCE. His comments highlight the dilemma of how new academic journals can gain visibility and broader acceptance within an international higher education field that privileges historic traditions and outlets for publishing scholarly work. While wandering around campus on the day of the journal launch, I encountered a conversation he was having in rapid-fire Swahili with another faculty member about the new journal. He said, “*tunapiga michapo...We are beating stories.*” I wasn’t familiar with this phrase and asked for clarification:

Yeah, *kupiga* to beat, we are beating stories, punching stories [commenting on issues with each other]....We were just talking about the journal, the new journal. It launched today....They are calling it an international journal. How is it international? They want us to submit there, but to me it is a wastage of time...Who will read it? It is not international.

I had heard earlier in the day that the journal was launched and was eager to hear his perspectives and those of the other faculty with whom he was chatting. From the excerpt above, it seems that this faculty member was concerned about whether the effort needed to publish one's work in this particular journal would be worthwhile, given the limited scope of the new journal and the perceptions of the international academic community vis-à-vis such local journals.

The discussion continued with other faculty members sharing everything they knew about the process of launching the journal and the previous meetings on the issue, including summarizing other insider information from a colleague of theirs who was involved with the editorial board. After a brief related discussion on the proposed criteria for faculty promotion (including counting publications in local and international journals equally), one faculty member summarized his thoughts about the new journal:

To me it's very simple to start a journal, like having a website. Anyone can have a website, but it doesn't matter if no one reads it. It's better to join the global community...to publish in an international journal...or even an African journal. You know, there are many journals that focus on African issues. Even those are better. This is a local journal, it is not an international journal.

In general it seemed that the faculty members in this conversation had reservations about the quality, readership, and breadth of the new journal. Their comments also reflected a keen desire to engage in international scholarship through publication in established journals held in higher esteem by some members of the international academic community.

Supporting research through proposals and Saturday Seminars

The final component of the institutional push to cultivate a strong research culture consisted of soliciting research proposals from faculty that would potentially be funded from the operating budget at MWUCE. Each department was asked to submit at least one research proposal that would be reviewed by the Research Committee and considered for funding. In order to assist with this process and simultaneously develop the research capacities of faculty members, MWUCE instituted a series of research presentations on select Saturday mornings, hereafter referred to as ‘Saturday Seminars.’⁴⁷ According to the DPAA office, which serves as the Chair of the Research Committee, nine research proposals were received from the staff and were subsequently evaluated. The Committee approved six of the proposals and solicited funds from the university college, a process that depends “on the budget set in that particular academic year.” The Committee actively sought “sponsors” to provide external funding for the proposals with “very high budgets but the ideas are good.” This was the situation for two of the six proposed studies.

As part of the process, the authors presented their proposed study to the entire MWUCE community at one of the monthly Saturday Seminars focused on research. The administration began these seminars in order to create a venue for faculty to learn more about research through discussing and evaluating the submitted research proposals. Some Saturday Seminars also featured focused trainings on specific research methods presented by more experienced researchers on campus. For example, one session

⁴⁷ It appears MWUCE does not have an official name for these Saturday research presentations; therefore, I have coined the phrase ‘Saturday Seminar’ for greater reading ease but it should not be considered an emic term.

presented by Allen focused on approaches to qualitative research, one examined SPSS and other statistical software packages, and another offered by the Chief Editor of the journal concerned the use of statistics in quantitative data analysis. These sessions generally lasted for four hours and were designed to meet the needs of young faculty and “equip them with the necessary tools.”

The MWUCE administration began this series of presentations because they wanted to improve the research submission process, because during the previous year some faculty either did not submit proposals because they thought there was little chance of having them funded or they submitted their proposals without adequate time for preparation. One faculty member described the situation during that first year and its resultant effect on the faculty:

So, people were told to write proposals that were going to be funded. Yeah. Deadlines were given, people wrote proposals, some even did it very hurriedly. Actually, it's not a surprise to find some sub-standard work because people were in a hurry. Because people were seeing [thinking] that it was going to be funded. Yeah. So, the whole thing went just like that. Entirely there was no funding. It's like the whole thing was shelved. You know, for someone who is very interested in research, that really dampens your research drive.

Other faculty also suggested that their disappointment at not receiving funding for their proposal weakened their desires to submit proposals in the future because they were concerned about spending a significant amount of time on proposal development and not receiving funding.

Another well-established faculty member asked that I remain in his office as he completed the survey questionnaire in case he had any questions. When responding to the survey question item about whether MWUCE encourages lecturers to conduct research, he wondered out loud, “What should I put for that one? Yes, they encourage you to write a proposal, but you work very hard on a proposal, only it is not funded. The funds are not there. Is that encouragement?” His essential question reinforces a challenge for young, privately-funded institutions like MWUCE and others in SSA: allocating precious funds for research activities while faced with capital and operating costs such as building new buildings and hiring new staff to meet enrollment demands.

In response to this situation and to address some faculty members’ frustrations, the administration created the opportunity for research presentations during Saturday Seminars to better facilitate the research proposal process and to establish a means to share the expertise of the small number of more accomplished researchers on campus with the comparatively larger body of young researchers. As Principal Vumilia noted, the “professor and doctors here who have been...writing and publishing, they have extended their invitation to their staff. If they want their help, they are there.” Dr. Oman—the Chief Editor of the new journal and arguably the most eager faculty member on campus in terms of pursuing scholarly opportunities—helped the Research Director coordinate these research presentations and the proposal process. He described the perceived need to develop these sessions during our interview:

Dr. Oman: Initially...most lecturers didn’t write a proposal. But I think this time, when they have seen three or four proposals have been approved, next time we call for papers, then I know most of them will write.

Matthew: So, why do you think the lecturers didn't write proposals the first time?

Dr. Oman: ...me and Professor Ua, we tried to interview them and see why, and we discovered that one major problem we had is that they had poor research skills. So after we realized that we have conducted a number of research trainings. We have done many things like how to write a proposal, how to publish, how to do that analysis. We have done those training with the lecturers. Now they are conversant. They can now be able to write the proposals and therefore we know now they can be ready to participate. But initially there was a problem because you are telling someone to write a proposal, maybe he has no idea how to write it. Then, the members were supposed to have a public presentation. Then we asked, 'how are you going to analyze your data?' He has no idea how to analyze the data, because we discovered he didn't have [that knowledge]. So that's why I told you that I did data analysis using SPSS. I trained all the lecturers. I took them through a training, I trained them on how to analyze the data. They have been trained on how to do qualitative data analysis and quantitative. So they now have at least basic information and therefore they can participate.

Dr. Oman's comments highlight the efforts taken by MWUCE to build the research capacity of its young faculty, many of whom have had limited experience drafting research proposals. Thus, these research presentations were established with the intent of providing explicit training as well as building a robust research culture among MWUCE researchers. The idea of funding proposals was also closely linked with the expressed intent that articles from these studies would be published in the new academic journal.

In sum, MWUCE has undergone significant shifts in its research culture in a short time span. Faculty and administrators have negotiated these shifts as the institution has sought to match the growing enrollment demands, national accreditation requirements, and global higher education discourse concerning knowledge production and the roles of higher education institutions. The research culture built on institutional attempts to encourage faculty to publish research articles, lest they perish as scholars and are not promoted through the academic ranks or, worse, are asked to leave their posts. It also included the creation of a new academic journal to serve as a venue for faculty to publish their work, as well as a research presentation and training series of Saturday Seminars to further develop the research culture.

“Hoard of Challenges” to Conducting Research

Even at institutions such as MWUCE, which has established new initiatives on campus aiming to cultivate a strong research culture, faculty face, as Elijah noted, “hoards of challenges” to conducting research. Some of these challenges have been discussed previously, including some faculty’s limited experience with designing and carrying out their own studies. The final section of this chapter on the institutional context addresses two other impediments to research. First, the faculty expressed difficulty in conducting research due to the significant amount of time required by other campus duties, such as teaching classes, marking papers, and attending meetings. This phenomenon is not unique to MWUCE, as many other higher education institutions in SSA also face time constraints caused by the rapid expansion of the sector. Second, the faculty discussed funding challenges that inhibit their involvement in knowledge

production, such as few opportunities to attend academic conferences. These challenges reinforce their perceived inability to compete in the international academic arena.

One of the most frequent obstacles named by faculty was the limited amount of time they have to engage in research activities. The survey distributed to the faculty included an open-ended question that asked, “What limits or constrains the amount of research you do?” It is impressive that 79 percent of the faculty listed time on this open-ended response as one of the key factors limiting their research productivity. They cited issues related to the number of students in their classes, the time needed to mark their papers, and the demands of administrative duties as some of the issues related to the allocation of their time. In general, their responses can be summarized by one faculty member who clearly suggested that the “big workload leaves little time for research.”

Their frustration seemed to be caused, at least in part, by a tension between the positioning of faculty at MWUCE as either educators or scholars. This tension exists due to the established roles played by teacher training colleges in the past—preparing new teachers—and the new demands placed on growing institutions like MWUCE. In many cases, the time required to be effective educators discouraged faculty at MWUCE from making significant progress on research projects, even when they had existing data from previous studies.⁴⁸ For example, Afya demonstrated in my interview that she was familiar with the notion that faculty members should be engaged in teaching, research, and service:

⁴⁸ Many of the faculty members at MWUCE have existing data from the empirical studies they conducted during their master’s programs.

“Ahhh, ‘publish or perish’ [laughing]. But it’s just a slogan, and to me it doesn’t have much meaning because you are not only there to publish, you are also there to do other things like community service and teaching...publication is important, but it should not be the criteria for you to perish.”

Her comments expressed general concern about the feasibility of being engaged deeply in research activities while maintaining other mandated duties. Thus, she seems to feel the tension between her multiple roles on campus.

Other faculty members were more specific in identifying their significant teaching and supervising demands as mitigating their ability to conduct scholarly research. One faculty member, Ohari, commented that, “to be a scholar, you must publish...but here they deny me the chance of writing.” He continued by describing that his teaching workload and departmental administrative duties inhibited his ability to be a productive scholar. In the section of the questionnaire about the amount of his time devoted to teaching, research, and administrative duties, he indicated 85% for teaching. He noted that he has been gathering materials to write “a book for high school teachers” but has found little time to devote to the effort.

Pepe also felt this tension. While he supported the cultivation of a more vibrant research culture, he was also committed to his students and concerned about how to divide his time across multiple responsibilities. He wondered:

If you have so many teaching hours, when do you go for research? Because if there is a research component from the university, for it to be effective, those who have the researches must have extra time to carry out the research because you

cannot just say they will carry the research when the academic year has ended.

When will they write it?

Like Ohari, Pepe has been working on a book project, but he suggested that in the months prior to my interview with him it had remained “just on the shelf” because he had no time to work on it. He added:

It [the book project] needs a lot of time, you know,...[but] we have so much to do. We have marking [students’] research [projects], we have teaching, we have marking, supervising exams. I have a lot. We have going out to supervise students for BTP [Block Teaching Practice]. We are marking for BTP...and if you are not getting extra money, you are just tired. So you don’t really have so much interest [in conducting research].

This list of responsibilities reflects a normal load for a faculty member at MWUCE who is engaged in supervising student teachers (known as BTP in Tanzania), marking student research projects, and teaching content courses. It should also be noted that his content area tends to have fewer students per class than the general education courses, which can have up to 600 students per section.⁴⁹

While distributing my survey, I spoke with a faculty member who noted a similar situation. I knocked carefully, entered his office, and asked how he was doing. I knew this faculty member from my previous visits to campus but had not discussed my dissertation research with him. I was therefore very surprised to hear his response to my standard formal greeting. Without knowledge of my research or prompting, he said that

⁴⁹ It was generally acknowledged on campus that faculty members who also conduct BTP have many responsibilities. With the addition of new, non-education programs, the workloads may shift and there was talk of structural changes during the fieldwork in 2012.

things were going well, but there is “just no time for writing.”⁵⁰ He said there are “too many things to do.” An accomplished educator, he then mentioned that he is trying to write an article about common mistakes students make in his subject area. The paper on his desk showed evidence of his preliminary work on the article; it contained sample scenarios that students typically get wrong in his courses. He continued, “I must sit and wait for students to come. It takes too much time.” Because it was the end of the term, he and other faculty were often found in their offices waiting for students to arrive so the faculty could sign their clearance papers, which provide proof of term and degree completion for students in their third year. When I finally described my research, he seemed very eager to participate in the study and began describing other pressures and constraints he faced as a faculty member.

The conundrum of limited time led some faculty to fear for their job security in the future. This seemed to be particularly true for some faculty from Kenya, who in general seemed more concerned about how limited scholarly productivity might influence their professional opportunities in the future, including returning to Kenya to assume a faculty position. “You assess yourself, five years down the line, you have not even written one publication, not even a research proposal,” suggested one faculty member who had previously lamented to me about the lack of time to advance a scholarly agenda. “Who is to blame? It is the system. It is not the lecturers...They could be interested in doing research but how can they do that?” Another faculty member commented, “This is my third year, then I look like, what I have done? There is nothing. That is not good for

⁵⁰ It is certainly possible that he heard about the focus of my research study before I encountered him on this day, but his general demeanor during this interaction seemed to suggest a genuine lack of knowledge regarding my research.

a scholar.” Finally, a young faculty member from Kenya summarized the situation from his perspective:

Actually, when I came here, it’s like I lost the bearing because the research community here is not as vibrant as it is in Kenya. You know? Yeah, so, that’s why I didn’t do anything last year, and I’m seeing a possibility that this year may just go like that [quickly], even though I have some work... I think when I came here, I, there is nothing really to motivate me. Yeah. Because, the research environment is not as good as it is on the other side [in Kenya]. So even though there is not much funding there, at least the community, the research community there is more vibrant.”

Thus, for these faculty members as well as the others on campus, having many teaching and supervisory duties limited their abilities and, perhaps, desires to conduct research. This phenomenon is probably common in many institutions in SSA, particularly those that are young and attempting to increase their status and degree offerings while maintaining high quality educational provision for the students enrolled in their programs.

Limited funding for scholarly development is also common across many institutions in SSA; MWUCE is no exception. In response to a survey question about what limits or constrains the production of scholarly research, 29 of the 39 faculty (74%) who answered that question suggested that the lack of funds are a major constraint. They noted that “the lack of reliable research funds” for faculty to design or conduct new research studies limits scholarly productivity at the institution. A different question from the survey asked the faculty to choose from a Likert scale the extent to which they

believed MWUCE “encourages university lecturers to conduct research.”⁵¹ The average of their responses was 3.15, which suggests that the majority of faculty believe that MWUCE does indeed encourage faculty to conduct research. However, many respondents qualified their responses by suggesting that insufficient funds are available for their use on research endeavors. One respondent noted, “the university tries to encourage, although there is not enough funds for the same,” while another suggested that “MWUCE has a very good research policy and an active research unit” but a research budget that is “quite small.”

The limited opportunities to fund and support faculty research reflect larger power imbalances that exist within international academia. The issue of attending conferences—including those aimed primarily at practitioners but especially those targeting academicians—arose in a number of interviews as a key example of how scholars in the global South face significant challenges to scholarly development unique to their institutional and material contexts. In general, the faculty at MWUCE acknowledged the scholarly imperative of attending and presenting at academic conferences and placed a special emphasis on those considered “international” in nature. They noted that these are venues where ideas are shared and where scholars learn about new and innovative research methods as well as significant findings in their fields, and also network with other researchers who share similar interests.

For James, the most vocal participant in regards to this topic, attending academic conferences served as a means to expand his knowledge base through exposure to new

⁵¹ As noted in Chapter Three and in the Appendix, the Likert scale consisted of the following response items and weighting for analysis: Strongly Agree (4); Agree (3); Disagree (2); Strongly Disagree (1).

ideas. He recently had the opportunity to attend and present at an international conference in South Africa and believed that he benefited significantly from that experience. He noted that hearing about others' cutting-edge research is crucial to his personal development as a scholar:

James: Now, research is done in the community level. So if you have people from the community level, and you have people doing research in that community and they come with their findings, they present their findings in the conference, whereby there are quite many professionals in that particular area. So there you can see battles of flow of knowledge.

Matthew: You can see? [didn't hear the last statement clearly]

James: Bitter battles. War. Yes. [laughs]

Matthew: Battles of the flow of knowledge. I like that [phrase].

James: [laughs] Because those are the professionals, you see? Now, if you are not good enough [as a scholar], they will outshine you. Yeah. So those are the areas where you present, you discuss, you ask questions, you answer the questions. Now for we new people, thinking of developing knowledge, it's where we get knowledge from these fellows, to get experiences.

In this passage James implies that research is shared with local community members and then negotiated at conferences. Moreover, he suggests that academic conferences are appropriate venues for dissemination of this community-based knowledge and therefore necessary for the professional development of budding scholars.

James raised several other important points in this passage. First, he clearly outlines the roles of 'professionals' within the academy. These professionals have done

their research in the field and brought their findings to a conference for dissemination. They will then engage in bitter “battles of the flow of knowledge” amongst each other. On one hand, this statement may acknowledge an interesting epistemological stance that views knowledge as being situated, created, negotiated, and contested, much as de Sousa Santos (2007), Vavrus and Bartlett (2012), and others have suggested. This perspective would seemingly contradict the grounding in positivist assumptions and use of quantitative methods that, in general, reign supreme on the MWUCE campus. In that regard, James’ line of thought marks a unique departure from the existing research culture at MWUCE. On the other hand, James’ fear of not being “good enough” and therefore getting out-shined may suggest that the established scholars who presented at the conference have ‘correct’ findings based on their research and previous experiences in the field. This latter interpretation seems more likely, based on his general epistemological leanings as well as his final statement from this excerpt, when he suggests that this is “where we get knowledge.” In sum, he seems to be positioning himself as one who would benefit from the research findings of the experts and “professionals” in his academic field rather than as a producer and disseminator of knowledge himself.

Second, the opportunity to engage in dialogue with other researchers vis-à-vis a dialogic process of ‘knowledge engagement’ was very important for James. However, the purpose of this dialogic process for James was not to put forth *challenges* to others’ research, but to gain greater *clarification* of research findings and methods:

James: Now you go to the conferences, you find all of you guys simply sitting there, listening to a person presenting a paper, for instance. Something he has

prepared for two or three days. And after presenting, there are no questions, there are no discusses, there are nothing. Ah, that is not a conference that I would like to attend....Yeah, there should be presentations; there should be discussions, something like that. So those conferences are very significant to me, because you get something from it. Sometimes when somebody is lecturing and they are saying it is a conference, it is not a conference. To me, it is a kind of lesson. It is a lesson. You can even sleep. [laughs]

Matthew: Uh-huh. [laughs]

James: So, to me, I need those conferences with a lot of discussions.

This emphasis on the dialogic process of ‘knowledge engagement’ is curious, given the general hierarchy of knowledge within the sociocultural context of Tanzania and also the lecture-based approach frequently used to teach research methods as well as other courses in undergraduate and graduate programs. James spoke at length about how he doesn’t like these types of lecture-oriented conferences and finds them to be much less fruitful in terms of his personal professional development. It may be that James’ involvement in the Teaching in Action workshops in recent years and his use of learner-centered pedagogical approaches in his own teaching have influenced this opinion, or perhaps it is attributable to his own preferred personal learning style. Regardless, his emphasis on dialogic knowledge engagement processes at conferences is intriguing, for it is at conferences with ample opportunities for discussions where, as he suggests, “you broaden your knowledge.”

Attending international conferences, as opposed to local conferences, seemed particularly important and attractive for the faculty at MWUCE. During a friendly

conversation with Ohari, the topic of conferences made its way into a conversation about publishing papers. He happily told me that he co-authored with his master's degree supervisor a paper based on his thesis and that, "whenever we have a conference, they publish the papers." He had presented a paper at the conference and while I was in the room he rummaged through the files on his desk in search of the conference schedule. As he was searching, he noted, "it was even an international conference! Kenyatta University has a partnership with Syracuse." I thumbed through the booklet and saw there were many presentations given by scholars with affiliations from American universities, including several others from New York.

Both James and Ohari attended these international academic conferences with external financial support from international organizations and likely would not have been able to attend them otherwise. Despite the burgeoning research culture on campus at MWUCE, the faculty noted the apparent inability to attend academic conferences due to limited or non-existent funding. James longed to attend international conferences to stay informed of developments in his field, but didn't have the "financial muscles" to do so. He therefore felt the material divide experienced by young faculty in more affluent world regions and in SSA, who are frequently not able to attend international conferences and learn about recent developments across various fields due to a lack of financial support. James commented on broader issues beyond his personal professional development, connecting differences in scholars' abilities to attend academic conferences to the divide between nations of the core and those of the periphery:

Those people who are attending, listening to these presentations, who are going to get knowledge from those presentations, most of them will never come from

Africa. That's what I'm saying. So the beneficiaries of the conference, most of them will be from Western Europe, the United States, and other rich countries. Not from Africa. So, Africa will always be backward because people are not attending the discoveries, because there are quite many conferences not only in education, in science and technology; conferences in everything.

Countries as well as individuals from the global North, as James noted, accrue advantages as a result of their ability to attend international conferences and add new knowledge.

He concluded this discussion by asking, "How can Africa develop?" and later answering his own question by lamenting that "they [Africans] will never develop because these new discoveries, which are research-based, the beneficiaries are not Africans." Thus, despite the desires of eager scholars in SSA to attend international academic conferences and their continued efforts to "apply and send in the abstracts," faculty will "never attend" because "they don't have coins" and face significant financial constraints. These constraints inhibit their professional growth and ability to engage in recent intellectual developments, and this issue is particularly relevant at smaller, privately-funded universities like MWUCE that are experiencing immense institutional growth but do not benefit from national funding to support research efforts. In sum, faculty at institutions such as MWUCE face "hoards of challenges" due to large teaching loads and limited financial support for conducting research; therefore, maintaining a robust scholarly agenda which includes presenting one's work at international conferences is incredibly challenging as a faculty member in Tanzania.

Conclusion

This chapter established the institutional context of MWUCE and suggested that it is, by nature, embroiled in the broader global politics of higher education expansion and knowledge production. After summarizing the history of this relatively new institution, the chapter described the prior research experiences of many of its faculty, highlighting the limited opportunities most faculty have had to apply their knowledge about research methods on projects using empirical research. Indeed, the training many faculty received did not maintain a strong emphasis on the skills and approaches necessary to develop on their own research projects that might yield publications and advance their professional careers. Faculty at institutions like MWUCE, however, are still expected to conduct publishable research in order to remain relevant and meet the demands of accreditation boards and global expectations for faculty productivity. Yet, they are expected to meet these demands even though they must compete with scholars from the global North who work from drastically different professional contexts.

The chapter also included an in-depth examination of the recent promotion of a more robust research culture at MWUCE. It described new administrative initiatives designed to cultivate a community of faculty researcher/educators who can help advance the status of the university through research and teaching. As the institution transitions to a full-fledged university and also adopts global outlooks such as “publish or perish,” faculty are increasingly expected to engage in research. They therefore adopt unique approaches in order to show evidence of their scholarship, lest they perish in the academy. The strategies which faculty utilize demonstrate a willingness to compromise ownership and, in some cases, the significance of their work by partnering with co-

authors and selecting certain publication outlets over others. Unfortunately, these approaches have the potential to relegate African faculty to the fringes of scholarly influence or, at a minimum, diminish the breadth of disseminating their work.

With limited time to engage in research activities as a result of many on-campus duties, minimal funding opportunities to attend academic conferences, limited access to academic books and journals, and unpredictable internet or electric connectivity, it is understandable that faculty members entertain unique approaches for disseminating their work in order to compete with other scholars. The chapter concluded with a brief exploration of two of these challenges faced by MWUCE faculty as they attempt to engage in research: limited time and limited access to funding. Although many faculty at institutions around the world might describe similar constraints, the material contexts for faculty at MWUCE and in SSA more broadly reflect disparate professional realities. It was within the institutional context and burgeoning research culture described above that TARP entered as another means of encouraging research on campus. TARP was established as the result of an invitation from the administration at MWUCE to help bolster the research capacity of its young faculty, building on the groundwork laid by Dr. Frances Vavrus during her Fulbright year in Tanzania and the Teaching in Action projects from previous years, an invitation which itself speaks to the institutional investment in developing a strong research culture. The next chapter therefore examines how MWUCE researchers involved with TARP experienced this opportunity to engage in knowledge production alongside a U.S.-based team of international researchers, with specific attention given to the benefits or ‘capacities’ they believed were accrued through the process.

CHAPTER FIVE:
MWUCE FACULTY MEMBERS' EXPERIENCES IN
TEACHING IN ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT (TARP)

Introduction

This chapter explores MWUCE faculty members' participation in an international research collaboration among representatives from MWUCE, the University of Minnesota, and Columbia University-Teachers College. This research collaboration, the Teaching in Action Research Project, examined the experiences of secondary school teachers who participated in a professional development workshop on campus at MWUCE, which focused on learner-centered pedagogical approaches and their application in local secondary schools. The project also aimed to build the research capacity of the MWUCE faculty researchers and the U.S.-based graduate students through the process of collaboratively conducting field research in secondary school classrooms utilizing qualitative research methods.

The chapter highlights the experiences of MWUCE faculty involved in TARP as well as describes and analyzes their experiences as researchers in the project by focusing on what MWUCE faculty believed they gained through their participation in TARP. The faculty highlighted several key benefits of their involvement in TARP. Although the power dynamics inherent in TARP were cross-cutting and ever-present at all stages of the project, they have been reserved for exploration in Chapter Six to enable a more consistent approach to examining these dynamics critically. The primary goal of this chapter is to focus closely on the aspect of capacity building by examining the skills,

dispositions, and connections MWUCE faculty believed they gained through the project. It therefore addresses questions about how international research collaborations across multiple institutions can be effective in achieving the capacity building ends they set out to achieve.

MWUCE Faculty Members' Perceptions of TARP Benefits

All of the faculty members involved with TARP were able to comment on some of the benefits that they experienced through their participation. While some faculty members expressed more benefits than others, it was clear that each member who participated did gain *something* from the project. The benefits gained by faculty members include the following sub-themes: 1) knowledge about education and the education system in Tanzania; 2) engagement with and opportunities to learn from other cultures; 3) opportunities to network with international scholars; and 4) development of research skills and approaches.

Knowledge about education and pedagogy

Most of the faculty involved in TARP noted that through their participation in this project they learned more about the field of education and theories of teaching and learning. Many of the faculty at MWUCE did not go through education programs as undergraduate students because they were trained primarily in discipline-specific fields (e.g., history, geography, chemistry). Some faculty therefore had limited experience with approaches to teaching and learning or educational theories that are commonplace in most education programs. Pepe, for example, noted that he was motivated to participate

in the project because he wanted additional insights into “the college and university teaching” because he “did not have this component, the pedagogical piece.” He continued by saying that he wanted “to know more about the teaching methodology,” which “was important” because he had been teaching for many years but “never had even a seminar” on how to teach. Thus, the “introduction of these teaching methodologies,” such as learner-centered approaches, were enticing to him and encouraged him to join. He appreciated what he learned about these teaching approaches and other educational issues from his participation in the project.

Charity also improved her knowledge of teaching methods and ability to apply them through her participation in TARP. When asked what she gained from participating in the project, Charity replied emphatically with the following:

Charity: Teaching skills. I learned different methods and which I am also applying it in class. Yeah. And I see it just makes life easier. Yeah.

Matthew: Does it? It’s working?

Charity: Yeah, sure. It’s working very nicely. I’m applying a lot of them, especially, even in our...class, we sometimes apply the social barometer.⁵² When students are very tired and maybe, you can just give them about five minutes or ten to put them in a mood, and say maybe, ‘because this [topic] is too complicated

⁵² The social barometer is a dialogic approach promoted during Teaching in Action where the instructor or facilitator poses a general statement to the students/participants and then asks the participants to congregate near an area of the room that is designated with one of the following responses: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Thus, participants form a ‘barometer’ in the room with their bodies by making one side of the room the ‘strongly agree’ and the other side ‘strongly disagree.’ After the statement is read out, the participants go to the point in the room on the ‘barometer’ that reflects their opinion. Statements used during the morning sessions of TIA included: “Teachers cannot use participatory methods when teaching more than 30 students in a class” or “The best way for students who are weak in mathematics to improve is to take tuition classes after school or on weekends.”

and many students are failing it, it should be omitted from the syllabus,' and so they argue there for 5 minutes or so and then we proceed with the lesson. They just become a bit...

Matthew: ...more active.

It is clear from this discussion that Charity participated in TARP, in part, because she wanted to learn innovative teaching techniques which she could use in her classes at MWUCE. It should be noted that Charity has been a faculty facilitator of TIA in the past and therefore already had a significant level of experience with the professional development workshop and the pedagogical approaches it promotes. It is therefore interesting and significant that she was motivated to participate in part due to her expectation that she would encounter new techniques to implement in her classes at MWUCE.

While both Pepe and Charity were excited about how TARP developed in them deeper understandings of pedagogical approaches for their university-level teaching, other participants were pleased that TARP taught them more about the realities of teaching and working in secondary schools. Maxwell openly admitted that he was “not a trained teacher” and therefore had limited knowledge about what his students, pre-service teachers, would face when they entered their schools. This disconnect between content departments and the education department at MWUCE can skew student teachers’ educational experiences, leaving them well-prepared with content knowledge but under-informed about the practical challenges of classroom teaching. Maxwell viewed opportunities to learn “why is it that the Tanzanian government wants to implement it [learner-centered pedagogy] in secondary schools” and “what are the challenges that

these teachers are facing” as valuable contributions to his limited familiarity with educational policies and pedagogies. He specifically referenced how qualitative methods utilized in the school-based research component of TARP fostered deeper understandings of the educational milieu in Tanzanian secondary schools:

So through the observations that we had, and also the interviews that we conducted, I had a feeling and a sense of what challenges that teachers are facing: where they want to become better teachers and implement these learner-centered pedagogies.

Maxwell repeatedly stated that he wanted to learn more about schooling and was able to do so through his participation in the research project.

Many, though not all, of the faculty at MWUCE have opportunities to visit schools through the Block Teaching Practice (BTP), which is similar to practicum or student-teaching in the United States. However, this experience focuses more on evaluating pre-service teachers than exploring ethnographically the educational context in which they are teaching. Halima clearly described the distinction in her mind between these two experiences:

I also wanted to learn what is happening in schools, because we were only going for BTP to supervise teachers, but we did not have time to know what is exactly taking place in the schools, how other teachers in the schools are doing in taking care of their classes and planning their things, but by participating in that research, then I was able to know different things and especially we had two different schools, the one was government and the other was private, so that made us, or I was able to know different things which are done in private schools and

government schools. Especially those *kata* schools, they call them *yebo yebo*.⁵³

[laughs]

Like Maxwell, Halima had not worked as a secondary school teacher previously, and supervising BTP for pre-service teachers was therefore her primary insight into the teaching and learning process at the secondary level before she joined the TARP team.

Perhaps more than any other TARP researcher, Halima was closely attuned to the realities and processes experienced by teachers in the secondary schools because she knew that after her participation in the research process she would assume a headmistress position at a primary school in another part of the country. As noted below, TARP benefited her on a professional level through the opportunity to learn more than just the process of conducting classroom-based qualitative research:

Halima: So I was just looking at what other schools are doing, how students are behaving, how students are learning, what teachers are doing, what materials do some schools have, you see? So it was quite more than research to me, it was research, that what you planned and also I was exploring what others are doing for my work, so it was very, very useful.

Matthew: From the headmasters?

Halima: Yes, from the headmasters, from the headmistress, from the academic masters. Even on the side of salary, how do they pay their teachers, how do

⁵³ Halima noted that *yebo yebo* is a nickname that refers to “very simple shoes” that are sold at a “very low price” and can be worn for “two or one month, then they finish [break or fall apart].” *Kata* schools garnered the *yebo yebo* nickname because, historically, they had no or very few teachers and therefore did “not have any quality.” *Kata* schools, also referred to as ward or community schools, are unique because they are organized and funded jointly by both community members and government offices. They are generally presumed to be among the lowest quality schools in this region of Tanzania, due at least in part to scarcity of teachers and learning materials.

they...what [are] the incentives given to teachers. All of these I learned during that time because it was the time which I had time to go to schools, to enter classes, and the layout of classes, the size of classes, all these I learned in that time. You see? So to me it was very, very much useful.

Halima truly seemed to appreciate learning these grounded realities of schooling in Tanzania through her participation in TARP.

Although it might not be possible to directly connect this experience with Halima's strengths as an administrator in her school, it is likely that TARP informed her thinking and approach to educational leadership. She was already in her new role as headmistress when I interviewed her and discussed some of the approaches that she was implementing. She suggested:

If you are superior you might bring changes and you might think that your teachers are ready, they can say, 'yes' and you think that they have received your ideas happily, but they have their own things in their mind, and when they go to the class they do different things than what you expect.

Halima noted that she was conducting walk-through visits of teachers' classrooms in her school in order to "check what they are doing," an approach to educational leadership that she felt she learned through her involvement in TARP. She elaborated further by describing how she learned about the complexities of teachers' enactments or appropriations of national and school-level policies. Her experience as a TARP researcher in secondary schools provided an example of how this can occur. During the research she noted that many of the teachers in the focal school where she was based did

not comply with the official language policy in Tanzania, which requires all secondary school teachers to instruct their students using English only:

Because you might agree that they will use English in classes, they [the teachers] will say, ‘Yes, madam [Headmistress Halima], we will do that.’ And then when you go around, you hear people describing things in Swahili.... This is the same thing which I learned from Mlima Secondary School and other areas.⁵⁴

This experience highlighted for her the need to examine her approach to educational leadership carefully and consider how accountability among the staff could be increased. In sum, it seems that Halima and the other TARP researchers learned a lot about school structures and culture, pedagogical approaches, and the working lives of teachers (see Vavrus & Salema, 2013).

Engagement with and opportunities to learn from other cultures

In addition to learning about educational approaches and the schooling system in Tanzania, the TARP members noted that they benefited from engaging with “people with different cultures [and] with different backgrounds,” as Halima noted. This opportunity to engage with a diverse population of researchers and educators was generally viewed as a welcome and beneficial experience, and one not necessarily experienced by other faculty members at MWUCE or beyond. Allen, for instance, noted that “working together, [with] people from different nations, it’s a very good experience and it is not [an] experience which is common to other people.” In particular, two TARP researchers

⁵⁴ Mlima Secondary School is a pseudonym for the focal secondary school where Halima served as a primary researcher during the 2010 TARP.

noted this was an especially unique opportunity to engage with such a diverse group of international researchers. Maxwell, for instance, suggested that his previous experiences did not include interactions with “people from different parts of the continent” in the way that TARP included researchers whose countries of origin included the U.S., Ireland, Ecuador, Kenya, and Tanzania. Similarly, James excitedly pointed out that the graduate students and recent Ph.D. graduates comprised a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds:

James: So there were quite a number of your guys, I remember.

Matthew: Yeah. Five, I think.

James: From different areas. Others were from South America....We had people from Dublin....So you see, it was a kind of experiences from different parts of the world coming to one area. So you have different experiences, you have different thinking. So when you have different experiences, different thinking, you come up with something which is very good.

Most of the faculty members involved in TARP mentioned that they greatly appreciated this international aspect of the project and the new opportunities it afforded. It should also be stated that two MWUCE researchers emphasized explicitly the value of working alongside other MWUCE faculty with whom they typically do not work; however, this theme was not promoted as strongly as the others noted in this section.

This uncommon experience of working with people from different cultures also provided a comparative perspective that enabled MWUCE faculty to “evaluate” their thinking and skills with those of others. During my interview with James, he suggested that working with international researchers encouraged him to wonder, “to what extent

the knowledge you have is similar or not similar to the knowledge that other people have in different countries.” Jafari, the TARP coordinator, echoed this sentiment and explained another reason why these types of international research collaborations are beneficial:

Sometimes when we are [by] ourselves we think that probably everything goes fine. It’s only when you meet some other people, other world, other countries, other continent, you realize, ‘Okay, where am I? Where do I get myself? What am I lacking? What are my strengths, what are my weaknesses?’ So it’s in that collaboration that you in fact realize that, ‘Okay now in this area we have to put some more efforts, we are lagging behind.’

Jafari and James both seem to suggest that working with scholars from other countries, or another ‘world’, enabled them to check their knowledge, skills, worldview, and dispositions against another standard. This conceptual comparison could certainly be problematized from a variety of angles, including a post-colonial lens, but it seems that MWUCE researchers viewed their interactions with the scholars from the global North involved in TARP in a largely positive manner. It does suggest a question, however, of whether faculty connect these experiences to an ‘international standard of scholarship’ that they feel must be achieved in order to contribute to knowledge production on an international level. This issue will be explored in greater detail in Chapter Six through exploration of my relationship with Allen Rugambwa.

The MWUCE faculty also suggested that engaging with international scholars yielded transferable levels of confidence and cross-cultural communication skills. Allen, who presented some of the TARP research at the African Studies Association conference

in Washington DC and also in a graduate-level course at Columbia University-Teachers College, suggested that “research and mixing with other people, international people, it gives you some confidence and you think you can do something. That’s a very, very important thing to note.” Allen gained a reputation among some faculty at MWUCE as being a faculty member knowledgeable about qualitative research methods, and he himself believed that his confidence for presenting and engaging in research grew through his interactions with “international fellows,” as James called the U.S.-based TARP researchers.

In addition to gaining confidence, the cultivation of cross-cultural communication skills was noted by several MWUCE lecturers as a positive outcome of the research project. Maxwell discussed this issue at length during our Skype interview:

I worked with Maria for one month or something....For me, this was an experience of how you work with people from a different culture, a different country....I think some skills, I would say some skills that I picked from there like communication with, how to work with collaborators, for example. And also, for example, to communicate well with different people from different cultures. I think for me that is something...that I’m practicing here [in another country] because here I’m dealing with, uh, totally different people from [a] different culture.

Maria was one of the graduate students from Columbia University-Teachers College who worked as a school-based researcher in tandem with Maxwell. In addition to co-conducting classroom observations, teacher interviews, and providing formative evaluations for the secondary school teachers, Maria and Maxwell spent nearly an hour

per day riding the *dala dala* to and from the research site.⁵⁵ This enabled a prolonged period for discussing the day's events as well as getting to know each other on a personal and cultural level. Both Maxwell and Maria stated how much they grew to appreciate each other as a result of this time together.⁵⁶ Maxwell further noted that he has been able to apply and benefit from his recently-acquired cross-cultural communication skills as he completes his graduate studies in another country. Other MWUCE faculty stated that they, too, would like to pursue additional studies as Maxwell is doing, so the development of these types of skills was highly valued among many TARP researchers.

Opportunities to network with “international fellows” and “big people”

This section explores a third perceived benefit of participating in TARP, the opportunity to network with “international fellows,” an outcome that might help MWUCE faculty get the opportunity to pursue future academic programs or complete their current studies. Seven of the nine TARP participants specifically mentioned this benefit, and some spoke at length about how they envisioned drawing upon their newly accrued social capital to help advance them professionally. Charity, for instance, noted, “one of the benefits which I see, I think the social network, we just widen our friends, our network of friends from different cultures.” Maxwell provided a similar response and suggested that the research collaboration was an opportunity to build a social network, one which could provide insights into “how you can get opportunities.” Thus, beyond a

⁵⁵ A *dala dala* is a small mini-bus that serves as public transport in many parts of Tanzania. Typically they are very full of passengers and have limited seating space.

⁵⁶ Maria and the other U.S.-based TARP researchers were not interviewed as a part of this project, but my personal communications with Maria in March 2013 reinforced informal comments she made to the larger group during the 2010 TARP about the development of her friendship with Maxwell.

general benefit of expanding one's network, faculty were keenly aware of how these connections might benefit them in the future.

Kapuki, James, and Allen were arguably the three participants most eager to maximize their international connections and draw upon the social capital they had accrued through participating in TARP. Kapuki, for example, has long-term goals of pursuing a Ph.D. in some aspect of education. As noted in the excerpt below, she believed her interactions with “big shots” or “big potatoes” provided significant professional benefits:⁵⁷

Matthew: What benefits do you think you will get or you will have already gotten from this particular project?

Kapuki: I think I'm already having, uh...I'm being included in a book with, I would say 'big-shots' [the edited book by Vavrus and Bartlett, 2013].

Matthew: Big potatoes?

Kapuki: Uh-huh! It's good so that people know that you have worked with these people, then having a chapter that you can present. Yeah. I think in our academic life you need those things to have, to show people that I was able to do this, I did this, I worked on that, and also, like now, people are consulting me for different workshops. Things like that.

Matthew: You mentioned 'in this academic life' it's good to be able to have things to show...in what ways?

⁵⁷ Given the role of hierarchy in Tanzanian culture, it is not surprising that there exists a wide variety of terms to describe people in positions of power, which include these and other phrases.

Kapuki: Like, if you want to, in here if you want to do a Ph.D., you are better off when you have worked on research, like you have a chapter or you have a journal or these things. It's easier for you to go further than the person who doesn't. And then having those it means you are more experienced than the person who doesn't have those things. So it means if Matthew wants to sponsor someone for Ph.D., they say like, 'We say like this one may be better than the other' [when two candidates are compared for entry into a Ph.D. program]. And, yeah, it's like, I want to pursue more...

In the excerpt above, Kapuki suggests that her involvement enabled her to produce a book chapter for an academic text, a scholarly activity she believes can be leveraged into advancing her career goals, specifically getting a Ph.D. However, she also suggested that, beyond the production of a book chapter and gaining research experience, she benefited from working "with these people." In this instance it seems that name recognition by having her research associated with established well-respected U.S. faculty is meaningful to her, particularly if she is able to reference the scholars with whom she has worked during interviews and meetings with future employers.

James also perceived significant value in networking with "these big people," particularly as it related to his research goals. He stated that "networking...knowing these international fellows, networking, having that collaborative thing enables you now to be able to communicate with these professionals to do other research." James was the most transparent and descriptive respondent in terms of how he envisioned leveraging the social capital he felt he had accrued through TARP. In his mind, knowing 'big people'

would enable him to connect to physical resources that are necessary to be a productive scholar:

James: Actually I'm expecting to use that network in my research because in the future I'm expecting to do educational research....So I want to do a research about education matters, so I know these are the big fellows in research on education. So I hope that if I request any kind of information or assistance from them, they will never let me down. Because we know each other, we are not strange [to each other] anymore. So I'm sure if I want to do educational research and I want assistance from those professors, I can get [it]. That's very important.

The role of providing access to physical (and digital) resources has been suggested and implemented by many members of the U.S.-based Teaching in Action team over the years of its implementation. Among the contributions of these and other TIA members, Dr. Frances Vavrus organized shipments of textbooks to be delivered to MWUCE, Dr. Lesley Bartlett had curricula and other teaching and learning materials digitized for easy delivery in Tanzania, and I worked to locate long lists of peer-reviewed journal articles for an MWUCE faculty member completing a master's degree in science at the University of Dar es Salaam, among others.

These connections to international fellows also offered opportunities for some TARP researchers to turn social capital into financial capital. Allen Rugambwa, for instance, was able to attend the 2011 African Studies Association conference in Washington, DC to present a paper based on our collective work from the 2010 TARP. This trip was made possible because of funds from the NGO in the United States that

helped fund the Teaching in Action workshops and TARP.⁵⁸ This unique opportunity to travel in the United States—Allen’s first visit a country of the global North—also included a co-presentation about research methods in one of Dr. Lesley Bartlett’s graduate-level classes at Columbia University-Teachers College. Thus, Allen’s trip provided opportunities for him to attend and present at an international conference, visit an Ivy League research institution and present to some of its students, and learn about U.S. culture through interactions with colleagues of Dr. Lesley Bartlett, Dr. Frances Vavrus, and myself.

James also perceived value in the development and utilization of social capital vis-à-vis connections with other scholars in his field pursuing similar lines of research. While he is interested in educational issues and plans to conduct research in that field, he also hopes to continue developing his research and work in his disciplinary field. James made it very clear that he expected a degree of reciprocity and planned to draw on the expansion of his professional network that resulted from his participation in TARP:

James: These are the people...from different countries....When you have a problem [in your research], ‘This is a very difficult thing, and this person [other researcher] has been doing similar studies!’, you can simply question, you can simply ask somebody to help you....You know a lot of people in Minnesota at the university who are doing [research in this field], who are in the department.

Despite the perceptions of James and several others, the U.S. team members might not have the knowledge or connections that were perceived or expected by these TARP

⁵⁸ Jafari was also invited to attend and present at the African Studies Association conference but was unable to attend because of the demands of his Ph.D. program at the Catholic University of East Africa.

researchers. For example, as a graduate student in comparative and international development education, I do not know anyone at the University of Minnesota who is working in James' area of research and expertise. I do not even know where that department is located on campus. James' assumption perhaps suggests a lack of understanding the immense size of the University of Minnesota, but, more importantly, it highlights how perceptions of the United States as a primary producer of knowledge can be realized through interactions with scholars or practitioners from the global North who are assumed to have abilities to achieve things on behalf of scholars from SSA. This may or may not be accurate depending on the situation, but a consistent conception of U.S. scholars as maintaining the keys to open professional doors for other scholars certainly reinforces broader power dynamics across international higher education systems. In sum, James clearly believed he could draw on this social capital when needed and that TARP expanded his options for engaging with other scholars conducting similar research.

In addition to expanding their professional network through direct connections with "international fellows," some TARP researchers acquired more general professional capital as a result of participation. For example, Allen suggested that his personal connection with "big potatoes" could provide insights into the general process of attending international conferences, which would enable him to explore others beyond the one in the U.S. and another in South Africa that he has attended as a result of TARP. However, further discussion about international conferences alerted the Tanzanian researchers to the demands for financing associated with attending academic conferences, a topic addressed in greater detail in the following sections. During my fieldwork at MWUCE in 2012, I encouraged Allen to pursue presenting at the Southern African

Comparative and Historical Education Society conference in Port Elizabeth, South Africa. While discussing this opportunity, Allen suggested that “big people” can use their academic clout to open professional doors for him:

Allen: I know getting a chance to conference is not very easy, but I know I have got some people with very good influences, eh? Like Vavrus. I know you are becoming also influential.

Matthew: [Laughing] I am trying. For a conference, it depends on your research; it must fit the topic of the conference.

Allen: And they don't pay anything for you, you have to pay, eh?

Matthew: Exactly. There are some conferences that you can get a scholarship, particularly if you are scholar from what we call the global South.

Allen: Like Rugambwa [Allen's surname].

Matthew: Exactly. So some of those conferences will help you with the scholarship but you have to apply for the scholarship.

Allen: Yeah, that's not very bad.

Despite Allen's attendance at the African Studies Association conference in Washington DC in November 2011, it seems from this excerpt that some of the norms of academic conferences were still somewhat unfamiliar to him. His network of connections is serving as one means to advance his exposure to these procedures, conventions, and expectations.

In sum, it appears that TARP members placed significant value on the benefits of getting to know and working with “international fellows” and “big people.” Through gaining evidence of experience working on research projects, establishing themselves as

scholars who have worked with international professors, acquiring new and necessary material resources and literature references, and leveraging relationships to gain access into conferences and other scholarly pursuits, TARP researchers envisaged their social and professional networks benefiting them in the future. Maxwell listed two key benefits from his participation in TARP, and “having more people in [his] sphere” was the first one he mentioned, perhaps signaling its paramount importance. The second benefit he listed concerned the development of research skills, which is discussed at length in the next section.

Development of research skills and approaches

Based on both the number and intensity of faculty members’ references to this issue during my interviews with the TARP researchers, it seems that the most beneficial outcome from TARP was gaining knowledge and the ability to apply new research methods and approaches. In general, the faculty were eager to participate because they wanted to learn more about research methods and specifically the application of qualitative methodologies. Most of the faculty had previous introductions to qualitative research in undergraduate or graduate coursework, but they reported that these introductions were fairly cursory in scope and provided them with few specifics, if any, about how to design and conduct a qualitative research project. One faculty member wrote “I studied this in the university but have not practiced it rigorously” in response to a survey question about feeling adequately prepared to conduct qualitative research. Thus, the faculty members had a level of familiarity but not necessarily confidence or comfort in designing and carrying out their own studies.

Chane noted that quantitative was “mostly what we did back then” for his first degree, so “knowing the other part of it [research methods], how you can use the data and all that, how you can acquire the data” was important for him. Furthermore, many of the faculty involved in TARP were trained in science content areas and therefore maintained a distinctly ‘positivist’ or ‘post-positivist’ conceptualization of research. Exploring new approaches that were constructivist or interpretivist at their core, and even hearing new definitions of what could constitute research, served to broaden the understandings of the TARP researchers. Jafari summarized the faculty members’ levels of experience with qualitative and quantitative research in the following way:

With our orientation to quantitative research, ours was just to, we are used to quantitative, you get frequencies and then you discuss the mean, or standard deviation and then you discuss and then you interpret. But now with your [2010 TARP] training, we are realizing that there is another approach. Even the way of taking, collecting data, the in-depth interview, for instance, how to take notes. These are things were not really grounded. Even the approaches, how to interview somebody, the observations, how to record data, so all these were really quite new and we realized the richness of qualitative research, that there’s a lot of data collected, a lot of information and then the steps. One step. Another step. Summarize. Create themes. Categorize. All of these. So they were really important to know. Now, when you want to approach qualitative research, you don’t just record what people are saying, there is really a long process. And even the way of taking notes. We were not familiar with those approaches. After the

training we realized, ‘Oh. This is really a big task. You have to take a lot of information. Yeah.’

Jafari was involved through the duration of the project. His macro-perspective, as evidenced by the above statement, summarizes some of the sub-themes or components of the research process that other TARP researchers found to be meaningful. The following sections explore these themes in a semi-chronological fashion (e.g., research paradigms and methods, data collection, data analysis, writing and publishing) from the perspectives of the faculty and what the faculty believed they learned about research methods through their participation in TARP.

Research paradigms and terms

Many faculty members reported that they gained an increased understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of qualitative research paradigms and how these differed from the quantitative approaches that were, in general, more familiar to them. Their new understandings, however, focused primarily on the use of specific methods and methodologies rather than epistemologies or ontologies. Faculty frequently spoke about the role that numbers play in research, as compared to the use of words, and they maintained a focus on the specifics of using different research methods.

James, for example, spoke extensively about differences he noticed between quantitative and qualitative research and emphasized the roles that numbers and words play in research. He had taken a research methods course at MWUCE from Shelley Sams—who was a graduate of Columbia University-Teachers College, and served as a lecturer at MWUCE while James was a student—and noted that they “mentioned”

qualitative research methods in the course but focused primarily on quantitative approaches. This focus on quantitative research may have occurred in part because the students enrolled were concentrating on science content at this stage in MWUCE's institutional history. James was therefore surprised to learn about some of the differences that exist between qualitative and quantitative approaches:

Matthew: Was there anything surprising about qualitative research that you found was very different from quantitative research? Anything that surprised you [after your participation in TARP]?

James: Only one thing surprised me – that qualitative research does not use numbers. You know? Yeah, it uses analysis of the content. It is based very much on information rather than numerics. The numerics, they are not given heavy weight. You know, in quantitative research, numerics are very important to show the levels of significance that you're getting. In qualitative research, it is not necessary. The wording is very important. Who says what. You know? And of course, you are writing whatever somebody was saying. So, I'm saying, that's what surprised me.

In this excerpt, James' surprise indicates his conceptualizations of how numbers and words are used differently in 'contrasting' research designs. His comments could perhaps speak to differences in epistemology, but James' conceptualizations above seem to reflect an approach that is concerned primarily at the methodological level without a more refined understanding of how these methods could be informed by different

epistemologies.⁵⁹ Moreover, some might argue that his conceptualization is somewhat oversimplified because he suggests that qualitative researchers are never concerned with numbers.

Even the idea of conducting research without using numbers broadened his understanding of what research could comprise. James provided a historical look at the development of research paradigms and approaches in his field by noting:

You don't have to go back to 1960s, because in [my field] we're saying, it's something like quantitative revolution, of which we were trying to explain a special pattern basing on numerics. Now this one is a bit different, the qualitative revolution because it tries to explain things basing on the opinions of the people, and ignores the mathematical modeling part of it. So not considering the means, the median, the standard deviation, the what and what and what, which are more important in quantitative research. This was somehow a new thing to me. So now I'm sure I can do research without putting numbers in it...so it's a kind of a good experience, that the conclusion cannot be judged by testing of hypothesis, it can be judged by information you got from the people.

In addition to learning that research could be conducted without the conventional use of quantitative numbers, James' comments at the end of this excerpt seem to suggest that he reconsidered what 'information' means. The acknowledgement that one's research

⁵⁹ In Tanzania, knowledge is codified in the education system through national examinations that contain questions with 'right' or 'wrong' answers (see Vavrus, 2009; Bartlett and Vavrus, 2013). Clear distinctions often exist between varying 'answers' that represent dichotomies. James' delineations between research that uses numerics versus words may reflect a similar understanding of knowledge as well as his desire to know definitively which indicators suggest one paradigm over another. He continued in the interview by suggesting that before participating in TARP, it was "very difficult...to differentiate between what tools exactly depict or shows a person is using a qualitative paradigm, and what tools, exactly, when you use these tools, it depicts this person is using a quantitative research."

“conclusion” could be “judged” by information supplied by people is certainly a departure from the forms of research with which James was most familiar, which included experimental designs and quantitative analyses. However, his conceptualization of qualitative research may still draw primarily on post-positivist assumptions of knowledge production, since one’s “conclusion” is “judged” by others to be correct or incorrect.

This perspective was likely due, at least in part, to the amount of time devoted to discussing these “ologies,” as James called them, during the TARP research training in 2010. With only two weeks to explore and provide training on qualitative research methods for TARP, in-depth discussions of epistemologies were not feasible, although brief overviews were provided as well as handouts for additional exploration. Dr. Frances Vavrus and I opted to briefly re-introduce epistemologies to the group of more than 35 MWUCE faculty who attended our two-day professional development workshop in 2012. During the tea break on the first day, I asked James how he felt about the workshop so far, knowing that some of it was review from the 2010 TARP. He said some of it was not new, like the research paradigms, but that the ‘ologies’ were less familiar to him. He asked whether epistemology was associated with qualitative research and therefore indicated that, at a minimum, the terminology was still confusing. I tried to explain that there are multiple epistemologies that relate to one’s assumptions of the world and that these inform how a researcher designs the research, approaches the data collection process, and makes assertions or conclusions. He was very eager to learn these new terms and seemed to understand the distinctions, but still asked for clarifications and

seemed to feel most comfortable discussing research methods instead of their underlying paradigmatic assumptions.

Maxwell also referred to research paradigms when discussing his new understanding of research methods. He used the phrase “the real answers or the real information” to describe what is produced by interviewing one’s research participants instead of asking them to complete a survey, a research method much more familiar to him. This comment seems to reflect a post-positivist interpretation of qualitative research methodologies. He stated that:

In the qualitative sense, you get to know the people, you get to know what they feel and what is in their mind, and I think in social science, I think the approach of qualitative research is really an important and interesting paradigm.”

Maxwell seemed to suggest that getting to know one’s participants and developing relationships with them is important, but he still maintained that the researcher “knows,” perhaps definitively, what is in participants’ minds.

Maxwell nonetheless came to appreciate and even promote the values of qualitative methods as a result of his increased understandings of qualitative research through participating in TARP. This is particularly interesting because Maxwell’s discipline relies almost exclusively on the scientific method. During our interview he described a conversation he had with a friend from his graduate program about the use of qualitative and quantitative methods:

Maxwell: Okay, the friend was saying basically that, okay, the qualitative research is expensive so you need to be there for quite a while, and [that] when

you use the quantitative aspect, you get that same information....So for them [him/her], quantitative is more easy to use than the qualitative. Yeah.

Matthew: And how did you respond [to your friend]?

Maxwell: So for my response, I said qualitative is more important to get the real issues or the real feelings of what people think. If you have [a] particular question in mind, when you talk to the people for a longer time, they give you more information than the quantitative aspect.

In this excerpt, Maxwell clearly delineates a key difference between qualitative and quantitative research in his mind. He seems to suggest that qualitative research goes beneath the surface to explore the “real feelings” of the research participants. It is interesting that Maxwell became an advocate of qualitative research to the point of actually defending it to a friend who probably shared a perspective of research more consistent with his field’s disciplinary grounding in post-positivist assumptions. This commitment by Maxwell reflects a significant level of motivation and concern about research methods and how different approaches are utilized by researchers.

In sum, both Maxwell and James learned a lot about qualitative research throughout TARP and their understandings of knowledge were challenged. The emphases on getting to know research participants and relying on participants’ words, instead of “numerics,” were new for these and other participants. Moreover, the data from this study suggest that these and other TARP researchers grew in their understandings of research paradigms but that additional sessions on epistemology and

ontology would be beneficial for them as researchers as they move forward with new research projects, particularly those that utilize qualitative methods.⁶⁰

Research methods and techniques

The TARP researchers, in general, stated that they learned an immense amount about qualitative research methods and techniques and how they could be applied in the field.⁶¹ In contrast to many of their previous experiences in research methods courses, TARP afforded them the opportunity to learn about research methods *and* use them. Halima described her experiences in previous courses on research by suggesting that “you just learn, you take exam, and then you leave everything there” without actually putting the methods into practice. Chane similarly noted that he had “little knowledge about doing the practice part of it” before TARP. Thus, through their participation in TARP, the researchers had an opportunity to practice and dialogue about qualitative data collection approaches. This enabled a deeper understanding of the “practical” approaches to implementing these methods, something noted by the majority of TARP researchers as being valuable for them as professionals. Jafari, who served as the coordinator for the project, summarized clearly how much he believed was learned by other TARP researchers:

⁶⁰ Allen Rugambwa did include a series of PowerPoint slides on research paradigms during his presentation to the entire MWUCE faculty at a Saturday Seminar in the spring of 2012. He commented to me that faculty learned a lot about differences in research paradigms but still wanted additional information.

⁶¹ The research techniques used by the TARP researchers in the field included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and classroom observations.

Matthew: In thinking about the researchers from the 2010 project that you coordinated, what do you think they learned from that? How did that project influence them?

Jafari: Yes, for sure, it influenced them so much. And me would be one of them, who were influenced. Yeah. First of all, the training on qualitative approaches, the training actually helped us to conceptualize the meaning, the real meaning of qualitative research, what it is, how to approach it, like how to use, like how to use interview guides. How to do interview. I remember in the workshop, the way you were guiding us to interview. To interview your colleague and see the strength and the weaknesses of the interview [as a method]. How to use observation guides, or general observation in the classroom. Formerly I thought in the observation you just write the important points. Now I realize you have to write everything, even the noise, whatever is there, put everything together, you type up the way it is. So these are the new things we learned from the workshop.

Jafari pointed to the issue of learning methods only in theory by noting that, through TARP, he learned the “real meaning of qualitative research.” His list of “how-tos” also suggests an increased ability to actually apply these skills.

Other TARP researchers suggested that the structure of the TARP training—which included a week to refine the research instruments, practice the research methods, and pilot test the approaches—yielded a deeper understanding of how to conduct qualitative research. The direct correlation between training and the “practical” side of it was helpful for James:

To me it was a very good experience – attending training and then go to the field to implement, a practical part of it. So it's like you are in the training and then you are going to apply whatever you have learned from the training. So to me it was a very good approach to broaden my understanding on qualitative research.

Even two years after the training itself, James was able to remember specific activities that helped him to gain a deeper understanding of how to apply qualitative research methods and improve his techniques, such as practicing the various questioning and note-taking techniques for conducting an interview. In the following excerpt, James paints a clear distinction between telling researchers how to conduct an interview and scaffolding their learning experiences through the practice of conducting an interview:

James: I remember the practical part of it because we were trained how to interview people. I remember we were sitting in pairs and interviewing each other, and that is a practical thing, because you cannot tell someone, 'Ah, interview is like one, two, three, four, five, six', without putting in the practical part of it, how it is really done. So to me the how it is done is also very important because it enabled me to know different kind of people, the other people who are interviewing very fast, the other people who are interviewing very slow. The others with low voice, the others with high voice, you know? The others who can be able to get more information from a person, by asking so many follow-up questions, you know. And the others who are very weak in asking follow-up questions and getting little information. So there are quite many things when you do the practical part of it. So that's why I'm saying another part of it is the practical thing because it gives me experience in how I can, myself, interview

people. Actually, everything was beneficial but these were very touching.

Getting the experience in the class.

Matthew: To actually practice.

James: Yeah.

James here suggests that the act of practicing interviewing was helpful for him in learning some of the intricacies of the method itself, including how to ask follow-up or probing questions to gain more data.

A significant amount of time during the TARP trainings was devoted to dialoguing about these research practice activities after they were completed. James' comment above regarding knowing different kinds of people is a reference to discussions held after the interview practice when the TARP researchers, PIs, and other U.S.-based researchers discussed the successes and challenges of our practice interview efforts.

Halima also noted that these discussions enabled a deeper understanding of the methods:

When we were in the seminar, in the training, that we practiced how to interview, how to record, and then giving feedback to each other. I think that also helped a lot because we were in groups of three, and then the group gave out what they did and others gave them feedback. So, and then after that everybody had time to listen to other groups, what they did, what were the strengths and what were the weakness. So that was very good.

Thus, the 'learn by doing' model was a beneficial experience for the TARP researchers, particularly when coupled with debriefing discussions after the activities.⁶²

⁶² The term 'debrief,' in fact was new for some MWUCE faculty members, and a brief definition was provided at the beginning of the TARP workshops.

TARP researchers also learned about research methods while in the field, both during two days of pilot-testing the approaches as part of the two-week TARP training, and during the data collection phase after the trainings. Halima suggested that she learned more about the data collection process because she and other TARP researchers were able to “go to the field to practice what we learned” after “learning in a class.” The feedback and discussions after the pilot visits clarified the research approaches before the researchers were “left to continue” without the larger group. She concluded that “the whole system was very good and excellent.” Chane likewise appreciated the opportunity to pilot test the research instruments and approaches in the focal schools for a day during the research training, as discussed below:

We went for that [pilot visit to the schools] and then we get feedback on it.... We get good feedback from different focal schools around, people who went to different schools, giving the feedback, like, [sharing with the other researchers] ‘Here we did this and that.’

He thought that the team was more prepared because of these pilot visits and the opportunity to discuss the researchers’ experiences at the focal schools during the day-long pilot visit throughout the remainder of the week. He concluded by suggesting that “the whole session of preparation...was really good.”

Allen commented on how much he learned about qualitative research methods through the process of collecting data during the data collection phase. He and I were paired together while collecting data at the focal school where he was based, and we often had discussions about how things were proceeding with the larger study after conducting classroom observations and interviews with the secondary school teachers.

Allen reflected critically on his improvement over time as a result of conducting the research at his focal school:

Allen: I saw how the interview was done with your help, I remember.... You remember first when I was asking the questions, the first time it was very difficult, but later it was very comfortable. The second or the third [time conducting interviews].

Matthew: In terms of asking questions?

Allen: Asking questions, yeah. At first, it's like a machine of asking questions. You want to finish [as quickly as possible]. But later you take it as a conversation. At first it is very difficult.

Allen clearly experienced a shift in his thinking and approach to qualitative interviewing as a result of 'practicing' this skill during the data collection phase. My field notes and the transcripts from that phase support Allen's assertion. At the beginning his questions were short and he essentially followed the interview protocol verbatim, asking few, if any, probing questions and rarely altering or deviating from the original interview questions included on the protocol. Especially in the beginning of the data collection phase I would occasionally ask probing or follow-up questions or ask participants to elaborate on the responses they offered. As Allen noted, he became much more comfortable and fluid in his integration of new questions as well as his sense for when to probe into the respondents' answers. This demonstrated, in many ways, an increased understanding of how qualitative research explores inductively the themes and topics under study, as opposed to quantitative questionnaires which privilege a more strict adherence to instruments and protocols, hoping to maintain reliability across the

respondents. He used this knowledge and experience to provide significant leadership concerning the application of qualitative research methods during the 2012 SBW.

Allen and the other TARP researchers from 2010 also learned about the process of conducting naturalistic research *in situ*. The MWUCE faculty were largely familiar with conducting observations for the supervision of Block Teaching Practice, which was different than TARP because it was largely evaluative in nature rather than exploratory or formative. Thus, during the workshops the team had several discussions about the observation protocol and whether it should contain boxes for researchers to ‘tick’ or check if the given item or action was present during the lesson. This certainly seemed more comfortable for many of the TARP researchers than a more open-ended approach to observation that relied on copious field notes that captured as much data as possible and focused on a wide range of sub-themes, including but not limited to the following: learner-centered activities, classroom discourse, approaches to gender, punishment, and forms of assessment.⁶³

Despite his professed lack of familiarity with a more open-ended approach to data collection, Allen became an accomplished participant observer and qualitative researcher. As someone who was partnered with Allen, I know that his observation notes, like mine, became increasingly detailed as the data collection phase continued. Although we would not talk during the classroom observations in order to independently capture our interpretations of the classroom environment without biasing each other, we would frequently discuss what was observed during a particular lesson after we

⁶³ Jafari’s previous comments about capturing “even the noise” reiterate this point about different approaches to classroom observation and, by extension, educational research foci.

completed writing (or typing) our field notes at the end of the day. In these discussions, Allen occasionally expressed concern about issues of validity and reliability in qualitative observation. I asked Allen what he had hoped to gain from his participation in the project. He responded:

I want to know how you can collect the data. That's one. How do people collect the data. I thought it was simple. [laughs] I thought it would be simple at first, but now I think that observation research is very difficult. Survey, it may be simple, but observation is extremely difficult. And I think it is very difficult even to convince people that you have done research by using observation unless like what we did, you are two or three, somebody else can support what you have done. Because who can believe in you if you are alone. You can write anything, I think. Again, I think observation was difficult because when you are observing things, at the same time noting down things. It would be very, very difficult.

Therefore I wanted to see how you can use different research methods.

It is clear from this comment that Allen learned about the process of making qualitative observations in the field. Allen's perceptions of qualitative research also changed considerably, though he remained skeptical of knowing definitively whether what occurred in the classroom actually occurred. This suggested that while Allen learned about qualitative research methods, he did not fully embrace some aspects of the underlying epistemological assumptions, such as the notion that knowledge is constructed and interpreted by different actors in the world and mediated by the perspectives of researchers themselves, who act as interpreters of that knowledge.

Data Analysis

For many of the faculty, the data analysis phase of the research remained the most elusive part of the process, as many faculty had never analyzed data from interviews or field notes in previous research projects. Jafari joined Dr. Vavrus and myself one night for dinner and described how much more advanced he was in his understandings of research when compared to other students enrolled in his Ph.D. program in Kenya, which he began after the TARP project concluded. I interviewed him the following day and asked him to elaborate:

Matthew: And it sounds like, from what you said last night at dinner, that even some of your, even at the Ph.D. level, for some of your colleagues, qualitative research is very new for them. And you were saying that you feel much more prepared.

Jafari: Yes. And now, with the training that I got here, it's when I realized that, 'So, this thing is really wide and you can go through steps.' We didn't know those steps, we only knew how to report some of the interviews or from the observation, etc. But, how to go about it step by step to analyze, to categorize the information and to create the themes, those things were new to us.

He further described that "even the whole process, analysis and whatever we did benefited much to me, and I have found that in my Ph.D. I had some knowledge which my colleagues did not."

Unfortunately, very few of the faculty were able to participate in this phase fully, as noted by the participation table in Chapter Three and discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six. James, for example, commented that he learned a lot from his participation

in TARP but was sad that he could not participate in the data analysis phase of the project because he had graduate school requirements to fulfill as part of the master's degree he was completing at the University of Dar es Salaam. Thus, he was looking forward to the two-day professional development workshop in 2012 offered by Dr. Frances Vavrus and me on campus at MWUCE as well as the SBW study I co-facilitated and conducted with Allen Rugambwa in July 2012. His comments reflected his comfort with conceptualizing and conducting a qualitative study but not carrying out the analysis and writing phases:

So from how you can develop a proposal, a qualitative kind of a proposal, to tools, interviews and [how to] get the information from the people, that one I can do very well. But from now [that point], you have the tons of information on your table, how [what] are you going to do with the informations you have? That's a problem, to me. Yeah, that's why I'm saying that, to me, I think the analysis part [of the 2012 workshop and SBW study] of it will be very much helpful.

He later suggested that he was "too disadvantaged" because he was not able to attend the analysis sections of the training and TARP. James' excitement to learn qualitative data analysis seemed genuine, as he asked many questions during the 2012 two-day workshop and SBW study. During one session on coding, James asked what to do if there are "many sentences concerning that one" theme. He also wondered what should be done if "you have many themes." I answered by saying that it is common to report only a few of the most salient and poignant themes at a time, maybe four to five themes, and that qualitative researchers typically use quotes that most adequately explain the concept: those that are most typical, contain very interesting ideas, or challenge extant research or theories. I also suggested to James that we often do not quantify the exact number of

people who said each comment or strand of thought, unless a specific journal requires it, because the purpose of qualitative research is not to be a representative sample but to explore people's experiences, beliefs, feelings, and ideas.

Fortunately, James and the other MWUCE faculty who participated in the 2012 SBW study had opportunities to practice elements of data analysis, including transcribing interviews, coding data, generating themes, and composing sections of a cumulative report. Based on his previous experience in TARP, Allen was able to provide leadership during parts of these processes. During the data analysis phase of the SBW study, Bala, one of the newer MWUCE faculty who did not participate in TARP but did serve as a researcher for the 2012 SBW study, asked about the process of transcribing interviews. Allen answered confidently, "if you are transcribing, you write everything – every word. 'I know, I know, I know' [providing an example]. If they say it three times, you write it [three times]." He also initiated a group discussion about the use of pseudonyms, which had not yet been chosen for use among the researchers: "I have been using pseudonyms. Should we also do that?" As a group we then selected the pseudonyms to be used to represent the focal teachers in our SBW study. A final example was evident during the introductory explanation of the SBW study to the 2012 research participants, secondary school teachers who attended the 2012 TIA. Allen clearly and directly explained the meaning of research ethics as well as the rights afforded to any participants who might opt to be included in the study, something that would have likely been less comfortable for him before TARP. In sum, it was evident from Allen's leadership in these and other issues that he learned about the process of analyzing qualitative data through his

participation in TARP and was eager to guide other MWUCE faculty toward increased production of qualitative research.

Writing and publishing

Although few of the TARP researchers participated in the writing and publishing phases of the project, those who did commented that they learned an immense amount through this process. Kapuki, Allen, and Jafari participated actively in the writing and publishing process and although they had written papers and theses for previous coursework at the undergraduate and graduate levels, TARP provided a new experience and level of rigor. The dialogue with Kapuki below reflects the difference she experienced between writing papers during her undergraduate experience and the TARP project:

Matthew: What about the process of, like, academic writing that you did in your master's program. How does that compare with the writing that we did for the book project [*Teaching in Tension* (Vavrus and Barlett, 2013)]?

Kapuki: Matthew, [laughing], it's COMPLETELY different! [strong emphasis]

Matthew: Really? How so?

Kapuki: You know, with the University of Dar es Salaam, you have your supervisor. Like, my supervisor didn't know my work at all, so I did it almost by myself. Strange, eh? [laughing] It's true.

Matthew: With no help or advising or anything?

Kapuki: No. No. He was just correcting my English, "Put this 'was,' not 'were,' and the text is okay."

The conversation continued when I returned to the question about the experience with the book project:

Kapuki: For me, writing that book was, like in Moshi, especially in Moshi, I felt like, “Yeah, I can grow.” Because I have my ideas, first I bombard them with [another U.S.-based researcher who joined the TARP effort in 2011], and he’s like “Ah, no, no, no, Dorothy” and then we take them to Vavrus and she bombarded us again....

Matthew: And it’s all red with track changes! [laughs]

Kapuki: You’re like Ahh! So, I felt like the project we did, there are possibilities to grow. There are possibilities to learn and to grow.

Kapuki clearly noted that the process of writing and getting detailed feedback was different than what she had experienced previously. Through this process she also realized there were opportunities to learn the norms and conventions of academic writing that are privileged in the academic community and controlled primarily by scholars from the global North, based on histories of power, a topic explored in the next section.

The process of writing book chapters collaboratively also enabled the TARP researchers involved at this stage to learn specific norms and conventions of academic writing. For example, Allen and I composed two book chapters for the *Teaching in Tension* text, and he took the lead on the chapter concerning inclusive education in secondary schools while I was the lead author on the gender chapter. For the chapter on inclusive education, Allen conducted an initial review of the literature and conceptualized the introduction. He then sent these to me for review. The literature review included a

wide range of literature genres, including books, a few journal articles, excerpts from personal websites, and online commentaries that summarized the work of other scholars.

I realized that we had not discussed scholarly expectations for which ‘classifications’ of literature are used or legitimated for use in a journal article or, in this case, a book chapter. I had learned these conventions and ‘rules of scholarly engagement’ during my six semesters in U.S. graduate programs but did not think to discuss them explicitly with Allen, who would be contributing to a book published by a press in the United States. Therefore, I emailed Allen and tried diplomatically to suggest that he rely more heavily on articles from peer-reviewed journals rather than the other genres included in the initial draft of the literature review. He reflected on this situation during our interview:

Allen: ...you find some sources, others are not relevant sources...I learned also from you, when you told me one day that unfortunately some sources are not taken professionally [valued by the international academic community], I don’t know if it was you or Vavrus. [laughs]

Matthew: Yeah, I think it was me.

Allen: I find things even from Wikipedia and I don’t know, I put it there [in the literature review]...

Matthew: Websites.

Allen: And was it you also who said that even these academic papers, like master’s dissertation or Ph.D. dissertation, they are not considered the same [as published books or articles in peer-reviewed journals]. I didn’t know that one.

Allen clearly learned about the standards preferred and privileged by the academic community, a perfect example of Appadurai's 'weak internationalization' because research capacity was built but in a way that maintained the status quo of research norms and conventions.

Even Jafari, who had previously published a book chapter based on research he had conducted, learned through the process of working on the TARP book chapters that he co-authored. In the following extended excerpt, Jafari described how his perspective changed as a result of his participation in co-authoring sections of the *Teaching in Tension* book:

Jafari: You see formerly anyway, my conception on writing a book or writing a chapter in a book, I thought it was just something simple, you write and the other [next] day it is finished. [laughs] So with that process we went through, I realized it's not easy. You need a lot of commitment, writing, reviewing, writing, reviewing, writing, until you have the last or the final article. It is a process. Formerly I had no idea. But now with Professor Vavrus, because we would go through the chapter, and then the second week or the first week, she would send to you, okay, [she would] 'give some comments.' You give comments. You think it is finished, and then another draft comes, and again review, review, and also peer reviewing. You can see it's a process, it's not like you do it and the other day you are publishing. So, I have learned a lot from her [Dr. Vavrus'] experience. And also the writing style because there is a certain writing style which we were supposed to abide to, so that also tells me something that it's not a

matter of just writing papers, also you have to adhere to the writing style which is required by the publishers.

Matthew: And was it challenging, the writing style?

Jafari: It was not so challenging but it was new insights I learned.

Matthew: In what way was it a new insight?

Jafari: Yeah, because formerly I thought writing you just write the way you like, but there are standards. You have to follow. And the references, the way of writing, there are different, of course, the publishers. They have their own way of doing things.

In this excerpt, Jafari explains how he altered his conception of the writing and publishing process. He learned that it was not as simple as he previously thought. His comments suggest that he also learned conventions of academic writing and formatting preferred by international notions of scholarship. The excerpt further highlights his perceptions of insights gained into the process of publishing academic work, including multiple rounds of revision and review. In sum, it seems that Jafari, Allen, and Kapuki all benefited from their participation in the writing and publishing process and learned about the styles and standards preferred by the international academic community.

Conclusion

This chapter focused closely on the benefits TARP researchers believed they accrued from participating in TARP. Halima summarized these benefits succinctly at the very end of our interview when I asked her if there were other things she wanted to add, that we should have discussed, or that I forgot to ask. She closed the interview by saying:

I don't know. But what I know is that I learned a lot. I learned, in fact, I learned at every stage of that project. I learned in class, I learned from participants, the Mwenge staff, and the U.S. staff, I learned from teachers which we were interviewing in schools.

Halima felt she learned from all aspects of the project and perceived significant benefits from participating in TARP.

It is evident from the comments of TARP researchers that they perceived several different types of benefits from participating, including learning about education as a discipline and the education system in Tanzania, engaging with people from other cultures, networking with international scholars, and developing increased comfort in applying research skills. The researchers' perspectives highlighted the forms of capacity they believed were built through participation in TARP as well as the broader connections with an international discourse of capacity building. While much of the literature on research capacity building focuses on skills development and the ability to apply research approaches, the TARP researchers' comments reflected a broader understanding of research capacity that included considerations of social and financial capital. These more inclusive considerations of research capacity addressed the South/North relationships that influence collaborative research endeavors by exploring how social, cultural, and economic relationships are inter-twined in collaborative research projects.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ 'South' is listed first in this word pairing (South/North) to suggest the ways in which global power dynamics are realized within the local context and then influence researchers' engagement in collaborative projects. It is also intentionally altered from the more common 'North/South' word pairing to challenge overly simplistic and paternalistic notions of unidirectional transmissions.

International research collaborations have the potential to go beyond merely building the research skills of young scholars with limited previous opportunities to design and engage in research. Collaborations also have the potential to develop intercultural communication skills and build social and financial capital through consistent interactions with international teams. These considerations may be vital for scholars of the global South who seek to produce knowledge that is accepted among academics in international higher education. Attention to their perspectives as budding scholars and young faculty members is necessary in future research collaborations in order to examine all aspects of potential benefit. With the perceived benefits from this chapter in mind, the next chapter extends the exploration of capacity building initiatives by examining critically the TARP experience. The next chapter also uses the TARP experience to critique the broader discourse of asking MWUCE faculty and others across SSA—who face a multitude of challenges not faced by scholars of the global North—to meet the norms of research and scholarship privileged by the international academic community.

CHAPTER SIX:
COMPLICATING THE PROCESS OF CONDUCTING
COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH

Introduction

Manifestations of power are ubiquitous in institutional settings and no less so in collaborative projects that involve multiple institutions. This chapter seeks to complicate the notion of ‘capacity building’ that assumes researchers involved in collaborative research experiences benefit primarily in positive forms and interact with other researchers in collaborations through egalitarian relations. It shows that international research collaborations can face a variety of challenges that have the potential to limit the professional development of the faculty researchers. These challenges also exemplify the ways in which the global discourses of capacity building and transnational research collaboration sometimes reflect a naïveté that belies the local realities of the higher education sector in SSA.

The discussion in this chapter explores several ways in which relations of power were experienced before, during, and after the research collaboration.⁶⁵ Cultural norms of communication and other aspects of power dynamics influenced the research collaboration and, in some cases, limited investment in TARP by some of the researchers. Indeed, the entire process of conducting research and producing knowledge can be

⁶⁵ As noted in Chapter Three, greater efforts have been made in this chapter to conceal the identities of the research participants due to the sensitive nature of the comments contained within. Therefore, in instances where a single participant is discussed in detailed, a Roman numeral (e.g., III, IV, V) has been designated to provide greater confidentiality and protection.

contentious and an act of power (e.g., Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999), but engaging in an international collaboration between institutions and researchers with differing cultural backgrounds and understandings of research itself adds additional levels of complexity. This chapter aims to tease out some of these complexities.

The chapter begins with an investigation of how aspects of communication in a multi-institutional and cross-cultural collaboration complicate attempts to build the research capacity of those involved. The delivery of information, in terms of both timing and selectivity, for example, might vary across individual researchers, research teams, and institutional cultures. In some cases, misunderstood communication or culturally-bound hierarchies of communication contributed to some TARP researchers' sentiments that their primary roles were to act as data collectors rather than as more equal contributors to the project, as intended in the original conceptualization of the project.

The chapter then proceeds to explore the related aspect of researcher involvement in the project and how a multitude of on-campus and off-campus activities influenced researchers' abilities to devote themselves fully to the project. These circumstances led to the analysis, interpretation, and write-up of the data without some of the initial TARP researchers. Again, this situation was not consistent with the original intent of the program but is most likely a common occurrence within collaborative research projects with institutions like MWUCE where faculty have very heavy teaching and service duties.

The third and final section examines critically my interactions as a co-researcher and co-author with Allen Rugambwa. It pays specific attention to how power dynamics were evident in our negotiations during a period of collaborative data analysis. This

section also examines how Allen and I engaged in collaborative writing efforts in order to produce a co-authored journal article based on the data from TARP. This section further explores the distinctly different assumptions and experiences we brought to these collaborative processes. It also highlights the potential naïveté of researchers involved in transnational collaborations, who can easily under-estimate how issues of power might affect collaborative relationships and projects.

Designing and Communicating the TARP Process

Communicating the design of a collaborative research project and its ongoing changes to a multi-institutional group of researchers is not an easy task. Elements of culture, timing, and personality can influence how and when information is shared, which, in turn, can influence the research process and how it builds capacity. Before delving into the findings related to TARP, however, it is necessary to understand how formal channels of communication often operate in Tanzania and its higher education institutions.

As previously mentioned, a fairly rigid social hierarchy is evident across a wide variety of institutions in Tanzania, and sociocultural norms of communication within a hierarchical system inevitably impact collaborative research projects that involve researchers from different countries. My experience in Tanzania suggests that channels of communication are generally managed by those at the top of the hierarchy, who receive the most important information about an issue and sometimes, but not always, the smaller accompanying details. While American culture—if one can speak of any country as having ‘a’ national culture—tends to utilize a much more dialogic approach to decision-

making, Tanzanian culture, generally, tends to more strongly support the decisions made by those designated as the chief, the father, the principal, or the head teacher, a framework which values more highly the importance of people's positions—especially men's positions—than many Americans would find comfortable. As Amy Stambach (1994), an anthropologist who has worked in Tanzania for decades, learned from her experiences teaching in a school on Mount Kilimanjaro not far from MWUCE, “knowing when to speak and when to keep quiet is often a matter of knowing what is socially valued and of knowing the rank and status of the person to whom one is speaking” (p. 23). She further emphasized that in the Tanzanian context, there is wisdom in learning to “convey information in measured ways” (p. 25). Thus, those at the top also exercise discretion about disseminating information based on established hierarchies and communication traditions that regulate how, when, and with whom information is shared.

Writing about the Banyambo tribe of the Karagwe District in northwestern Tanzania, for example, Wedin (2013) highlights the “intricate systems of keeping and sharing secrets” that are “connected to the strong sense of rank that is visible all through the society, in families, in villages and in official systems, both traditionally and in contemporary Karagwe.” (p. 47). While there are certainly differences across individuals and institutions in Tanzania, this example highlights the ways in which authority and the disclosure of information are inter-connected. It also serves as a reminder that communication forms are culturally grounded; they vary from one context to another. It is not surprising then that approaches to communication of information might influence collaborative research projects such as TARP. The following subsections contain explorations of two communicative processes that were influenced by

sociocultural norms of communication that varied between the Tanzanian and U.S. teams: (1) recruiting TARP researchers, and (2) sharing information throughout the research training and data collection phases.

Recruiting TARP researchers

The process of recruiting TARP researchers and how recruitment framed researchers' experiences was a complex issue. In interviewing the TARP researchers, it became evident that they remembered recruitment differently. For example, one TARP researcher said the faculty were asked to "write our names [sign up] and volunteer," but another thought that "they [MWUCE] just picked some members from departments," and that the PIs (Dr. Vavrus and Dr. Bartlett) and MWUCE administration "focused more for those who are experienced" in conducting Teaching in Action workshops. In fact, this was intended to be one of the primary criteria, given the complex nature of conducting the TIA workshop and the need to involve faculty with significant pedagogical knowledge, not merely content knowledge. A third research participant suggested that the department chair was approached and asked for someone who teaches a specific subject and is "interested...in being a participant of this particular research project." This participant felt there could have been more explanation of "what the research was all about. It was just giving a hint that, 'Okay, they are planning to conduct a research,' but it was not very clear."

In addition, not all of the researchers experienced the recruitment process as one that entailed a recommendation or a personal choice. One TARP researcher (hereafter referred to as IV), for example, remembered the recruitment process differently. IV knew

that she would be involved in facilitating the Teaching in Action professional development workshop, which was not the first time for this faculty member.⁶⁶ However, IV felt there was some confusion about who would be involved in which programs—TIA and/or TARP:

We started discussing [the project] when you arrived [in June 2010]. That's when the discussion started. We were just informed that there will be a workshop on research [for faculty members], not even [conducting] the research itself. There will be a workshop on research for two weeks. First week, all participants [all MWUCE faculty], anyone is allowed to come. Second week, they will be research participants [TARP researchers]. Who are the research participants [TARP researchers]? The names were there. IV [was written on the page]....So the names were there. So that is already bias-ness, that's what I'm saying. Tell people there is this week of research training, okay? And there is another week, there will be a week for people who will participate in the research project, so please write down your names if you want to participate in this research project. Rather than saying, 'This week, you all will come, this week only [these faculty members]...'

In essence, IV suggested that he would have preferred a different form of communication regarding the recruitment process so he could have exercised more choice about his level of involvement in TARP.

⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter Three, alternating masculine and feminine pronouns will be used throughout this chapter to further mask the identities of the research participants who made each comment.

Hierarchy within educational institutions in Tanzania, such as MWUCE, is significant, and it is possible that IV felt she should be involved if asked by superiors to participate. Given the limited opportunities for junior faculty at institutions like MWUCE to participate in ongoing research projects, it is difficult to imagine someone turning down this type of experience, however. Although IV seemed to greatly appreciate involvement in the project, he felt like a “low tire,” a phrase he used during our interview to suggest that the lecturers were the low parts of the car in contrast to “the professors” who were “big in the professional” realm. It is possible that the form of communication regarding faculty member recruitment contributed to this feeling.

In addition, IV’s reference to “bias-ness” suggests that she may have been concerned about faculty perception on campus beyond the life of the project. IV expressed concern about the ‘politics of participation,’ including the implications of participating in TARP and how one might be viewed within the MWUCE community if asked directly to participate. IV feared that being asked repeatedly by superiors to be involved in projects with scholars from the global North might suggest a nepotism that could negatively affect his relationships with other colleagues on campus. Again, this concern co-existed with IV’s positive comments about TARP (included in Chapter Five) as well as a general tone of appreciation for those who provided leadership and participated in the project itself. Ultimately, the nature of communication during the researcher recruitment process is a complex issue for institutions which want to involve young faculty on larger research projects.

From the utilitarian perspective of a qualitative researcher from the global North designing collaborative research, it seems reasonable to build on existing relationships

with researchers in the field, as these relationships serve as foundations for common understandings of terms, goals, and outcomes of the research. In the case of TARP, learning how to facilitate the TIA workshop as well as how to function as a researcher during TARP required a large set of knowledge and competencies, which likely had not been mastered by MWUCE faculty who were not previously involved in TIA.⁶⁷

Moreover, not all faculty at MWUCE have worked previously as secondary school teachers, a common situation at teacher training institutions in Tanzania (Uwoya and Desforges, 2010) because of the competing realities of a higher education labor market which needs staff with expertise in content areas and a shortage of faculty with master's degree who have taught in secondary schools.⁶⁸ Consequently, specific faculty members were asked to participate, which in the opinion of TARP Researcher IV had the potential to cultivate a notion of favoritism on campus that might not be beneficial in the future.

It is unclear whether being selected to participate might negatively influence IV's interactions with other faculty or the administration in the years to come, but IV remained concerned about this situation. She explained that "there are people who are saying, 'Why, every time IV is participating in TIA workshop [and research] and not somebody else?' That one also has bad implications.... 'Why is this [person] doing a lot of this, and not this one [another faculty member]?" He concluded this part of the interview by

⁶⁷ Anecdotal evidence from previous TIA workshops suggests that a series of induction activities were necessary for first-time facilitators due to the multifaceted nature of the program and its many components. In 2012, first-time facilitators were asked to assist on small segments of the workshop so that they could learn more about its organization and implementation before taking a larger role in future years.

⁶⁸ Sadly, pursuing a career in teaching is often considered a lower-level vocational opportunity in Tanzania because the entry requirements for teacher training colleges are not as high as those for some programs in other disciplines at large universities. Thus, higher education institutions that have teacher preparation programs often face the difficult decision of hiring faculty with extensive teaching experience but lower academic qualifications or those who have higher-level degrees but little or no teaching experience.

reinforcing that researchers wishing to engage in collaborative research—perhaps particularly those from other countries—should attempt to “phase out that notion” of welcoming anybody to participate and should limit it to faculty members who sign up first in the staff room.

In essence, IV seems to suggest that research collaborators consider carefully any potentially negative effects of selecting certain faculty members to participate repeatedly in research or other programmatic experiences. This recommendation is certainly valid and could easily be overlooked by contractors from development agencies or educational institutions who desire to partner with experienced faculty members on projects. Conversely, building on existing relationships is also an understandable approach to selecting researchers, as noted above. These findings suggest it is necessary to consider power structures within institutions that influence the decision-making process as well as their implications, as the faculty researchers who spend their lives within these institutions may experience lasting effects of decisions made by external researchers. In the end, it seems those involved in research collaborations have important questions and considerations to ponder when selecting faculty members for research collaborations.

Communicating about the project

A second and related way in which communication influenced the project concerned the sharing of information, both in terms of the level of detail and the timing of relaying the information. Perhaps due, at least in part, to the cultural norms of communication and hierarchy in Tanzania discussed above, some TARP researchers were

unaware of certain details about the research project itself and the proposed plans for their involvement. Many of these details were communicated directly by the PIs to the MWUCE faculty, but certain information was either not provided to them as it first went to MWCUE administration as protocol required, or the information was not fully understood by the TARP researchers themselves.

While it is difficult to know exactly how or why communication problems occurred, it is evident that some TARP researchers perceived parts of the research process to be insufficiently clear and would have liked more information about the project itself, including its goals, timelines, communication structures, and compensation procedures. The perceptions of two TARP researchers, in particular, illustrate how aspects of communication influenced their investment in the project and intensified power dynamics among members of the research team. In the sections that follow, excerpts from interviews with these two researchers, III and IX, are explored in greater detail in order to explore the perceptions of researchers involved in collaborative research and the paramount role played by communicative practices in multi-institutional and multi-cultural research teams.

As a TARP researcher, IX believed that he had an insufficient understanding of the broader project as it unfolded, which contributed to a level of personal frustration. Although some information was provided during the first week of research training about the larger TARP study, IX noted in an interview that she did not realize the extent of commitment expected throughout the duration of TARP:

IX: I think, if it [the plan] was here, it was not communicated very well to us,...to me, actually. I don't know about others. But these are my experiences. To me, it was not communicated very well.

Matthew: So you showed up at the beginning of the second week and said, in your head, you thought, 'Oh, I have another week of research training, and then I will need to *pumzika kidogo* [rest a little], I will go for holiday'...?

IX: Yeah, and then, 'Ah, no, you have to go for data collection for two months.'

It was two months? Something like that. For two months! Something which was not planned [for me]. That is why I'm saying, these things should be communicated very earlier.

IX was surprised that the broader project required investment for two additional months of data collection. As I suggested during the interview, she had been hoping to rest for the months when MWUCE was not in session because the lecturers had not had a significant amount of time off from their duties due to elections in the previous year that changed the academic calendars of all educational institutions across the country.

Although IX was eager to learn more about qualitative research methods, participating in TARP meant altering some personal plans in the months that followed.

At the time of the research workshops, however, he remained silent about this surprise. While it is impossible to know why she maintained silence rather than conveying frustration, it is likely that power dynamics reflected in the communication structures at higher education institutions, and in Tanzanian society more broadly, played a role. For example, many junior faculty in Tanzania might be uncomfortable challenging or questioning the research ideas of colleagues who serve as their superiors

or supervisors because it would be culturally inappropriate and perhaps professionally detrimental to do so. Moreover, many Tanzanian faculty members might feel uncomfortable expressing displeasure to foreign researchers who are viewed as “international research fellows” and guests in their country. In sum, XI’s silence could be related to one or more cultural norms concerning communication. As Bartlett et al (2013) note about Tanzanian institutions:

There are strong, abiding cultural norms about who speaks to whom under certain conditions, who takes the floor and for how long during group deliberations, what constitutes appropriate forms of politeness, and other elements of oral engagement that shape communication within a research team and merit consideration. (p. 171)

These and other cultural norms have a significant bearing on the perceptions and experiences of all members of a research team.

Altering expectations for time to rest was not the only issue related to the timing of TARP. The aspect of the timing of TARP has been addressed previously (Bartlett et al, 2013), but, to my knowledge, few, if any, studies have explored timing in relation to seasonal activities such as the harvesting of agricultural crops. One TARP researcher was frustrated because she did not have adequate time to plan a work schedule that balanced research, teaching, and harvesting duties. He was engaged simultaneously in the complex data collection phase for TARP while also marking several hundred end-of-term papers by MWUCE students and tending to harvesting maize on the family plot of land, an aspect of life in an agrarian-based culture that could be easily overlooked by researchers from non-agrarian societies:

It was at the very busy time of my schedule. I finished teaching, my marking. I had a lot to mark. And at that time, it was harvesting time, and I had to harvesting, marking, do other things. So, I think it's best, it is best to know when and what you're supposed to be doing, and to see if it fits in your timetables. Or else it's a lot of pressure and the other part wants results and you feel like, 'okay, I have to produce them', then you have to produce them fast without thinking too much about them or without putting yourself in that.

This dimension of the timing of a research project deserves further investigation, as many collaborative researchers could unintentionally overlook demands that are specific to life in agricultural communities, where much of the research in the global South is conducted. Without attentive planning, there could be serious economic consequences for faculty members when their seasonal farming schedules are disrupted for research endeavors.

In the case of TARP, the timing of the project was largely dictated by academic calendars in Tanzania and the United States. The time when secondary schools were in session and students were not writing exams needed to align with the holiday from teaching duties at MWUCE. In 2010, both of these were altered from the normal academic calendar in the year of TARP due to national elections. Furthermore, these two Tanzanian windows of opportunity needed to occur during the summer holiday in the United States (June-August) so that the U.S. team members could spend significant time in Tanzania. Thus, time considerations such as harvesting duties took a backseat to the pressure of academic calendars. The issue remains, however, that more information regarding the proposed time demands and levels of commitment might have assuaged the

concerns of some TARP researchers who felt pulled in many directions at the same time and uncomfortable or uncertain about raising these issues with the larger research team.

In addition to concern over the timing of the research project, IX would have preferred to know the research title and research questions before the project began. She suggested that the TARP researchers were already deeply involved in the project by the time that the research title and questions were revealed to them:

IX: I am not saying you did not communicate...[but] we people, who are not big, actually. [laughs] We had no information! I had no information....Maybe others had information, I personally, as IX, did not have any information. So I knew we had a TIA workshop, which is common to me. I knew we have a training, qualitative research training. I was very anxious to know because I knew that I am going to use it [the training in my work or studies]. You see? Ah. I didn't know that there is collection of data, and after collection of data, there is reporting, analysis, and so forth and so forth. After all, I didn't know whether it is a research, a research on what? I didn't even know the research title. The research, I knew it when we were inside the room there. So to me, everything was coming as a surprise. I'm there waiting [for information]....[whispering] So I'm waiting, [responding] 'Ah, now it is the research question!' So those are the things that I am saying....I wanted to see whatever it is coming.

As this excerpt suggests, IX wanted to know the research title and questions earlier in the TARP research process. Although the PIs had shared this information with administrators at MWUCE, the research proposal that included the research questions had not been shared with the TARP faculty.

Research titles play an important role in the research culture in Tanzania, so it is understandable that IX was eager to hear the research title and research questions. In the course of my research, it became apparent to me how important research titles and questions are in Tanzania. I had many conversations with administrators and faculty members about the title of my dissertation research. These conversations included suggestions about how the title should be adjusted to better represent the nature of my research, and I ultimately adopted many of those recommendations. I also worked with faculty members who did not participate in TARP to brainstorm “titles of researches,” which for many faculty at MWUCE seemed to be the first step toward conceptualizing and developing a larger research proposal.⁶⁹ My graduate training in the United States had not emphasized the role of research titles to the degree that I observed among many Tanzanian and Kenyan faculty members at MWUCE, however, so this perspective on the research development process was new to me.

A response from one faculty member to an open-ended question on the broader MWUCE survey reinforces the importance of research titles and also how entire research projects are perceived by Tanzanian scholars. The final question of the survey asked, “What thoughts do you have about researchers from other countries who come to Tanzania to conduct research?” One faculty member noted that foreign researchers “have to first study the environment, then develop the research titles after an observation [of the local context]. Coming with their title and go straight to data collection sometimes limits the scope of information.” In the case of TARP, the PIs and some U.S.-based graduate student researchers who were involved in TARP had considerable experience in and

⁶⁹ ‘Researches’ is often written in the plural in Tanzania to represent multiple different research projects.

knowledge of the local context, but this survey response emphasized the paramount importance of research titles in Tanzania because the respondent discussed concern about foreign researchers coming to Tanzania with an *a priori* ‘research title,’ not an *a priori* research topic, issue, or question. This example highlights the primary importance of titles in the research culture of faculty members in Tanzania, a unique factor to consider for future research collaborations.

It is possible that, in the mind of IX and other faculty on campus, researchers working on a project would benefit by knowing the research title earlier in the research process in order to be more fully engaged and invested in the research project. It is also possible that knowing the research title sooner might have increased IX’s sense of investment in the project, although he was a very committed researcher throughout, based on my personal experience in TARP. Nevertheless, IX’s concern over knowing the research title suggests that research norms may vary considerably across institutional and cultural contexts, and that these variances may not always be clear to all members of collaborative teams, particularly when communication structures influence the likelihood of discussing these differences.

The experience of TARP researcher III serves as the second exemplar for how communication practices can influence the research process. Like IX, III also desired additional information about her proposed involvement in TARP. III believed that having more information would have increased his investment in the project and ability to produce data of the highest quality. For example, III suggested that news of a data collection phase after the TIA workshop had circulated but that “it was not that clear”

ahead of time. III remembered that the post-TIA week of research training was the first time she “realized” that she was part of a much larger research project:

Matthew: Did you know that we would be going to all the schools and then we would be writing up our field notes, and then we would be...?

III: [interrupting mid-sentence] No. That one I didn't know.

Matthew: And when did you find out?

III: I found...when we went for the trial of the questionnaires [2010 pilot-testing], then I thought, like, that would be the end, I thought that I was not really okay [thinking clearly] up here [in the head], but [laughing]...I thought like, ‘Oh my God’ [surprise because there is more work than he anticipated]. At the trials [2010 pilot-testing], I thought maybe this would be the end.

III thought that the pilot-testing might be the final stage of his participation in the project until it became clear that an extended period of data collection in the schools was planned:

Then they [TARP organizers] say like, ‘Okay, we’ll be going to the schools.

Then I thought, ‘I’ll give you the data and help you [other researchers]. And yeah, it kept on growing from this and it moved to the next and to the next.

[laughing]

III wanted to continue participating in the project but believed that her primary role was merely as an effective data collector for the U.S.-based research team despite efforts from Jafari and the PIs to cultivate an inclusive atmosphere where TARP researchers viewed themselves as integrally involved in the research process. Although III would have liked

more information about the process, he maintained a firm commitment to the project to see its associated tasks through to completion:

III: So for me, like the whole process wasn't scary, you know, I can face anything, I believe I can, but I want to know what I am facing. Yeah? So like, okay, 'we will be in Zanzibar', but you don't tell me, like, 'you have to swim from Dar es Salaam.' So you are prepared with your bag, they say 'Where is your swimsuit?' And you are like, "Why should I have a swimsuit?" So I think for my mindset, I need to know what I'm supposed to do, or what is the plan. Not even how to achieve it, we can figure out how to achieve it, but what do you want?

This analogy—knowing one should bring a swimsuit when asked to swim to Zanzibar—summarizes III's general experience in the project and his desire to know more about how the research process would unfold.

The original intent of TARP was for all of the TARP researchers to play integral roles in all phases of the project, including data collection, analysis, writing, and publication. However, the complexities of a multi-institutional team conducting a qualitative study with an emerging design may have contributed to III's perception that insufficient information was provided about the direction of the project. Multiple changes to the research timeframe and training sessions also likely contributed to this perception, as the entire team experienced less in-person contact time than desirable, and schedules had to be re-arranged to adjust to national shifts in the Tanzanian academic calendar. Thus, the possibility of adhering to and communicating the plan that had been set previously became less likely as the project progressed.

These events and complexities suggested to III, at least initially, that her/his role was to support and contribute to TARP as a data collector, not as a collaborator in a more egalitarian sense. Given the common use of faculty members in SSA as data collectors by development organizations and many foreign researchers, it is not surprising that III might approach TARP with this preconceived notion. The practice of hiring research assistants in SSA to work on projects funded by organizations in the global North is common at many universities in SSA, particularly at large, state-funded institutions such as the University of Dar es Salaam, the University of Nairobi, and Makerere University. For example, the University of Nairobi was described as a “consultancy university” because of the frequent involvement of its faculty in research consultancies (Allen, 1986, p. 25, as cited in Wight, 2008, p. 111). Furthermore, NGOs are ubiquitous across many nations in SSA, and these organizations often utilize faculty members as consultants and pay them to produce specific deliverables but not continue in the project beyond the terms of their contracts. It is interesting that some faculty members and administrators in Tanzania have even added ‘consultancy’ in the traditional list of responsibilities for faculty members—teaching, research, and service—as noted in my field notes from conversations with various university personnel.

Unfortunately, III maintained a perceived notion of acting as a research ‘helper’ through many stages of the research program. In his words:

III: I was like, “Okay, we’re going to collect data and, ‘Matthew, *pole* [sorry], you’re going to analyze this data! Oh, a lot of it!’” So my goal then was to collect the data clearly so that the person who is going to read my collection won’t get problems; [they] can picture the class, can be there [in the classroom in their

minds]. Yeah, that was my goal then, just to try my best to be clear, to capture everything....So when I was out of there it was just to do my best to collect, to help the person who was going to do, to write about this, who will be able to have good data.

Matthew: Which is interesting because during the TIA project you were thinking that your responsibility was to be a good facilitator, and then you found out about the research and then you thought, oh I need to be a good data collector, a good field researcher for those people. And then...

III: [interrupting] It was me! [laughing loudly]

Matthew: It was you [laughing], and then you found out that there was more.

This excerpt reinforces the notion that III might have felt she was working on an external project *for* someone else, much like consultants in SSA, who work to accomplish a specific set of tasks and are paid accordingly, but are not expected to contribute to an ongoing project. It seems that III viewed her/his role as one who was expected to complete what she was told to do and then hand over the data to the other researchers and administrators. III also noted, "It's strange, eh? Like when [you're working on] something [but] you really don't know where will it end. Honestly, I didn't."

Given the experiences of some MWUCE faculty with supervisors from undergraduate and graduate programs in Tanzania who solicit their assistance on research projects but do not ask them to participate in projects through to completion, it is understandable that III had this perception about TARP. However, perceptions like these might ultimately limit both the quality of the data and perhaps also the amount of capacity built through faculty participation in collaborative processes. One could argue

that III's experience and learning was constricted because he viewed each stage of the process as a discrete stage to complete for *others*, rather than as a series of phases aimed at building his ability to carry out an entire research project on his own in the future.

In sum, it is evident that communication about the recruitment and research processes are important factors that influence the nature of collaborative research. In a society such as Tanzania that generally maintains strong social hierarchies, attention to these details is of paramount importance. The faculty members' previous experiences with research projects and their assumptions about consultancies are also important to consider. Moreover, while few research projects, and especially those utilizing qualitative research methods, adhere precisely to set research plans and timelines, it seems clear that collaborative research projects are enhanced when all researchers perceive themselves as integral to the entirety of the research process. In the case of TARP, not all researchers were able to continue throughout the duration of the project because many of the faculty members went on to pursue further studies. At the start of TARP, these faculty were either in the process of completing master's degrees or hoped to do so in the near future, and greater awareness of each researcher's plans would have improved the nature of the collaboration. In the end, some faculty did not continue in the project beyond the data collection phase, the implications of which are explored in the following section.

TARP Researcher Attrition

At the start of the project, the organizers hoped that all members of the research team would continue through all phases and join together to produce an edited volume

based on our collaborative experiences. However, the current academic milieu in Tanzania expects university faculty members to pursue educational opportunities to advance their careers whenever they become available to better meet the increasing qualifications demanded of higher education institutions. This situation has the potential to alter young faculty members' involvement in research projects. This was the case with TARP. Apparently, some faculty had previously decided to pursue or continue their studies during the timeframe in which TARP was conducted, but they did not feel it was appropriate to inform the PIs about this in advance. One TARP researcher lamented the resultant situation:

I can remember the last time [in 2010], some of the members dropped. And I think some of them were assigned to schools, to go to schools for further studies, so I wish they knew the direction at the time of the research. Then they will not really take part.

While the researchers themselves may have known their personal plans to pursue further studies or another line of work, the PIs from the United States only became aware of their plans while conducting the initial week of research training in Tanzania. This certainly caught the U.S.-based PIs and graduate students working with them by surprise, but this situation again points to cultural norms about how, when, and with whom information is shared as well as to the implications of a political economy in Tanzania, where faculty members seek multiple opportunities to earn money and upgrade their qualifications in order to supplement and increase their university salaries.

Attrition of researchers is rarely a good thing, and, in the case of TARP, this ultimately led to several negative outcomes for the project and the larger purpose of

building capacity for the researchers involved. First, data was lost as a result of researcher attrition as not all TARP researchers completed their field notes or data processing (see Bartlett et al, 2013). While this outcome is never desirable, it was minimized by the massive corpus of data generated by the research team over the months of fieldwork so that even when one member of the team did not complete and submit their field notes, another member's notes could often fill in the gaps.

A second negative outcome caused by attrition, and one perhaps more relevant to the themes of this dissertation, concerns the lost opportunity for capacity building. Many of the researchers wanted the chance to learn more about the process of conducting qualitative research through their continued participation in the program. For example, one TARP researcher noted that she wanted to be involved deeply with the data analysis phase because she “could have learned from those mistakes which were done in the field,” and another researcher hoped to learn applicable analysis skills for future employment opportunities. Nevertheless, some of the researchers were either reassigned to other institutions or were offered scholarships to pursue further education, and these ‘opportunities’ (not everyone wanted to leave MWUCE) took precedence over continuing with the research project. A third TARP researcher similarly hoped to learn the processes of qualitative data analysis so he could use them while conducting qualitative research for a master's thesis. Thus, greater capacity could have been built through TARP if the researchers had been able to see the project through to completion.⁷⁰

A third negative outcome of research attrition related to power and perceived notions of status on the campus at MWUCE. For instance, TARP researcher VII was

⁷⁰ See Chapter Three for information about which phases of TARP were completed by each researcher.

concerned about maintaining a reputation on campus as a dependable faculty member and researcher, particularly in light of her withdrawal from the project. She knew she would not be able to continue in the project due to upcoming commitments but felt obligated to collect the data because “you have equipped me with everything, with the questionnaires...I could not be able to reject that I’m not going for data collection because I will not be available the other year.” Once trained in the research methods and goals of the project, VII believed he had little recourse but to continue in the data collection phase of the project.

In addition to feeling that leaving the project would disappoint the PIs and the MWUCE leadership and administrative staff, VII was concerned that others on campus might perceive him as a faculty member who was not dedicated to research or collaboration with others: “Other people can see as if you have misbehaved, you see?...Now that one is a problem to other people. They might say, ‘Ah, this VII, bwana, is a problem. Why didn’t she say earlier [that she couldn’t continue]?’” These comments clearly suggest concern about how others would view a researcher who did not continue in the project. VII noted that because of this concern, he might not have participated in the project if more information about the plan for the entire project had been available earlier in the process. Similarly, the PIs might have sought a different researcher to take this person’s place if these plans to pursue further study had been known (Bartlett et al, 2013). Nonetheless, VII was worried that the ‘notion of undedicatedness’ could have a negative impact on future involvement in similar projects or other leadership roles on campus. The social culture on campus, therefore, contributed to a feeling that she had little opportunity to reject participation in this project. These politics of participation are

vital considerations in research endeavors involving collaboration between visiting and host researchers. While visiting researchers are not removed from the effects of their decisions to participate in a research project, the lasting effects of local researchers' decisions are experienced much more deeply because these faculty remain on campus and/or in the local community.

A fourth negative outcome resulting from researcher attrition was the diminished influence from Tanzanian researchers on the interpretation of data and subsequent publication of the findings. All members of the research team—including those based in the U.S. and in Tanzania—would have preferred no attrition, and various TARP researchers were concerned about the diminishing roles of Tanzanian faculty members in data interpretation and dissemination processes. The Tanzanian-based TARP researchers ultimately played a reduced role in the analysis and interpretation processes despite an initial research design that envisioned their continued participation. This was due, as noted above, to the opportunities that took them away from campus as well as other factors (see below). Unfortunately, their discontinuation strengthened the notion that TARP researchers were conducting research *for* others and were not more equal co-researchers.

With fewer MWUCE faculty involved in the project after the data collection phase, the process of producing knowledge resulting from TARP shifted increasingly towards those from the global North. Although the entire corpus of data was and continues to be available to all researchers involved in the project—including those who left to complete further studies—it was analyzed and reviewed primarily by the U.S.-based researchers and the few TARP researchers who participated to the end.

The initial research design included another series of trips for the PIs and other qualitative researchers to work with the TARP researchers in person, but this visit was ultimately canceled because academic schedules and workloads did not align across the three institutions involved in the collaboration. Therefore, a master codebook containing a collection of etic codes was created and distributed to the remaining TARP researchers with detailed, step-by-step instructions for how to code the data and generate emic codes based on their readings of the data. They coded the data and then sent them to me because I was the graduate assistant charged with maintaining the database. Thus, in some cases, the TARP researchers responsible for collecting the data in the focal schools were not involved in the interpretation of their data. This situation, by nature, limits the insights gained from their interpretation of context-specific realities of a particular research site or event, an aspect of multi-sited team ethnography worth exploring in future scholarship (see Chapter Seven). Ideally, “in the collaborative ethnographic team interpretations are formatively collaborative, and the entire team shares responsibility” (Gerstl-Pepin and Bunzenhauser, 2002, p. 140), a condition that was, unfortunately, not present fully during TARP. In the end, the larger number of U.S.-based researchers involved in the analysis phase and their relative power over key processes—such as maintenance by the U.S. team of the most up-to-date database—contributed to a (perhaps unavoidable) power imbalance. Given the institutional context in which the TARP researchers work, it is questionable whether they had the time, experience, or interest in playing a much larger role in data analysis during TARP. However, the fact remains that

the power of data interpretation, a subjective process itself, was predominantly situated conceptually and physically in the global North.⁷¹

Before concluding this section on researcher attrition and its influence on the research process, it should be noted that attempts were made to counterbalance these power dynamics. The Educational Quality and Research in Northern Tanzania Conference conducted at MWUCE served as a means to engage in both member-checking and deeper exploration of the research findings. Several papers were presented at this event that built on the emergent findings from the study, and those in attendance were afforded opportunities to ask questions and dialogue in small groups about the research and its potential implications. All of the focal participants and the headmasters at their schools were invited to attend as well as MWUCE faculty and administrators, District Education Officers, and other community members. This approach, indeed, yielded new data as well as further elaborations of existing data, thus increasing the influence TARP researchers and the research participants themselves had on the interpretation of data. Finally, the PIs and other U.S.-based graduate students working on the project remained in close contact with the TARP researchers and would have welcomed any level of involvement in the ongoing project. This continues to the present, as TARP researchers have a standing invitation to use the extant data for professional purposes.

⁷¹ See Barrett, Crossly, and Dachi (2011) for an excellent discussion of how the geography of decision-making influences collaborative research processes and power dynamics.

Interpreting and Presenting Findings through Writing

Relations of power were also evident during the process of presenting and describing the findings in writing. For this section, I will draw on my personal experience of collaborating with Allen Rugambwa, my Tanzanian researcher counterpart, with whom I collected school-level data, co-conducted interviews, and co-authored two book chapters and one journal article. These experiences afforded me the opportunity to engage in a collaborative process of exploring and negotiating the findings from data sets that, in the case of classroom observations, comprised two versions (and researcher perspectives) of the same event. Moreover, it provided an opportunity to negotiate the power relations that exist when two researchers from different institutional and material contexts aim to co-author an article using qualitative research methods.

One of the best examples of the negotiation process occurred while we were co-writing a journal article entitled, "Equity, power, and capabilities: Constructions of gender in a Tanzanian Secondary School" for a special issue of the journal *Feminist Formations* (2011). I had proposed to Allen on short notice an idea for the chapter and suggested that we submit an article based on our work together at the focal school where we both served as primary researchers during the 2010 TARP. Desiring to garner support but also meet the looming submission deadline, I emailed Allen and asked whether he was interested in this scholarly endeavor:

So, I'm writing to ask if you are interested in pursuing this project with me. The deadline for the paper is January 10th, 2011, so we would have to move rather quickly to finish it. However, I need to write a final paper for my course here in Minnesota, "Qualitative Research in Education," and could use this project as the

basis for my final paper. Therefore, much of the paper would likely be completed by December 17th, when my final paper for that course is due. This would then give us about three weeks to finalize the paper and make any revisions that we think are necessary.

In my email outlining my proposition, dated only eight days before my course deadline, I had already positioned myself as the primary author and ‘driver’ of this scholarly pursuit by suggesting that much of the paper would be completed in less than two weeks, in accordance with the requirements of my graduate-level research methods course. From a less critical standpoint, however, my proposal supports the potential of capacity building: I have more experience than Allen with qualitative research and analysis, greater knowledge of the norms and conventions of publishing, and a higher degree of fluency in academic English, skills that I believed would improve the likelihood of getting the article published and skills I hoped would help Allen in publishing articles in the future. Furthermore, I also knew that Allen’s workload as a lecturer at MWUCE was considerable and that he might have limited time to devote to this scholarly pursuit if he were to pursue it on his own.⁷²

I also faced fewer material constraints to publication, as suggested in the next paragraph of my proposal email to Allen:

Because I have access to online journal articles and a large university library here in Minnesota, I would envision doing much of the background research on gender in Tanzania. I think your role would be to provide insight into the major themes

⁷² See Chapter Four for a discussion of ‘time’ as a perceived constraint for faculty who wish to conduct and publish research.

that you have observed at *Dunia* and suggest what should and should not be included, particularly because you understand the culture and local context in Tanzania.⁷³ I have included an outline that I created which details potential points and ideas for the article.

Thus, I intended to be clear about our proposed roles and contributions as well as to suggest how the process could be facilitated in a relatively short timeframe. The email closed with, “Please let me know as soon as possible. I'm really excited to work with you!”

The email message was reciprocated with Allen’s response a few days later that he was “always happy to help and to learn new things” and felt “very privileged to get this opportunity to join...in writing the article.” He concluded by stating, “Thanks again for trusting me. I won't let you down.” From these interactions it is clear that I, as the ‘proposee’ and researcher with access to resources and more experience publishing articles in academic journals, would be ‘driving the scholar bus,’ as it were.

Beyond this initial level of interaction, one particular negotiation came to the fore as a prime example of how power dynamics influence the negotiation of collaborative research projects. In the scholarly community of the global North, gender is typically described as being a construct mediated largely by one’s sociocultural understandings and experiences, and it is therefore not surprising that Allen and I differed in our conceptual understandings on occasion. An in-depth discussion of these differences themselves is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the process of negotiating our

⁷³ Pseudonyms were used during the 2010 TARP study and book that resulted, as reflected in my reference to *Dunia*, the focal school where Allen and I spent the most time.

collective and proclaimed understandings of gender is important to consider as it relates to my central argument in this chapter: that capacity building initiatives must be ever-attentive to power relations. In addition to co-conducting interviews with focal participants, Allen and I observed the same lessons in secondary school classrooms, a collaborative process that deserves critical exploration due to its interpretive nature.

One classroom lesson of special importance to our research on gender consisted of a teacher-led discussion of the text, *Hawa, the Bus Driver* (Mabala, 2007), which is about a female bus driver in Tanzania. Female bus drivers are extremely rare in Tanzania, so this text provides excellent fodder for discussion among secondary school students about gender roles in Tanzanian society. Allen and I both observed the same lesson but struggled to coalesce our thoughts and perspectives into a unified stance and, consequently, a coherent narrative for our article. Of particular concern were our differing perspectives of gender roles and what it meant when one student in the class discussing *Hawa* said that “women are then helping their husbands through that driving. That way she can make the income for the family big.” In an initial draft of the text, I analyzed this student’s statement and the classroom discourse, in general, with the following sentence: “While this perspective seems to advance the status of females in society, women are still perceived to be helpers of men—thus perhaps increasing their weakness—rather than self-sufficient contributors to society.” Allen’s response suggested a contrasting interpretation: “I think by ‘helping her husband’ they meant mutual contribution to family income and not women as helpers of men.” Until this point in our collaboration it had seemed that we were in agreement about what the data was ‘saying.’ We were now at an impasse.

Allen and I had the fortunate opportunity to discuss this situation in person in 2011 because I was in Tanzania to conduct follow-up research for TARP at the time that we were revising the article after receiving initial comments from the editors. The opportunity to negotiate this issue in person facilitated better cross-cultural communication; discussing our differing opinions via email would most likely have added further complexity.⁷⁴ In spite of the opportunity for face-to-face dialogue, we had several impassioned discussions about the role of gender in society, in general, and in Tanzania, specifically. In these discussions Allen acted more as the local expert whereas I acted more as the expert in the academic literature on gender and development. Yet, the question remained, ‘whose voice comes to the fore in a jointly composed journal article?’ Implicit in this question was the perceived need I felt to contribute to feminist and gender studies as academic bodies of literature, which often maintain a more Western, liberal perspective of gendered relations than one might find in Tanzania. Moreover, as stated above, I had already positioned myself as the lead author and more accomplished scholar on this particular project. I wanted to be attentive to this power imbalance, however, and suggested that we include both of our interpretations in the article, therefore suggesting that power and gendered relations are based on learned sociocultural perspectives. The excerpt below is from the draft with both interpretations:

The third item for analysis was a point of disagreement among the authors of this article. One author believed that a power imbalance was actually being perpetuated, as women’s work was framed as a positive endeavor because women

⁷⁴ See Bartlett et al (2013) for a discussion of how communication modes, such as emailing, influence the process of conducting international collaborative research.

were “helping their husbands.” To this author, the need to justify women’s work through pecuniary contributions to their husbands and families further diminished the inherent value of work and entrenched women in subordinate roles. The other author believed that families, as bound social units, are united together in unique ways that demand multiple contributions from its members. Therefore, individuals within the family unit must sacrifice elements of ‘self’ in order to improve the larger family unit.

This approach to negotiating the power imbalance aimed to acknowledge our differing stances without privileging one over the other. While our accommodation seemed to attend to both of our concerns, the paragraph was cut from the article due to the overall length beyond the word count allowed by the journal and our feeling that this discussion was not central to the argument of the paper itself.⁷⁵ The issue of presenting differing interpretations in a public forum was, therefore, avoided, but this meant that it was not interrogated by us as authors in print. As a result, one could argue that, as the primary author and contributor for the article, more of my interpretations than Allen’s were highlighted.

I asked Allen to reflect on these negotiations during our interview in 2012 for this dissertation. In the excerpt below, Allen spoke to one of the key aspects of research building on the anthropological tradition: making the familiar strange. In his dialogue about the tensions of “not agreeing” on interpretations of data, he explored implicitly the

⁷⁵ Perhaps we should have trimmed other material in order to ensure that this section remained. However, at the time of writing the article we felt that it should be saved for future work on the collaborative research process. I am not certain if this was the ‘right’ decision, but it was the decision we made at the time.

potential benefits of team ethnography where research partners are grounded in different sociocultural backgrounds:

I think we talked about it often, um, one is about the cultural understanding. You may not understand some issues in the culture. You think this was done because of this and I think, ‘no, this was done because of this.’ That can be, if you know the culture of the people you are researching on, you can think it is an advantage to know their culture, but again, you may be biased, eh? Yeah, I want to say, maybe, because I know the culture, I can be ‘right’ in, what, in my thinking.

Thus, despite moments where the collaborative interpretation process was negotiated or mitigated by significant power imbalances, Allen clearly saw benefit in working as a bi-national and bi-cultural research pair.

These moments necessarily demand negotiation, and Allen posed three recommendations for resolving our interpretive disagreement. First, he proposed going back to the data to explore what was captured. This approach obviously demands detailed field notes, observations, and interview transcripts, ideally with the associated audio file in order to explore the participants’ inflections and timing. The researchers would then, as Allen put it, “compare the notes, and...agree that maybe this [event, word, moment, etc.] means something,” or it does not. Second, the researchers could explain, as we tried to do in one draft of our co-authored article, that meaning was made differently by the researchers involved in the same project. He suggested, “noting down all the answers,... ‘okay, this is the way I think, maybe Allen, this is the way he thinks’,... ‘it is this way or this way’....That’s the best part of qualitative research, eh? You can explain things...[using] different interpretations.” Third and finally, Allen

recommended engaging in a deep level of member-checking to ensure appropriate interpretation of the data. He suggested “making a follow up...interview or follow-up focus group discussion” where the researchers could “ask them, ‘what did you mean?’” To him, this interpretation negotiation would be “very good.” In fact, a smaller TARP team did engage in this level of follow up from 2011 when we visited the focal schools and held focus groups with the teachers and headmasters included in the original study. We asked a series of new questions but also had the opportunity to ask for additional explanations or clarifications of emerging concepts from the data. Allen commented to me that he thought this approach to conducting qualitative research enabled more detailed and accurate understandings of the phenomena under study. He also noted in our interview that he described this process to other faculty at MWUCE during the Saturday Seminar presentation he gave about qualitative research methods. Allen “told them that we met some problem and we had to go back and ask some questions.”

Conclusion

This chapter explored relations of power as they manifested themselves during several phases of the TARP process. It began with a discussion of how communication about the project influenced the research process and TARP researchers’ perceptions about their roles. Aspects of communication also contributed to concern among some faculty about how the politics of participation could influence their reputations on campus beyond the life of TARP. It concluded with a reflexive examination of my interactions with Allen Rugambwa and how power informed our interactions and influenced the scholarly products of our collaborations. The next and final chapter takes

into consideration these relations and the more complicated process of building capacity through international research collaborations. It also suggests that international research collaborations can contribute to increased professional development and scholarly growth, but should not be approached uncritically.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This final chapter summarizes the dissertation and provides additional commentary on the challenges and benefits of transnational research collaborations that aim to build the capacity of scholars from the global South. The chapter begins with a section that reviews each of the previous six chapters and highlights their contributions to the overall dissertation. The second section explores critically the discourse of capacity building by highlighting some challenges related to transnational research collaborations and their implementation. The third section describes some of the benefits that can occur through these types of collaborations, despite systemic issues that may limit their transformative potential. The fourth and final section examines avenues for future research related to the development of research capacity through research collaborations.

Chapter Summaries

Each chapter of this dissertation served a specific purpose and provided a unique contribution to the larger project. The first chapter began by establishing the research problem and describing the increasing need for research in Africa conducted and produced by African scholars themselves. It argued that a new discourse has emerged among the international community that suggests capacity can be built among scholars of the global South if only collaborative structures are created between institutions. The chapter then outlined the research questions, which are included again below:

1. How do faculty in SSA experience both local and international demands of higher education in institutional contexts?
2. How do faculty at MWUCE experience the institutional expansion of higher education and its concomitant shift towards cultivating a research culture?
 - a. How do faculty members negotiate tension between their roles as educators and research?
 - b. What incentives exist for them to conduct and publish research?
 - c. What strategies do faculty employ to engage in knowledge production?
3. How do faculty at MWUCE who have participated in an international research collaboration that aimed to build capacity perceive its value and their role in the project?
 - a. What skills, dispositions, and knowledge did they learn through the process?
 - b. How did their participation in this project influence their research pursuits?
 - c. How did faculty experience relations of power through their involvement in an international research collaboration?

After exploring the conceptual framework and critical interpretivist lens through which the research topic was explored, Chapter One provided a brief overview of the research site and my previous experiences in Tanzania. It then moved to a discussion of the study significance, which include critiquing the discourse of capacity building while providing tangible insights into the processes of developing a robust research culture at a smaller higher education institution in Tanzania. The chapter also explained the benefits of

learning from a case study of TARP, a transnational research collaboration that aimed to build capacity among the faculty members at MWUCE in Tanzania.

The second chapter included several core sections that provided the overarching context for the dissertation. The first section described the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided this study as it drew on both critical theory and interpretivism to examine faculty members' experiences on a university college campus that is undergoing rapid institutional change. It also used this critical interpretivist theoretical lens to explore the perceived benefits and challenges associated with a smaller sub-set of the faculty who participated in a transnational research collaboration. The second section of Chapter Two outlined briefly key historical periods that have contributed to the current educational milieu in Tanzania, including the colonial, post-colonial, and neoliberal eras. The third section built on this historical perspective to highlight contemporary issues in higher education that exist in Tanzania as well as across other countries in SSA. Several other key themes from the higher education literature were also explored briefly: knowledge production discourse, research capacity building, and faculty mentoring. These sections combined to provide the theoretical, historical, and academic context to guide the study and its research methods, which were described in Chapter Three.

The third chapter described the research design and methods used in this study. It began with an examination of my previous experiences in Tanzania from 2008 to 2012 in order to establish my degree of familiarity with the research context and also to explore my relationships with faculty members at MWUCE, the site where the research was conducted. In addition to recapitulating the research questions and showing how they would be answered, this chapter described the research methods used during fieldwork in

2012. These included a survey of the faculty on campus, semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and participant observation during several research activities.

Chapter Three also included a description of the data collection and analysis plans as well as the timeline I followed while conducting the research. The final section of the chapter explored issues of credibility, research ethics, and my positionality as a researcher, all of which deserved serious consideration due to the findings and analysis from the research, which were presented beginning in Chapter Four.

The fourth chapter examined the institutional context at MWUCE. It first described the historical development of MWUCE as an institution. This section also examined its institutional structure and linkages with the Catholic Church, which may have influenced the organizational hierarchy and communication channels at the college and possibly how it views knowledge production. The second section described some of the MWUCE faculty members' experiences with research, both quantitative and qualitative, and paid specific attention to the extent to which they had previously applied their knowledge of research methods. The next section of this chapter examined efforts by the administration at MWUCE to cultivate a robust research culture amidst immense institutional expansion and constrained material resources. These efforts included adopting a "publish or perish" discourse, launching a new academic journal, and instituting the Saturday Seminars, a series of research trainings for the faculty at MWUCE. The fourth and final section of the chapter described the "hoards of challenges" faculty members face in conducting and publishing original research. This final section lent support to the argument that faculty in SSA are not on an equal playing field when competing with scholars of the global North. Moreover, the data suggests that

the establishment of collaborative structures for research capacity building initiatives may not fully empower faculty in SSA to conduct and disseminate research for a broader body of international readership.

The fifth chapter presented data concerning the benefits perceived to be accrued by the faculty at MWUCE who participated in TARP in 2010. This group of nine faculty members worked actively and collaboratively to conduct classroom research as part of a multi-sited team ethnography of classroom practice and learner-centered instruction in six focal secondary schools. The faculty believed that their participation in this collaborative research project contributed to the following: increased knowledge of pedagogical approaches and of the education system in Tanzania; meaningful relationships with ‘international fellows’ that led to social, cultural, and financial benefits; and greater knowledge of research methods and, more importantly, an ability and growing confidence to apply them in their own research. In all phases of the project, those involved believed they benefitted immensely from their participation. Perhaps most importantly, they suggested that the process of conducting research, which they had understood previously in textbook or theoretical terms only, was now clear to them because of this hands-on research experience.

The sixth chapter examined the complexities of engaging in transnational knowledge production through research collaboration. It first explored the procedures for recruiting faculty to participate in TARP, which some MWUCE faculty suggested was imbued with secrecy and potential risk. The chapter then explored other aspects of communication regarding the project, including which information was provided at various points and by different actors during the project. Some TARP researchers desired

additional information and believed that it would have increased their investment in the research. The chapter also examined the issue of research attrition and how power is reflected in research collaborations when some researchers continue through the interpretation and publishing phases and others do not. The final section explored my interactions and engagement with Allen, the TARP researcher with whom I partnered most closely. It analyzed the process of writing collaboratively and interpreting meaning in research findings, and it paid special attention to issues of power in our relationship as reflected in the interpretation and writing process. In addition, I considered how Allen and I sought to resolve tensions caused by differing conceptualizations of observed phenomena and how this is likely to arise in most bi-national, cross-cultural pairings of researchers involved in qualitative research. In addition, the sixth chapter served as the third and final chapter based on the data from MWUCE, and it set the stage for this chapter, which now proceeds with a short discussion of the challenges of transnational knowledge production and a critique of the discourse that does not problematize it.

Challenges of Building Capacity through Transnational Collaborative Research

The previous chapter explored issues that surfaced during a research collaboration that aimed to build research capacity among young faculty at MWUCE while producing scholarship focused on secondary schooling in Tanzania. As that chapter suggested, engaging in transnational knowledge production through collaborative research is a challenging endeavor. This section aims to build on the descriptions and discussions from Chapter Six and, in doing so, highlight some challenging aspects of research collaborations. It also suggests relevant implications for various audiences that relate to

key issues included in this dissertation. Three specific issues are addressed in this section are: 1) the complexity of multi-sited team ethnography; 2) the call for critical reviews of capacity building projects; and 3) the ‘one-sided’ capacity building discourse.

The first issue concerns the complexity of multi-sited team ethnography. Given its growth in social science disciplines only in recent years (Woods, Boyle, Jeffrey, & Troman, 2000), the literature on team ethnography is relatively scant (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2008). Historically, ethnography has been viewed as a lone endeavor conducted by a single researcher (Douglas, 1976). More recently, however, team ethnography has emerged as an innovative research method with unique benefits—such as including diverse perspectives of a single event (Demerath, 2009), capturing multiple events that occur at the same time, and researcher triangulation (Woods, Boyle, & Troman, 2000). However, the nascent literature also points to significant challenges when there are multiple ethnographers working on a project.

One issue relatively unexplored in the anthropological literature, and in the field of comparative and international education, is the process of conducting team ethnography with a diverse, international team of researchers in a setting familiar to only some team members. TARP included nine Tanzania-based researchers, one of whom was from Kenya; four graduate students or recent graduates, two of whom completed graduate degrees in the U.S. but originated from other countries; and two U.S.-based PIs who had previous experience in Tanzania but to varying degrees. The team that came together to work on TARP comprised researchers with drastically different life experiences, conceptions of self, and understandings of research. Moreover, the team possessed varying degrees of familiarity with the research context itself, including the

location of the research (northern Tanzania), the Tanzanian education system (in this case private schools, many of which are under the Catholic Church), the focus on secondary schooling, and others. In many instances this diversity produced valuable insights and rich analytical discussions, but in others it contributed to the difficulty of engaging collaboratively in knowledge production.

Engaging in researcher reflexivity is a distinctly different process for research teams than it is for individual researchers, and it is different still for international teams. Siltanen, Willis, and Scobie (2008) suggest that team reflexivity entails a process of working “separately together,” and they further note:

The positioning of researchers as active subjects in the construction of research knowledge suggests that interpretive creativity and strength can be gained through explicitly acknowledging and using the researchers’ own subjectivity and personal history as an interpretive resource. (p. 48)

While unique subjectivities and histories do provide additional conceptual frameworks, the processes of exploring and understanding other researchers’ epistemologies, beliefs, and experiences is considerably more complex when working in teams where some researchers possess limited knowledge of each others’ cultures, national histories, and social systems.

Because the process of engaging in research reflexivity is ongoing, the need for discussions about interpretation as well as ‘collective introspection’ among researchers extends beyond pre-research induction activities, which are also necessary for team research projects (Bartlett et al, 2013). Although fruitful, discussions that lead to common understandings of these lived realities require an immense amount of time, a

particular challenge for projects that occur within an academic calendar holiday of a few weeks or a couple of months as many studies do. One implication of this practical reality is that time and space dedicated to the actual collection of data during a project may be more constructively devoted to engaging in reflexive activities. These activities, which might include sharing personal educational histories and stories that influence researchers' perspectives of knowledge, quality teaching, school norms, etc., should seek to develop cross-cultural knowledge of other researchers' backgrounds and beliefs. Furthermore, exploring the multiple ideological and institutional contexts from which researchers come might also develop among the team greater understanding of personal perspectives. The activities should also aim to examine how each researcher is envisioning and managing individual and collective relationships with the research participants because this may contribute to varying depths of engagement and interpretations.

The processes of memoing and collectively discussing researcher memos could serve as one activity that addresses the need for group reflexivity, but even this approach is challenging when researchers possess varied comfort levels with English (or whatever the common language may be among the researchers) and with typing. Moreover, in light of the findings presented in Chapter Six, how might relations of power influence the memoing process, especially when team members maintain different, culturally constructed views on appropriate forms of communication and disclosing information? While "whole team" meetings comprised of researchers with more similar backgrounds and beliefs could "operate in a democratic manner" (Woods et al, 2000, p. 89), the international and intercultural element of diverse research teams in comparative and

international education may impede open communication and the broader benefits of these collaborations. For example, what does it mean for a Tanzanian researcher to reflect on her strengths and weaknesses and then share her views with others when this degree of self-disclosure is not commonly found in Tanzania? These issues of cultural norms of communication, reflexivity, and disclosure deserve further investigation and remain key methodological and theoretical questions for the field of comparative and international education as the use of team research and ethnography increases.

The call for critical reviews of capacity building projects is the second issue I would like to address in this section. The status quo for capacity building projects can constrict what can be learned from them because, in many cases, funding agencies feel the need to maintain a degree of secrecy concerning the challenges experienced by researchers and administrators. Rarely do multilateral or bilateral aid agencies want to be seen in a negative light even though the lessons learned from failed capacity building projects could be beneficial. Moreover, there may exist little time or space to reflect critically on the projects and their modes of engagement because the timeline for most aid projects is short: three to five years, for example, to transform an entire education system. For these reasons, there exist few examples of scholarship that critically review capacity building initiatives, especially within education and international development (Barrett, Crossley, Dachi, 2011). However, if those who fund and participate in these efforts continue to keep a lid on the ‘black box’ of capacity building for fear of opening up their projects for critique, little will be learned that could shift the discourse and improve the conditions for the researchers involved in these projects.

In addition to this dissertation—which serves as one exemplar of a critical review

due to support from the TARP PIs and project site—the black box has been cracked open by a small cadre of other researchers. An excellent model of self-critique can be found in the work of Barrett, Crossley, and Dachi (2011), who explored their engagement in the EdQual project, a multi-year collaborative effort with the expressed purpose of producing knowledge and building research capacity for policy makers and practitioners in nations of the global South. As these scholars from the UK suggest, “much can be gained from such research and capacity building partnerships” (p. 27), but they also highlight how geography and communication influenced decision-making procedures and the timelines they had to follow on this project. Their reflexivity has enabled other researchers, such as myself, to engage in a more critical consideration of the notion of capacity building so as to prevent inequitable relationships from forming in the first place. Yet, this type of scholarship that includes explicit examples of the internal dynamics and relationship-building processes in collaborative research remains rare. This dissertation serves as a call for further critique of capacity building projects and the discourses that undergird them.

The third issue I seek to address concerns the capacity building discourse itself. Much of this discourse, and even some of its critiques, maintains a “one-way street” conceptualization that primarily, if not solely, recognizes the capacity ‘built’ among scholars of the global South but says nothing about the expansion of knowledge, skills, and understandings that may occur for Northern researchers. This conceptualization of capacity reflects the development and utilization of particular methods and processes in most research projects more familiar to students and scholars in Europe and the U.S. Moreover, as Holmes and Crossley point out, the research discourses “prioritize Euro-

American conceptions of research that can devalue much of the traditional knowledge and expertise that exists in the South” (2004, p. 202). Learning the norms and conventions of Euro-American educational research is often done at the expense of other forms of research and dissemination not included in the canonical body of recognized scholarship in the global North. Thus, it is only those who are not as familiar with these methods and conventions who need to have their capacity ‘built.’ This one-way direction of capacity building largely resembles Appadurai’s weak internationalization, and greater attention should be paid within capacity building efforts to emphasize a more diverse range of knowledge production activities (i.e., strong internationalization) that build the capacity of all members of research collaborations.

For example, several MWUCE faculty who were interviewed or completed the survey suggested sharing information with their students as a local means of disseminating research findings rather than aiming only at international audiences through publications. Indeed, these approaches to dissemination should be highlighted and shared more broadly in an attempt to further disrupt the relations of power inherent in North-South knowledge production and capacity building discourses. I concur with Holmes and Crossley (2004), who contend that research capacity must be reconceptualized within the international academic community to include a broader representation of dissemination methods for analytical work. As they suggest:

If, because of their contribution to meaning-making in a contextually relevant way, rich cultural activities are interpreted as forms of scholarship and systematic inquiry, then this could suggest that the boundaries of what constitutes knowledge generation and research are being redefined. (p. 206)

Expanding these boundaries, however, will require intentional effort by those most engaged in capacity building efforts, from institutions that fund such projects to practitioners who are less concerned with academic scholarship but who seek to build the capacity of their students, and of non-local researchers as seen with some of the MWUCE faculty. In sum, challenging the ‘one way street’ of capacity building should also include attempts by researchers to seek local forms of knowledge that may be ignored by standards conventions of scholarship and, in doing so, explore spaces for strong internationalization in addition to or in lieu of weak internationalization.

In a related way, the norms and conventions of academia advanced by aspects of neoliberalism also demand consideration and critique. In Chapter Four, I explored the local implications of a “publish or perish” discourse that emanates, at least in part, from neoliberal ideals about research productivity in the global marketplace of higher education. As both research ‘products’ and the faculty members who ‘produce’ them become increasingly commoditized, additional questions are raised about the roles of tertiary education in Tanzania and SSA. For example, how have neoliberal reforms and pressures embodied neo-colonial relations across institutions that pursue similar goals but begin from drastically different starting points? Moreover, in the case of nation-states that have socialist histories like Tanzania, how have neoliberal movements in higher education influenced and been influenced by the state itself?⁷⁶ Pursuing answers to these questions will further challenge the prevailing discourse of capacity building, specifically in regards to the responsibilities for faculty members at institutions such as MWUCE.

⁷⁶ See Tabulawa, Polelo, & Silas (2013) for an thought-provoking discussion of how contradictory forces such as the state and free market interact in the case of higher education in Botswana.

The ‘one way street’ of capacity building does not solely concern notions of scholarship, however. The capacity building discourse, as well as the scholarship by its critics, largely ignores the role of relationships or non-research benefits accrued to *both* sides of a given collaboration. Indeed, both critical scholars and organizations that uncritically promote capacity building through research collaboration focus primarily on the research capacities or professional achievements accrued to team members of the global South without considering how these collaborations benefit team members from the global North in both professional and ‘non-professional ways.’ For example, from my Tanzanian colleagues, in particular, I have sharpened my skills in Swahili, developed a more subtle conceptualization of classroom dynamics in Tanzanian schools, and deepened my understanding of how to apply and teach research methods. While these professional benefits are incredibly important, scant research acknowledges the different, but equally valuable benefits gained by collaborators, especially those from the global North. This appears to be a significant gap in the literature about capacity building, one that further positions scholars of the global South as the sole and necessary recipients of capacity building rather than acknowledging that all researchers/collaborators change and grow in the process of engaging in collaborative research,⁷⁷ even in manners beyond one’s professional work life.

A recent personal example highlights the accumulation of productive goods of a non-research variety. My participation in TARP has certainly expanded my capacity as a

⁷⁷ For a popular media critique of the ‘one way street’ international development discourse, see <http://www.africafor norway.no/>, which contains a humorous but humbling ‘mocumentary’ encouraging Africans to “unite to save Norwegians from dying of frostbite.” The irony and absurdity of the video brilliantly reflects the unidirectional nature of aid *writ large* but also suggests that capacity building initiatives could benefit both Africans and Norwegians, the latter who serve as a metonym for the entire global North in this case.

scholar, including but not limited to the following: academic publications and presentations; experience collecting, managing, analyzing, and writing about data; grant-writing skills; and opportunities to interact with ‘big potatoes.’ However, I have also benefited in non-academic ways that I also deem immensely valuable, though some in the academic community may not equally appreciate these benefits. They include countless hours of conversation with engaging people from another country and, quite simply, the fun that comes with these encounters, among others. My relationships with the ‘international fellows’ from Tanzania with whom I worked during TARP have enriched my life in ways that those of us in comparative and international education know to be true.

Furthermore, the academic and cultural insights that I have gained in Tanzania transcend TARP as a project. For instance, my current engagement in a capacity building project with colleges of education in Zambia has been enriched because of the constructive critique I can now provide on aspects of the project that are similar to those I encountered with TARP. While Tanzania and Zambia have different cultures and sociopolitical histories and should not be considered part of a monolithic, generic entity known as ‘Africa’ in popular media,⁷⁸ it is undeniable that I have developed analytical frameworks and lines of questioning that do have a degree of transferability across contexts. These dispositions and sensitivities have both professional and personal benefits for me as a scholar and as a person from the global North, but the discourse of capacity building largely ignores any capacities built among those from the North

⁷⁸ See africaisacountry.com for a media blog that is “not about famine, Bono, or Barak Obama” and publicly resists overgeneralizations about the diverse nations and people of Africa.

American side of the Atlantic, and it especially ignores capacities not deemed relevant for scholarly productivity. In sum, I posit that scholars and practitioners need to reject one-way notions of capacity building that conceptualize capacity as something that needs to be built only among scholars from the global South. Indeed, my capacities have been challenged, stretched, and enhanced through engagement with colleagues from Tanzania, and now from Zambia.

Re-envisioning Transnational Collaborative Research

With these insights in mind, this section re-envisioning transnational collaborative research and suggests some potential approaches to advance and deepen the capacities of all who participate. These activities might also serve as a challenge to the capacity building discourse that tends to be unidirectional and rather uncritical. In re-envisioning transnational collaborative research, one might begin by assuming that there is much to be gained by all parties through the process of co-conducting research across institutions, especially when that process does not focus solely on deficits, such as limited library resources and research skills, but instead acknowledges explicitly that all parties have something to give and to receive. This includes insider cultural knowledge and alternative ways of knowing or disseminating information from those found in universities in the global North. This acknowledgement, if deemed integral to a project, would shift the discourse of capacity building to a process that includes building something that does not yet fully exist for each member of a research team. Thus, from the beginning, a re-envisioned transnational collaborative research initiative that aimed to build capacity would start from point of humility and eagerness to learn by all parties

involved, rather than operating from a deficit perspective where only scholars of the global South have capacities to be built or areas in which to grow.

From this starting point, a re-envisioned transnational collaborative research project might build on existing cross-national relationships among students and faculty members, and on the known strengths of each institution to complement the strengths of the other one(s). In addition, an alternative funding model for those who develop the research proposal could be to develop a project together, at least in outline form, and ‘shop it around’ to various funding organizations rather than waiting for a request for proposals (RFPs) from an aid agency whose turnaround time for submitting proposals is often quite short. This model of securing funding for a project might minimize power imbalances that accrue when researchers must act quickly to prepare proposals in response to RFPs with short windows for submission, a process that greatly favors scholars in the global North who are (a) more likely to be on listservs where such calls are posted; (b) more likely to check email multiple times a day due to easy access to the internet and thus more likely to respond to calls in a timely manner; and (c) have much greater access to journals and other publications that help make for solid proposals. In the same way that my interactions with Allen in proposing an article for *Feminist Formations* swayed the power balance in my direction because of the short timeframe and my greater understanding of the requirements for manuscript submission, proposal processes that must be submitted on short notice greatly favor researchers in the global North. Altering the international competitive bidding and proposal process would certainly not be an easy or quick task, but there are institutions that fund projects they deem worthy of support without a pre-determined submission date. Another option that

would build on the strengths of institutions in SSA and their faculty would be to develop ‘Strengths Portfolios,’ which outline the research interests and strengths of an institution and its faculty. These might serve to involve these institutions in the RFP process to a greater extent by knowing ahead of time which faculty members could contribute in which ways to a project with pre-determined selection criteria. A bolder approach might involve developing full proposals for collaborative research and presenting them to institutions and organizations that tend to fund those types of capacity building initiatives even in the absence of an RFP.

Once funding has been secured and a research collaboration is in progress, it would be insightful if faculty members from the global North could work side-by-side with faculty from the global South as they conduct their normal academic duties. This would provide the collaborators from the North with additional insights into the quotidian experiences of faculty members from the global South. For example, collaborators from the U.S. might assist faculty from Tanzania to teach one of their courses—in particular, one with 600-800 students—at the higher education institution where they are employed.⁷⁹ In addition to partnering with the faculty member to provide support during lectures, the U.S. faculty member might observe or contribute to the marking of the same number of papers and exams at the end the semester (without the use of Scantron forms). This form of capacity building would highlight the challenges faculty in SSA face when seeking to engage in research while maintaining the daily teaching duties required of them. It would also provide contextual insights into the state of higher

⁷⁹ One recent encounter with a lecturer at the University of Zambia, the country’s premier research institution, highlighted the heavy teaching load there, where this lecturer teaches 800 students in one educational foundations course.

education in the local country while also familiarizing external researchers with the methods and concepts being taught to future cadres of teachers (in the case of educational research collaborations with institutions that prepare teachers). These approaches and collaborations would further adjust the power imbalances common in international research initiatives because the faculty from the global South would be the experts in these situations and would be teaching the foreign research ‘how things are done’ locally.

An extension of this approach might involve developing sessions for the research team that provide faculty from the global South an opportunity to explicitly share their expertise in various areas. For instance, for each session on qualitative research methods led or co-facilitated by a U.S. faculty member, a Tanzanian faculty member could lead one on ways of teaching children in Tanzanian families or on current educational policies in the country or on their understandings of epistemologies and research methods that work in local contexts. These sessions could pertain directly to the project or to developing among the non-Tanzanians a broader scope of knowledge that would benefit the team in more general way, such as sessions on Kiswahili language and Tanzanian culture might be beneficial for all types of projects. These sessions might increase mutual understanding and respect, and they would be valuable for developing reflexivity among all the researchers. Most importantly, such sessions would position faculty members from SSA as experts in areas vital to the joint success of these types of initiatives and might counter the tendency for them or for others to see the African researchers as consultants or data collectors only. One might posit that a balanced schedule of sessions led by local and foreign researchers could alter—but never fully eliminate—relations of power among team members, thereby leading to a research

project with more nuanced findings owing to the extensive contributions of all involved.

Finally, a re-envisioned transnational research collaboration would highly value the contributions of “intermediary actors” who possess slightly lower ‘hierarchical status.’ This dissertation would not have been possible or effective without the relationships that I was able to build over time with the research participants in Tanzania. These relationships and the degree of honesty reflected in their comments were largely made possible due to the intersectionalities of identities. As a young graduate student who was not deemed to be a ‘big potato,’ I was afforded entree into discussions, sometimes critical and sometimes not, that deepened my understanding of the sentiments of the MWUCE faculty members that enriched my dissertation but also the larger research collaboration when I confidentially shared some of these insights with the others on the research team. In short, I heard things that others on the U.S. team were not able to hear. I could therefore suggest—anononymously—that certain programmatic elements be adjusted to better suit the circumstances and sentiments of the faculty with whom we were collaborating.

For international development initiatives and research collaborations that involve graduate students as research assistants, I posit that the role of these students needs to be conceptualized beyond mere data collectors. My role within TARP served as an example of how the unique contributions of graduate students can be beneficial beyond conducting interviews or collecting questionnaire responses. I was able to build on these insights in formulating and conducting subsequent research for this dissertation. However, anecdotal evidence from conversations with graduate students across multiple institutions suggests that their insights as intermediary actors are sometimes ignored. These circumstances

limit their potential contributions to the projects in which they are engaged and may also further disenfranchise scholars of the global South if concerns cannot be channeled up to project leadership in a way that they find to be culturally appropriate.

In sum, re-envisioning transnational collaborative research requires a number of changes to be made to the *modus operandi* of international educational development. It would highlight the unique contributions of all collaborators, build on the strengths of individual institutions, restructure the RFP model, provide opportunities for scholars of the global North to contribute to the daily work of those from the global South, include training sessions led by all collaborators, and recognize the valuable ways in which intermediary actors such as graduate students can enhance a project. These would not be easy tasks but might ultimately enrich the experiences of all involved in these types of collaborations.

Avenues for Future Research

Beyond describing how transnational research collaborations might change, this section of the final chapter explores avenues for future research that I intend to conduct. I first plan to explore the unique contributions of multi-sited team ethnography when the researchers involved originate from different nations and cultures. This is because they are likely to have varied degrees of comfort with academic English, international research norms, and access to academic resources such as journal subscriptions. At a minimum, I envision working on two articles concerning international team ethnography. One would focus more closely on the methodological considerations of developing team reflexivity among diverse groups of researchers. The second would focus on my experience co-

facilitating with Allen the 2012 SBW Study, which utilized a more homogenous team comprised of young faculty from MWUCE but faced challenges nonetheless because of some faculty members' limited experience conducting empirical research. My review of the qualitative research literature seems to suggest there are significant gaps in both of these areas.

I would also like to apply an anthropological lens to the exploration of the conceptual distinctions between 'local' and 'international' journals. In addition to describing the African faculty members' understanding of this binary—both in Tanzania and in my more recent research in Zambia—I would explore how local perceptions of knowledge production for international audiences can further inhibit the production and dissemination of research grounded in local realities.⁸⁰ For example, although no one was able to attribute this myth to a specific informant from within the informal scholar network, many faculty consistently suggested that researchers must pay “huge sums of money” in order to submit their articles for publication in international academic journals. As a result, many faculty felt inhibited by the financial implications of attempting to publish in these venues and, instead, sought publication in local journals. While publishing in a college-based or national journal may help to bring their research out of the “subterranean reality of African research” (Maclure, 2006, p. 82), it does not challenge the global hierarchy of knowledge production that privileges the dissemination of scholarship in international venues by researchers in the global North. Yet even though most international journals, at least in education, do not charge authors a fee,

⁸⁰ During my visit to the University of Zambia in June 2013 I learned of a new 'local journal' for the Department of Education. I know several other institutions also have journals of this nature in Zambia and they seem to be a more common across higher education institutions in SSA.

publishing an article in them is still incredibly difficult for many faculty in SSA because of their heavy teaching loads, limited access to current academic literature, and limited comfort with typing and writing in academic English. Thus, I would emphasize in this article that many faculty in SSA—using Tanzania and Zambia as exemplars—remain constrained in their efforts to publish in top-tier international journals because of both academic myths (paying for publication) and material realities that ultimately lead to a condition which further entrenches the inequality in global knowledge production in favor of scholarship from the global North.

A third scholarly contribution from this dissertation would explore the dynamics of education as foreign aid, a topic of central concern to the field comparative and international development education. This article might compare two educational development projects with which I have been involved, such as the large USAID project with teacher training colleges across Zambia and the much smaller Teaching in Action program at MWUCE, to understand how their different approaches to funding also affect the relationships among collaborations. For instance, in the first example, both the Zambian and the U.S. researchers are paid—and paid relatively well—for their time and work on the project but only receive payment when pre-determined “deliverables” are produced. Thus, both sets of collaborators must claim to have completed certain pieces of the project as their deliverables because payment is tied to the production of worksheets, manuals, and reports. In contrast, the U.S. TIA collaborators had their costs covered for the trips to Tanzania but did not receive any per diem payments or salary supplements, and the Tanzanians received a modest “honorarium” that they themselves established as a fair sum. Given the paramount importance of relationships between

collaborators that enable successful projects, especially in SSA where a high premium is placed on interpersonal relations, how might the structures of large-scale foreign aid compromise the ability of researchers to work collaboratively as a team? Moreover, when the outcomes of collaboration are set in advance and concretized as predetermined ‘deliverables’ before a contract begins rather than emerging organically during a project, what messages does this send about the value of their collaborative effort, and how might this serve to undermine a project itself? On a related note, how might smaller initiatives and partnerships work within the milieu of larger development projects that largely shape norms for collaboration? These are questions that I seek to address in a venue such as the *International Journal of Educational Development*, which is read by a wide audience of scholar-practitioners.

In addition to these specific projects, the process of conducting this study has also highlighted for me several broader avenues for further research. First, conducting an in-depth comparative investigation of capacity building initiatives across institutions in SSA could provide additional insights into the collaborative processes that enable them to be more or less successful in the eyes of the participants. This dissertation highlighted insights from a specific research partnership that spanned three different institutions, two from the United States and one in Tanzania. Therefore, how is a transnational collaborative influenced by the number, size, and focus of the institutions involved? How do the histories of the nations, institutions, and individual faculty members influence this process? These and other salient questions could be addressed by a future study that looked across some of the many collaborative projects in SSA that aim to build research capacity.

Second, there exists a need for longitudinal data that examine the ways in which research partnerships, such as TARP, have a lasting impact beyond their project timelines. In the case of TARP, how might MWUCE faculty continue to leverage the benefits they perceived to have accrued through their participation—such as knowledge of pedagogical practices, cross-cultural communication skills, social capital through interactions with international fellows, research and writing skills, and others? How might they continue to benefit from this experience? How might they pass on these benefits to others? This dissertation provided a snapshot of their perceptions in 2012, so a valuable future study might consider the status of MWUCE and its faculty in three to five years.

A third avenue for future research concerns the production of social capital in higher education institutions in SSA. Many of the participants in this study cited aspects of social capital formation as a valued benefit they accrued through engagement with international fellows. Furthermore, my personal interactions with faculty from MWUCE who were enrolled at the University of Dar es Salaam highlighted the ways in which I could use my access to resources through the University of Minnesota, or my knowledge of English as a first language, for their benefit.⁸¹ To what extent do students at higher education institutions in SSA cultivate connections with colleagues living in other countries for their professional benefit? How is this relational form of capital utilized and maximized in their educational pursuits? How do students without these international connections excel in their education in the constrained contexts that limit the material resources available to them?

⁸¹ As stated elsewhere, I obviously gained social capital through my participation as well.

Related to the issue of material contexts, a fourth area for future research concerns the comparative study of research expectations for faculty at higher education institutions elsewhere in Tanzania and throughout SSA. For example, how has the discourse of “publish or perish” been taken up or appropriated at other institutions in Tanzania and across SSA? How has the broader international discourse of higher education—based largely on norms established in the global North—altered the inner-workings and purposes of other higher education institutions across the continent? What can be learned from a comparative perspective of how different institutions have adopted, adapted, or rejected international norms related to research and its dissemination?

Conclusion

This dissertation examined facets of transnational knowledge production vis-à-vis a case study of one research collaboration between Tanzanian and U.S. scholars. The collaboration aimed to build the research capacity of faculty at a higher education institution in Tanzania that is striving to develop a robust research culture amidst substantial institutional expansion reflective of the broader higher education sector across much of SSA. The Teaching in Action Research Project involved nine faculty from MWUCE in an applied, multi-sited team ethnography that examined aspects of pedagogical practice in Tanzanian secondary schools. Through this partnership, faculty and graduate students from the United States engaged in a collaborative process of piloting and revising research instruments, collecting and analyzing data, and writing and publishing book chapters and journal articles based on this research collaboration.

Much was learned through the process of conducting this dissertation study, but

many questions and avenues for future research remain. Inequitable access to material resources and socialization into academic institutions that privilege certain cultures and forms of knowledge over others inevitably tilts the power balance towards collaborators from the global North. Yet, the process of building research capacity to alter this imbalance is frequently assumed to be unidirectional and easily achieved. This research highlights the need to challenge the capacity building discourse by examining how power operates through the institutional arrangements and cultural norms that belie the simplicity espoused in extant rhetoric. The research also suggests that these relations of power can ultimately constrain the contributions of collaborators and are not easily altered.

In describing and analyzing the attempts to cultivate a robust research culture at one higher education institution in Tanzania that is undergoing significant growth but also experiences material constraints, this study documents the significant challenges to producing scholarship recognized by the international academic community that faculty in SSA frequently face. However, it also highlights the accrued benefits of collaborative research initiatives across institutions and the perceived benefits for faculty in SSA who wish to further develop their scholarship by learning the conventions of the international academic community. The study closes with a call to scholars and collaborators to continue engaging in collaborative initiatives in both thoughtful and critical manners towards the development of a more even academic terrain that enables and values the production of research by scholars from SSA.

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Appendix A:**INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR TARP PARTICIPANTS**

- How did you find out about the Teaching in Action research project?
- Why did you decide to participate in the research project? [probe for rationale – did anyone encourage you to be involved?]
- In your opinion, what was the goal of the research project as a whole?
- What was your personal goal for participating in the research project? / What did you hope to gain through your participation in the project?
- Describe your experience with research before this project. Qualitative research? [probe for difference between lectured about research and actually participating in research]
- How did this experience with research influence your approach to the research and analysis during the project?
- Before going into the schools we had a brief training on research paradigms and qualitative research methods. What do you remember from that training? [consider providing some idea prompts after they answer, particularly if they are helpful for the remaining questions]
- What did you know about qualitative research before the project? What was your opinion of qualitative research before this project? And how has your opinion changed since participating? [Do other faculty talk about qual research? Univ experience – did you read/study qual research?]
- How did the training prepare you for the remainder of the research project? What could have been discussed/addressed in general/greater detail?

- What does collaborative research mean to you?
 - o What is the value of conducting research with researchers from different countries?
- Many collaborative research projects have challenges such as lack of time, money, etc. --- connect to – What tensions [change word because of multiple meanings of ‘tension’] emerged during the research process? How were they managed or addressed, if at all?
- If we were to travel back in time and do this collaborative research project again, what changes would you make in the process [e.g., from designing the study to carrying it out to presenting and writing about it] – [connect to stages of project and ask about each after they provide initial suggestions]
- What suggestions do you have for other researchers who want to engage in international collaborations using qualitative research? [this could be in other fields]
- If you could design your own research project...what would you do, what would you research, how would you set it up? How might this project be different from a collaborative research project?
- What did you learn from being a part of the research project? This could include skills that you learned or ways of thinking about research, schooling, writing, etc.
- How has the project changed your thinking about research?
- How interested are you in conducting your own study in the future? – What kind of research do you want to conduct?

- What do you need in order to conduct this research? [i.e., skills, training, time, money, access to journals, permissions?]
- How could an international partnership help you achieve your research goals? [e.g., between universities, NGOs, MOEVT]
- Since I've been coming to MWUCE, I've noticed that the director of research and outreach position has been created. Is there a new emphasis on research conducted by faculty? Why is it important for faculty to conduct research?
- How can MWUCE support the research goals of faculty members? [if needed, How do these things specifically relate to the process of conducting research? Access to journals, professional development about research design and publishing]
- What incentives exist for faculty members in Tanzania to conduct research?
- What is the value of educational research?
 - o Why are faculty across the globe encouraged to conduct research?
 - o How important is it to you to be involved in producing new research/knowledge? [inserting their verbiage about research?] How will you achieve this?

Appendix B:

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR NON-TARP PARTICIPANTS

- What goals do you have for the future of MWUCE?
- What is needed to achieve these goals?
- Since I've been coming to MWUCE, I've noticed that the director of research and outreach position has been created, and now there is a new academic journal. Is there a new emphasis on research conducted by faculty?
- How do you envision the role of research here at MWUCE?
- Why is it important for university lecturers here to conduct research?
- What challenges do lecturers face in conducting their own research?
 - o [what would help them compete and publish in international journals?]
- What incentives exist for university lecturers in Tanzania to conduct research?
- How can MWUCE support the research goals of university lecturers? [if needed, How do these things specifically relate to the process of conducting research? Access to journals, professional development about research design and publishing]
- What is the value of educational research?
 - o Why are university lecturers across the globe encouraged to conduct research?
 - o How important is it to you to be involved in producing new research/knowledge? [inserting their verbiage about research?] How will you achieve this?

- What does collaborative research mean to you?
 - o What is the value of conducting research with researchers from different countries?
- What suggestions do you have for other researchers who want to engage in international collaborations using qualitative research? [this could be in other fields]
- What do you need in order to conduct this research? [i.e., skills, training, time, money, access to journals, permissions?]
- How could an international partnership help you achieve your research goals? [e.g., between universities, NGOs, MOEVT]
- How important is it to you to be involved in producing new research/knowledge? [inserting their verbiage about research?]

Appendix C:**RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS INTERVIEWED**

TARP Faculty Researchers

1. Allen, Lecturer at MWUCE
2. Kapuki, former Lecturer at MWUCE
3. Chane, former Tutorial Assistant at MWUCE
4. Halima, former Lecturer at MWUCE
5. Pepe, Lecturer at MWUCE
6. Jafari, former Research Coordinator at MWUCE
7. James, Lecturer at MWUCE
8. Charity, Lecturer at MWUCE
9. Maxwell, former Lecturer at MWUCE

Non-TARP Faculty

10. Afya, Lecturer at MWUCE and instructor for education research courses
11. Gheilani, Lecturer at MWUCE and current Research Coordinator
12. Maimuna, Lecturer at MWUCE and non-TARP researcher
13. Elijah, Lecturer at MWUCE

MWUCE Administration

14. Dr. Philbert Vumilia, Principal of MWUCE
15. Deputy Principal of Academic Affairs
16. Dr. Oman, Senior Lecturer at MWUCE and director of M.Ed. programme

Appendix D:

SURVEY ITEMS FOR MWUCE FACULTY

1. What is your title/position at MWUCE? _____

2. If you teach at MWUCE, what courses do you teach? _____

3. What other responsibilities do you have at MWUCE?

4. What percentage of your current work time at the university do you dedicate to the following activities:

<i>Teaching Responsibilities</i> (e.g., preparing lectures, teaching, marking papers)	____%
<i>Conducting Research</i> (e.g., designing, conducting, or analyzing your own research)	____%
<i>Administrative or service responsibilities</i> (e.g., serving on committees, community work)	____%
	= 100 %

For each statement below, circle the response that best describes your thoughts, and briefly explain your selection:

5. It is very important for me to conduct a research project of my own in the coming year.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

6. I believe all university lecturers at teacher training colleges should conduct research.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

7. I believe educational research helps to improve educational systems.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

8. University lecturers are the primary producers of new knowledge and ideas in Tanzania.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

9. I can design and conduct a research study of my own using QUANTITATIVE methods (e.g., surveys, t-tests, regressions)?

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

10. I can design and conduct a research study of my own using QUALITATIVE methods (e.g., ethnography, interviews, participant observation)?

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

11. I am able to conduct an academic literature review.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

12. I plan to publish a paper in an academic journal in the coming year.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

13. I plan to present my research at a conference in the coming year.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

14. I plan to present my research at MWUCE in the coming year.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

15. I plan to produce pamphlets or booklets about my research in the coming year.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

16. MWUCE encourages university lecturers to conduct research.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

17. MWUCE makes it possible for university lecturers to conduct research.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

Explanation: _____

Answer each question and be as detailed as possible in your response:

18. What incentives exist for you to conduct research?

19. What limits or constrains the amount of research you do?

20. What are the most important skills for good researchers to have?

21. Why is research important? What does it do?

22. If you could design a new research project, what would you research?

23. What would you need to conduct this research project?

24. Would you like to be included in future research collaborations between Mwenge and other universities?

YES

NO

25. Why, or why not?

26. What thoughts do you have about researchers from other countries who come to Tanzania to conduct research?

Appendix E:

HANDOUT FROM 2012 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH WORKSHOP

Workshop Purpose: The purpose of this workshop is to provide participants with an opportunity to discuss and engage with the assumptions, methods, and modes of data analysis associated with qualitative research. Participants are encouraged to share experiences, ask questions, and challenge one another through constructive comments that advance the knowledge of the group.

Workshop Outline:

Tuesday, June 19

- 9:00-10:30 *Session 1.1 Essential Questions:* What is qualitative research? How is it different from quantitative research? How do research paradigms influence the research process?
- 10:30-11:00 Tea
- 11:00-12:30 *Session 1.2 Essential Questions:* How do research goals and the conceptual frameworks guide our research? How do we create good research questions? How do we select research participants and a setting?
- 12:30-14:00 Lunch
- 14:00-16:00 *Session 1.3 Essential Questions:* How can we use research methods such as interviews to collect data? How do we increase the trustworthiness of data from interviews and other qualitative methods?

Thursday, June 21

- 9:00-10:30 *Session 2.1 Essential Questions:* How are observations conducted? What can I learn from my field notes? What ethical dilemmas might arise in the process of research, and what strategies can I use to deal with them? What sort of protections must we provide to people participating in studies?
- 10:30-11:00 Tea
- 11:00-12:30 *Session 2.2 Essential Questions:* How do we maintain and organize qualitative data? How do we analyze qualitative data? How do we code?
- 12:30-14:00 Lunch
- 14:00-16:00 *Session 2.3 Essential Questions:* Analysis (continued); How do we present and summarize findings? What questions do you have about qualitative research? How and where can we publish our research?