



Introduction: Challenges for Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa

PAVEL MIŠKAŘÍK

Department of Ethnology and World Studies,
University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia
pavel.miskarik@ucm.sk

Introduction

The challenges for humanities and social science research in Africa, and subsequently its products, or representations of Africans in it, are very often disused among social anthropologists, ethnologists, and many other scholars as well. It can be said that most of the challenges and problems are very well identified and described, but the same cannot be said about the prospects on how to tackle those issues. In this article we focus our attention on specific challenges identified by the author as: (1) mild international cooperation between universities and research institutes from Africa and Europe; (2) lack of available funding; (3) domination in the field by non-African scholars; (4) challenging circumstances – civil unrest in some areas; global pandemic of COVID-19; (5) changing social circumstances produced by globalization and cultural unification; (6) tendency towards undifferentiated views on Africa (often negative). This paper, and as a matter of fact this whole special issue of this journal, is an example of how some aspects of those problems were addressed namely by the department of Ethnology and World Studies of University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia; and The Centre for Social and Political Research at the Dar es Salaam University College of Education, Tanzania. I believe that those specific activities undertaken by those two institutions may serve

as an inspiration for other scholars or institutions from various countries on how to address those issues; and may contribute to general improvement to the situation of this discipline; or may intensify and uplift the international cooperation in the discipline; and help with the refinement of its outputs.

Main challenges for humanities and social science in Africa

The relation of humanities and social science of Africa is rather difficult one. It must be acknowledged that there are some sources which contain materials about African people and societies coming from various sources, some of which are even older than those disciplines. But the fields of humanities and social science about Africa and in Africa, such as we understand them today were to a large extent affected by Europeans. Those difficulties stem from objectionable relation of Europe and Africa in history. Both disciplines were for a long time negatively affected by the relations between those two domains. Without any questions slave trade, imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, even though some of those practices were used before the disciplines were even established, affected them by a large margin. The types of relations between Europe and Africa led to formation of so called "scientific" theories of racism or social evolution and resulted in the attitudes such as ethnocentrism and paternalism. Even though those theories and attitudes have been unequivocally refuted for several decades, they still affect the discipline even into the present day. Because of the fact that those issues were already discussed by a number of scholars (Grinker, Steiner 2010; Meredith 2011; Mudimbe 1988; Rodney 1972; Trnovec 2019; Tymowski 2009) and because of the limited scope of this paper, they will not be discussed in detail.¹ There is also another reason for this decision, since there are many more recent problems which humanities and social sciences are facing in the present, our attention will be focused more on those specific issues.

As a matter of fact, some of those problems were already identified by various authors in a few scholarly works. Some of them only identify specific challenges faced by those disciplines, other go a bit further by providing the reader with the

¹ This is just a selection of some of the most influential works illustrating this situation, however, there are many more publications addressing this issue, but for the purpose of this paper, this list should be sufficient.

propositions about actions which should be taken to further improve the general quality and inclusiveness of those disciplines.

By further analysis of selected articles which are trying to address those issues, it is interesting to see how different authors identified various problems which they decided to address, and how the attention of scholars has been shifting throughout the different times.

For instance, the paper *The Evolution of Social Science in Africa Problems and Prospects* by Abdalla S. Bujra and Thandika Mkandawire (Bujra, Mkandawire 1980) is focused mostly on the evolution of social science in Africa, and it makes use of historical perspective to address this issue. The second part of the paper is concerned mostly with the post-colonial period while the authors examine mostly inherited institutions and the development of institutions and structures of social science research in Africa during that time. In the last part of the paper, the author offers some suggestions concerning the prospects for future development of the discipline in Africa, among which probably the most important is the creation of more institutions with sufficient funding, by which the representation of authors of African origin in social sciences about Africa will be increased.

The second selected paper, *Problems and Prospects of the Social Science in Africa* by Thandika Mkandawire (Mkandawire 1989) is also greatly concerned about historical context of the discipline. In this article author claims that the two most compelling problems which social science in Africa is facing are a relative newness of an indigenous social science in Africa and dramatic changes in the environment of social science in general, in Africa and global changes in the environment (political, natural, economic, social, etc.) which are affecting the social sciences of Africa. Even though the author also utilizes historical perspective in this article, the shift in attention from the history into the more up-to-date problems, can be seen in this article.

This shift of attention in the themes which were concerning scholars who were trying to improve the situation in social sciences of Africa is even more evident in more recent publications, such as for instance *Research Issues in the Humanities and Social Science in Africa in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities* by Kgomo H. Moahi (Moahi 2010). Among the challenges identified by Moahi are the lack of funding for the research, the lack of time for the research due to teaching loads and administration faced by the scholars and continued marginalization of social science and humanity research. For his argument Moahi uses his personal

experience from the University of Botswana. Moahi argues that improvement of the discipline can be achieved by more intensive collaboration and partnerships among the social scientists within Africa, and by the internationalization of the discipline and increase in the number of interdisciplinary research.

Johann Mouton's *The State of Social Science in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Mouton 2010) focuses its attention mostly on the trends in research outputs of social science from Africa. Mouton cites some very interesting works providing hard data to support his argument, among which the most comprehensive is probably *Africa's Contribution to the Worldwide Research Literature: New Analytical Perspectives, Trends, and Performance Indicators* (Tijssen 2007) by Robert Tijssen. Tijssen claims that the share of world's science production of sub-Saharan Africa dropped from 1% in 1987 to 0,7% in 1996. It is interesting because overall number of databased social science and humanities research outputs in sub-Saharan Africa is increasing, but because the number of outputs has grown even more significantly worldwide, therefore the result is an overall decrease in percental representation of African based scholars. Another challenging aspect of social science of Africa identified in this text is the number of universities, research institutes and centres in Africa. Mouton argues that the number of the institutes is low, and some of them do not have continuous funding, which can be seen as one of the contributing factors to overall decline of the number of outputs produced by African social science scholars. Further in the text Mouton discusses the models of knowledge production, funding of the research or main themes reoccurring in the research. Mouton concludes that the increasing of capacity of universities and research institution and economical improvement of their situation may help with the tackling of the brain drain problem in Africa. This may result in more inclusive version of social science of Africa.

The latest paper to be examined closely is Mattias Basedau's *Rethinking African Studies: Four Challenges and the Case for Comparative African Studies* (Basedau 2020). Basedau very clearly identifies the four main challenges which African Studies² are facing:

² The main concern of the field of African studies is continent's culture and societies, including history, politics, demography, culture, languages, economy, and religion; so, in this regard it can be perceived as a part of a larger cluster of social sciences of Africa.

1. *research on Africa is strongly dominated by outside, non-African, mostly Western views,*
2. *there is a tendency towards undifferentiated views on "Africa," which usually concentrate on negative aspects, overlooking progress in many areas,*
3. *methodologies that focus on causal identification are rarely used; and*
4. *the field focuses on micro-perspectives while few works examine the big picture and the longue durée (Basedau 2020, 194).*

Basedau provides very interesting data to support his arguments. For instance, the domination of non-African authors in this field of study is confirmed by the analysis of authorship in three leading journals on African studies for years 2019-2020, namely *African Affairs*, *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, and *Africa Spectrum*. Between 2019 and 2020, only 18.18% of articles in *African Affairs* were written by authors based in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* have even fewer contributing authors based in Africa, namely 4.17%. The biggest representation of African based scholars from this period, 33.33%, could be found in *Africa Spectrum*. In total the representation of African based authors in those three journals only accounts for 13.64%. Basedau also tries to identify some of the causes, such as the fact that most of the universities in Africa do not have a tenure track that require publications from employees, or that the funding for research is very difficult to get. The second cause identified by the Basedau involves the tendencies among some authors to focus their attention on individual actors, parties, countries, or regions which are facing some problems, and the tendency to generalize their findings onto Africa as a whole, which is creating negative stereotypes. Because of this tendency progress and positive aspects of African reality, such as increase in income or life expectancy or decrease in infant mortality, etc., are often neglected. According to Basedau, the third challenge is the fact, that in social science it is very difficult to identify causation of certain phenomenon which is not surprising because of the nature of the discipline and the type of research it uses. One of the possible solutions to this problem may be the utilization of specific quantitative methods, such as process-tracing, sequential nested research design, or comparative research design. The fourth cause is also supported by the hard evidence, while the sample is the same as with the first one. Among the journals examined in selected period, 85% of all papers are case studies and only 21% of authors consider period of more than ten years. To tackle this problem, cooperation among scholars from different fields of study and of different origin is necessary.

Despite some differences between main challenges recognized by the authors, many similarities can be identified. Based on those correlations and owing to my personal experience as a social scientist focused on Africa, I will outline six main challenges, which the African social science is currently facing, and which can be addressed by a specific form of action. In my opinion those challenges are:

1. Mild international cooperation between universities and research institutes from Africa and Europe
2. Lack of available funding
3. Domination of the field by non-African scholars
4. Challenging circumstances – civil unrest in some areas; global pandemic of COVID-19
5. changing social circumstances produced by globalization and cultural unification.
6. Tendency towards undifferentiated views on Africa (often negative)

I would like to point out, that the sequence of those points does not reflect the notional importance of each point. The order is arbitrary and is affected more by my intentions to gradually reassess each point in the following paragraph.

How to overcome selected challenges for social science in Africa

Even though some scholars focus their attention on identifying the problems faced by social sciences and humanities of Africa, and even though they often provide the reader with the proposal for improvement, it can also be said that they lack concrete examples from practice how to implement those proposals. I firmly believe that this article will be a different one, because instead of proposing the action, we will focus on already preformed activities, which we take to tackle those issues. In previous section we identified some of the relevant challenges which need to be addressed.

The first point is “mild international cooperation between universities and research institutes from Africa and Europe”. The reasons for the lack of cooperation are numerous, such as relative distance between two continents and some of its countries especially, relatively short period of time during which universities and research institutions were active, but probably the most importantly the lack of funding. This last problem is also recognized by the European Union. For this specific

reason, the special program for mobilities of staff and students, named Erasmus+ KA 171, has in recent years prioritized especially the countries from sub-Saharan Africa. The department of Ethnology and World Studies of University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius (UCM) in Trnava (Slovakia) managed to secure funding through this program (apart from universities in other parts of the world) with the Mount Kenya University (MKU)³ from Kenya and managed to prolong its contract and cooperation through the same platform with the Dar es Salaam University (UDSM)⁴ in Tanzania. Because the cooperation between UCM and MKU is relatively new as of writing of this article, I will focus my attention solely on the cooperation between UCM and UDSM. Thanks to this cooperation, several mobilities already took place. In the first phase of the cooperation, the scheme was used mainly to networking of the researchers from those workplaces. Emília Bihariová (2015; 2016), our tragically deceased colleague, used this network to carry out her research focused on Datoga community in Tanzania. As a result of her tragic death, her project was interrupted and both departments had to find new possibilities to take full advantage of the program. After negotiations with the UDSM, an idea was suggested to host an international workshop to strengthen the future cooperation between the departments. This idea came into fruition on 29th of September 2021. The workshop was named *Challenges for Social Science in Africa and Humanities and Social Science Research during COVID-19 Pandemic*. It was hosted by UDSM (namely the The Centre for Social and Political Research at the Dar es Salaam University College of Education) and it took place in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The workshop was co-organized by scholars from UCM, and it was broadcasted online and available to students, scholars, and general public. This brief section of activities illustrates how some of the cooperation can be established and nourished and with the right attitude, some academic fruits can be achieved.

The second point, “lack of available funding,” is interrelated with the first one, and the program of Erasmus+ KA 171 can be perceived as one of the first steps to secure funding of especially initial phases of cooperation between universities in Africa and the European Union. There are many other possibilities how to fund research in Africa, however, most of them are regionally or, more specifically, nationally bound. Based on my personal experience with the Slovak grant schemes, it is often very

³ Erasmus + 022-1-SK01-KA171-HED-000069533

⁴ Erasmus+ 2019-1-SK01-KA107-060402; 2020-1-SK01-KA107-077790

difficult to include some foreign institutions in the grant, let alone the research institutions and universities from Africa. It is also important to point out that the funding for the projects is very limited and possibilities to secure funding for the project are therefore low. This problem was also addressed in the meetings between representatives from UCM and UDSM, and during the aforementioned workshop, especially by the opening speakers, prof. Katarina Slobodová Nováková, then the dean of the Faculty of Arts of UCM; and prof. Stephen Oswald Maluka, the principal of The Dar es Salaam University College of Education. Those opening speeches focus their attention apart from other relevant problems on this issue as well. But it is also important to acknowledge, that despite those specific activities by those two institutions, in general it still proves to be a very difficult challenge to tackle.

My third identified challenge for social science in Africa outlined above is “domination of the field by non-African scholars”. As mentioned above, it is very often in journals based outside of Africa to publish papers mostly by the scholars from outside of Africa. In many cases, this is not a pure intention of those journals or publishers. I believe that most often it is a result of the fact that the journals are based abroad, and the papers submitted to the journals are most often submitted by the scholars of the institutions which are publishing those journals and their professional network of contacts. This fact only highlights the importance of the first point which we discussed above. Improvement of the cooperation between departments and universities from Africa and Europe can help to address this issue. For this reason, the editors of this very journal decided to publish a special journal issue containing mostly papers written by participants of the aforementioned workshop. This means that the five out of the seven articles in this issue are written by the authors from Africa. We will discuss the content of those articles in following sentences.

The fourth identified challenge is “challenging circumstances – civil unrest in some areas; global pandemic of COVID-19”. Some of the articles published in this issue are directly responding to one of the challenging circumstances, which in great deal affected the research in social science and humanities mostly between 2020 - 2022. Namely it is Amani Lusekelo's *Framing of COVID-19 News in Font-Page Headlines of Standard (Hardcore) Swahili Newspapers in Tanzania*. This paper analyses how the words themselves are affecting the way in which we understand the COVID-19 pandemic. In the paper, Lusekelo analyses the way how the pandemic was represented in the headlines of three major newspapers circulating in Tanzania, namely Habarileo, Mwananchi and Uhuru. Lusekelo argues that contrary to the findings of some other scholars, Tanzanians were taking the pandemic seriously

even during the rule of President John Magufuli. He claims that the existence of specific connotative strategies of communication surrounding the pandemic is a proof of this. Hija Alfani Urassa's paper named *COVID-19 Control: Challenges and Responses of Muslims in Tanzania* analyses the ways in which Muslim community in Tanzania responded to the pandemic and the ways in which the community helped with the adherence of Muslims to control measures installed by the government of Tanzania, despite the fact that some of those measures directly and arguably negatively affected some of the religious practices of the group, such as prayers (*Salah*) or fasting during the Ramadan. Urassa argues that the positive role played by the Islamic religion in tackling the pandemic justifies the importance of involving faith-based communities in solving this problem. The third paper addressing this issue was written by Amani Lusekelo, Chrispina Alphonse and Onesmo Nyinondi, and it is called *The Language of the Public Spaces in Tanzanian Universities during the COVID-19 Pandemic*. It analyses the ways in which messages concerning the spread of COVID-19, made by the Central Government of Tanzania, were presented at the universities in Tanzania. The authors argue that even though in this sector of society, English words used to be commonly used to share similar types of the messages in the past, in the case of COVID-19, the messages in signposts at universities in Tanzania used mostly Kiswahili language. Despite the fact those articles address very specific problems, it can be said that social scientists in Africa are also rapidly adapting to challenging circumstances which are affecting not only the social science, but as a matter of fact are faced by the society. The article written by Josefína Kuřová and Kateřina Mildnerová called *Co-productive Strategies and Grassroots Responses to COVID-19 Pandemic in Urban Settings of Zambia* was not presented during the aforementioned international workshop but was included in this issue since it also discusses the pandemic of COVID-19, just like most of the articles presented in this issue. This article explains how religious representatives affected the way in which the pandemic was perceived by the local people from Zambia. It is interesting to see the interplay between the locally produced explanation about the nature of the virus and vaccine with the global hoaxes.

The fifth challenge was labelled "changing social circumstances produced by globalization and cultural unification." As a result of globalization and other so-called modernisation projects, the diversity of cultures and their specific manifestations are on the decline. This situation is probably more worrying for traditional ethnographers and ethnologists who focus their attention mostly on describing the specific forms of cultures, but it must be acknowledged by the social sciences and humanities as well.

This process underlines the fluidity of the culture and its tendency to constantly develop and respond to environmental stimuli. This nature of the culture may be seen as challenging, but it also offers researchers probably never-ending possibilities to study those processes and specific responses of certain communities or cultures to them. I think that the other two articles in this issue are examples of this exact phenomena. Stephano Lazaro Ayo's *Failure of Ujamaa in Modernising Wataturu Community in Igunga from Early 1970s to the Mid of 1980s* describes the response of Wataturu community (a segment of large Datooga ethnic cluster) to so-called policy of *Ujamaa*. This socio-economic policy was inspired by the ideas of socialism, adapted to African conditions and its main goal was to resettle the segments of populations into newly established villages or cities, which were meant to be participating on collective production. This scheme was applied between 1967 and the mid-1980s. The Wataturu community did not comply with this program. Most of the scholars who previously described this issue focused their attention on the failure of the program, its economic consequences, land disputes or social unrest resulting from unsuccessful implementation. Ayo argues that the socio-cultural setup of the community is not described in those accounts in detail, even though it was probably the most important factor contributing to Waataturu resilience towards this program. Kerindo Abeid Sumara's paper *The "Nets and Anchors" on the Indian Community in Mwanza City, Tanzania: Ethnographic Challenges and Encounters* describes the difficulties encountered by Sumara in his ethnographic research on Indian community living in Mwanza City. The most difficult challenge for the author to tackle was a utilization of social distancing because of prevention from the COVID-19 pandemic, but also the neglect of the community to speak with the stranger or initial fears to share the information with the outsider. This fact stems from the recent history of the community, which results in certain attitudes towards "outsiders".

The last challenge identified in this paper is "Tendency towards undifferentiated views on Africa (often negative)". I probably do not need to point the finger on many scholars who focus their attention primarily on negative aspects of the social life in Africa. However, it is important to point out that those types of studies are very important and can be very helpful for the prevention of for instance civil unrests, wars, or some cultural practices, which prove to be very dangerous to the health and well-being of people who undertake them (such as female circumcision). But it is also very important to acknowledge some progress made in Africa, or, even more interestingly, to shed a new light on some practices which may be seen as cruel by some outsiders. Such an article will be published in the next issue of this journal. It

was written by Hosiana Abrahamu and is called *Infanticide: A Survival Strategy among the Gweno People during the Early Colonial Period in Tanganyika*. This paper, as its name suggest, tries mainly to reconstruct the reasons why this practice was exercised by the Gweno People who inhabit the Kilimanjaro region in northern Tanzania. Abrahamu argues that infanticide practices served as a socio-political, economic, and cultural survival strategy for them, and they were used most often during the times in which the existence of the whole group was in jeopardy. Apart of this whole article focused on this specific problem, it can also be said that all the articles present in this special issue are in one way or another tackling this challenge, even though indirectly. They do not tend to create negative stereotypes about Africa, and they are very precise in addressing selected issues.

Conclusion

I believe that most of the readers will agree with the assertion that the humanities and social sciences, like culture itself, are inherently dynamic. And the same can be said about the challenges faced by those fields of study. Because of this, I firmly believe, that it is important to re-evaluate which of the challenges have been overcome, which are still relevant, and which are new. Identifying the problem is however only the first step in the long process of addressing those issues. The positive action aimed to address those issues is arguably even more important.

This special issue of *Ethnologia Actualis* consists mostly of the papers presented during the joint international workshop called *Challenges for Social Science in Africa and Humanities and Social Science Research during COVID-19 Pandemic* organized by UCM and UDSM. Because five articles out of seven in this issue are written by African authors, the representation of African scholars in the research focused on Africa is increased. Since the workshop was organized in September 2021, during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, most of the articles published in this issue are directly or indirectly addressing this problem. Some of the articles are more concerned with the specific effects of the pandemic on culture, other address this issue as a form of a challenge which faced by social sciences. It can also be said that those challenges are bringing opportunities for a new topic which needs to be addressed by scholars. The changing social circumstances identified as one of the challenges for social sciences can be also seen as an opportunity, because their by-products are new topics which can be discussed by social scientists, as was mentioned in the previous paragraph. Even though only one of the articles was used

as an example of how to overcome “tendency towards undifferentiated views on Africa (often negative),” it can be said that all of the articles presented in this special issue are examples on how to avoid this tendency in one way or another. Because of this, it can be said that thanks to the cooperation between UCM and UDSM this special issue and articles themselves are examples on how some of the problems which our field of study is facing can be addressed.

It must be said that the impact of those actions is limited but they should not be underestimated. The limited effects of them are a result of the fact that those actions originate from individual actors and departments in which they work at, with very limited systematic support for them. Despite those facts, I believe that this issue will prove that the determination of some individual actors can be effective and can serve as an example for others, so it is important in its own regard. I believe that by following this example or by creating even more effective forms of action or by gaining more of a systematic support for this field of the study some of those challenges can be overcome. But as I mentioned earlier, because of the very nature of the discipline or its subject of study, there will almost certainly be some new challenges, which we will need to address in the future.

References Cited

Basedau, Mathias. 2020. “Rethinking African Studies: Four Challenges and the Case for Comparative African Studies.” *Africa Spectrum* 55 (2): 194-206.

Bihariová, Emília. 2015. “We Don’t Need No Education. A Case Study About Pastoral Datoga Girls in Tanzania.” *Ethnologia Actualis* 15 (2): 30-45.

Bihariová, Emília. 2016. “Avoiding Christianity - A weapon in educating 'savage' pastoralists: A case study of nilotic Buradiga in Tanzania.” *Asian and African Studies* 25 (1): 85-105.

Burja, Abdalla S., and Thandika Mkandawire. 1980. “The Evolution of Social Science in Africa Problems and Prospects.” *Africa Development* 5 (4): 21-40.

Grinker, Roy and Christopher B. Steiner. 2010. *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Meredith, Martin. 2011. *The state of Africa. A history of the continent since independence*. New York: Simon & Schuster Press.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 1989. "Problems and Prospects of the Social Science in Africa." *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* 5 (1): 1-17.

Moahi, Kgomotso H. 2010. "Research Issues in the Humanities and Social Science in Africa in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities." *Inkanyiso: Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2 (2): 78-85.

Mouton, Johann. 2010. "The State of Social Science in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *World Social Science Report 2010*, edited by International Social Science Council, 1-43. Knowledge Divides: Background Paper.

Mudinbe, V. Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Rodney, Walter. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Tijssen, Robert. 2007. "Africa's Contribution to the Worldwide Research Literature: New Analytical Perspectives, Trends, and Performance Indicators." *Scientometrics* 71 (2): 303-327.

Trovec, Silvester. 2019. *The Conquest of the African Mind: History, Colonial Racism, and Education in Senegal and French West Africa, 1910-1945*. Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press.

Tymowski, Michal. 2009. *The origins and structures of political institutions in pre-colonial Black Africa*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Pavel MIŠKAŘÍK is a social anthropologist working as a researcher and lecturer at the Department of Ethnology and World Studies at the University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, Slovakia, where he received his MA and PhD. In 2018, he also studied at the Department of Sociology, Andragogy and Cultural Anthropology at Palacký University in Olomouc. He teaches mostly African culture, history and religion. His research focuses on the processes of identity-making, nationalism, and historical revisionism, mostly in the region of South Africa. He also published several articles about specific groups of people from Namibia, which were raised in Czechoslovakia between 1985 – 1991, about historical revisionism in Namibia, religion or identity such as *Different paths towards identity in Africa* (2021), „SWAPO“ *Version of History in Namibia* (2019), *The Narrative Construction of Identity among Namibian Czechs* (2019) and more. He carried out two extensive field works in Namibia in 2017 and 2018. He also participated in the exchange programs with University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Institute for African Studies in Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany; or Mount Kenya University, Kenya.

