

University of Alberta

**Towards a Critical Colonial Analysis of the Crisis in Higher Education
in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of the University of Zimbabwe**

by

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents.

ABSTRACT

The dawn of independence in Zimbabwe in 1980 was received with high hopes and expectations by the people but after twenty years of black majority rule, the crisis of the post-colonial condition, well documented in other African countries began to be repeated in Zimbabwe. After experimenting with Western projects of development and neoliberal globalization, Zimbabwe, and specifically higher education institutions such as the University of Zimbabwe became embroiled in a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. The purpose of this study was to explore and understand how the processes of ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberal globalization have contributed towards the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. The study also sought to elaborate on some possible responses to the crisis in higher education, especially in relation to necessary and renewed policy directions.

A critical interpretive study of the University of Zimbabwe, informed by critical colonial theoretical perspectives, was undertaken to explore the crisis based upon the views of twenty participants including students, faculty members, administrators and a government official. Purposive sampling was used to select participants who were engaged in semi-structured audio-taped interviews. Documents about higher education (ministry, university and student union) were consulted to gain insight into the crisis. Contextual observations and participant observations at meetings also informed the research. Data were analyzed using the method of constant comparative analysis.

The study reveals that ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism is exerted through the centralized power invested in the vice-chancellor's office and the

subsequent random use of campus and state security forces against students and faculty. Privatization of amenities and dollarization were observed to be the two main neoliberal policy measures contributing towards the crisis at the institution. High levels of student poverty, massive faculty exodus from the institution and violence characterized the impact of ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberal globalization. The study demonstrated how ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberal globalization are contributing towards the crisis at the institution and recolonizing the people of Zimbabwe. The conclusions derived from this research, though specific to the University of Zimbabwe, have implications for other institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe and in other African countries experiencing similar challenges.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Higher education in Zimbabwe is in a state of crisis by any standards. Although it is generally acknowledged that countries in the global South are going through socio-economic challenges because of the prevailing neoliberal economic world order that operates to the advantage of the developed countries of the global North, the situation in Zimbabwe is unique when compared to other countries in the region. The governing Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) party's brand of nationalism and the interventions of neoliberal globalization have been instrumental in contributing to the crisis in the country while promoting questionable policies in higher education.

My experience as a student and a lecturer in Zimbabwe, together with the educational experience I have had in Canada, informs my understanding of the challenges Zimbabweans have been facing. The 1990s were years of promise and hope but the adoption of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and nationalist/nativist policies by the government marked the beginning of crisis in the country and in higher education. Zimbabwe is embroiled in a paradox in that it is governed by a political party that labels itself revolutionary, nationalist and committed to the interests of peasants while simultaneously embracing neoliberalism and "a free market system."

When the ZANU PF leader, President Robert Mugabe, criticized Britain

and the West for imperialist interference in the affairs of Zimbabwe, he became a torch bearer for the decolonization of Africa to many Africans and other formerly colonized people. But a closer look at more recent ZANU PF policies at the turn of the century might suggest that they are characterized by racism/tribalism (ethnicity) and an intolerance that characterizes one of the most violent and dictatorial regimes in Africa (Blair, 2002; Bratton & Masunungure, 2008). Furthermore, the decision to follow free market reforms framed within a policy of indigenization has turned out to be a vehicle to empower and enrich the party's top brass and notable supporters (Cross, 2011; Matshazi, 2011; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). Thus while most progressive organizations and movements in the South would like to see an end to neoliberal policies, ZANU PF is demanding access to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank credit lines (Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Eppel, Ndlela, Raftopoulos & Rupiya, 2009).

With the government facing challenges and growing unpopularity, the critical voice from the academy has been labelled as the voice of the opposition and dissident academics are portrayed as agents of the West, aiding and seeking regime change. The resultant politicization of the university has meant that academic freedom is severely curtailed. For instance, the law governing universities gives government, through the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education control over the running of the institutions and according to Cheater, "the Minister's involvement in choosing the nominees of the organizations represented on Council, the reduction of the university's autonomy and its conversion into a politically-controlled university comparable to a secondary

school” (1991, p. 202), are indicative of the trend warmly embraced by ZANU PF and the economic ambitions of its top rank and file is witnessing what Yash

Tandon terms kleptocratic capitalism:

a system of economic production and exchange, the creation of fictitious wealth without going through production of real wealth and political governance controlled by ‘looters and daytime robbers’. It is rent seeking ... within each nation by the rich economic and power elite. This creates at the opposite polar end the dispossession and disempowerment of the masses of the people (Tandon, 2011, p. 6).

Mugabe’s leftist nationalism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a), radical and exhausted nationalism (Raftopoulos, 2003) also characterised as dictatorial power grab nationalism (Meredith, 2007) is seen by some to be at the centre of the crisis in the country and in higher education.

In addition to the terror of Mugabe’s authoritarian nationalism, the introduction of a fee paying policy in universities together with the privatization of basic amenities such as accommodation and food catering have brought untold suffering to students, the majority of whom are of rural peasant and working class parentage. Studies have shown that students are finding it difficult to pay for university education (Makoni, 2007). Another worrying trend is that students are being forced to seek alternative accommodation as the college authorities cannot reopen the halls of residences citing water shortages (The Sunday Mail, 2009).

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

Given these observations, it can be discerned that since 2000 Zimbabwe

has been experiencing a social, political and economic crisis. Faced with increasing opposition, the ruling ZANU PF party has adopted ultra-nationalist policies and introduced policies aimed at silencing critics and controlling the nation. Higher education institutions, especially universities, were singled out as areas where firm government control had to be instituted and policies were introduced to achieve this aim despite to the opposition of students, faculty and other members of the university community. Higher education institutions have become breeding grounds for government opposition with students leading the campaign on behalf of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party. Neoliberal policies adopted by the government to guide the affairs of higher education have compounded the crisis.

This research set out to explore and understand how the processes of ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberal globalization contributed towards the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. More specifically, the research questions that guided the study were as follows:

1. How does ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism contribute towards the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe?
2. How does neoliberal globalization contribute towards crisis in higher education?
3. What is the relationship between ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberal globalization? How do these combined trajectories contribute towards crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe?
4. What are some possible responses to the crisis?

- a) What are the propositions of the student movement/leaders?
- b) What are the propositions of University professors, administrators, and government leaders?

5. What are some possible policy responses to the crisis in higher education?

Significance of the Research

The current challenges facing the global South regions have demonstrated the need for people from these regions to find their own solutions to the problems they encounter as opposed to adopting the Euro-American bloc's development and modernization programmes. With global neoliberal economic programmes having been discredited beyond redemption (Amin, 2011, Levidow, 2005, McLaren & Jaramillo, 2005, Mignolo, 2000, Quijano, 2007), there is a general call for indigenous home grown solutions to the challenges bedeviling countries such as Zimbabwe. This research is part of this endeavour. It is an attempt at the "restitution of subaltern knowledge" and can also be described as "an insurrection of subjugated knowledges" (Mignolo, 2000, p. ix). Taking a page from Mignolo:

My concern is to underscore the point that colonial and postcolonial discourse is not just a new field of study or a gold mine for extracting new riches but the condition of possibility for constructing new loci of enunciation as well as for reflecting that academic knowledge and understanding should be complemented with learning from those who are living in and thinking from colonial and postcolonial legacies (2000, p. 5).

Africans in Southern Africa are mostly categorised as Bantu and their outlook towards life is generally guided by the traditional philosophy of unhu/ubuntu

(Makuvaza, 1998) which advocates for “interdependence of persons for the exercise, development, and fulfillment of their potential to be both individuals and community” (Battle, 2009, p. 3). Eventually “the individual identity is replaced with the larger societal identity within the individual and collective unity will see to every person’s survival” (Shizha, 2009, p. 144). This study attempts to give space to the idea of unhu/ubuntu and possibly develop it as “one of the answers to contemporary economic fundamentalism in the form of globalization” (Ramose, 2003, p. 627) and to ZANU PF’s authoritarian nationalism.

The research also is a way of answering Chinua Achebe’s call, that to redress the inequities of global oppression, writers must focus on where they come from and that to imitate the literature of another culture is to give power away (Achebe, 2000). Such a view is corroborated by other African scholars such as wa Thiong'o (2008; 2009) and Edward Shizha who strongly advocate for indigenous knowledge to be given space if any meaningful learning and development is to take place in Africa (Shizha, 2011). As Sindane (cited in Venter) observed, “the greatest strength of unhu/ubuntu is that it is indigenous, a purely African philosophy of life (2004, p. 152). The challenge I face as a Zimbabwean is to search for a creative way forward that requires its own theorizing. In this philosophy of unhu/ubuntu lies rich and fertile grounds for relevant home grown ideas or theories to move Zimbabwe forward. This realization makes this study a contribution to what Bhabha described as “the unanswered call for development as freedom” (Fanon, 1963, xxvii). In this way this study attempts to join a more global conversation regarding human futures; a

conversation that honours traditional wisdoms and refuses the fantasies of both unfettered liberalism and Afro-radicalism.

As a product and employee of Zimbabwe's higher education system, this study was my opportunity to contribute to the various efforts being exercised by the people of Zimbabwe to find solutions to the problems in higher education and in the country. It is my hope that the participants in this research and the readers of the final publication will be made aware of the part being played by neoliberal globalization and ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism with respect to the crisis in universities. This is a kind of silent academic activism aiming for a transformative outcome (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005) and a first step towards forms of political action that can redress the injustices found (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) at the University of Zimbabwe and in higher education in the country.

The detailed description of the disruption of higher education marks a genuine contribution to the understanding of higher education issues in Africa and other formerly colonized countries. A lot has been written on such countries as Malawi, South Africa and Kenya (Wangenge-Ouma, 2007; 2008). This study on Zimbabwe's higher education augments other case studies of higher education in the global South.

The research is a contribution towards critical colonial research and literature pertaining to Zimbabwe, Africa and other contexts (Abdi, Pupilampu & Dei, 2006; Cannella & Lincoln, 2009; Dei, 2010a; Escobar, 2004; Fanon, 1963; Grosfoguel, 2005; Kapoor, 2011; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Makumbe, 2002; Mignolo, 2000; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a; 2009b; Phimister, 2006; Quijano, 2000;

Raftopoulos, 2003; 2004; 2006). Students and lecturers have become victims of the crisis in higher education. Some have been beaten, expelled and jailed. This study attempts to document and expose some of these oppressive acts. In a small way it is responding to Fanon's appeal more than four decades ago; "For us who are determined to break the back of colonialism, our historic mission is to authorize every revolt, every desperate act and every attack aborted or drowned in blood" (Fanon, 1963, p. 146).

Most studies on Zimbabwe tend to either support ZANU PF nationalism and criticize the West and neoliberal globalization (Mahoso, 2003; Mamdani, 2008; Moyo & Yeros, 2007; Nherera, 2005; Wafawarova, 2010) or adopt Western informed human rights approaches (neoliberal) against ZANU PF (Cheater, 1991; Eppel et al., 2009; Makumbe, 2002; Ranger, 2004). This research, on the other hand, analyzes the mutual role of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberal globalization in understanding the crisis in higher education.

Limitations and Delimitations

The focus of this study was on understanding the crisis condition of higher education in Zimbabwe through a case study of the University of Zimbabwe. Other public and private universities were not included in the study and this subsequently limits the applicability of the findings of the research. The research was restricted to the use of semi-structured interviews, observations and document analysis as methods of data collection as I did not have the necessary financial resources and time to utilize more methods and this also prevented involving more universities and participants. Neither was the study intended to analyze the

views of the general students and faculty body but involved mostly their leaders. Only twenty individuals were involved limiting the implications of the findings to those were not politically active.

The richness of the insights developed through this study depended on the willingness of participants to share controversial views in a difficult political climate. Government officials and university administrators tended to present official positions and not their personal observations. The fact that I was carrying out this research as a student of a university in Canada, a country that is considered by Mugabe as part of the racist white Commonwealth (Raftopoulos, 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a) made some suspicious of my intentions. This was exemplified by the refusal of the government undersecretary to be recorded as well as the reluctance of one of the Deans and some female students to be interviewed. Also, there was no guarantee that my past relations with the institution as a student and lecturer were going to help me gain the trust of the participants. However, my “nativeness” to the research site at times worked to my advantage as in terms of gaining access to interviewing faculty and administrators as well as in terms of helping to interview conversations. Participants were assured of anonymity. As a researcher, I emphasized anonymity of participants throughout the research process. It was hoped that the use of semi-structured interview questions was going to encourage participants to focus on their experiences or views of the situation in higher education. Despite these measures, perhaps participants were not completely free to share their analysis.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the study by briefly describing the situation in higher education in Zimbabwe, more specifically at the University of Zimbabwe. After providing this background, the research purpose and questions were defined and an attempt was made to establish the significance of the study. This was followed by a brief discussion of the limitations and delimitations. The next chapter discusses the literature dealing with ZANU PF nationalism, neoliberal globalization and the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

In this chapter literature concerning Zimbabwe and formal higher education since its inception during the colonial Rhodesian period up to today is reviewed. The various periods in Zimbabwe's historical development are chronologically considered and in the process the evolution of higher education is examined. The Afro-radicalist and nativist paradigm being practised in Zimbabwe is exposed and its origins explained. The chapter also addresses the influence of neoliberal globalization on Zimbabwe's higher education system. The emphasis was placed on these literatures because they help to frame and contextualize the main assumptions of this study expressed in the adoption of critical colonial theoretical perspective that has guided this endeavour. The perspective is introduced as the final section in this chapter.

Pre-independence Zimbabwe

Four major Bantu kingdoms dominated the country before the coming of the Europeans. The Kingdom of Mapungubwe was the first and it traded in gold, ivory and copper for cloth and glass with the Portuguese (Mudenge, 1988). From about 1250 until 1450, Mapungubwe was eclipsed by the Kingdom of Zimbabwe. This Shona state further refined and expanded upon Mapungubwe's stone architecture, which survives to this day at the ruins of the kingdom's capital of Great Zimbabwe (Mudenge, 1988; Pikirayi, 2004) near the city of Masvingo.

From around 1450–1760, Zimbabwe gave way to the Kingdom of Mutapa. This Shona state ruled much of the area that is known as Zimbabwe today and was renowned for its gold trade routes with Arabs and the Portuguese. However, Portuguese settlers destroyed the trade and began a series of wars which left the empire in near collapse in the early 17th century (Beach, 1980; Mudenge, 1988). As a direct response to Portuguese aggression in the interior, a new Shona state emerged called the Rozvi Empire. Relying on centuries of military, political and religious development, the Rozvi (which means "destroyers") removed the Portuguese from the Zimbabwe plateau by force of arms (Beach, 1980; Chigwedere, 1980). The Rozvi continued the stone building traditions of the Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe kingdoms while adding guns to its arsenal and developing a professional army to protect its trade routes and conquests.

In 1834, the Ndebele people arrived from modern day South Africa while fleeing from the Zulu under Shaka, making the area their new empire of Matabeleland (Beach, 1974; 1980). In 1837–38, the Rozvi Empire along with other Shona states were conquered by the Ndebele and forced to pay tribute. The coming of the Ndebele changed the ethnic composition of the country, and up to the present day, ethnic divisions and disagreements can be discerned between the Shona and the Ndebele.

In the 1880s, the British arrived with Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company. In 1888, British colonialist Cecil Rhodes obtained a concession for mining rights from King Lobengula of the Ndebele peoples. Cecil Rhodes presented this concession to persuade the government of the United Kingdom to

grant a royal charter to his British South Africa Company over Matabeleland, and its subject states such as Mashonaland (Leys, 1959). Cecil Rhodes promoted the colonization of the region's land, with British control over labour as well as precious metals and other mineral resources. As noted by Atkinson (1972) and Beach (1974) in 1895 the BSAC adopted the name Rhodesia for the territory of Zambesia, in honour of Cecil Rhodes. In 1898 Southern Rhodesia became the official denotation for the region south of the Zambezi (Atkinson, 1972) which later became Zimbabwe.

The Shona staged unsuccessful revolts (known as Chimurenga) against encroachment upon their lands, by clients of BSAC and Cecil Rhodes in 1896 and 1897 (Beach, 1980). Following the failed insurrections of 1896–97 the Ndebele and Shona groups became subject to Rhodes's administration thus precipitating European settlement en masse which led to land distribution disproportionately favouring Europeans, displacing the Shona, Ndebele, and other indigenous peoples. This also marked the beginning of the undermining of indigenous living styles and philosophy, especially unhu/ubuntu. This invasion was mainly perpetuated by the missionaries who described Bantu traditional and cultural ideas as barbaric (Battle, 2009). The philosophy of unhu/ubuntu was also undermined through economic designs by successive colonial governments, and this was achieved mainly through depriving Africans of their land. As will be demonstrated below, the land issue would develop to become the biggest grievance of the Africans against colonial rule, an issue that was well exploited by ZANU PF during the war of independence and in independent Zimbabwe in order

to gain and retain power.

Southern Rhodesia became a self-governing British colony in October 1923, subsequent to a 1922 referendum. Rhodesians served on behalf of the United Kingdom during World War II, mainly in the East African Campaign against Axis forces in Italian East Africa (Atkinson, 1972; Leys, 1959). In 1953, in the face of African opposition, Britain consolidated the two colonies of Rhodesia with Nyasaland (now Malawi) in the ill-fated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which was dominated by Southern Rhodesia. Growing African nationalism and general dissent, particularly in Nyasaland, admonished Britain to dissolve the Union in 1963, forming three colonies. As colonial rule was ending throughout the continent and as African-majority governments assumed control in neighbouring Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland, the white-minority Rhodesian government led by Ian Smith made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from the United Kingdom on 11 November 1965 (McDougal & Reisman, 1968). The United Kingdom deemed this an act of rebellion, but did not re-establish control by force. The white-minority government declared itself a "republic" in 1970, which was recognized only by South Africa, then governed by an apartheid administration. Rhodesia survived because of apartheid South Africa's support, the same would be repeated when the ANC government weighed its support behind Mugabe four decades later. A liberation war ensued, with Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and Robert Mugabe's ZANU getting assistance from the governments of Zambia and Mozambique and other southern African states. Although Smith's declaration was not recognized by the United Kingdom nor any

other significant power, Southern Rhodesia dropped the designation “Southern” and claimed nation status as the Republic of Rhodesia in 1970 (Kapungu, 1974).

After the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), the British government requested United Nations economic sanctions against Rhodesia as negotiations with the Smith administration in 1966 and 1968 ended in stalemate (McDougal & Reisman, 1968). Over the years, guerrilla fighting against Smith's UDI government intensified. As a result, the Smith government opened negotiations with the leaders of the Patriotic Fronts-Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo.

Following the fifth Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), held in Lusaka, Zambia from 1–7 August 1979, the British government invited Muzorewa and the leaders of the Patriotic Front to participate in constitutional conference at Lancaster House (Eppel, et al, 2009). The purpose of the conference was to discuss and reach agreement on the terms of an independence constitution and that elections should be supervised under British authority to enable Rhodesia to proceed to legal independence and the parties to settle their differences by political means. On 1 December 1979, delegations from the British and Rhodesian governments and the Patriotic Front signed the Lancaster House Agreement, ending the war (Meredith, 2007). In the elections of February 1980, Mugabe and his ZANU PF won a landslide victory. Elections in 1985 and March 1990 resulted in other victories for Mugabe and his party, culminating in Mugabe's consolidation as the autocratic leader of Zimbabwe. All

of these elections were tainted by violence, most of it practiced by Mugabe's supporters against their opponents (Makumbe, 2002). Election observers estimated voter turnout at only 54% and found the campaigns neither free nor fair.

Post-independence Zimbabwe

Like most governments in the global South, Zimbabwe adopted structural adjustment programs in 1991 and the economy began to shrink and the population started to be restless (Nherera, 2005). The land issue, which ZANU PF had promised to solve, re-emerged as the main issue for the ruling party beginning in 1999. Many have pointed out that it was Mugabe's last card for political survival (Meredith, 2007; Raftopoulos, 2006; 2003). Mugabe began to redistribute land to the indigenous blacks in 2000 much to the joy of the beneficiaries. On 29 March 2008, Zimbabwe held a presidential election along with a parliamentary election. The three major candidates were Robert Mugabe of the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T), and Athur Mutambara of the breakaway MDC faction (Eppel et al., 2009). The results of this election were withheld for four weeks, following which it was generally acknowledged that the MDC had achieved a significant majority of seats. However, Mugabe retained control because Tsvangirai did not win by the margin required by Zimbabwean law. Hence, the election results that would have otherwise put Mugabe out of power, failed the opposition. Mugabe remained in power but no foreign country recognized him. It was only after forming a unity government with the opposition that the government became internationally recognized. This

led to teething economic problems with the country facing a record inflation rate of 231 150 888.87% in 2008 (Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, 2009). Zimbabwe's problems reached crisis proportions in the areas of living standards, public health (with a major cholera outbreak in December of 2009), education and various public considerations. In September 2008, a power-sharing agreement was reached between Mugabe and Tsvangirai, in which Mugabe remained president and Tsvangirai became Prime Minister (Eppel et al., 2009).

ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism.

One of the central features of the Zimbabwean crisis, as it has unfolded from the late 1990s has been the emergence of a revived nationalism delivered in a particularly virulent form, with race as an ideological policing agent in the public debate. ZANU PF cannot be separated from its leader, Robert Mugabe. Mugabe has been at the helm of this party since 1977 and when giving accounts of ZANU PF or Zimbabwe for that matter, many accounts understandably are about Mugabe and reactions to his policies. The ZANU PF government has monopolised the national media and other institutions such as universities to develop an intellectual and cultural strategy that has resulted in a persistent bombardment of the populace with a regular and repeated series of messages (Chitando, 2005). Moreover, this strategy has been located within a particular historical discourse around national liberation and redemption, which has also sought to capture a broader pan Africanist and anti-imperialist audience (Raftopoulos, 2004). A key tenet of this liberative thinking, which Ndlovu-Ngatsheni (2009a) calls Mugabeism, has been the reawakening of the

Zimbabwean nation from the colonial nightmare into a more essentialist African consciousness, as defined by ZANU PF. As one media ideologue of ZANU PF expressed it, “right now we are destroyed spiritually. We are suffering from what psychologists call somnambulism. We are really sleepwalking, walking corpses, zombies... We are carrying other people’s world view” (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 10).

In articulating this ideological strategy, the ruling party has drawn on deep historical hatred of colonial and racial subjugation in Zimbabwe, Southern Africa and Africa more generally. As was noted by Raftopoulos, “the Mugabe message is no mere case of peddling a particular form of false consciousness, but carries a broader and often visceral resonance, even as it draws criticisms for the coercive forms of its mobilisation” (2004, p. 161). Through the use of national institutions, specifically the media and education the ruling party has been able to saturate the public sphere with its ideology and importantly to monopolise the flow of information to the majority of the people. Through this control of national institutions the idea of the nation being conveyed is one that is racist. A report on the ways in which Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) delivered views on the nation in 2002, concluded that:

ZBC’s conceptualisation of “nation” was simplistic. It was based on race: The White and Black race. Based on those terms, the world was reduced to two nations – the White nation and the Black nation and these stood as mortal rivals. The Black nation was called Africa. Whites were presented as Europeans who could only belong to Europe just as Africa was for

Africans and Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 4).

As Raftopoulos (2004) noted ZBC's definition of a nation is captured in the same report as showing that:

Blackness or Africanness was given as the cardinal element to the definition. The exclusion of other races deliberately or otherwise from the "African" nation was an attempt to present Africans as having a separate and completely exclusive humanity to any other race (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 5).

A number of intellectuals from the University of Zimbabwe, who are close to the ruling ZANU PF party participated in a prime time programme called "National Ethos" and one of them proclaimed:

Since the value system of the Europeans, of the White man, of the Rhodesian in Zimbabwe, is exclusive, it is racist, it does not have any place for us ... we should come up with this kind of ethos: Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans, Africa for Africans, Europe for Europeans. This is the starting point because that's what they do (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 8).

Citizenship became re-defined in nativist terms that excluded white races as Mugabe proclaimed "Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans" ideology. In an interview with Christine Amanpour on CNN, Robert Mugabe reiterated his government's seemingly racialist policy:

Zimbabwe belongs to the Zimbabweans, pure and simple, ... white

Zimbabweans, even those born in the country with legal ownership of their land, have a debt to pay. They are British settlers, citizens by colonization (Amanpour, 2009).

Articulating the philosophy behind nativist and Afro-radical discourses, Mbembe wrote:

Nativist and Afro-radical discourses of the self are both projects of self-regeneration, self-knowledge, and self-rule. Self-knowledge and self-rule are justified in the name of autochthony. According to the argument of autochthony, each spatio-racial formation has its own culture, its own historicity, its own way of being, and its own relationship with the future and with the past. Each has, as it were, its own certificate of origin and its own telos. In all cases, the idea is that the encounter between Africa and the West resulted in a deep wound: a wound that cannot heal until the ex-colonised rediscover their own being and their own past (2002, p. 635).

This view echoed Mugabe's attack on British Prime Minister, Tony Blair at the Earth Summit in Johannesburg in 2002 when he said, "So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe", and later repeated in South Africa in April 2004, "And that's why I told him that he can keep his England... Yes we keep our own Zimbabwe close to the bosom, very close (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a, p. 1139). In the words of one of the party intellectuals, "You must understand that as Zimbabweans and as Africans ... we are trying to come up with one thinking, one vision of survival as a race because we are attacked as a race" (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 8).

For the Mugabe regime the emergence of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 was a manifestation of foreign British and white influence in Zimbabwean politics. This construction of the opposition thus placed them outside of a legitimate national narrative, and thrust it into the territory of an alien, un-African and treasonous force that justified the coercive use of the state in order to contain and destroy such a force. Mugabe's description of the MDC aptly captures this characterisation of the opposition:

The MDC should never be judged or characterised by its black trade union face; by its youthful student face; by its salaried black suburban junior professionals; never by its rough and violent high-density lumpen elements. It is much deeper than these human superficialities; for it is immovably and implacably moored in the colonial yesteryear and embraces wittingly or unwittingly the repulsive ideology of return to white settler rule. MDC is as old and as strong as the forces that control it; that converge on it and control it; that drive and direct; indeed that support, sponsor and spot it. It is a counter-revolutionary Trojan horse contrived and nurtured by the very inimical forces that enslaved and oppressed our people yesterday (Mugabe, 2001, p. 88).

The opposition having been located as an alien political force, the full coercive force of the state was brought to bear on those regarded as “unpatriotic” and “puppets of the West.” Deploying elements of the police, the intelligence service, the army, the war veterans, party supporters and the youth militia, the ruling party has inflicted enormous damage on the opposition and their sympathisers. This

ruling party violence unleashed against the MDC was accompanied by Mugabe's formal renunciation of the policy of reconciliation towards the white community that his government had adopted in 1980. In 2002, in response to the white support for the opposition, he declared:

We extended a hand of reconciliation to people like Ian Smith and said that if you want to stay in this country and obey our laws under Black majority rule with you coming under them, stay. Was that right or wrong? I think that today at conscience I say on behalf of the party we made a mistake. When you forgive those who do not accept forgiveness, when you show mercy to those who are hardhearted, when you show non-racialism to die-hard racists; when you show a people with a culture – false culture of superiority based on their skin – and you do nothing to get them to change their personality, their perceptions, their mind, you are acting as a fool (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 9).

Commentators on the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, building on this position, denounced those Zimbabweans who voted for the MDC as badly raised children who had strayed outside of “our world view”:

The problem is very fundamental, and that is upbringing... Our children, who vote against their own heritage, who vote against their own people, who vote together with whites, who fight on the side of whites, they don't know the difference between the White man's world view and our world view, the White man's agenda and our agenda (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002, p. 11).

Aside from the white population, urban residents and university faculty and students have been major targets of the ruling party's coercive and ideological attacks, because of their dominant support for the opposition. To Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009b) these developments in Zimbabwe compel one to rethink the direction of the national project in decolonized Africa and the changing deployments and articulations of nationalism not only as a state ideology but also as a popular imaginary open to manipulation by the elites. Johnson (2005) noted that for the new African elites nationalism galvanised their push for embourgeoisement through increasing demands on the decolonized state for capital and resource accumulation. Others see leaders like Robert Mugabe as having deployed Afro-radicalism and nativism as part of taking the "decolonisation struggle to the further level of economic liberation from the snares of neo-colonialism" (Osaghae, 2005, p. 1). ZANU-PF and Mugabe took bold revolutionary action to complete an unfinished business of land distribution (Hammar, Raftopoulos, & Jensen, 2003). This was evidenced by ZANU PF's adoption of what it called the Third Chimurenga. The Third Chimurenga (The third war of liberation, the first being the 1896-97 war between Rhodes's BSAC and the Shona and Ndebele indigenous people of Zimbabwe, the second being the liberation struggle of the 1970s that led to independence in 1980) became one way of re-launching the liberation struggle in the direction of achievement of redistributive justice and indigenisation of the economy (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009b; Raftopoulos, 2004; Moyo & Yeros, 2007). The Third Chimurenga was explained and justified by Mugabe in the following words:

We are now talking about the conquest of conquest, the prevailing sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe over settler minority rule and all it stood for including the possession of our land ... Power to the people must now be followed by land to the people (The Herald, 6 December 2005).

The Third Chimurenga became a terrain for the revival of the tradition of national liberation in Zimbabwe and the increasing verbal and physical attack on all other political forces operating outside ZANU-PF as a front for the re-colonisation of the country. Universities, especially students were at the forefront in opposing ZANU PF and were consequently labelled reactionary elements. The beginning of the 2000s witnessed a particularly frenzied re-creation of the liberation discourse in very narrow xenophobic, racist and nativist terms ranged against whites and those belonging to the MDC which was seen as a front for colonialism. A large section of emerging black/national bourgeoisie, frustrated by the slow pace of embourgeoisement, aligned to ZANU-PF. Some sections of the academic fraternity, war veterans, ex-detainees and unemployed youth combined to support the Third Chimurenga with its nativist claims and its hostility towards whites.

ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and control of higher education.

Robert Mugabe and his ZANU PF party consider themselves to be in a war situation, The Third Chimurenga. The hyper-nationalist agenda the government is pursuing demands a united nation to face “white imperialists” from the West. Government expectations of universities are for the highest institutions to offer the intellectual support and give credence to this “liberative” project. To attain this African (Zimbabwean) reclamation or rehabilitation and renaissance,

expansion in higher education was embarked upon to accommodate as many people as possible. In 1980, there was only one university, the University of Zimbabwe with a student population of 2,240 (Nherera, 2005). Currently there are nine public universities with a total of 55,548 students, using 2007 enrolment statistics (Southern African Regional Universities Association, 2009). This expansion has been quantitative and the qualitative dimension has been ignored or cannot be attained under the circumstances. With the neoliberal doctrine from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund dictating to the indebted governments to reduce higher education funding, and the absence of corporate funding, and thus undercapitalization, commentators have pointed out that the adoption of structural adjustment programmes from the World Bank and IMF marked the death of developmental nationalism. Developmental nationalism was tailored to make improvements for the majority of the people but this threatened international capital. McMurtry (2002) argues that the socialist nature of developmental nationalism threatened global capitalism and he cites the bombing of Yugoslavia by the USA and its allies in 1999 as an example.

With reference to Africa and Zimbabwe in particular Desai explained the failure of developmental nationalism in terms of its “acquiescence to capital and withdrawal of capital” (2008, p. 654). Unable to deliver on material promises, having lost its previous popular appeal and pushed into the defensive by global pressures for democracy, African nationalism fell into cultural nationalism and nativism as a way to compensate for crisis and decline. The process Desai is describing was Zimbabwe’s experience with structural adjustment programs. The

impact of this has been the gross underfunding of universities leading to mass movement of faculty to other countries, particularly to South Africa and Botswana where conditions are far much better. Most of the scholars captured in this presentation are Zimbabweans who are writing from outside the country. Some of the new universities do not have staff at the grade of professorship except the vice and pro-vice chancellors. The natural sciences and business fields have been hard hit and most universities make use of teaching assistants with just first degree qualifications (Makombe, 2009). They are supposed to operate under experienced professors but in some instances they are found in charge of courses. Due to the high demand for university education caused by natural population increase and qualification inflation in the country, most universities have introduced graduate programmes. It is common to find holders of a master's degree teaching graduate courses. Statistics show that close to 3.5 million people have left Zimbabwe since 2000 when the economy went into decline and political persecution heightened and out of these 500,000 are skilled professionals, who given the right environment, would prefer to return home (O'Dea, 2006). The Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education has since formed the Brain Drain and Human Capital Mobilisation Committee whose mandate is to deal with the issue of skills shortages wrought about by the brain drain (Council for Assisting Refugee Academics, 2010; Jongwe, 2009). As part of this brief, the committee is tasked with exploring various ways in which, this brain drain can be turned into a brain gain. The goal of the committee is to keep more professionals here while reaping the benefits of expatriate Zimbabweans. At independence such similar shortage of

teaching staff was alleviated by bringing in expatriates, but today Zimbabwe is a pariah society and very unattractive even to its own citizens, let alone to foreigners.

The problem of inadequate teaching staff has led to available lecturers having huge teaching loads and having to teach all the year round without a break. Since the introduction of parallel programmes, almost all the universities have programmes running throughout the year, in some cases including evenings and weekends. University vacations have been made to coincide with school holidays so as to allow school teachers enrolled in the parallel or part-time programmes to attend lectures. The only time some lecturers have a break is when universities are forced to close due to strikes by students or industrial action by staff. These have been very frequent in recent years (Makombe, 2009; Megan, 2006). Such closures are usually followed by crash programmes to make up for the lost time and money. The Great Zimbabwe University calendar for 2009 has three “semesters.” Midlands State University students complained of not holding tutorials and being starved of lectures by being constantly referred to the internet for more information (Makoni, 2007). Under such stressful circumstances, and the large numbers involved, many cases of plagiarism go unnoticed and students engaging the services of others for a payment make the quality issue even worse. Similar issues of quality were noted in Kenya where cases of students taking previous research projects and slightly altering the titles and changing names, then presenting the projects as their original work were reported (Wangenge-Ouma, 2008).

Besides the poor economy and the consequent depressing conditions, academics have faced persecution from Mugabe's increasingly dictatorial government. The role of the government in the running of the university was spelt out and confirmed by the 1990 bill. Faculty members at that time, as cited by Cheater tried to oppose the law and the Association of University Teachers released a press statement:

We reject the central intention of the Bill, which is to impose direct political control over the University: to transform it from an autonomous institution of learning into a state university. Given the dominance of a single party in the Government, the University could effectively become ... merely a party university (p. 204).

It should be pointed out that at independence in 1980 Mugabe, addressing a conference on the role of the university in Zimbabwe said, "To paraphrase that famous aphorism about generals and war: higher education is too important a business to be left entirely to deans, professors, lecturers and University administrators" (Chideya et al., 1981, p. 6). This showed academic freedom was not going to be respected and Mugabe's administration has been relentless and consistent.

The denial of academic freedom in Zimbabwe should be understood in the context of "official nationalism" as it was practised in Russia where it involved "the imposition of cultural homogeneity from the top, through state action" (Ozkirimli, 2005, p. 16). Its genealogy can be traced to the 1960's when ZANU PF was formed, an era characterized by European colonial dictatorship, and later

the failure of the party to transform itself from a liberation war movement into a governing political party. In an attempt to instil patriotism among the youth there has been pressure exerted on education institutions to teach what ZANU PF calls patriotic history whose rationale is to ward off Western criticism and protect national independence and sovereignty. According to Sikhumbuzo Ndiweni, ZANU-PF Information and Publicity Secretary for Bulawayo, “the mistake the ruling party made was to allow colleges and universities to be turned into anti-Government mentality factories” (Ranger, 2004, p. 218). Such ideas are premised on the fact that the opposition parties in Zimbabwe, such as the MDC, have former student leaders and faculty members among their ranks. And by being universities, the nature of their business involves critiquing their society. Krigger (2006) observed that historians in Zimbabwe have deplored how the ruling party, ZANU PF, has been propagating a distorted version of the history of the nationalist struggle to legitimate its violent confiscation of land and repression of the opposition since 2000. Ranger further noted that;

In the History Department ... Some of the senior academics, whose example had been so important, have left or are leaving for universities elsewhere. Much of this is the result of Zimbabwe’s dire crisis, which affects academics in all subjects. But there is a particular challenge for academic historians. There has arisen a new variety of historiography.... This goes under the name of ‘patriotic history’. It is different from and narrower than the old nationalist historiography, which celebrated aspiration and modernisation as well as resistance. It resents the ‘disloyal’

questions raised by historians of nationalism. It regards as irrelevant any history that is not political. And it is explicitly antagonistic to academic historiography (2004, p. 218).

Universities are faced with a paranoid dictatorship, which defines every episode in its history as a war against the West. Western neo-liberal globalization, much criticised and condemned in the South, has become cannon fodder on which ZANU PF feeds on. Sloppy post-colonial theorists see Mugabe as an example of a pan-Africanist, an indomitable “lion” that possesses the temerity to name Western oppression and empower Africans by dispossessing European farmers of the land they held since colonial times. But the suffering that the ordinary Zimbabweans go through is ignored and all blame is heaped on the West. Within such an intimidating atmosphere, it is difficult to find any scholarship that is critical of the government. Those that have openly criticised ZANU PF, for example, John Makumbe and Takavafira Zhou (Wafawarova, 2010), have been labelled enemies of the state and have faced persecution in the form of arrests while those who praise the government are found sitting on various boards of parastatals (state companies) and have become commercial farmers. The net result of all this has been a decline in the standing of university education. Academic staff are being victimised and this coupled with poor funding as neo-liberal globalization causes havoc, have indeed placed Zimbabwe’s universities in a crisis.

The University of Zimbabwe in post-independent Zimbabwe.

The University of Zimbabwe has its origins rooted in the colonial era when it was the University of Rhodesia. It is the biggest institution of higher education in Zimbabwe and is situated in Harare, the country's capital city. Historically, Atkinson (1972), Gaidzanwa (1993) and Mackenzie (1987) concur that the major proportion of funding the costs of building the University College was met by the British government. The British government did not support the racialist policies of the Whites in Southern Rhodesia and without the provision that the college would be a non-racial institution, "it is unlikely that Britain would have agreed to contribute one million four hundred pounds" (MacKenzie, 1987, p. 62). Some tend to argue that had the issue been left to the discretion of Southern Rhodesian whites, the divisions prevalent at primary and secondary school levels might well have been promoted at the University College. Article IV of the University Royal Charter made clear the non-racial stance of the institution:

No test of religious belief or profession or race, nationality or class shall be imposed upon or required of any person in order to entitle him to be admitted as a member, professor, teacher or student of the University College, or to hold office therein or any advantage or privilege thereof (Atkinson, 1972, p. 152; MacKenzie, 1987, p. 62).

The implication of Article IV should not be underestimated. Southern Rhodesian society and administration were under White rule and the Southern Rhodesian educational system was clearly stratified along racial lines. Yet the Charter now established an institution whose fundamental principle of non-racialism ran quite

contrary to the prevailing social and educational circumstances of the nation.

There was certainly a strong liberal element in the white community and, to them, the University constituted a genuine attempt at integration and racial harmony.

However, other quarters of white community strongly objected to the presence of a racially mixed institution in their midst.

Others saw the university as not only a part of white Rhodesian society, but actually as there to assist the Smith regime. The University's integration into Rhodesian society was seen not only in its employment of cheap black labour, but more particularly in internal policy. It was keyed to the production of graduates who preserved and maintained the regime of the white settlers (Zvobgo, 1997; MacKenzie, 1987). The Rhodesian government of Ian Smith looked to the University as a crucial source of high level manpower. And the University did not fail them, as it provided a constant stream of well-trained graduates and diplomats in most of the professional, commercial and industrial areas vital to the survival of White Rhodesian society.

While it seems fair to say that the University must have assisted the Smith regime's efforts to survive, it would seem equally just to claim that its long term and more important impact on the emerging nation of Zimbabwe cannot be ignored. Most of Zimbabwe's leaders, both in politics and the socio-economic sectors of the country, passed through the University of Rhodesia. However, critics such as Zimbabwe's first minister of education, Dzingai Mutumbuka, criticised the University and claimed that;

This University was originally begun, not so much to service the

manpower needs of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as it was then, but as a show piece. It was supposed to be an island where black and white could mix. The University has always been isolated from the reality of the environment in which it was cast (MacKenzie, 1987, p. 68).

Because of such perceptions, at independence in 1980, the University of Rhodesia was a condemned institution. Its elitist outlook and association with the middle and upper classes in the country had to change in line with the new political dispensation that had been ushered in Zimbabwe.

Independence came as a result of a protracted brutal racial war, with Whites fighting to maintain the social, economic and political status quo which entrenched their privileges and supremacy over Blacks, and Blacks wanting to redress the situation. Although the new government of Robert Mugabe advocated a Marxist socialist ideology, in practice Blacks fought for such issues as desegregation of residential areas, access to schools and hospitals, access to commercial land, goods and services hitherto reserved for whites only, and a common desegregated franchise (Maravanyika, 1990; Zvobgo, 1994). Public higher education was made free, with the public purse covering tuition and students' living allowances, pedagogical and research infrastructure, buildings and staff costs. The rationale for state subsidization of higher education, especially tuition, was based, inter alia, on the country's desire to create highly trained person power that could replace the departing colonial administrators, and also to ensure equity of access (Gwarinda, 1985; Zvobgo, 1986). In the welfare-dominated post-colonial period, it was argued that unless the state subsidised the

highly expensive higher education system, many students would be unable to benefit from it (Chisvo, 1993; MacKenzie, 1987), and that formation of person power would be compromised. Free provision was therefore seen as the surest way for the state to guarantee equality of opportunity, a key promise to the people during the war of independence.

Politically, ZANU PF and Robert Mugabe were strong and secure. There was practically no political opposition in Zimbabwe, especially after ZANU PF united with the largely regional Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) in 1987 (Bond & Manyanya, 2003). Civic organizations were non-existent or not influential while labour unions, like the powerful Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) were part of ZANU PF. Internationally, even in the West; Mugabe was a darling and was honoured by some Western universities with honorary degrees, for example, the University of Edinburgh and Massachusetts University (Rogers, 2007; Romano, 2008). Mugabe's views were largely accepted without questioning and criticizing his government was seen as reactionary and Rhodesian. Robert Mugabe, then Prime Minister described the university as "a mere carbon copy of alien institutions" (Mugabe, 1981, p. 5). This was reference to the University of Rhodesia's affiliation to the University of London and the medical school's affiliation to the University of Birmingham Medical School (Kamba, 1981, p. 57). Along the same line, Dzingai Mutumbuka, the then education minister in the new Zimbabwe government accused the University of Rhodesia for assisting the Smith regime in its fight for survival (MacKenzie, 1987).

Thus there was a debate around the role of higher education in Zimbabwe, a role which had to be different from what it was during the Rhodesian days. However, Robert Mugabe had the last word in terms of the place of higher education as seen by his new administration. In an opening speech to a conference on the role of the university and its future in Zimbabwe, Mugabe made it clear that university business was not the concern of academics only; his government had a significant stake. From then it was evident that any talk of academic freedom by the university was not going to be recognized and this perception has not changed three decades since Mugabe's pronouncement. Government funding has resulted in government involvement and control. Robert Mugabe is the chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe and he appoints vice-chancellors. This is a situation some are not comfortable with. One of the administrators I interviewed had this to say about this situation:

In the administration the ruling party has a very strong or absolute say. The president appoints vice chancellors who will not work at cross purposes with the chancellor/president of the country. The top five university posts are appointed by the president's office. An effort is made to have their names cleared by the president's office. This may not be a healthy situation; you may end up with people who confirm with policies that are not for the good of society. I remember former vice chancellor Walter Kamba resigned over government interference (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

Similar sentiments were raised way back in 1981 by faculty members who tried to

oppose laws that gave the government control of the university and the Association of University Teachers (AUT) released a press statement that rejected the intention of the amendments to the University of Zimbabwe Act which was to impose direct political over the university.

A number of studies strongly suggest the loss of academic freedom at the University of Zimbabwe because of government interference. According to the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU):

As government tightens its grip on students to avoid their possible activism, students have lost several of their liberties, especially the freedoms of association, assembly and expression because of POSA (Public Order and Security Act) and AIPPA (Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act). For example, campus security guards reportedly harass any student they see associating with Mr. Bere, the Students Representative Council President, because of his activism. The powers that campus security guards have assumed to discretionally assault the very students they previously guarded has left students appearing like high school students (Makoni, 2007, p. 30).

Along the same lines other studies have documented the restrictions that have been imposed on students and faculty (Ranger, 2004). Government and the ruling party view the situation differently and students and lecturers are accused of taking advantage of academic autonomy to work with foreigners to bring about regime change in the country.

Student activism: Response to authoritarianism.

Like in most other African countries during the period of European rule, student political activity mirrored the racial terrain that characterized the nature of the Zimbabwean (then Rhodesia) colonial society. Black African students at the University of Rhodesia, who were a minority, tended to support the African nationalists political movements that were waging a liberation war mainly from Mozambique and Zambia, and widely supported by other Southern African independent countries. The Rhodesian government wanted to portray the University of Rhodesia as a multi-racial institution, a non-racial island of learning (Gelfand, 1978; Mungazi, 1992; Zeilig, 2007; Zvobgo, 1986), and to a certain extent this appeared correct in the 1970s when both white and black students revolted against proposed constitutional amendments that aimed at indefinitely postponing black majority rule (Zeilig, 2007; Zvobgo, 1986). This was evidence that student politics mirrored the wider Africa nationalist movement in the country. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) expected students to play an obedient role in the struggle, “being part of the revolutionary movement you are to ... be directed by it”, and there was no space for an “independent line” (Cefkin, 1975, p. 149). Though university students did lead important struggles at the university, notably the Chimukwembe also known as the Pots and Pans demonstration of 3 August 1973 against attempts to separate races at the university by the Rhodesian Front regime (Tengende, 1994; Zeilig, 2007), they were generally a peripheral constituency in the struggle for independence. The struggle for independence was dominated by those in exile and in the rural areas,

and students and other fellow urbanites were not part of the nucleus of this widely supported war.

Thus student politics during the Rhodesian days were subordinate to and rotated around the national liberation struggle. Besides joining the liberation struggle by going into exile, student activism was generally ineffective as students failed to develop a clear political strategy that linked the rural struggle to an urban political mobilization, in the townships, factories and at the university (Cefkin, 1975). Student activists were ultimately paralysed by this failure, and their uncritical engagement in the nationalist movement gave them no alternative but to decamp from the university into exile and the guerrilla struggle, and not to the black townships or factories. The divisions that characterized the liberation movements, predominantly Shona ZANU PF and Ndebele ZAPU were also found at the University of Zimbabwe (Mungazi, 1992) and the formation of the National Union of Rhodesian Students was an attempt to end these ethnic divisions (Zeilig, 2007). Because of this preoccupation with national politics, students did not engage in bread and butter issues, did not identify with the underpaid poor workers in the high density suburbs/townships but concentrated on anti-colonial efforts to end British colonial domination.

The euphoria of independence in 1980 saw students generally being supportive of the widely popular government of the then Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Zeilig (2006; 2007) describe student politics during this period as state privileged activism. During these days students at the University of Zimbabwe demonstrated in support of the government after the death of President Samora

Machel of Mozambique, in support of Mugabe's drive to return his party to the leadership code and against foreign embassies (representing "imperialists"). However, immediately after in 1988 students would organize a demonstration that would mark a seemingly permanent divorce between the government and the students. As Zeilig explained,

In October 1989 Mutambara was arrested with fellow student leader Munyaradzi Gwisai, for organising a demonstration that had compared the regime with the apartheid government across the border. Student leaders were thrown into the maximum security prison Chikurubi. There was general outrage. Morgan Tsvangirai, the young leader of the ZCTU, issued a denunciation of the arrests and the victimisation of students. His act of solidarity was rewarded with imprisonment. The student movement had become the seed bed for an emergent civil society. By 1990 Zimbabwe was permanently changed and ZANU-PF had become the sullied party of liberation. Students had, to a large extent, pierced the regime's aura of invincibility, and other groups emerged to voice their own grievances. As Tendai Biti – a leading activist at the time – argues: "It was the first time people criticised the legitimacy of these heroes. It showed you can make noise and not get killed" (2006, p. 96).

The adoption of IMF and World Bank structural adjustment reforms at the beginning of the 1990s brought economic challenges to university students as government reduced its funding support and the rise of the student union as a critic of the government commenced. The 1990s marked the transformation of

students from being Mugabe's committed revolutionaries to an irritating oppositional force (Chikwanha, 2009; Federici, 2000; Zeilig, 2007). Students would be found joining forces with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions to successfully oppose President Mugabe's ambition of establishing a one-party state (Bratton & Masunungure, 2008; Raftopoulos, 2003; 2006; Sithole, 2001) and later with the coming aboard of the National Constitutional Assembly, to successfully campaign against the 2000 constitution and the formation of the formidable Movement for Democratic Change party (Bond, 2001; Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Chimankire, 2009; Danzereau, 2005; Zeilig, 2008). Thus the student movement in Zimbabwe had undergone some metamorphosis, from concerns around elitist and egocentric demands of higher payouts from the government and administrative complaints against their institutions, to national demands that echoed the challenges and expectations of their largely peasant and underpaid civil servants parents. The students started to raise and protest perceived injustices in the Zimbabwean polity, their focus had migrated away from their university.

Quality of university education.

Globalization has affected Zimbabwean epistemology in various ways. According to Smith (2006) one pedagogical creative response has been the opening up of possibilities of deconstructing economic theory, that is, neo-liberalism as a driver of Western interests. Unfortunately this has been overdone. Not only do Zimbabwean scholars in universities fear to write critically on Zimbabwe, but many have since left the country, leaving universities with less qualified faculty. For some time there has been polarization, within the world of

African studies between those advocating what are called “internalist” explanations of Africa's problems and those who continue to favour “externalist” explanations (Kitching, 2000). But in Zimbabwe seeking internal explanations can lead to imprisonment as you are labelled reactionary, unpatriotic and a puppet of the West.

There is ample evidence from Africa and Zimbabwe that although the political elites change their social composition, their economically and politically destructive behaviour remain the same. This shows that there are broader social or cultural factors continually making for, and reinforcing, this behaviour (Epprecht, 2003). It should be asked what it is about the history and culture of sub-Saharan Africa, and Zimbabwe in particular, that has led to its disastrous present. Since independence most of these countries have been stumbling from one crisis into another. According to Kitching (2000) the fact that scholars have sometimes been complicit by legitimizing abusive and corrupt elites on the continent is an undeniable part of this history that needs to be explored. Scholars’ work should be compassionate and identify with the suffering silent majority Zimbabweans. By reducing scholarly open-mindedness, the situation in higher education, particularly universities in Zimbabwe today decreases chances of illuminating this phenomenon. Blaming evades the whole problem. The quick fix, a search for a simple causal connection (always blaming Britain and Europeans) leading to an agent to be blamed, is contrary to the spirit of scholarship. The problem of decolonized Zimbabwe is treated by the majority of scholars, especially in humanities, as an extension of or continuation of the problem of the colonial

(Moyo & Yeros, 2007; Nherera, 2005). The moral and political challenge of decolonized society is subordinated to or situated within a modernity whose character is largely causally attributed to colonial intervention (Burke, 2003). Postcolonial misrule is not commonly regarded as an analytic question which poses a distinctive set of issues, or which lies on one side of an important break or cleavage from the colonial. It is a lesser evil despite the spread of diseases, wars, hunger, and corruption. The appearance of a new enemy, in the form of neo-liberal ideology has provided African leaders like Robert Mugabe, an excuse and rallying platform, for a nationalist ideology with no bread and butter objectives (Bond, 2001; Bond & Manyanya, 2003).

Regional solidarity and crisis in higher education.

Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) evolved from a grouping that called itself the Frontline States and these were countries that surrounded not yet independent countries in Southern Africa and these were then Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia) and South Africa. In 1980 the regional countries transformed their organisation to SADC and the main objective was to unite against apartheid South Africa and help blacks there gain independence. Today SADC is made up of Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe went through armed struggles to obtain independence from their European colonial masters. In all these countries the

former liberation movements are in government and nowhere have they lost elections except in Zimbabwe. The former liberation movements belong to a conference of liberation movements which meets annually and its stated objective is to defend their nations' independence and spearhead national development as was envisaged when they fought for independence (Phimister, 2006). Zimbabwe owes its political independence to Mozambique and Zambia among other countries (Meredith, 2007). However, it was from Zambia and Mozambique that the war was launched. It should also be noted that when Zimbabwe got its independence Mozambique got involved in a civil war when Samora Machel's Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) government fought Alfonso Dhlakama's National Resistance Movement of Mozambique (RENAMO). Mugabe sent soldiers to help Mozambique and managed to end the civil war. And when Rwanda and Uganda sponsored rebels attacked Kabila's government in the Congo, again Mugabe sent the Zimbabwean army to successfully defend the government of the Congo (Bond & Manyanya, 2003). Zimbabwe was also heavily involved in the liberation of Namibia and the end of apartheid in South Africa.

This illustration shows that President Mugabe has blood and soil friends in the region and they see him as a hero in the advancement of African interests against Western imperialist ambitions. The rebels in Mozambique and the Congo had public Western sympathy. As was noted by Melber (2008), Namibian government's policy was an increasingly passive but nonetheless reliable support factor for the Mugabe regime and its efforts to remain in power. For the party and its government, ZANU PF remains the only acceptable political partner in

Zimbabwe. It was against this policy that in 2007 the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Namibia cancelled a lecture that was to be given by John Makumbe, a prominent critic of the government of Zimbabwe and a faculty member from the University of Zimbabwe. Equally vocal has been the support of South Africa's governing party, the African National Congress. At the December 2009 ZANU PF national congress, the ANC delegate, Sexwale said:

It is ZANU PF that supported all of us in the Southern African region to have the freedom we enjoy today. The importance of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe and in the region cannot be overemphasised in the quest for political freedom. ZANU PF played a big role in bringing the end to colonialism, to racism in South Africa and in the region. We as ANC and ZANU PF remain as one. We know where we came from and we know our history (Nhambura, 2010).

South Africa as the economic and political powerhouse of Africa has more influence than any other country to influence events in Zimbabwe (Phimister, 2006). The South African government under the then President Thabo Mbeki was openly pro-Mugabe and warded off any attempts by the international community to reign in the octogenarian leader. Many commentators argued that Mbeki's support for Mugabe was driven by his solidarity for another national liberation movement, but others saw his principal motivations as quite different. Mbeki saw the crisis in Zimbabwe as lever Western powers could use to reassert themselves over a former colony to the detriment of South Africa's companies, which were already active in Zimbabwe, and its political influence (Nhambura, 2010). Also

the melt down in the Zimbabwean economy has benefitted South Africa in many ways. Of note has been the brain drain of skilled labour power from Zimbabwe to South Africa (Chetsanga & Muchenje, 2003) and most of these are taking over positions being left by South African whites immigrating to countries such as Australia and New Zealand. It is on record that some science and business programmes in Zimbabwe higher education institutions closed because teaching staff had all left mostly to South Africa, but some went to Botswana and Namibia.

To accommodate children of ZANU PF leaders a government funded programme was initiated where students go for university studies in South Africa. Those students who end up turning against ZANU PF lose their scholarship. According to The Zimbabwean (2009) twelve students who were studying at Fort Hare university had their scholarships cancelled and the university expelled them for supporting the Movement for Democratic Change party and denigrating President Robert Mugabe. It is reported that this programme costs the Zimbabwean tax payer US\$11.6 million in one year (Staff Reporter, 2011) at a time when local universities are facing financial challenges.

Neoliberal Globalization

The phenomenon of globalization has been defined in various ways depending on one's standpoint. Globalization is a contested phenomenon; one that does not lend itself easily to any single definition or characterisation. It is said to have many faces, and is usually discussed in economic, political, social, cultural, and technological terms (Vaira, 2004), in the context of interconnectedness and supraterritoriality (deterritorialisation) (Scholte, 2005); characterised by

interdependence, flows and exchanges, the role of new technologies, the integration of markets, and the shrinking of time and space (Appadurai, 1996). Thus, globalization is a dynamic hybridization of various interlinked processes operating on a planetary scale. However, Smith (2006) recognizes that the phenomenon of globalization can be seen as a Euro-American vision of empire, which dates back to the Middle Ages. Most people from the weaker economies, because of the immiseration they endure, at the expense of the extravagant consumption culture found in the developed world, do not hesitate to see globalization as yet another episode in Western hegemonic development. For instance, Grosfoguel (2005) perceives globalization as capitalist and Euro-centred colonization. Along the same lines, McMichael argued that it is a “Western imperial project, a realignment of market rule, where the iron fist of imperialism and its geopolitical imperatives is ungloved” (2005, p. 119-120). The relentless extraction of raw materials from the global south, and the consequent destruction of both human and natural resources in these weaker economies, prompted Petras and Veltmeyer (2001) to argue that “it is a strange concept of globalization that describes pillage and profit in the same breath as interdependence and stateless corporations” (p. 66). Furthermore, Harrison and Kachur similarly noted that:

globalization involves the worldwide extension of a specifically capitalist form of production, including a global division of labour and the promotion of rampant consumerism and competitive individualism. In practical terms, globalization means the heightened mobility of capital, fostered by modern technologies, and the reorganization of production

under the direction of large multi-national enterprises whose power and wealth frequently rival-even surpass- many states (1999, p. xvi).

Thus there is an element of unanimity among some critical scholars that globalization is imperialism. It is yet another stage of Western pillaging of weaker societies' resources. This is succinctly put across by Kapoor:

Today's neo-colonialism/imperialism (globalization), as an advanced strain of colonialism, does not require direct political rule and occupation (formal colonies are not required), as control is exercised through growing economic and financial dependencies which ensure captive labour markets (e.g. Export Processing Zones or EPZs also referred to as sweat shops) in developing countries (the colonies/Third World) producing goods primarily for export to developed countries (colonial powers/First World) and secures continued exploitation of resources and environments in developing countries largely for developed country consumption (2009a, p. 3).

Thus as Zimbabwe is compelled to adopt structural adjustment programmes imposed by the World Bank and the IMF, devaluing its currency to attract foreign (mostly Western) investment, encourage production for export while the Zimbabweans fail to access home made products, like sugar; as it enters into agreement with Transnational Companies in the various sectors of the economy, we are witnessing the new form of colonialism at play.

The ideology of this new form of colonialism is described as free-market ideology and commonly known as neoliberalism. The principles of free market

have since been adopted in higher education institutions, at the instigation of the World Bank/IMF and the government. Neoliberal ideas in Zimbabwe's universities, like in other countries, have mainly been introduced in the form of marketization. Proponents of higher education marketization (neo-liberalism) have consistently argued that large scale public funding of higher education is no longer tenable and is regressive; that generous public funding of higher education undermines equitable access, efficiency and even quality (Barr, 2004; Johnstone, 2001; World Bank, 1994).

University education in Zimbabwe has become a casualty of the overall neo-liberal policies imposed on highly indebted countries of the South. Soon after attaining independence, most African governments, including the Zimbabwean government, seeking national development, borrowed money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The Breton Woods Institutions turned these national debts into an opportunity to impose structural adjustment programmes (SAPS). Indebted governments, like the government of Zimbabwe, were required to privatise industry and services (Levidow, 2002). With reference to higher education, the government was called upon to ensure that individuals contribute and pay for the education they received (World Bank, 1988). The above position was reinforced in 1994 when the World Bank pointed out that "the extent of government involvement in higher education (in Africa) far exceeded what is economically efficient" (World Bank, 1994, p. 9). Universities in Zimbabwe were called upon to generate revenue for their operations. Government funding started dwindling as prescribed by the World Bank (Altbach,

2004; Wangenge-Ouma, 2008). Marketization strategies have been adopted and includes, among many others, formation of university owned for-profit companies, co-ventures with proprietary non-university institutions, farming, petty trade on campus and admission of full fee-paying students.

The adoption of structural adjustment programmes from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, devaluation of the Zimbabwean currency in an attempt to attract foreign (mostly Western) investment, emphasis on production for export, and agreements with Transnational Companies in the various sectors of the economy, we are witnessing the new form of colonialism at play. The ideology of this new form of colonialism (Grosfuguel, 2005; Kapoor, 2009a; McMichael, 2005) is described as free-market ideology and commonly known as neoliberalism. The principles of free market have since been adopted in higher education institutions, at the instigation of the World Bank/IMF and the government.

The University of Zimbabwe has become a casualty of the overall neoliberal policies imposed on highly indebted countries of the South. Indebted governments, like the government of Zimbabwe, were required “to reduce spending, to privatise industry and services, to cheapen labour, to open up markets to multinational companies, to relax controls on capital movements, to devalue their currencies etc.” (Levidow, 2002, p. 8.). With reference to the University of Zimbabwe, the government was called upon to “relieve the burden on public sources of financing higher education by increasing the participation of beneficiaries and their families (World Bank, 1988, p. 77). The University of

Zimbabwe was expected to generate revenue for its operations. Government funding started dwindling as prescribed by the World Bank (Altbach, 2004; Wangenge-Ouma, 2008). Marketization strategies have been adopted and includes, among many others, formation of university owned for-profit companies, co-ventures with proprietary non-university institutions, farming, petty trade on campus and admission of full fee-paying students. Fee paying students are enrolled into courses invariably referred to as parallel programs. These are normal degree courses offered in the evenings, weekends and holidays when formal university business has closed. Standards have plummeted and the rich have withdrawn their children and send them to private or foreign universities. The University of Zimbabwe has become an institution of largely students of peasant and low income groups (Chikwanha, 2009; Zeilig, 2008).

The reduction or absence of government funding in universities ushered in an era of cost sharing. The World Bank wanted education services to be brought into the market place, through increased private provision and cost sharing (World Bank, 1988; 1994). According to Johnstone “cost sharing is the assumption by parents and students of a portion of the costs of higher education- costs that, in many nations, at least until recently, have been borne predominantly or even exclusively by governments, or taxpayers” (2003, p. 351). The effects of marketization have seen food and accommodation services being privatized. Again numerous studies document the struggle students and other members of the university community are going through. For example one study established that:

The largest proportion of the respondents depended on their relatives or

met their own educational costs. Sixty-one percent of these relatives relied on their salaries, which predominantly have been overtaken by inflation. It is not surprising that the largest proportion of students across all institutions (54%) reported that they were sacrificially capable of meeting their educational costs. Twenty percent of the relatives used business profits and 13% transfers from acquaintances outside Zimbabwe. Most students relying on such relatives were comfortably or moderately capable of paying their dues. Interestingly, female students, more than half of them single, who constituted 7% of those relying on relatives, were receiving support from their 'spouses' or 'lovers', illustrating the existence of loose intimate relationships as a way of coping with high educational costs. The remaining group of relatives obtained income from vending (2%), other informal trade (1%), pensions (1%) and miscellaneous activities (3%) and all of them were sacrificially capable of supporting students under their guardianship (Makoni, 2007, p.22).

Yet another study observed the same trend:

About 20 students share a guestroom in the main house and there are 11 illegal wooden cabins, which house more than 45 students. Most house owners collect between US\$20 and US\$40 in rentals a month from each student. These landlords are making a killing from the students' predicament. Our landlord collects over US\$3 200 every month, as there are more than 80 students each paying US\$30 (Share, 2009).

What is therefore observed at the University of Zimbabwe is a situation where

because of the adoption of neoliberal principles as well as the imposition of ZANU PF nationalist policies, there is widespread disgruntlement and dissatisfaction. As one faculty member said, the crisis should be shouldered by the government:

Of course the blame must rest squarely at Robert Mugabe's door. He is the Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, yet he is also the primary cause of most of the institution's woes. It is his stealing of the presidential vote in March 2008 that effectively ruined this nation and made it difficult for any well-meaning nations and donor agencies to continue to assist this country. It was also as a result of the deception associated with the presidential elections that forced the national economy to take a rapid tumble into the doldrums. That economic collapse eventually led to the dollarization of the economy, with serious consequences for the students and their parents who simply could not afford the US dollar fees being charged by the University of Zimbabwe (Makumbe, 2009, p. 3).

This was the political and socio-economic context of the site, characterized by challenges and controversies quite in tune with its historical colonial background. The University of Zimbabwe has consistently been at the centre of national politics, it is considered a strategic institution both for political and economic development of the country. Thus my research site, has always been at the centre of global, neo-colonial and internal colonial narrative of Zimbabwe. It was a research site dominated by political tensions and general dissatisfaction with the situation and this made it appropriate to undertake a

critical interpretive research as such research addresses issues of power and privilege (Marshall & Rossman, 2006) in order to emancipate and empower oppressed people (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith, 2008).

Towards a Critical Colonial Analysis of Crisis in Zimbabwe and Higher Education

Post-independent Africa has been a terrain of violence, coups, stolen elections, poverty and a plethora of unfulfilled promises and all these negatives dominate the discussion of the postcolonial condition (Ake, 1996; Ayittey, 1992; Caplan, 2008; Mudimbe, 1988). On top of these disappointments brought about by the end of European formal control, the global economic order continue to reproduce the dominance of the Euro-America bloc with devastating consequences for the ordinary people in the global South including Zimbabwe. Western capitalism represented by Transnational Companies (TNCs), non-governmental organizations and western embassies and more recently Chinese, have a history of interfering in the affairs of weaker economies, such as Zimbabwe. These sometimes operate in collusion with elite locals to exploit Zimbabwe's natural and human resources. Such observations have prompted the adoption of "critical colonial analysis" (Kapoor, 2011, p. ix) to inform the research.

In Zimbabwe, like in most former European colonies around the globe, the promise of independence from colonial rule never looked like it was going to be fulfilled, and the disappointment of the "post-colonial condition" (Gupta, 1998, p. 7; Kapoor, 2003, p. 73), or the failed promise of colonial and imperial projects of

development and globalization dominate the narration of more than thirty years of the end of British administration. This study is situated from a standpoint that observes the continued existence of colonial, neo-colonial, internal colonial and imperial influences on the people of Zimbabwe and consequently the myth of independence, “the mythology of the decolonization of the world” (Grosfoguel, 2005, p. 287). Ramon Grosfoguel further propounded that:

One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century was the notion that the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to decolonization of the world. This led to the myth of the postcolonial world (2005, p. 287).

Dei concluded that such observations are influenced by a critical and anti-colonial standpoint that he describes as:

overlapping critical race theory, critical antiracism, Black feminism, critical whiteness, and other liberatory discourses. What anti-colonial theory shares with these frameworks is the critique of liberalism, the dominant framings.... (2010b, p. 15).

These critical observations and analyses led to the conclusion that the people of Zimbabwe are not independent contrary to the proclamations that were made in 1980, and the crisis unfolding at the University of Zimbabwe and in higher education in general are manifestations of the continued existence of colonial influences and relations.

From global colonialism to global coloniality.

Critical colonial perspectives observe two variants of colonialism in modern day Zimbabwe, global (mostly western) and local (ZANU PF internal colonialism), and the imbrication of both thereof that have contributed to the crisis in higher education. As Shohat (1992), and Shohat and Stam (1994) argued, both colonialism and neo-colonialism imply oppression and the possibility of resistance, and in the process the inappropriateness of the term “postcolonial” as it obscures “the traces of colonialism that exist in the present” (Daniel, 2005, p. 262). With neoliberal globalization and its accompanying radical capitalist trajectories as observed when Zimbabwe adopted IMF and World Bank reforms through structural adjustment programmes in the 1990s, “we continue to live under the same colonial power matrix. . . . we moved from a period of global colonialism to the current period of global coloniality (Grosfouguel, 2005, p. 287) or “Euro-centred capitalist colonial/modern world power” (Quijano, 2000, p. 218), also considered as “hegemonic, global economic arrangement” (Borg and Mayo, 2007, p. x). A critical colonial standpoint on Zimbabwe, following the above analysis of Grosfouguel and Quijano recognizes that despite the eradication of colonial administration and the organization of Zimbabwe into a politically organized nation-state with a black African government, Zimbabweans continue to live under Euro-American exploitation and domination. The exploitation and subjugation is characterized by a “coloniality of power” (Quijano, 2000, p. 216; Quijano, 2007, p. 170), “imperial globality or global coloniality” (Escobar, 2004, p. 207), which has proved to be longer lasting than Eurocentred colonialism.

“Coloniality refers to the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and structures in the modern-colonial capitalist world-system” (Grosfoguel, 2005, p. 287)..

Zimbabweans continue to live under the regime of global coloniality imposed by the United States, and its allies through the IMF and the World Bank among other Western international institutions. Privatization and marketization at the University of Zimbabwe, and the resultant immiserating situation can be traced directly to the two Bretton Woods institutions. Such observations were corroborated by Joseph Stiglitz, a former senior vice president and chief economist of the World Bank when he said, economic solutions to inequality and poverty subscribed to by the IMF and the World Bank “have the feel of a colonial ruler” (Fanon, 1963, p. xii). Thus in Zimbabwe, what is observed is the sustenance of colonial relations from the days of formal European colonial rule to the current post-independence era.

Consequently, this study adopted the standpoint that colonialism did not end with the demise of European rule but that other even stronger benign forms of colonialism exist in the south and in Zimbabwe in particular. Neoliberal globalization represents a new form of imperialism, “benign colonialism that is still underdeveloping Africa and its people” (Abdi, 2006, p. 17), “a process of re/colonization” (Choudry, 2007, p. 97), a form of imperialism where accumulation by dispossession is the main feature (Harvey, 2003) and also seen as a form of Western global hegemony (Tikly, 2004). Most people from the weaker economies, because of the immiseration they endure, at the expense of the

extravagant consumption culture found in the western capitalist world, do not hesitate to see neoliberal globalization as yet another episode in Western hegemonic tendencies. Along the same lines, McMichael argues that it is a “Western imperial project” (2005, p. 119). It is yet another stage of Western pillaging of weaker societies’ resources. It is further seen as “transnational capitalism or collective imperialism” (Amin, 2011, p. 1) or “mobile global capitalism” (Mayo, 1999, p. 165). This is corroborated by Escobar’s observation of the existence of what he calls;

US based form of imperial globality, an economic-military-ideological order that subordinates regions, peoples and economies world-wide. Imperial globality has its underside in what could be called ... global coloniality, meaning by this the heightened marginalization and suppression of the knowledge and culture of subaltern groups (Escobar, 2004, p. 207).

Following Quijano (2000; 2007) and Grosfoguel (2005), I used coloniality to examine and address “colonial situations” in contemporary Zimbabwe in which colonial administration has been eradicated. By colonial situations, I employ Grosfoguel’s understanding that this refers “to the cultural, political, sexual and economic oppression and exploitation of subordinate groups by dominant groups with or without the existence of colonial administration (2005, p. 288). The condition of Zimbabwe’s peasants and workers and of their children at the University of Zimbabwe illustrates political and economic oppression and exploitation. It is a form of exploitation that is racial as it is rare to find poor

whites in Zimbabwe, there are no white peasants and white students at the University of Zimbabwe. There are also certain ethnic or tribal groups that are well represented in higher education than others. This colonial situation was well captured by A. Cesaire;

I am talking about millions of men whom they have knowingly instilled with fear and complex of inferiority, whom they have infused with despair and trained to tremble, to kneel and behave like flunkys (Fanon, 1967, p. xi).

What Cesaire described represents British colonial administration in Zimbabwe and it is largely accurate to say that it is being repeated in Zimbabwe today by ZANU PF and its aligned military.

Critical colonial perspectives further observe and address the dominance of knowledge produced from a Western point of view resulting in the privileging of economic relations over other social relations. Accordingly in Zimbabwe, the transformation in the relations of production as seen by indigenization and black empowerment programmes notably since 2000, produced a new class structure typical of capitalism, European administered colonial capitalism, as opposed to other social systems or other forms of domination. Since 1980, the new nation-state of Zimbabwe, following the dominant Euro-centric liberal discourses (Wallerstein, 1995), “constructed ideologies of national identity, national development and national sovereignty that produced an illusion of independence, development and progress” (Grosfoguel, 2005, p. 288), yet the economic and political system (parliamentary democracy and neoliberal capitalism) was largely

shaped by its subordinate status in a capitalist world-system organized around a hierarchical international division of labour (Wallerstein, 1995). This is illustrated by Zimbabwe's current growth strategies, namely the Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) and Medium Term Plan (MTP), which seek to "establish a framework for Zimbabwe to emerge as a vibrant, private sector-driven economy" (Herald Reporter, 2010, p. 7). Despite President Robert Mugabe's anti-Western rhetoric and strained relations with the Euro-America bloc, his government's nationalist posturing, is nothing but a Eurocentric response or solution to a Eurocentric global challenge. His elite nationalist paradigm is authoritarian and anti-democratic as was British colonial administration before 1980, and hence produces an internal coloniality of power within Zimbabwe which deploys such imposition for the purpose of reproducing the dictatorial control of ZANU PF.

Internal colonialism.

It would be misleading to portray "the postcolonial situation" (Ake, 1996, p. 3), or the failed promise of development and modernization projects as only about the devastation caused by Western modernist experiments. I note that it is also about forms of "internal colonization" (Casanova, 1965, p. 27; Mignolo, 2000, p. 197; Quijano, 2000, p. 224) or 'internalized oppression' (Dei, 2010b, p. 21) and with specific reference to Zimbabwe, the impact of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism (Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Hwami, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2003). Although political independence brought some changes to the composition of state administrators, the character of the state

remained much as it was in the colonial period (Ake, 1996). Kapoor noted and concluded that:

Anti-colonial nationalist movements (as a significant expression of decolonization), have rarely represented all interests and peoples of a colonized country...Neither did the dismantling of colonial rule automatically result in positive changes for all groups, as the fruits of independence were made available unevenly and selectively; a version of colonialism was reproduced and duplicated from within (2009a, p. 4).

This aptly captures the character and nature of ZANU PF. Grosfoguel (2005) concluded that “nationalism is complicit with Eurocentric thinking and political structures” (p. 289) further excavating the capitalist and exploitative nature of nationalism. Fanon predicted what was to happen on the “morrow of independence” in Africa. Fanon foresaw that nativist language of nationalization and Africanization was to be deployed violently to attack “colonial personalities” as people constituting an “insult” to the “dignity of the nation.” Fanon also predicted that nationalism would again be articulated by a bourgeoisie dictatorship in racial terms when the “native bourgeoisie” claimed land, mines and jobs as part of indigenous entitlement. He further noted that as the “native bourgeoisie” “goes into competition with the Europeans” the majority of the poor members of society would “start a fight against non-national Africans” (1963, pp. 101-105). Fanon’s prophecy has come true when one considers the events unfolding in Zimbabwe today; indigenization programmes have been put in place and foreign companies, mostly western and businesses run by those described as

unpatriotic Zimbabweans are being taken over by those associated with the ruling party. Ndlovu-Gatseni concluded that to Fanon the projected path of nationalism went like this: “from nationalism we have passed to ultra-nationalism, to chauvinism, and finally to racism” (2009b, p. 63). In other terms Zimbabwe is witnessing kleptocratic capitalism (Tandon, 2011).

Indigenization and black empowerment policies and programmes are benefitting ZANU PF members mostly, and in the process gaining control of farms and mines formerly owned by whites of European descent. The Chinese government and businesses have become the new rent seekers and the unfolding situation further demonstrates internal colonialism as well as global imperialism. To corroborate this, the US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton warned African countries to be wary of new colonialism (Reuters, 2011), referring to elite agreements between African leaders and Chinese government. Such agreements are reminiscent of pre-European administration treaties with African kings that led to colonization. The recent China-Zimbabwe loan deal of US\$95 billion for Zimbabwe to build a military academy and in return the Chinese got control of sections of Marange diamond fields exemplify the new colonialism and kleptocratic capitalism. I found such observations, critiques and analytics relevant and helpful in providing context and understanding of the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. Those in government seem to have redrawn and redefined national interests to mean elite nationalist satisfaction and in the process have reproduced colonial structures and relations, hence internal colonialism.

The discussion of the development of African nationalism into

authoritarian Afro-radicalism and nativism has seen some scholars such as Appiah (1992) and Mbembe (2002) emerging as the most severe critics of nativism in Africa. To them, nativism is a fake philosophy founded on the neurosis of African victimhood and trying to justify racism in reverse. As a reverse discourse, nativism used “the same categories and the same vocabulary deployed by the dominant discourse to subvert, undermine, and decentre the latter” (Parry, 1994, p. 177). There is also an attempt by post-liberation governments like ZANU-PF to create a false impression of a singular version of African nationalism. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, African nationalism was underpinned by very deep contradicting understanding of black liberation thought that have continued to provoke “competing versions of the nation, contested definition of citizenship, different imaginations of democracy and disagreements on the teleology of that national liberation struggle itself” (2009b, p. 64). What brought about a semblance of ideological unity was a common conception of national liberation in terms of ending white colonial racial oppression; seizure of political power by the African elite; and nationalist reimagination of nationhood (Amin, 1981). But the African educated elite had to mobilise nativism to justify “native bourgeoisie” entitlement to leadership of African states. It is from such reasoning that we understand President Mugabe’s attack on British premier, Tony Blair “So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a). Not only are the elite nationalists in Zimbabwe deploying nativism to gain support, it is accompanied by use of state violence to fortify their positions and accumulate wealth. As I note this, I am swayed by Guha’s observations and

analytics of the Indian situation pertaining “dominate without hegemony” and find it being reproduced in Zimbabwe. Guha wrote:

The metropolitan state was hegemonic in character with its claim to dominance based on power relations in which the moment of persuasion outweighed that of coercion, whereas the colonial state was non-hegemonic with persuasion outweighed by coercion in its structure of dominance (1997, p. xvii).

In Zimbabwe the use of the police and military on students and academics illustrate the point that the dominance of ZANU PF is not hegemonic but coercive. ZANU PF’s notion of a nation is monolithic, a singular version of development that is intolerant to other perspectives of the future of Zimbabwe. This version is authored and driven by the ruling party, and in the process partitioning the national means of production amongst themselves. The ordinary people have discovered that “the iniquitous phenomenon of exploitation can assume a black or Arab face. They cry treason, but in fact the treason is not national but social, and they need to be taught to cry thief” (Fanon, 1963, p. 94), further giving credence to the widely held conclusion that “the colonial experience has outlived decolonization and continues to be related significantly to the concerns of our time” (Guha, 2001, p. 42).

Nativism was openly manifested as a key aspect of the Garveyist slogan of “Africa for Africans” and the drive by Marcus Garvey for the establishment of black republics across Africa (Barber, 1999, p. 110; Fredrickson, 1995, p. 282-3). Garveyism heavily informed ZANU PF as it emphasised that the authentic

citizens were to be the sons and daughters of the soil as opposed to the alien whites. Thus ZANU PF nationalism, like other Third World nationalisms, is shaped, and a product of the logic of colonialism. It has been noted that “Third World nationalism could not escape from reproducing racial and ethnic discrimination; a price to be paid by the coloniser as well as the colonised selves” (Chen, 1998, p. 14). Halisi also observed that “at the core of black political thought, there are two interrelated and recurring visions of liberation: one, the image of multiracial union; the other, black republican ideology” (1997, p. 61). However, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009b) noted that to see the intellectual debates in terms of a multi-racial and non-multiracial binary ignores other visions of liberation that were influenced by nativism. “Indeed questions of national identity embedded in various schools of liberation thought continue to influence the formerly colonised people’s popular attitudes towards issues of democracy and human rights” (Halisi, 1997, p. 61). Mbembe argued that “the post-colony has no identifiable essence, no markers for predictability and is very unstable” (2001, p. 16). Within this postcolonial terrain, nationalism turned into state ideology where “citizenship was reduced to indigeneity and formalised by legislation” (Neocosmos, 2006, p. 71). The Zimbabwean indigenization and black empowerment legislation is a good illustration of this conception of citizenship. As a state ideology, nationalism increasingly lost its popular basis and appeal as it pushed the agenda of monolithic national identity underwritten by state prescriptions rather than popular mobilisation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009b).

Post-Cold War global agenda for democratization pushed nationalism into

the defensive particularly in Zimbabwe. Dorman, Hammett, and Nugent (2007) wrote of citizenship and its causalities in Africa. Narrow nationalism has eclipsed earlier cosmopolitan and flexible nationalist ideologies that aimed at uniting people, and is creating aliens among citizens. Students, faculty and other holders of critical views are considered traitors and foreign by the government of Zimbabwe. Desai explained the failure of “developmental nationalism in terms of its acquiescence to capital and withdrawal of capital” (Desai, 2008, p. 654). Unable to deliver on material promises, having lost its previous popular appeal and pushed into the defensive by global pressures for democracy, African nationalism fell into cultural nationalism and nativism as a way to compensate for crisis and decline. And with specific reference to Zimbabwe:

At the end of the Cold War, Zimbabwe gradually manifested a growing shift from the developmental nationalism of the 1980s into the Afro-radicalism and nativism of the 2000s together with its emphasis on cultural nationalism. This shift happened in tandem with the emergence of a radical civil society that began to embrace and articulate post- Cold War neo-liberal ideologies of good governance, democracy and human rights. These developments were happening within a local context of Zimbabwe’s fast descent into an unprecedented economic crisis at the beginning of the 2000s and a global context of increasing international pressure on peripheral governments to embrace liberal democracy and its notions of rights. The nationalist liberation project was being pushed into the defensive by the triumphant forces of neo-liberal globalization (Ndlovu-

Gatsheni, 2009b p. 68).

Under these circumstances society is to be managed in the absence of material concessions, culturally, by articulating inequality as cultural difference. The failure of progressive and developmental nationalism lay in its political economy that was premised on “the power of capital to deliver benefits to wider constituencies” (Desai, 2008, p. 668). Resurgence of populist ideologies of nativism and Afro-radicalism has its roots in the crisis and decline of developmental nationalism. Narrowly defined, nationalist politics were easily beaten back by the forces of Afro-radicalism and nativism. Nationalism was easily de-legitimised as a “political project detached from pan-African ideal and free of its moral imperative, which promotes a more exclusionary and adversarial image of the nation” (Johnson, 2005, p. 4). In Zimbabwe, the embers of Afro-radicalism and nativism rather than those of nationalism are pulsating heavily within the body politic. Some commentators who sympathise with ZANU PF nationalism, like Tafataona Mahoso wrote that Mugabe represented “pan-African memory,” he was a “reclaimer of African space” and was “the African power of remembering the African legacy and African heritage which slavery, apartheid and imperialism thought they had dismembered for good” (Mahoso, 2003, p. 9). Ideas along Afro-radicalism and nativism have been described as racism in reverse while others consider them as the only alternative available if Africans are to reclaim their human status and genuine independence from Western hegemony. This perspective is informed by the ideology of negritude, that advocates for:

The need to reverse an intolerable situation, they are moved in the first

instance by a negative principle. They are a challenge to the common lot which Western expansion had imposed on non-Western man, especially the Negro, whose experience-dispersal, subjugation, humiliation-illustrates the worst aspects of contact with the white man (Irele, 2003, p. 47).

What is observed in Zimbabwe is the fact that whether it is developmental nationalism, nationalism, nativism or Afro-radicalism, what is being reproduced is a form of internal colonization as ZANU PF and Robert Mugabe deploy these possibilities in a bid to hold on to power.

Informed by the same line of thinking has been a campaign for the adoption of the philosophy of unhu/ubuntu. This concept comes from a linguistic group of Sub-Saharan languages known as Vanhu/Bantu. “Unhu/Ubuntu means personhood” (Battle, 2009, p. 2). It is not merely a reference to humanity/personhood, but an indication of human conduct in relation with others. “A human being is a human being through other human beings, human being only exists and develops in relationship with others” (Venter, 2004, p. 152). Shizha noted that in Zimbabwe “unhu/ubuntu embodies all the invaluable virtues that society strives toward maintaining harmony and the spirit of sharing among its members” (2009, p. 144). As a philosophical thread of African epistemology, “Unhu/Ubuntu focuses on human relations, attending to the moral and spiritual consciousness of what it means to be human and to be in relationship with others (Swanson, 2007, p. 55). There is a general perception emerging within Sub-Saharan Africa that the adoption of unhu/ubuntu as a guiding perspective or theory by researchers and academics may help contribute solutions to modern

challenges such as the terror of neoliberal globalization and authoritarian nationalism (Ramose, 2003; Swanson, 2007). Such observations are supported by scholars such as Raewyn Connell who called for a “southern theory”; social theorizing that has risen in situations where dependence has been challenged such as in postcolonial Africa (Connell, 2007, p. viii). This line of thinking is also supported by notable scholars such as Gupta (1998) and Nandy (2009) who argue for a critical traditionalism that tries to marshal the resources provided by inherited cultural frames for purposes of social and political transformation.

Thus perspectives such as coloniality, anti-neocolonialism/neoliberalism, African radicalism, nativism, negritude and unhu/ubuntu among others are examples of critical colonial concepts and analytics that have informed this study. They share in common the desire to end coloniality, both local and global. Critical colonial research acknowledges that the prospects for decolonization face considerable challenges from national and global political and economic power elites, and the case study of the University of Zimbabwe was generally informed by such critical colonial sensibilities and insights.

Summary

In this chapter the historical background of Zimbabwe was considered, which gave the basis of the country’s past and the foundations of the philosophy of unhu/ubuntu. The racial nature of pre-independence Zimbabwe was mentioned and this has largely shaped policies in independent Zimbabwe. The control over higher education by the government was discussed as a political attempt to silence critics and maintain its position of power. ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism

was discussed in relation to victimization of students and the curtailment of academic freedom. The devastating effects of neoliberal globalization were also described and the problems neoliberal policies and privatization agendas have created in higher education, particularly to students from low income groups was considered. The response of the well-organized student body and its rise was detailed as well. The chapter also points out that the current challenges in Zimbabwe and more importantly at the University of Zimbabwe are manifestations of hegemonic ambitions of traditional global players that have always survived on the immiseration of the poor world as well as internal colonialism, home-grown domination by a political elite that considers itself as possessing some divine right to govern Zimbabwe on the justification of having led the war of liberation. This chapter also outlined analyses and criticism from scholars from around the globe, who have also noticed how these global and local imperial connections seen together could be one way to understand modern developmental conundrums in post independent societies. The following chapter addresses the critical interpretive approach that was employed for this study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In critical interpretive inquiry the goal is to critique and challenge, to transform and empower. It is a contrast between a research that seeks merely to understand and research that challenges ... between a research that reads the situation in terms of interaction and community and a research that reads it in terms of conflict and oppression ... between a research that accepts the status quo and a research that seeks to bring about change (Crotty, 1998, p. 113).

This chapter considers the methodology that was employed for this study. This was a critical interpretive case study of the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. The study explored and described the experiences, observations and understandings of twenty participants who were students, lecturers, university administrators from the University of Zimbabwe, and government of Zimbabwe officials. The aim was to gain an understanding of the perceptions of members of the university community pertaining to the crisis in higher education.

Against the background of a plethora of challenges and problems the university was facing, and the conflicts and divisions among the university community, a critical interpretive case study was considered most appropriate. Critical interpretive research is an ideological critique of power and privilege in areas of education (Merriam, 1988). Research from this perspective:

is directed towards understanding the political nature of education in all its manifestations in everyday life as these are played out in the agonistic terrain of conflicting and competing discourses, oppositional and hegemonic cultural formations, and social relations linked to the larger capitalist social totality (McLaren, 2003, p. 72).

Critical interpretive research locates its central importance in the formidable task of understanding the mechanisms of oppression imposed by the established order, but such an understanding is approached from below, that is, from the perspectives of the dispossessed and oppressed themselves. Because of these considerations, a critical interpretive approach was considered and adopted in order to arrive at in-depth insights and understanding into the crisis in higher education and possible ways out based on interpretations by university students, faculty members, university administrators and government officials.

Critical Interpretive Research

It has been established that critical interpretivists (Anderson, 1989, p. 249; Bartlett, 1991, p. 21; Fossey, Harvey, Mcdermott & Davidson, 2002, p. 720), seek research accounts that are sensitive to the “dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency” (Anderson, 1989, p. 249). “It is critical in that it shows how people’s own understanding of their situation are implicated in their unhappiness and how the structures that produce and are reproduced by those understandings trap people in situations that they find frustrating and oppressive” (Robinson, 1992, p. 345). With that in mind the influence of ZANU PF nationalist policies and

neoliberalism on the participants had to be understood as well as the participants' views based on their experiences about the unfolding crisis. In such a study "the researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detail views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting" (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). The focus was on the subjective experiences or interpretations of participants in giving meaning to their social world. In other words, "the process or dynamics of interpretation constitute our very mode of being in the world, rather than a prescribed method" (Ellis, 1998, p. 15). Embedding research in the lived experiences of the participants involves a holistic and unfragmented approach. This implies locating research in the texts, and voices of the participants in their natural social settings. Burbules's (1992) concern for a kind of research that occurs *with*, rather than *on*, others and is thus informed by a dialogue aimed at mutual understanding, strongly guided this study. Hence it was the need to obtain "richly descriptive data" (Merriam, 2009, p. 16) that prompted me to adopt this "emic perspective" (Merriam, 2009, p. 14).

To Guba and Lincoln (1994) the ontological question deals with "the form and nature of reality and therefore, what is there that can be known about it" (p. 201). Thus, the ontological assumption underlying this study is that reality is conflict ridden and society is characterized by inequalities typified by neo/colonial intrusions where some groups have more power and influence than others.

This personal existential positioning motivates me to take sides in a society that is conflict ridden, poverty stricken, and where I met humiliation,

which by the levels of torture and victimization faced by some university students and faculty, is not even worth mentioning. Subsequently this study should be seen:

as a form of social or cultural criticism and accepts certain basic assumptions; that all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted; that facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription; ...that certain groups in any society and particular societies are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305).

The Zimbabwean university is teetering on the verge of collapse and to be a neutral witness to this calamity was not the motivation behind this research. It is generally acknowledged that research that aspires to be critical seeks, as its purpose of inquiry, to confront injustices in society. Its purpose is “to reassert the basic aim of the Enlightenment ideal of inquiry: to improve human existence” (Giarelli, 1992, p. 4). Critical inquiry is “disruptive, explicitly pedagogical and radically democratic; its topics: fascism, the violent politics of global capitalist culture, the loss of freedom in daily life (Denzin, Lincoln & Giadina, 2006, p. 777). The overriding goal of critical interpretivism “is to free individuals from sources of domination and repression” (Anderson, 1989, p. 249) such as the

victimization of students and faculty by state agents, police and the military (Makoni, 2007; Students Solidarity Trust, 2009; Zeilig, 2007; 2008; Zimbabwe National Students Union, 2009), and the immiseration caused by neoliberal policies (Hwami, 2010; 2011).

Critical researchers assume that the knowledge developed in their research could serve as a first step toward addressing injustices. Hence in an attempt to help alleviate and possibly end the crisis in Zimbabwe's higher education, this research was envisaged as emancipatory (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Robinson, 1992), utilized research methodology for the oppressed that aimed to achieve democratic reconstruction (Kellner, 2003) of the Zimbabwean society, as well as social justice and the promise of radical, progressive democracy (Denzin, Lincoln & Giardina, 2006). Critical interpretive methodology may be defined as "scholarship done for explicit political, utopian purposes, a discourse of critique and criticism, a politics of liberation, a reflexive discourse constantly in search of an open-ended, subversive, multi-voiced, participatory epistemology" (Smith, 1999, p. x). And therefore, as an approach with such a definite normative dimension, this research aimed for a transformative outcome, and was therefore not interested in knowledge for knowledge's sake and "never satisfied with merely increasing knowledge" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305).

Critical interpretive researchers often regard their work as a first step toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in the field site or constructed in the very act of research itself (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Similarly McLaren considers critical research as

“an attempt to engage in a form of theoretical decolonization; that is, in a critical way of unlearning accepted ways of thinking, of refusing to analyze in the mode of the dominator while at the same time paying attention to the dangers of assuming the sponsorship of a postcolonial elite” (1992, p. 80). Thus critical interpretive research “fundamentally involves issues of power; ... the research report is not transparent, but rather it is authored by a raced, gendered, classed, and politically oriented individual... knowledge is subjective and that society is essentially conflictual and oppressive” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 5). This research therefore was a “transformative endeavour unembarrassed by the label political and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipator consciousness,” This is because “critical researchers enter into an investigation with their assumptions on the table, so no one is confused concerning epistemological and political baggage they bring with them to the research site”(Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). Research from this perspective “is directed towards understanding the political nature of education in all its manifestations in everyday life as these are played out in the agonistic terrain of conflicting and competing discourses, oppositional and hegemonic cultural formations, and social relations linked to the larger capitalist social totality” (McLaren, 2003, p. 72). Another strength of critical research is the notion of catalytic validity.

Catalytic validity points to the degree to which research moves those it studies to understand the world and the way it is shaped in order to transform it. Those under study will gain self-understanding and self-

direction (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 324).

Critical interpretive research respects the contribution of participants and aims at establishing the significance of their voices, actions and meanings. In interpretive research the researcher is the key instrument of data collection (Rehorick & Taylor, 1995; VanManen, 1990) and in total control of the research process, but is also, guided by the interaction that takes place with research participants.

Therefore, I was personally in contact with students, faculty members and university administrators in order to obtain insights into the university situation and how they made sense of neoliberal globalization and authoritarian nationalism in higher education. There was no use of research assistants and all the twenty interviews were conducted by the researcher.

Critical interpretive research argues that it gives richer, thicker, and more meaningful descriptions of the world (Giarelli, 1992, p. 3). This is because this approach recognizes that “the human being is a person who signifies-gives and derives meaning to and from the things of the world” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 14). In other words the things of the world are meaningfully experienced as critical approaches emphasize the social and historical origins and contexts of meaning, regardless of the individual or collective forms of embodiment and expression they might take. This type of research derives from socio-political and emancipatory traditions, in which knowledge is not seen as discovered by objective inquiry but as acquired through critical discourse and debate. It focuses on the critique and transformation of current structures, relationships, and conditions that shape and constrain the development of social practices in

organizations. Peter McLaren (1992) echoes the need for critical educational researchers to enter into relations of cooperation, mutuality, and reciprocity with those whom they research.

All these considerations made a very strong case for the adoption of critical interpretive research approaches in the study of the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. Critical interpretive research approaches allowed me to adopt a clear theoretical standpoint, instead of imagining being a neutral researcher. In the process the emancipatory sensibilities embedded in this research orientation against the hegemonic tendencies of neoliberalism and ZANU PF nationalism made the approach appropriate and most relevant.

Critical Interpretive Case Study

The case study (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009) of the University of Zimbabwe, the oldest and biggest university in the country rested on several assumptions. Some have observed that “a researcher approaches the world with a set of ideas, a framework (theory, ontology) that specifies a set of questions (epistemology) that he or she examines in specific ways (methodology, analysis)” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 30). This research made use of the critical interpretive case study, informed by critical colonial perspectives and related methods of data collection included interviewing, observation and document analysis. Using Stake’s definitions, this was an instrumental case study where:

the case (University of Zimbabwe) is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case is still looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized and its ordinary

activities detailed, but all because this helps us pursue the external interest (2005, p. 445).

The detailed study of the University of Zimbabwe was undertaken in order to address the broad purposes and aims of the research. A case study can be conceptualized from various standpoints. For example, Yin defines a case study “as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (1994, p. 13). For Creswell “case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g. observations, interviews, audio-visual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case based themes” (2007, p. 73). This was research that involved two months of interviews with the participants at the University of Zimbabwe and observations of the prevailing conditions at the institution, as well as more interaction through e-mail and phone calls as follow up discussions with some participants where it was deemed necessary. Stake considers this type of case study as “a choice of what is to be studied, an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit” (2005, p. 443). These descriptions and analyses would be “an end-product of field-oriented research” (Wolcott, 1992, p. 36). The work contained here is undoubtedly intensive and presents a holistic depiction of the University of Zimbabwe. This holistic picture was got at through employing all of my experiences to inform my understanding

and consequently interpretation of the texts as was observed and recommended by Ellis (2006).

Berg also noted that, “case study methods involve systematically gathering enough information about a social setting or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how it operates or functions” (2001, p. 225). Carefully crafted interview questions were employed, and these were guided by very fundamental research questions that addressed the pertinent issues that were deemed cardinal in understanding the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe from a critical colonial world view. Furthermore, Merriam described a case study as “an exploration of a bounded system or a case over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (2009, p. 43). On-site interviews were carried out with participants ranging from students, student leaders, faculty members, university administrators and government officials. Effort was made to purposefully interview individuals known to hold different and opposing views on the unfolding situation in Zimbabwe. Using Merriam’s description, the University of Zimbabwe is the social setting or the bounded system that was studied by utilizing not only interviews but also conversations, observations, and document studies.

I selected an exploratory descriptive case study because of its methodological, structural and procedural flexibility given the need to understand students’ and faculty’s university realities in their natural setting. Observations have been made that interpretations occur as events unfold and these interpretations can be reinterpreted and questions reformulated or reframed as

new evidence emerges (Morse, 1994). Ellis (1998) refers to this process as the unfolding spiral of the hermeneutic circle. New questions developed from observations I made on the site, and new research questions/areas unforeseen at the inception of the study were discovered during the research interaction process. The important role of local and international non-governmental organizations is a good example of what was initially not considered. Some back-and-forth movement developed as well, as I found myself taking back issues raised by students to university administrators, or accusations by university administrators to faculty.

The Research Site: The University of Zimbabwe

The University of Zimbabwe is in Harare, the commercial and capital city of Zimbabwe. Many researchers have acknowledged the importance of the social context in which social interactions and activities take place (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Felden, Bell & Berger, 2003). Creswell (1998) observes that the context of the case involves situating the case within its setting, which may be a physical setting, or the social, historic and/or economic setting. The urban setting of the university determines the social and cultural context. Urban areas are sites where the impact of neoliberal globalization can be observed. With Harare as the centre of Zimbabwe's industrial hub, the main tenets of a commercial university (Levy, 1986; Schugurensky, 1994), and the idea of "educating the consumer-citizen" (Spring, 2003, p. 183) are bound to be present. Denzin and Lincoln justify the selection of a particular setting or site for study by making the following observation, "... they [researchers] seek out groups, settings

and individuals where... the processes being studied are most likely to occur” (1994, p. 202). The University of Zimbabwe is located in the centre of the capital city of Zimbabwe, where foreign influences, like those spread by agents of neoliberal globalization, are mostly experienced. The university has gone through all the experiences the country underwent; from a colonial university before 1980, a nationalist university during the first decade of independence, a university when the government adopted structural adjustment programmes from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank from the beginning of the 1990s and the current situation where the government wants to control and use the university in its fight against opposition groups and foreign criticism. It is the only university in the country that went through all these experiences. Consequently as the highest and biggest institution of learning in the country, it also attracts some of the country’s best brains from diverse social class and ethnic backgrounds. Thus the choice of the University of Zimbabwe is based on this logic and my personal location within this same institution. I am a graduate of the university and therefore familiar with the geography and history of the institution and familiar with some individuals; former lecturers and student colleagues. This was significant as it made entry into the research site possible as well as developing sustained interaction with participants.

As a research site, the University of Zimbabwe provided a conducive research context/environment. The diversity of the population found at this institution assured this research an equally diversified/cosmopolitan sample and this was important with regard to the political nature of the study. As this was a

critical interpretive study, it was guided by a hermeneutical standpoint and this “entails awareness that each person has a standpoint, horizon, perspective, forestructure, or prejudice and that dialectic engagement is needed to support a fusion of horizons” (Smith, 1991, p. 190). Different and sometimes conflicting perspectives were expected. Also as adult participants, as was the case for this research “they may have a concept of research and of interviewing, feel a more equal power relationship with the researcher, and enjoy and be skilled at talking at length” (Ellis, 2006, p. 115). Such considerations made the University of Zimbabwe an ideal site for the purposes of this study.

Marshall and Rossman observed that “studying a phenomenon is even less constrained by either place or population. The researcher determines a sampling strategy that is purposeful and representative” (2006, p. 61). This research considered the possible influence of neoliberalism and authoritarian nationalism on the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe and although participants were from the University of Zimbabwe, the research site, we could meet anywhere and not necessarily at the site as what was important was the discussion around the pertinent phenomena. At the time this research was conducted, some students were on suspension and banned from the university campus and they were interviewed in places around the city. Also, some faculty members were involved in the Constitution outreach programme that was underway in the country and I had to travel distances away from the campus to meet and interview them.

Research Participants

A number of issues were considered in selecting the relevant participants for this study. As the study aimed to explore, understand and demonstrate the influences of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberal globalization on higher education in Zimbabwe, a relatively small sample of participants with experience of the situation in higher education was considered appropriate. As was observed by Rudestam and Newton, in most research situations, “participants are the experiential experts on the phenomenon being studied, participants’ main criteria is experiential relevance” (2007, p. 107). On the basis of such reasoning, participants for this study were individuals actively involved and conscious of what is happening specifically at the University of Zimbabwe and generally in higher education. Because of this I ended up with student activists and politically active faculty members as some of the participants in this research.

I was also guided by literature on Zimbabwe that consistently shows different explanations of the crisis the country is going through. Authors and commentators in Zimbabwe either place the blame on neoliberalism as a Western colonial agenda (Mahoso, 2003; Moyo & Yeros, 2007), or on authoritarian nationalism as a self-enriching agenda by the former freedom fighters in the ruling ZANUPF party (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a; Raftopoulos, 2003). Since the University of Zimbabwe is such an influential institution in the country and is a microcosm of the Zimbabwean socio-political milieu, I made it a point to ensure to some extent that the participants represented different and conflicting views on the crisis in higher education. This is corroborated by Rudestam and Newton:

The researcher becomes increasingly selective in collecting a sample by adding to it based on the core variables that emerge as important to the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study. This process is sometimes called discriminate sampling-choosing persons that enhance the possibility of comparative analysis (2007, p. 108).

In light of this view, some of the participants were well known anti-government student activists as well as pro-government elements, some faculty members are publicly aligned to the two main political parties in the country. One of the faculty members interviewed is a former freedom fighter whose right wing support for the government is well documented, while another was a candidate standing for the opposition party in the last election held in March 2008.

In total twenty participants were interviewed, of which there was one government official. Three were university administrators as well as three executive members of the Association of University Teachers, four faculty members, four executive members of the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) and five students all from the University of Zimbabwe. Issues of age, qualifications, faculty or any other characteristics were not considered important as the experiences and involvement at the university was valued. But the gender of students was an important factor, and as a result two female students and one female faculty member were interviewed. There are reports of female students being involved in prostitution and other anti-social behaviour because of accommodation crisis at the institution and I wanted to get such narratives from

the students themselves. A summary of the participants who were involved is presented in Table I below.

Table 1: Description of research participants

Category	Number	Political Affiliation	Political Activism
Government official	1	ZANU PF	Unclear/not public
Administrators	3	All said were ZANU PF	Not public
Association of University Teachers Executive	3	ZANU PF (1) Opposition (2)	ZANU PF open, well known activist; Open opposition member and candidate in 2008 elections; the other is not open
Faculty members	4	1. Unclear 2. Openly ZANU PF 3. ZANU PF 4. Openly opposition	1. Unclear, 2. Openly ZANU PF (war veteran); 3. Unclear/not public; and 4. Openly opposition (arrested, detained and assaulted on several occasions)
ZINASU Executive	4	1. President 2. Secretary General 3. National spokesman 4. Member at large	1. President is openly opposition, arrested on several times. The slogan for his executive is “Mugabe must go”. 2. Secretary is openly opposition, arrested, detained & assaulted on several times. On suspension. 3. National spokesperson is openly opposition. Arrested & detained on a number of occasions. 4. Openly opposition, arrested on several times.
Students	5	All were openly anti-government	All have been arrested and detained by police at some time, two are currently serving one-year suspension from the university and one was recently expelled.

These participants were deemed to be the most relevant in providing an insight into the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. Data was collected concerning their experiences as students, university teachers, administrators and government officials. Students provided data on issues such as availability of learning resources, library facilities, and ability to pay fees as well as accommodation situation. I was interested in getting their understanding and explanations of the challenges they were facing and the possible solutions to the crisis. Equally important, I placed effort in collecting students' understanding of their relations with university administrators, the government and opposition political parties including non-governmental organizations. Time was given to listening and collecting students' narratives of their learning situation, accommodation challenges and political victimization. From these stories I managed to discover and appreciate what it meant to them to be students in the current economically unstable and politically volatile environment.

The government's view was vital and the official from the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education answered many accusations, mainly from students and faculty members. Counter accusations against students and faculty also came from the government and in the process these interactions helped make sense of the government policies. I discovered what the government viewed was the role of higher education in the current national crisis as well as how they defined and interpreted high levels of political activity being witnessed at the University of Zimbabwe. Like students, faculty members are an integral part of the university system, arguably the most important. As a critical interpretive researcher, I held

the assumption that interview responses indexed some external reality, facts, events, feelings or meanings (Silverman, 1994) while at the same time recognizing interview data as accessing various stories or narratives through which people describe their worlds. From faculty members, narratives around issues of academic freedom, resources, working conditions and possibilities of trajectories out of the crisis were gathered. Listening and exploring these stories from a critical colonial perspective, I realized that all these participants were highly political, relentlessly critical of either authoritarian nationalism or transnational capitalism/neoliberalism. All the participants, in one way or another felt oppressed and desired some form of change. And in line with critical interpretive research, I intentionally engaged the participants to think of solutions to end their unwanted situations, regardless of how the individual participant “defined the situation” (Thomas, 1972), that is whether it was because of ZANU PF nationalism or neoliberalism. As was argued by Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, this model of research “aligns the ethics of research with a politics of the oppressed, with a politics of resistance, hope, and freedom” (2008, p. 15). Although making sense of the situation and interpretations were important to my study, I also sought accounts sensitive to the “dialectical relationship between the social structural constraints on human actors and the relative autonomy of human agency” (Anderson, 1989, p. 249). This was because, critical interpretive research, “advocates becoming aware of how our thinking is socially and historically constructed and how this limits our actions, in order to challenge these learned restrictions” (Fossey, et. al., 2002, p. 720).

Sampling Strategy

There are some fundamental principles that guide the selection of a sample and these are determined by the genre of the research. As this study was a critical interpretive case study, the sampling procedures that were used followed the theoretical reasoning behind interpretivist-naturalistic studies. Interpretive research, like this case study of the University of Zimbabwe, “aimed at developing an understanding of complex issues relating to human behaviour” (Marshall, 1996, p. 523). It is generally accepted that samples for interpretive investigations, tend to be small, and do not aim to get a representative sample because generalization of results to the population is not considered the ultimate goal of all good research (Marshall, 1996; Silverman, 2000; Wellington, 2000). An appropriate sample for an interpretive study is one that adequately answers the research question (Marshall, 1996). The goal of interpretive research typically “is to obtain insights into particular educational processes and practices that prevail within a specific location and in order to gain insights, researchers usually strive to extract meaning from their data” (Onwuegbuzie &, 2007, p. 106). Another idea to consider is that sample size in interpretive research may refer to numbers of persons, but also to numbers of interviews and observations conducted or numbers of events sampled” (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 180).

Guided by these philosophical principles of interpretive inquiry, twenty participants informed this study. As described above, those who made up this sample were students, faculty members, university administrators and a government official, all closely associated with the University of Zimbabwe, and

the country's higher education. According to The American Heritage College Dictionary, a sample is "a portion, piece, or segment that is representative of a whole." Also, sampling is "an act, process, or technique of selecting an appropriate sample" (1993, p. 1206). Although there is general agreement that the goal of qualitative research is not to generalize beyond a sample to the population (Donmoyer, 1990), it is true that some interpretive researchers, like me in this case, would find it difficult to resist the temptation to generalize findings to other higher education institutions in Zimbabwe. The twenty participants were purposefully sampled and "this is where the researcher employs his/her own discretion to select the respondents who best meet the purposes of the study" (Neutens & Robinson, 1997, p. 125).

Furthermore, sampling is described as purposive (or purposeful) "when it aims to select appropriate information sources to explore meanings, and theoretical when its aim is the selection of people, situations or processes on theoretical grounds to explore emerging ideas and build theory as data analysis progresses" (Fossey et. al. 2002, p. 720). It is concerned with information richness. In other words, purposive sampling requires "identification of appropriate participants, being those who can best inform the study" (Sandelowski, 1995, p. 181), or "who can best inform the research according to the theoretical requirements of the study" (Morse & Field, 1995, p. 80). The participants sampled for this study were judged to be appropriate and provided rich sources of information that addressed the research questions and developed full descriptions of the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe.

Twenty interviews, each averaging one and a half hours, were considered appropriate and provided sufficient information to address the key research questions. Creswell (2002) recommends that interpretive researchers should interview 15–20 people during a grounded theory study.

Gaining and Maintaining Access

The importance of gaining access to a research site is demonstrated by the close links between a research design and access issues. Research design involves how one decides who should be the informants and whether one has the right ones, while access involves convincing the people that have been decided to be informants to actually provide the information (Feldman, Bell & Berger, 2003). This means that failure to gain access may disrupt the whole research plan. Warren (cited in Mertens) identified a number of possible influences with respect to the researcher's entry into the field:

The fieldworker's initial reception by the host society is a reflection of cultural contextualization of the fieldworker's characteristics, which include marital status, age, physical appearance, presence and number of children, and ethnic, racial, class, or national differences as well as gender (2005, p. 250).

In this study, I found some of the above considerations unimportant for the purposes of gaining access and being received and accepted by participants. More important factors were academic/professional position and political affiliation or ideology.

From the outset I knew there were going to be problems with the Ministry

of Higher and Tertiary Education. I had written a letter to the ministry seeking permission, in May 2010, two months before I flew to Zimbabwe, but had received no response (See Appendix 1). The fact that the research was part of my studies, and I was at a Western university, complicated the issue. Canada is one of the countries that imposed targeted sanctions and travel restrictions on ZANU PF leaders and is therefore considered as one of the countries seeking regime change in Zimbabwe. The “gatekeepers, that is, those with power in the organization” (Mertens, 2005, p. 249) told me that I was supposed to write another letter seeking permission to carry out this research to the cabinet, through the ministry’s permanent secretary. Furthermore, I was told the minimum waiting time for a response would be six months. This was tantamount to a denial of permission. The gatekeepers had closed the doors. Although this was not going to affect my entry into the university, it meant I was not going to interview a government representative. Through pleading and patience, one of the directors in the ministry agreed to be interviewed but on condition that the interview proceedings were not recorded. It should be pointed out that the fact that this was part of my studies and not funded by any organization, and also the fact that I am an employee of the ministry on study leave, swayed the director to accept my invitation to an interview. What happened with the ministry officials has also been observed by Feldman et. al.:

Researchers draw on various aspects of their identity to create connection with other people. Being a scholar is often an important part of a researcher’s identity and one that researchers tend to emphasize while

conducting research. Related to relationship-building skills is one's ability to be flexible, to be persistent without being annoying (2003, p. xi).

For members of the ZINASU executive, I had their names and phone numbers from the Dean of Students' office. I made "cold calls" (Baron & Markman, 2003, p. 107) to each member and on most occasions they did not answer my calls. Though it can be expected that it was because I was unknown to these students, I later learnt that it is their policy not to answer phone calls from anonymous/private or unknown numbers. They said most of the time it is usually state agents looking for them. To get them to talk to me I had to first send a text message, introducing myself and the reason I was looking for them. Several meetings were then arranged and I met and interviewed students. Some student activists, even those not in leadership positions of ZINASU, were not allowed on campus. I interviewed them in restaurants and recreation parks around the city of Harare. Sometimes I met them as a group of four or five students and general conversations were held. The ZINASU executive invited me to attend the national students' convention on constitution making process that was held from the 13th to the 15th of August in the suburb of Kambuzuma in Harare.

Student leaders and activists from all institutions of higher learning were present. I was asked to give a solidarity speech at the beginning of the conference. I kindly obliged knowing that it would be easier to interact with the whole group once they got to know me. I also participated in other formal group discussions during this convention. In a sense I was offering some service in the form of ideas and this is what is commonly referred to in the ethnographic literature as

exchange of services or reciprocity (Agar, 1980). It has been observed that participants are entitled to some kind of return for the time and effort they contribute to the study. At this conference I talked to those who had been assaulted, arrested, imprisoned, suspended, expelled and all other stories around student activism and issues in Zimbabwe. It was interesting to get such a cooperative group of interviews, but equally emotional to listen to their ordeal and their learning circumstances. Just to have someone recording their experiences and stories with the intention of authorizing and publishing them worked as a motivating factor and encouraged them to be even more cooperative interviewees. Walshman noted that “attentive listening on the part of the researcher is often the most appreciated service rendered” (2004, p. 322). Students had accepted me as an elder brother, a friend, and an advisor. Mertens (2005) captured these as some of the positive roles of a researcher that aids in gaining and maintaining access in a research study. The “friendship” with students also meant sometimes having lunch together and I would bear the costs. This was not bribery as this was not solicited by students and I did so voluntarily. It is also cultural and in line with the philosophy of unhu (Venter, 2004) that if you are hosting you must provide some food. However, others warn researchers to be wary of such actions as this would be tantamount to manipulating respondents (Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). Fortunately, these were adult and conscious activists who identified my study with their challenges and struggle.

Interviewing faculty members did not pose many challenges because some of them knew me or had heard something about me. As academics they are

researchers and knew the importance of research and in my case, research for academic studies. My topic was so appealing and relevant to academics that it was the “hook” (Feldman, et. al., 2003, p. 25) that motivated interviewees to take part. The fact that the research was part of my doctoral studies helped “legitimate me as a researcher-to demonstrate to those from whom one is seeking access that the research is being conducted by a credible researcher who will behave in a professional manner” (Feldman, et. al., 2003, p. 29). Consequently there was trust as I established strong respectful ties with respondents. As it was the time when there was an outreach programme for the country’s constitution, some academics were out of Harare as they were involved and I travelled to three different cities to carry out interviews. Other faculty members were interviewed in their offices or at their homes. This was also the case with administrators.

Data Collection

Three main data collection strategies were employed for this critical interpretive case study of the University of Zimbabwe. Semi-structured interviews were held with twenty participants that included 1 government official, 3 University of Zimbabwe administrators, 3 executive members of the Association of University Teachers, 4 faculty members, 4 executive members of the Zimbabwe National Students Association and 5 students. These participants were interviewed at the University of Zimbabwe and around the city while others were interviewed outside the city of Harare. Observations of the research site and its surroundings were also considered along with a study of pertinent documents and records.

Semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 2009; Mertens, 2005; Potter & Hepburn, 2005) were employed to gather data in this critical interpretive case study of the University of Zimbabwe. Interviews were used as the dominant strategy in the collection of data and they were employed in conjunction with document analysis and observations. As this was a critical interpretive case study, semi-structured interviews were employed to collect “thick and rich” descriptions of the experiences of the participants. “In semi-structured interviews either all of the questions are more flexibly worded or the interviews is a mix of more and less structured questions” (Merriam, 2009, p. 90). These interpretive research interviews aimed “to elicit participants’ views of their lives, as portrayed in their stories, and so to gain access to their experiences, feelings and social worlds” (Fossey, et. al., 2002, p. 727). According to Fossey, et. al., “semi-structured interviews are used to facilitate more focused exploration of a specific topic, using an interview guide. Interview guides usually contain a list of questions and prompts designed to guide the interview in a focused, yet flexible and conversational manner” (2002, p. 727). The aim was to go below the surface of the general topic of crisis in higher education, and explore what people say in as much detail as possible, and uncover new areas or ideas that were not anticipated at the outset of the research. It was because of this that stories about students’ arrests, assaults and court/prison experiences were obtained though no specific question solicited for such responses.

Patton (1990) provided three strategies that researchers can use to control

the interview process: knowing the purpose of the interview, asking the right questions to get the information needed, and giving appropriate verbal and non-verbal feedback. As these were semi-structured interviews there were no restrictions in the wording of the questions, the order of the questions or the interview schedule (Hoepfl, 1997; Walsham, 2006). Because of this I made use of a set of questions that guided and helped the interview process to remain focused on the research questions and objectives as well as the purpose of the study (See Appendix V, VI, and VII). These interviews were audio-taped and all the participants except the government official accepted to be tape recorded. As was noted by Patton, I found out that the use of the tape recorder was “indispensable” (1990, p. 348). Others like Lincoln and Guba “do not recommend recording except for unusual reasons” (1985, p. 241) because of the intrusiveness of recording devices and the possibility of technical failure. However, because of the number (twenty) and average length of the interviews (one hour and thirty minutes) that were carried out audio-recordings had the advantage of capturing data more faithfully than hurriedly written notes might, and made it easier for me as the researcher to focus on the interview. Also, audio-recording gave “a truer record of what was said compared with the taking of notes during the interview, no matter how extensive” (Fossey, et. al., 2002, p. 727).

I also asked for permission to record the interview proceedings and all but one declined. I explained to them that the recording of the interviews would ensure accurate capture of their views and as was advised by Bogdan and Biklen (2007) there was need to jot down notes to supplement my memory. As this was

critical interpretive practice, “both the hows and the whats of social reality” at the University of Zimbabwe were sought. It centred on finding out how people constructed their experiences and their worlds, conscious of the fact that “the safeguarding of this subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005, pp. 484-485).

According to Fontana and Frey (2005), an interview involves an informal conversation with the respondent and a friendly tone must be developed while at the same time remain focused on the topics of inquiry. I treated my respondents as experts and this made them feel valued and important members of the university community. Most of them opened up and shared personal feelings, stories and secret details concerning their experiences and observations. This showed that the interviews were “honest, morally sound ... respondents were allowed to express personal feelings and therefore presented a more realistic picture” (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 371). Some of the participants, notably faculty members were familiar with me and hence the proceedings were very open, had confidence in me and well aware of the purposes of my research.

Participants narrated their emotionally charged stories, especially those who went through some form of police victimization, and this made it possible for me to comply with the interpretive expectation that a researcher should listen more and talk less (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Wiersma & Jurs, 2005).

Documents and records.

Another important source of data for this study were the documents and records about the University of Zimbabwe and higher education in general that were consulted. Documentary sources were used “as heuristic devices to identify data consisting of words that have become recorded without the intervention of a researcher” (Silverman, 2003, p. 348). Documents fit the interpretive criteria of using data rich in description (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Documents and records that were used included advertisements, agendas, registration records, and minutes of meetings, journal articles, books and brochures, event programs (printed outlines of graduation ceremonies), letters and memoranda, newspapers (articles), press releases, application forms, institutional reports (e.g. vice-chancellor’s annual reports, student union reports and other public records). These were found in both printed and electronic forms. The study or analysis of these documents was systematically done in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge.

As has been noted by a number of scholars (Hodder, 2003; Patton, 2002; Wellington, 2000), I used documents and records to supplement field observations and interviews. Hodder (2003) and Bowen (2009) also observed that texts can be used alongside other forms of evidence so that the particular biases of each can be understood and compared. Furthermore documents provided a context within which research participants operate, “a case of text providing context, providing background information as well as historical insight” (Bowen; 2009, p. 29). The background to the crisis in Zimbabwe’s higher education is well documented and

this made it easier to introduce the research topic to participants. Closely associated with this, is the idea that documents provide a means of tracking change and development (Hodder, 2003; Yin, 1994). An understanding of higher education in Zimbabwe requires one to trace its development through the various phases of the country's history and development and this was obtained from documents.

Documents also helped to generate new interview questions, particularly around the influence of internal and external non-governmental organizations. It was after reading publications from the non-governmental organization, Students Solidarity Trust (SST) and the Western embassies that fund it, that I developed research questions around ZINASU funding and alliances. It is also important to note that participant observations, such as was the case at the National Students Constitution Convention held in Harare, provided opportunities to collect documents.

The use of these documentary sources was also “a means of triangulation of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). A qualitative researcher is expected to draw upon multiple sources of evidence to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different sources and methods (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994), and thus “provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a study's findings are simply an artefact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's bias (Bowen, 2009; Patton, 2002). However, it should be pointed out that as a critical interpretive

endeavour, this study was “not interested in the truth as it is conventionally conceived”, I was “not searching for the true picture” of the University of Zimbabwe, but “an understanding of how the university is defined by various people” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 137). These different documentary sources provided conflicting pictures about the University of Zimbabwe. For example, the vice-chancellor’s annual reports appear positive and paint a bright picture of the university while reports published by the student union and some non-governmental organizations tell a different story. Guided by critical interpretive research sensibilities, I considered these documents as sources of rich descriptions of how the people who produced the materials think about the University of Zimbabwe. The theoretical orientation of interpretive researchers is one that is more concerned with the processes through which these texts depict reality than with whether such texts contain true or false statements (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2003). As I read these reports, and compared the accounts given by the government, university administration, students and others like non-governmental organizations, I was struck by the ways in which the differences in the factual information reported were related to or were part of the moral work of the report, particularly regarding who was to blame for the crisis at the university. At the end I was guided by Paul Drew’s advice that documents should be analyzed as topics in their own right, and from his own study he wrote;

In contrast to using the reports as a resource of factual information, I took them to be topics of inquiry, texts which represented the perspectives, definitions and versions of reality held by different people (Drew, 2006, p.

65).

Therefore documents were valuable sources of information, not about facts, but about subjective experiences, the ways in which people attribute meanings to their experiences, and the perspectives they develop in ordering and seeing patterns in their experiences.

Observations.

Observations and conversations were employed to gather data that supplemented data collected from interviews, documents and records analysis. Observational data were used to describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those activities, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspectives of those observed (Patton, 2002). In this sense, observation epitomizes the idea of the researcher as the research instrument (Mays & Pope, 1995) and therefore one of the primary and significant methods in interpretive research (Mertens, 2005). Observation methods “involve the systematic, detailed observation of behaviour and talk: watching and recording what people do and say” (Mays & Pope, 1995, p. 182). Along the same lines Marshall and Rossman add that “observation entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviours, and social artefacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study” (2006, p. 98). It is further seen as “a method of data collection that employs vision as its main means of data collection” (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 207). Observation method is encouraged because “to understand fully the complexities of many situations, direct participation in and observation of the phenomenon of interest may be the best research method”

(Patton, 2002, p. 21). Observational data allowed an understanding of the crisis in higher education as played out at the University of Zimbabwe to an extent not entirely possible using only insights of others obtained through interviews and documents. Not only did I manage to observe gestures and emotions of the informants during interviews, but I witnessed working conditions of lecturers as shown by the conditions of their offices, the unavailability of computers and internet services, open shelves in the library and the dilapidated lecture rooms. Through observations I also confirmed the closure of students' hostels and the poor sanitation conditions as illustrated by many out of order washrooms and students buying lunch at the university main entrance from some enterprising city vendors who are exploiting the crisis.

Thus concepts and or themes like student victimization, poverty, learning conditions, nationalism and others guided my observation and field notes were made randomly during the observations and in detail at the end of the day.

Analysis of Data

Data analysis in critical interpretive research is informed by the general principles of analysis that guide qualitative inquiry. Critical interpretive research aims to formulate theoretical interpretations of data grounded in reality and provides a means for understanding the world (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and for developing action strategies that will allow for some measures of control over it (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). It has also been observed that an important issue in data analysis is the issue of “theoretical sensitivity”, and this refers to “a personal quality of the researcher ... It indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning

of data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 41). As this was a critical interpretive inquiry, involving “inductive analysis” (Patton, 2002, p. 453), it meant there was a clear dialectical relationship between theory (critical colonial perspectives) and the phenomena (the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe) (Bartlett, 1991).

Data from interviews, documents and observations were analysed using the “constant comparative method” (Boeije, 2002; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Patton, 2002; Thorne, 2000). It is defined as “a research design for multi-data sources in which the formal analysis begins early in the study and is nearly completed by the end of data collection” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 271). Constant comparative analysis involves thematic analysis. It is “a progressive process of classifying, comparing, grouping and refining groupings of text segments to create and then clarify the definition of categories, or themes, within the data” (Fossey, et. al., 2002, p. 729). Interpretive researchers advise that thematic analytic procedures focus on developing categories, derived inductively from the data itself, rather than from a priori theory to enable systematic description (Ellis, 1998). However, this was a critical interpretive inquiry and “the researcher’s history, social location, and specific world view, ... broader cultural milieu” (Prasad, 2005, p.32), formed acceptable “forestructures of understanding” (Prasad, 2005, p. 33; Smith, 1991, p. 193), and themes were formed around my research questions. Thus themes such as nationalism, neoliberalism, state victimization, and deterioration of university standards were categories I had before fieldwork started.

Once I started data collection, I was heavily guided by Boeije’s (2002)

qualitative analysis of data from interviews and I came up with four steps and these were;

1. Comparison within a single interview,
2. Comparison between interviews within the same group (e.g. students),
3. Comparison of interviews from different groups (e.g. administrators and students), and
4. Comparison of data from interviews, documents and observations.

During my first interviews I developed some coding system of the collected data and that was “labelling segments of data to identify themes” (Fossey, et. el., p. 729). This process of classifying or labelling units of data is called “categorization, and the essence of categorization is identifying a chunk or unit of data as belonging to, representing, or being an example of some more general phenomenon” (Spiggle, 1994, p. 493). “Categories created when a researcher groups or clusters the data, become the basis for the organization and conceptualization of that data” (Dey, 1993, p. 112). As a result from each interview I constructed labels or categories and came out with themes that included state dictatorship, autocratic university administration, student funding, faculty conditions of service, brain drain, learning conditions, state victimization, role of political parties and non-governmental organizations, foreign imperial factor, indigenous capitalism and patriotism. Some of these themes were brought up more eloquently by some interviewees than others. Again not every interview captured these issues as each group emphasized issues that were pertinent to it. It should be pointed out that these categories or themes are my own construction,

“abstraction that is going beyond the identification of patterns and groups previously identified categories into more general, conceptual classes (Spiggle, 1994, p. 493). Some interviewees narrated the way they were treated by the police and such stories were categorized under state victimization. Students described their accommodation crisis, the closure of campus halls of residence, difficulty in accessing internet on campus, poor condition of the library and other areas and all these were categorized under learning conditions.

The process of categorization was influenced by the critical colonial perspectives that informed this study. This made the coding process a subjective process because I chose the concepts to focus on. Comparison explored differences and similarities within collected data. “Each piece of data must be compared with every other piece of relevant data” (Boeije, 2002, p. 393). Though this was not practical in my case, a huge effort was put to analyze all collected data along the developed themes or categories. The art of comparison has to do with creative processes and with the interplay between data and researcher when gathering and analysing data, and this strategy involves taking one piece of data (one interview, one statement, one theme) and comparing it with all others that may be similar or different in order to develop conceptualisations of the possible relations between various pieces of data. Some pieces of data appeared incomparable as I failed to associate them with established categories or themes. This type of incomparable data included some gestures and expressions I noted from participants, as well as graffiti found around campus and even on some buildings in the city. In such circumstances, Corbin and Strauss advise researchers

to use what they call “theoretical comparisons. These are tools designed to assist the analyst with arriving at a definition or understanding of some phenomena by looking at the property and dimensions” (2008, p. 75). In line with this I managed to fit these pieces of data into theories such as dictatorship of the state, privatization/neoliberalism, social democracy/state controlled capitalism, patriotism, African development, indigenization and others that appeared to fit in the general focus of this study. This process continued with the comparison of each interview or account until all had been compared with each other. The analysis procedure employed also involved iteration and this involves moving through data collection in such a way that preceding operations shaped subsequent ones (Spiggle, 1994). Iteration implies that researchers do not perform specific research stages in a sequential manner but move back and forth between stages (Morse, 1994), a hermeneutic process of looping back and forward (Ellis, 1998; Smith, 1991).

Therefore, data analysis for this study involved categorization, abstraction and comparison. These processes enabled the construction of a coherent conceptual framework or explanation of the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. The study of documents, analysis of observations and interviews, developed themes and consequently perspectives of the government, students, faculty and administrators. The constant comparative method allowed me to describe and conceptualise the variety that exists within the subject under study. Variation or range exists by the grace of comparison and looking for commonalities and differences in behaviour, reasons, attitudes, and perspectives.

Ethical Issues and Tensions

Critical interpretive research derives from socio-political and emancipatory traditions, in which knowledge is not seen as discovered by objective inquiry but as acquired through critical discourse and debate. It falls under the family of paradigms that Mertens called “transformative and emerged because of dissatisfaction with research conducted within other paradigms that was perceived to be irrelevant to, or a misrepresentation of, the lives of people who experienced oppression” (2005, p. 36). In other words this concerns ethically responsible research. “Clearly sound ethics and sound methodology go hand in hand” (Sieber, 1992, p. 4). In this study I had concern for the rights and welfare of the research participants. Also from a critical interpretive perspective, the relationship between researcher and researched should develop into one of cooperation and collaboration that is directed towards understanding as a tool to be used in the ongoing process of practical transformation of society (Punch, 1994). The implication for methodologies informed by this perspective is that they aim to foster self-reflection, mutual learning, participation and empowerment, rather than the acceptance of discoveries (Fossey et al, 2002, p. 720). Consequently, in this study students, faculty and administrators at the University of Zimbabwe were seen as “partners, respondents, participants, stakeholders in the research process that is based on avoidance of harm, fully informed consent and the need for privacy and confidentiality” (Punch, 1994, p. 89). This brings about a number of concerns generally referred to as research ethics. The first major ethical issue I considered had to do with confidentiality to

individuals. Christians wrote:

Confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure. All personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity. Professional etiquette uniformly concurs that no one deserves harm or embarrassment as a result of insensitive research practices (2005, p. 145).

The same view is echoed by Marshall (1996), Marshall and Rossman (2006) and Walshman (2004). “Confidentiality means that the privacy of individuals will be protected in that the data they provide will be handled and reported in such a way that they cannot be associated with them personally” (Mertens, 2005, p. 333). “Anonymity means that no uniquely identifying information is attached to the data, and thus no one, not even the researcher, can trace the data back to the individual providing them” (Mertens, 2005, p. 333).

There was no need for deception in this study and I made every effort to make all aspects clear to the respondents. Deception has been viewed as one of the main failings of the postpositivist paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Participants’ anonymity and confidentiality were assured from the beginning and the letter of contact that was made available and signed by all interviewees explained these concerns. (See Appendix IV). More specifically, I undertook not to identify them by name or by giving their specific position. Data was coded and names of participants were not recorded with the data. My letter of initial contact also had information on who the participants could contact in the event that they had complaints over my conduct. The problem that arose from this is that, it may

be possible for some individuals within the University of Zimbabwe to make an informed guess as to whom particular views may be attributed, even though I did not mention any names or positions. Views expressed by some student leaders and some public intellectuals I interviewed can be traced to these individuals. It should be noted though that some of my participants like student leaders and public intellectuals identify themselves with their views and do not see any risks. They consistently give press interviews and their views are published in the media.

Another important ethical issue that was considered involved the concept of “informed consent, by which the subjects of research have the right to be informed that they are being researched and also about the nature of the research” (Punch, 1994, p. 90). As this was an “overt approach” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 80), I made my interests known and sought the cooperation of the participants. And consistent with critical interpretivism’s commitment to individual autonomy, “the research subjects have to agree to voluntarily participate and secondly their agreement must be based on full and open information” (Christian, 2005, p. 144). I explained fully my research and some female students were not comfortable with it as they feared it would lead them to trouble with authorities. Similarly one faculty dean showed he was not interested in being interviewed and he consistently gave excuses until I gave up. As a moral inquirer I built a collaborative, reciprocal, trusting, mutually accountable relationship with those I studied. It was a research with a human face, informed by the African philosophy of unhu/ubuntu.

Research Credibility, Transferability and Dependability

Critical interpretive research strives to establish credibility, transferability and dependability. Credibility is defined as “how accurately the account represents participants’ realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them (Schwandt cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 2). It is the parallel of internal validity in postpositivist research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). “The credibility test asks if there is a correspondence between the way the respondents actually perceive social constructs and the way the researcher portrays their viewpoints” (Mertens, 2005, p. 254). The researcher’s commitment is to understand the world as it unfolds, be true to complexities and multiple perspectives as they emerge from participants (Patton, 2002). This means the credibility of this study should be measured by the correspondence between the respondents’ perceptions of the situation in higher education and the way I portrayed their viewpoints. It was important to understand the perspectives of students, faculty members and administration staff, to uncover the complexity of their behaviour, and to present a holistic interpretation of the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. To increase the correspondence between my study and the real world (Wolcott, 1992) as it unfolded at the University of Zimbabwe, triangulation was employed. I used multiple methods, multiple sources of data, multiple participants representing multiple groups found at the research site. In the process there was cross checking of data, for instance what someone told me in an interview could be checked against what I observed. This is corroborated by Merriam who wrote:

Triangulation using multiple sources of data means comparing and cross-

checking data collected through observations at different times or in different places, or interview data collected from people with different perspectives or from follow-up interview with the same people (2009, p. 216).

Member checks (Patton, 2007; Sieber, 1992) were also used to ensure credibility. This is referred to as respondent validation and involves soliciting feedback on emerging findings from some of the people who were interviewed (Merriam, 2009). A period of over two months was set aside to carry out interviews in a persistent manner to get participants' views and to engage in multiple checks. Follow up discussions through e-mails and phone calls were done to get clarification over certain issues. I also think the approaches I used allowed for adequate engagement in data collection and hence ensured credibility. Twenty interviews, consistent observations over a period of two months, and various documents were the data collection procedures and I only stopped when the emerging findings became saturated (Patton, 2002; Sarantakos, 1998; Wolcott, 2005) and no new information was surfacing.

Lastly, "researcher's position" (Merriam, 2009, p. 219), also referred to as "reflexivity- the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the human as instrument" (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 183), was another important issue around building the credibility of this study. I have clearly explained my disposition and assumptions through the theoretical framework I selected to guide this research. The critical colonial perspectives I employed articulate and clarify my assumptions, experiences, worldview and theoretical orientation and this

should assist with an understanding of the eventual interpretation of data that emerged from this study.

Transferability is defined as “the degree you can generalize the results to other situations” (Mertens, 1998, p. 68). I considered the case of the University of Zimbabwe as a good example of Zimbabwe’s higher education system. The transferability of this study was also enhanced by the use of “rich, thick description”, meaning “a highly descriptive, detailed presentation of the setting and in particular, the findings of the study” (Merriam, 2009, p. 227). In support Lincoln and Guba wrote, “thick description of the text so that someone in a potential receiving context may assess the similarity between them and the study” (1985, p. 125). There is detailed description of the setting (the University of Zimbabwe) and participants of the study, as well as detailed description of the findings with adequate evidence presented in the form of quotes from interviews, field notes and documents.

Summary

This chapter has addressed the methodological approaches to the study. A critical interpretive case study, informed by critical colonial perspectives was considered most appropriate for studying the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. A detailed description of the methods used to collect data was provided, as well as extensive discussion covering analysis and the ethical issues and tensions related to the research. The next chapter considers the emergent themes from this critical interpretive case study.

CHAPTER IV

A CASE STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE: EMERGENT THEMES

The Context: Deterioration and Crisis

The University of Zimbabwe is the largest and oldest University in Zimbabwe. It has 10 faculties; Arts, Education, Law, Commerce, Agriculture, Science, Veterinary Science, Medicine, Engineering and Social Studies. As has been shown above, from independence the ZANU PF government has always recognized the university as an important and strategic institution in the party's political machinations to retain power. The University was facing many challenges when I visited it and I observed that student halls of residence were closed. The condition of the buildings was rapidly deteriorating with many washrooms closed and not functioning as there was no running water. It was evident the institution was underfunded and this is what some of the participants said:

Like any other organization, because of economic crisis government is failing to fund education. We have problems about staff remuneration. A university lecturer cannot own a car. Opportunities to do research are there but there is no funding and this is frustrating. Resources like teaching, physical infrastructure, accommodation, lecture rooms, lecture theatres, no water in students' residences, no projectors, students rent accommodation outside university and travel expensively to and from

university (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

This enumeration of the challenges the University is facing was echoed by almost all participants although they did differ on the causes and who should be blamed for being this. Other participants compared their current conditions with what the institution was like in the past.

We are looking at what we were in the past. Here at the University of Zimbabwe we were a benchmark. We have not improved from what it was 5 years into independence. We have appalling vacancy rate; the majority of lecturers possess master's degree and nothing else. Many have left to other countries. We have witnessed deterioration in terms of resources. Those with some university experience have gone for greener pastures. It may be because of economic world order but also because of poor planning. We are creating too many state universities. The resources we have should be used to strengthen and fully resource the few existing universities (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers, August 2010).

One would want to wish we could have continued in the path we had during the 80s and 90s where almost all resources were there for lecturers and students. There was professionalism in the way we interacted. But most of these have gone now. We no longer have resources. Gone are the days when you could go into a university where there are stacks and stacks of books and you could lay claim to a book which your lecturer had not seen. There is hardly any food and resources for students and lecturers. A

lecturer has to ask himself whether writing a paper is as important as scrounging for food. There are crises and you can look for them from all sorts of angles (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

The political problems emanating from issues of governance determined by ZANU PF's hegemonic ambitions dominated most conversations with participants. The university administration, particularly top administrators are viewed as politicians and not academic superintendents. This is leading to indiscipline among the student and faculty bodies. This is what some of the students and faculty members had to say;

We have had policies of expediency relating to higher education. Higher education is viewed with suspicion. Deliberate policy has been put in place to stifle academic freedom, independent thinking, freedom of expression etc. We have now witnessed the emergence of an elite class, dominated by politicians, mainly from the ruling party. They have become very powerful. Most of them send their children to access foreign universities in UK, USA, Australia, Canada and other English universities. They will not then pay attention to local universities because they do not have a stake in these universities. Issues of accommodation and others are not of concern to them. They would want students to be vulnerable as they are today, they cannot afford fees, accommodation, purchase of books (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

We do not have a clear higher education policy. The vice-chancellor can

suspend a student willy nilly, the police can arrest you when they want without any charges. We do not have the right to demonstrate (Interview notes, Student leader, August 2010).

All these pronouncements from students and faculty portray the University of Zimbabwe as an institution in crisis. One administrator further confirmed this picture when he said:

I can tell you that we are facing a lot of challenges. What quickly comes to mind is the scenario where students cannot afford paying for their tuition and government is also not in a position to pay students fees. So the greatest dilemma is to carry on with university education with no one funding it. Even the students cannot afford to pay the tuition fees. Students are asked to apply for cadetship funds, which they do, but the government does not have the money, does not release the money but expect university education to continue. Lecturers and staff do not receive good salaries and they are threatening to quit teaching (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

Furthermore the crisis situation enveloping the university was clearly spelt out by one faculty member:

We have crisis in higher and tertiary education. Universities must lead society towards development but now we see universities following political leaders and have lost their right of giving advice. The change can be traced from the early 1990s with Ordinance 30 when the university adopted neoliberal policies. It got worse with the polarization in

Zimbabwe with the emergence of the Movement for Democratic Change party and ZANU PF also mobilizing along what they called patriotism and pan-Africanism. The whole essence of independence of the university was misconstrued as a potential threat to the powers that be. There was a deliberate attempt to control the university and to whip students and staff into line, to support the status quo (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

While some university administrators, students and faculty members narrated the situation at the University of Zimbabwe as characterized by a plethora of challenges and problems, government acknowledged the existence of crisis but blamed it on foreigners, student leaders and opposition parties who are all blamed for seeking regime change, that is, removing ZANU PF from power.

These students and lecturers are members of opposition parties. They work together with foreign non-governmental organizations and they campaigned for sanctions against the country hoping to unseat the ZANU PF government. Now the sanctions imposed by the Western countries are hurting them as well (Interview notes, Government official, August 2010).

This was largely the economic, political as well as academic situation at the University of Zimbabwe when this study was being undertaken. It was a context characterized by crisis: lack of resources, student and faculty poverty, political intimidation and violence perpetrated by state agents on students and faculty and a general desire to see an end to the prevailing situation by almost all participants.

The context of the site was therefore conducive and appropriate for a critical interpretive form of inquiry as such research attempts to address oppression and suffering (Denzin et. al., 2006; Giarelli, 1992; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005).

ZANU PF Authoritarian Nationalism and Crisis at the University of Zimbabwe

The twenty interviews that were held as well as the corroborating observations and document study demonstrated the influence of the ruling ZANU PF party and government on the administration of the University of Zimbabwe and their responsibility for the crisis. ZANU PF's version of nationalism, that has been described variously as authoritarian (Raftopoulos, 2003), violent party nationalism (Bull-Christiansen, 2004) and exhausted (Bond & Manyanya, 2003) has had an impact on the university in various ways. This section considers two main emergent themes: ZANU PF government's use of higher education as a tool to maintain its power and how ZANU PF's control of higher education has created crisis at the University of Zimbabwe.

Public and/or party university.

The issue of the relationship between the ruling ZANU PF party and the University of Zimbabwe raised different and opposing views from the participants. Concomitant with Mugabe's view that the institution was too important to be left entirely to educators, documents consulted showed the immense control the government has over the university. There is also ample evidence throughout the country that there is no separation between government and ZANU PF. According to Section 7.1 of the University of Zimbabwe Act (UZ

Act); “The president of Zimbabwe shall be the Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe” and Section 7.2 further states that; “The Chancellor shall be the Chief Officer of the University who shall have the right to preside over any assembly or meeting held by or under the authority of the University” (University of Zimbabwe Act, 21/1990). According to Section 8.1 the Chancellor appoints the Vice-Chancellor and Section 8.3a-f empowers the Vice-Chancellor to:

1. Prohibit the admission of a student or any person to the university.
2. Prohibit, indefinitely or for such a period as he may specify, any student or group of students from attending any class or classes.
3. Prohibit any student or group of student or person or group of students from entering or remaining on such part or parts of the University campus as he may specify.
4. Expel or suspend, indefinitely or for such period as he may specify, any student or group of student; and
5. Dissolve or suspend indefinitely or for such a period as he may specify, the Students’ Union or any of its committees or organs, or prohibit or suspend, indefinitely or for such a period as he may specify, any activity or function of the Students’ Union or nay of its committees or organs.

The University of Zimbabwe Act appears to be giving the Vice-Chancellor arbitrary and excessive powers and this has been interpreted differently by students, faculty, administrators and government. The student union concludes that the Vice-Chancellor is endowed with un-checked powers and this has contributed to the collapse of the university (Students Solidarity Trust, 2009).

Such perceptions are widely shared within the university community where some consider that the powers of the Vice-Chancellor are intended to control academics and stifle academic freedom. Some faculty members had this to say about the Vice-Chancellor's powers:

The problem is some people are seen as outsiders in terms of one's political belonging. At one time the Vice-Chancellor said to me I am the deputy to the president. This is meant to intimidate us, he is peddling terror and he is becoming political, showing that he can use state security apparatus to silence us. It is not that lecturers are against the government, but the Vice-Chancellor sees unions as there to incite others to strike.

When someone feels exposed and criticised he feels uncomfortable, especially the Vice-Chancellor who is a political appointee. He is not the deputy to the president and there is no need to refer to such issues. He is trying to instil fear (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

... these days even if the Vice-Chancellor abuses the resources of the university, ... because they are aligned to the ruling party nothing will be done to them. We need a Vice-Chancellor who will respect that universities are run by committees, council, senate and not the hard party line (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

The University is a microcosm of the state. The state president has power over all state universities and has power to appoint vice-chancellors. He has power to appoint the top five administrators. Some lecturers are deemed unpatriotic and dangerous (Interview notes, Faculty member,

August 2010).

These critical views from faculty members about the administrative structure of the university with reference to the Vice-Chancellor are in line with observations made by the student union. Also a study of university documents such as academic board and Council meetings showed that the state president is always cited under apologies for having failed to attend. But there were some faculty members who saw nothing wrong in the administrative structure.

I do not think the government has so much interference in universities.

They have let universities independent and autonomous (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

Some say such a set up means government interference in the running of the institution. It is the people on the ground who manipulate the system to their advantage. This was meant to allow the government at the highest level to engage with education issues. It is the people who have been put in places and not the system who have caused problems (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Participants generally acknowledged the involvement of the government in the administration of the University of Zimbabwe. The majority did not consider the arrangement as healthy for the university but those sympathetic to the government regarded the structure as informed by positive intentions. Student views on the administrative structure were unequivocal against the powers bestowed on the vice-chancellor's office.

Ahh... obviously they belong to ZANU PF as they are appointed by

Mugabe, the chancellor. They follow what is wanted by ZANU PF. We fight against high fees, most of our parents are civil servants.... We demand free education and academic freedom. If we hold a demonstration we are accused of having been sent by the opposition (Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

The Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the president, on partisan basis. We have the minister but he does not have a direct influence on the Vice-Chancellors. They report directly to the state president. The Vice-Chancellor does not take orders from the minister. You can be suspended on the basis of party affiliation. For example, when I was called for my hearing they asked why I reported my case to Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai. You could tell this was beyond student activism. They want to get rid of us because we are opinion leaders especially in this country and they see us as bad apples that can influence people (Student leader, Interview notes, August 2010).

The issue is with the regime. Mugabe is wrong. His appointees are responsible. These administrators are intelligence agents. They report directly to the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) boss, Mr. Bonyongwe. The Vice-Chancellor jumps the bureaucracy and other CIO officers are not happy. They say it out ... information leaks. ... Mugabe has militarized every government institution (Interview notes, Student activist, July, 2010).

Such sentiments from students were not surprising considering the cat and mouse

relationship between ZINASU and the government and ZANU PF. The government as expected did not see anything wrong with its policy and involvement at the University of Zimbabwe. I raised the above complaints and views from students and faculty about government role, with a government official who dismissed these views as simple and naïve politicking on the part of opposition elements within the university community, and he said:

These people are against privatization of university facilities ... in other words they want government to run these facilities. But they do not want government to be involved in administrative issues. Do you see this adding up? No no no This does not make much sense to me (Interview notes, Government official, August 2010).

Such a perspective is shared by some faculty members.

There have been attempts to buy the African intelligencia through scholarship, giving posts for teaching etc. Naturally this has produced two schools in the university. The Western world has had investments in this country for some time and they have been attempts to buy and divide Zimbabweans to protect their investments. Those who reject that these problems have been caused by outsiders are just not honest. There are many countries where problems of corruption, bribery etc. are rampant but nothing has been done about them (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

This seemed to be the dilemma proponents of academic freedom are faced with; government funding results in government control. Also western support and

sympathy further invites government control. Nevertheless, these views portray the widely acknowledged perception that since 2000, all institutions of national strategic importance were to be controlled by the party and government as a way of safeguarding and fortifying ZANU PF's hold on power amidst the growing influence of opposition parties. Higher education together with defence, home affairs, legal affairs and land, were some of the areas President Mugabe labelled non-negotiable during meetings with the opposition Movement for Democratic Change that led to the formation of the current unity government. Administrators at the University of Zimbabwe are supposed to be or should openly pretend to be members of ZANU PF. The appointment of the university's top five administrators; namely vice-chancellor, pro vice-chancellor, registrar, bursar and librarian is done by or through the state president's office. The University of Zimbabwe Act, particularly Ordinance 30, gives absolute power to administrators to quell dissent of all kinds from staff and students to the extent that even court decisions in favour of students and staff are often not respected. Government considers students and student activists as opposition elements, misguided by western funded parties and non-governmental organizations. Below are charges contained in a letter that was received by one student activist charging him with misconduct;

- 1) Invited other students to an unsanctioned gathering.
- 2) Unlawfully gathered and addressed students.
- 3) Marched to the university administration block demanding an audience with the Vice Chancellor.

4) Destroyed University property.

The University stated that he contravened sections 3(3.1.1), 3(3.1.2) of the university rules. According to the University of Zimbabwe Act, the Vice-Chancellor may;

(a) suspend from duty any member of staff of the University;

(b) subject to section five, prohibit the admission of a student or any person to the University (Government of Zimbabwe, 2002) among many other powers invested in him. It is these powers that ZANU PF has given to its appointees who run universities to ensure the silence of the students and other workers is maintained. The intimidation and consequent silencing of political activity on campus and by students even outside campus is testimony that the university is being used to extend ZANU PF rule over a largely disgruntled population.

Administrative political appointments and crisis.

The conception of a crisis situation within the University of Zimbabwe is widely acknowledged by people from various standpoints though there is no consensus on the cause and responsibility of the government. One of the basic assumptions of this critical interpretive case study was that ZANU PF version of nationalism practised notably since the year 2000 is partially responsible for the crisis the University of Zimbabwe is enmeshed in. Students, faculty and administrators painted a picture of ZANU PF's over-indulgence in the affairs of the university. There is a general sense emerging from students, faculty and administrators that the university has been singled out as a breeding ground for opposition politics and the government is bent on silencing and preventing the

development of such a critical view. Top university administrators are perceived as state security agents, employed to silence the restless university community. Consequently, such a policy is singled out as one of the main contributing cause of the turmoil. The following are some of the responses from faculty members on their perception of how ZANU PF's control of and influence over the university is contributing towards the crisis.

You have someone who has never been a dean becoming the Vice-Chancellor or pro-vice chancellor. I would have wanted a situation where the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by fellow members of staff on collegiality basis. It would change the politics of running the institution where administrators would be answerable to the people they lead. At present they are insolent to lecturers or students' views (sic). We have a Vice-Chancellor who does not listen to what the people he leads say because he owes his allegiance to the people who appointed him (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

I have not come across a situation where lecturers are appointed on party lines. They are administrative political appointees and the weakness is only that when it comes to making professional decisions they think of what the government will say and it compromises their efficiency in running the institution. We have people with different views here. It becomes a problem when your views threaten the top administrators, when their own survival is undermined (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

The state has failed the university by failing to ensure that universities teach research and provide ideas for the development of the country. So in trying to pursue key result areas the university has been found in collision with the state. They are centres where they should be guided by university charter, criticize the state president and where they can invite anyone regardless of political standing, but now they have to support the state and who to invite. They have been whipped to support even bad policies (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

I think the state is involved at the invitation of the vice-chancellor. No matter how negative a play portrays the president, other universities allow it but here we are not. Whenever he feels the renewal of his contract is threatened, he brings in the state (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers executive member, July 2010).

It was however one faculty member's story that firmly confirmed the way the university is used to silence critics of the ruling party and consequently bring about a situation of crisis. He told me that:

When I applied for my tenure, whereas the department and external examiners recommended that I should be granted tenure, the vice-chancellor decided that I was an academic terrorist who should leave the university; who could not be given tenure and should be taught about the ethics of research. This is because I had written an article about the death of Hebert Chitepo that highlighted the different elements involved in the death and these included some presently in ZANU PF. This was seen as

unacceptable. The vice-chancellor said a university where the chancellor was the president could not be seen to harbour lecturers with such minds. I also wrote another article that considered the situation in Zimbabwe, looking at whether Mugabe had become an asset or a liability to the nation. Again to my surprise this was deemed to be dangerous and I was seen as an academic terrorist who was criticising the president. I was given 48 hours to leave university accommodation. I used the law to get more time (a notice of three months). The university guards also broke into my office and took my key texts ... those that are critical of the president (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Furthermore, when one observes the charges and frequency of student arrests and court cases as well as the failure of the university to protect its students, it gives credence to these allegations. What is being witnessed are the true colours and character of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism, an intolerant ideology that is colonizing Zimbabweans. The following cases captured by the Student Solidarity Trust illustrate this observation:

1. University of Zimbabwe students Vitalis Mudzonga, Tawanda Katsuro and Justice Chikanya are arrested during a student demonstration on campus appeared before a Harare magistrate facing charges of public violence. They were released on free bail, and have been ordered to report to the investigating officer at Harare Central Police Station every Friday, until their next court appearance on 26 February.
2. Six University of Zimbabwe students' activists Ceaser Sitiya, Thabani

Moyo, Manifest Jabuli, Tatenda Chiuya, Shaun Matsheza and Shingirai Chikomba have been summoned before a Harare magistrate on charges of public violence.

The charges arose in June 2008 after the six were arrested during a student demonstration on campus. However they failed to appear in court after the docket went missing.

3. University of Zimbabwe Treasurer and National Constitutional Assembly Spokesperson and six others, Madock Chivasa, Farirayi Mageza Simbai Chivasa, Hillary Zhou, C.Mhofu, Tapiwa Mushati, and Dickson Chemvumba appeared before a Bikita Magistrate on charges of undermining police authority. The case was further remanded to the 8th of May.

4. Three University of Zimbabwe students Vitalis Mudzonga, Tawanda Katsuro and Justice Chikanya appeared before a Harare magistrate on routine remand hearing. The trio is facing charges of public violence. The charges arose from a demonstration on campus against the Dollarization of education. Their lawyer applied for refusal of remand. They were further remanded to the 21st of May.

5. Former University of Zimbabwe Treasurer and National Constituency Assembly Spokesperson and six others appeared before a Bikita Magistrate on charges of undermining police authority. The case was further remanded 09 June. Madock Chivasa, Farirayi Mageza, Simbai Hillary Zhou, C.Mhofu, Tapiwa Mushati, and Dickson Chemvumba.

6. Three ZINASU and University of Zimbabwe student activists Joshua Chinyere Irimayi Mhondera and Grant Tabvurei were part of a group of students who were distributing ZINASU news- letters at the UZ. They were detained for about five

hours before being released.

7. Three University of Zimbabwe student activists Terrence Chimhavi, Farirayi Mageza and Tafadzwa Mugwadi are appearing on charges of breaching the rules of student conduct and discipline (Ordinance 30). The outcome of the hearing will be communicated to the students.

8. Four ZINASU activists Clever Bere, Archford Mudzengi, Brian Rundogo and Kudakwashe Chakabva are being charged under section 37 (1) (a) (i) of the criminal law (Codification and Reform) Act Chapter 9:25 for participating in a gathering with an alleged intent to promote public violence, breach of peace or bigotry. They are further remanded to 22 January (Student Solidarity Trust, 2009, pp. 42-50).

These numerous and indiscriminate arrests of students sometimes on campus, with the complicity of university authorities, for such noble and widely acknowledged student grievances, is abundant evidence for some, that the Vice-Chancellor's office is protecting and furthering the internal colonial interests of the ruling party. Critical views from students and faculty are labelled treasonous and are met with disproportionate force from the state. The university leaders have ceased to be superintends of education but party activists and agents employed to silence those who dare speak against the government. Sentiments as the ones captured below were common from the interviews:

The Vice Chancellor is beholden to the state president; he throws away academic freedom for the convenience of keeping his post. He enjoys the benefits and those who appointed him expect patronage. The end result is

the suffering of the university (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

The Chancellor as head of state is just a form of control. The system, because it is based on patronage, the Vice-Chancellor works to please the Chancellor. They throw away academic and intellectual freedom. They are taken like ministers (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers executive member, August 2010).

There is a misconception that universities are hotbeds of opposition politics because we have people like Mutambara, Jongwe, Biti, Sikhala etc. in the MDC. We also have Edgar Mbwembwe and Chief Charumbira in ZANU PF. The fear is that most students tend to support the opposition. All political parties benefit from student activism. Political appointees are done to prevent student activism. I think the state president should not be the chancellor, and only then can we have professional vice-chancellors. University administration is an extension of ZANU PF (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010)

The net effect of ZANU PF's control is widely recognized as the death of professionalism on the part of the vice-chancellor's office. The perception from faculty members' sentiments is that the Vice-Chancellor has since ceased to be an academic but a politician employed to ensure that students and faculty comply with the ruling party's ideology and policies. He is seen as an agent of neo-colonialism, ZANU PF hegemonic interests, representing internal colonialism where elite nationalists in the party have become the new economic and political

dominators. Some interviewees observed the intimidating atmosphere that has engulfed the institution:

There has been a haemorrhage in terms of academic staff, we have lost professors and those with PhDs and now they are appointing anyone and in some cases staff is appointed along political lines. But we also see students who were analytic and critical in class but passive or dull in society or outside the institution. They have come to realise that they were living in a society that was not permitting critical ideas, wanted you to parrot a certain view or else you will be a victim of political violence (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

Closely related to the creation of an intimidating atmosphere at the University of Zimbabwe was the situation that one member of faculty emotionally narrated:

I think the state president should not be the head of the University, ... right now the university administration is an extension of the ruling ZANU PF party. If you are a professional do you need to attend ZANU PF conferences and congresses. The Vice-Chancellor is always attending. And in 2008 we were all gathered by the army in the lecturer theatre and told not to vote for the opposition. Then there was later a university council meeting and the Vice-Chancellor said we were honoured by the army and it gave us some political education (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

This is considered as further evidence that the university administration is an extension of the ruling party, with the Vice-Chancellor seen as a top party official.

People expected him to be at least critical of the presence of the military on campus and not to give value to it as he did. It further illustrates the level of control the party has over the university and the intrusion of ZANU PF into university business resulting in the corrosion of and compromise of academic principles. Universities are generally acknowledged to be society's centres of knowledge creation and critique for the good of the majority (Ranger, 2004). Unfortunately the University of Zimbabwe has been made to take a different course and like most members of faculty, as would be expected, students found this diabolical as seen in their views captured below:

Ahh, this is not good for the university. If you like I can show you later ...

The Vice-Chancellor has three cars; an Isuzu KB for trips to his farm, a Mercedes Benz for his day to day trips to and from university and a Prado for other emergency issues. The university does not even have enough internet facilities. It is because ZANU PF wants him to control students. ZANU is desperate (Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

The issue is that they are cronies of the president and they want to be seen as part and parcel of the national security system. The labour courts from district to province cannot enforce their judgements. That is why we have gone to the High Court. But the Vice-Chancellor can inform the president who can also instruct the courts to ensure that the judgement is not enforced (Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

These views show how the state, party and university are administered as one and further strengthening the perception that the University of Zimbabwe has been

turned into a party institution (Cheater, 1991). ZANU PF control and its contribution to the crisis at the university was also expressed by some administrators who find the atmosphere difficult to work in. In short some of the administrators showed that they were paid to parade falsehoods and the following extracts from interviews clearly captured this:

Students are not given the whole story. Even us administrators we are not very sure. As administrators we are even clashing. We are forced to publish results of every student as long as they have made a loan application. Students cannot be told that the ministry does not have the money. To say so you will be seen as going against the government (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

As administrators we must run universities without money. We are trying to ask government to pay cadetship so that we can run the institution. We become part of the problem because we are not allowed to talk about these problems. We should always pretend that all is well. We become part of the problem because we are supposed to be telling the students money is coming and things will be okay (*shaking his head*). We end up saying things we actually do not believe in (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

Again this showed that some in the administration took up posts and benefits, defended the system but morally questioned themselves on what they were doing. This is common with most dictatorial systems of governance. People silently go on with the demands of the administration but once a few garner some courage,

those perceived to be working and supporting the regime quickly bolt to join what they see as moral positions. The revolutions in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia are good illustrations of such trends. I raised some of these issues and concerns with the government official and although he acknowledged the challenges and their gravity, he strongly defended the government and the ruling party. He said:

We are currently undergoing a revolution in this country, that started with the land reform. All the countries in the developed world are against us because we took land from the whites in this country. They have imposed sanctions so that the people can rise against ZANU PF. The government cannot fold its arms and watch this happening (Interview notes, Government of Zimbabwe official, August 2010).

Some have observed the link between the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe and the land reform programme that the government embarked on from around 2000. That the land reform was violent and racist has been widely documented (Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2006) but some faculty members see the way it was done as the genesis of some of the challenges the university is facing. The government see it as Western interference in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe and the impact of illegal sanctions imposed on the country. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009a) noted, some have concluded that Zimbabwe is being punished for daring to oppose global capitalism. Academics saw a grain of truth in that view:

The University started to have problems of funding around the end of the 1990s, no more contact or sabbatical leave for staff. With the land reform

program we lost friends such as SIDA, SAREC, NORAD, FORD etc. who funded a lot of research. Our educational and academic linkages were downgraded; students and staff exchanges were stopped. They said they cannot send students where white commercial farmers were being killed (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers executive member, August 2010).

Thus the university has been inevitably caught up in the web of national and international politics. Government's response has been the use of lies, intimidation and force and this has consequently created a complex situation of crisis at the institution.

Commercialization of campus politics.

Closely related to the observations and questions that assessed the contribution of ZANU PF to the current crisis was the issue of other political players in the country, notably the opposition Movement for Democratic Change, non-governmental organizations and Western embassies. The University of Zimbabwe has been singled out as a strategic institution in the socio-economic and political development of the country and consequently political entities in Zimbabwe scramble to influence the events at the Mount Pleasant campus. Faculty members and administrators are conscious of the way students are being influenced by other political parties. The following extracts capture some of their observations:

There are economic and political problems in the country but politicians, from both MDC and ZANU PF are interfering in the affairs of universities.

Even some lecturers are so political that they discuss politics in their lectures. They influence the thinking of our students to the extent that they are no longer thinking for themselves... It is no longer as autonomous as it should be. They are political and one-sided on issues. This affects their innovations, creativity and critical thinking. They don't look at an issue, e.g. the land issue, they condemn it outright and not considering the good and bad about it (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

We should also blame outsiders; non-governmental organizations (NGO) are flooding money and trying to influence students' thinking. They flush out money to the student organization such as ZINASU (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

We had a young man, Ngwarai, once a student leader, became a leader of ZINASU, and was campaigning against the government. We also had Chitanga. Both of them have been taken to universities in Europe. They had lawyers paid for by non-governmental organizations. There is a culture and there is a growing belief among students that the more you become vocal against the government, the greater the chances of getting a scholarship to study abroad. Political parties have students who they pay to generate their own ideas in the university (Interview notes, Administrator, August 2010).

From my own experiences that is certainly the case. Opposition parties have noticed that if you talk against the government to students who have completed cadetship funds and cadetship funds are not coming, and tell

them this government is of no use, students will vote for the opposition party. There is no money coming to help students. As dean I want to buy food for the students but there is no money in the account but students have been told their application for cadetship have all been declared successful. Such students will listen to the opposition parties. They know government has not paid the funds. Government no matter how they may want to pay, they are likely not to pay and at the end of the programme they haven't paid a cent through the cadetship funds. The university is expected to continue running. I find this as the greatest barrier in the running of the university today. This is the greatest barrier in the advancement of university education at the moment. If there is no such story as abusing funds, they are only pretending that they can fund higher education (Interview notes, Administrator, August 2010).

These views bring about the phenomena of commercialization of student politics and some say it spreads even to academic members of staff who are politically active and are paid to recruit for political parties. Despite consistent arrests and the brutality they suffer at the hands of state security agents, and the subsequent suspensions and expulsion by university authorities, student activists are not backing down. The government says students are being used by opposition political parties to change the regime. I took up these issues with students and they generally claimed that they were fighting for democracy in the country and were not being used by any political party or organization.

Issues in Zimbabwe are that nearly everyone is fighting for democracy.

We meet and work together in the fight against dictatorship. I don't even know the names of leaders of some non-governmental organizations but we just meet and we know they are also fighting for democracy. Those who say we are working for outsiders are trying to abuse us. We have the right to our own views (Interview notes, Student, July 2010).

Such a response appeared not genuine and was evidence that some students did not want to expose their connections with non-governmental organizations. But other students were more forthcoming;

Whenever we hold a demonstration, the Student Solidarity Trust (SST) will provide us with food e.g. when in cells or on a run when the police are looking for us. SST deals with students who are victimized. SST is made up of former students and the chief executive office was once suspended. The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) is one of the donors of SST. We also have the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights. ZINASU works with these lawyers. We don't even know how these lawyers are paid. SST also assists students who are on suspension. They give some money, \$US50 or \$US100 per month (Interview notes, Student leader, August 2010).

People are being paid and even academics are being paid and as a result are not helping the government. Apart from our problems, there are some who are greedy who have discovered that they can make money out of the crisis. Look at people like Madhuku (A university professor who is also leader of National Constitutional Assembly that campaigns for a new

constitution in Zimbabwe) in this university, they are opposing everything. The more we have bad publicity the more they will continue to get donor funds (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

The above views represent what students and faculty members at the University of Zimbabwe experience and it was evident during my interviews that some students were reluctant to mention the support they get from non-governmental organizations. However, documents also show the massive role of Students Solidarity Trust in supporting student activists and the government accuses it of encouraging anti-government activities. On its part the Student Solidarity Trust claims it is helping students whose rights are being violated and its motto is “Providing demand driven solidarity to the students community and beyond” (Student Solidarity Trust, 2009, p. 2). With respect to the opposition MDC, the student union openly aligns itself with the party and this has historical trace from the formation of the opposition party. One student said to me:

The crisis of the day determine what political party to join and at the present moment it is the MDC. Those in ZANU PF today, most of them joined it when they were students because the crisis they had in the 60s and 70s dictated that they join ZANU PF (Interview notes, Student, August 2010).

An element of open defiance to university authority can be seen and some see the support given to students by outside forces such as opposition political parties and non-governmental organizations as responsible for indiscipline at the university. The following incident as was narrated by one student tends to confirm the above

observation.

We were about to write examinations and the administration said we must pay up all fees or else no examination writing. We tried to negotiate and the authorities refused to allow us to sit for the examination after paying registration fees only. Friday was the last day. One top administrator came to our meeting as students and told students not to listen to student leadership. We then demanded him to address the students. When the security tried to beat students, we beat them and also the administrator (Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

Thus the University of Zimbabwe is a hive of political activity with different and various national political entities involved. It should be mentioned that the majority of the students are silent and seem to be concerned with pursuing their studies despite the challenges.

The University of Zimbabwe: A celebrated high school and violations of student rights.

Scholarship has become one of the casualties as the high standards the institution used to uphold have plummeted and those who were at the University of Zimbabwe in the 80's and 90's find it difficult to understand how such an institution could have been run down to such levels. There has been consistent deterioration of academic standards. The heavy-handed approach of the ruling party and the resultant disastrous results are further extensively captured by most interviewees.

They (standards) have been deteriorating from the mid-90s. It became

unfortunate that lecturers could no longer do their work, teaching and research. The university has become a celebrated high school. Because of the politicization, they cannot even invite outside people to seminars and presentations to discuss pertinent issues. Critical thinking, social dialogue is no longer tolerated. They have to follow the party or Vice-Chancellor's lines, ... they became victims of the political system (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

There was a deliberate attempt to produce what was deemed a patriotic student. Courses that were produced by politicians to dampen analytical tools of students were introduced. For example they had questions in National Strategic Studies course like tell us 10 reasons why you support ZANU PF and 10 reasons why you hate MDC? The course was grossly impoverished, it was purely indoctrination. In universities lecturers have a leeway to develop courses but there has been a haemorrhage in terms of the lecturers and has lost professors and doctors and now they are appointing almost anyone. In some cases staff is appointed along political lines (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

Students seem to have borne the brunt of ZANU PF control more than any other constituency in the university and their experiences illustrate the political fight engulfing the university. The price of opposing ZANU PF policies has been costly to many students, some have been killed by security forces during demonstrations (Guma, 2010), arrested and imprisoned, beaten and suffered permanent body damages, suspended and expelled. Student narratives capture the level of

intimidation and curtailment of basic freedoms at the University of Zimbabwe.

I have been beaten many times. The other time I was taken by a fellow student who was an underground Central Intelligence Officer. I was accused of insulting the president and he dragged me out of my room and I was thoroughly beaten (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

On the 14th of January 2010 we had a demonstration against high fees and 28 students were arrested, spent three nights in police cells and later released on free bail. When I returned to campus I was suspended and they were citing section 30 of the University Act or Ordinance 30 which gives the Vice Chancellor powers to suspend anyone. I was accused of bringing the name of the institution into disrepute. On the 30th of July we were acquitted because the witnesses could not prove a prima facie case against us. I then went to the university to negotiate my reinstatement as a student but unfortunately they are refusing to take me back. I am on two years suspension and currently engaging lawyers from the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association. We were accused of contravening section 37 of Public, Order and Security Act which said that it was an illegal gathering with the intention of promoting public disorder. The Vice-Chancellor and the university are saying their decision is final regardless of the fact that I was acquitted by the magistrate. The bottom line is I was involved in a demonstration. Precedence has it that one Levy Nyagura (Vice-Chancellor) is well known for contempt of court, defying court orders. There is Lovemore Chinoputsa former secretary general of ZINASU and

Promise Mukwananzi, former president of ZINASU they challenged their suspension and were ordered to go back to college but Nyagura told them that they must go and learn at the high court (Interview notes, Student leader, August 2010).

The story and experience of this student leader is repeatedly narrated by many other students at the University of Zimbabwe. At the National Students Constitution Convention that was held in Harare, it was rare to meet a student who had not been arrested or suspended. Another student said this to me:

I have been arrested 13 times now and with university administrators, you attend a well-managed disciplinary committee and you get suspended for a year; minimum. The moment you are arrested you get a year's suspension. In 2006 I managed to escape arrest but my friends were captured by the police and they got suspended for periods ranging from 1 to 3 years. In 2008 we had a demonstration over presidential elections; we were with other students from the whole country. My results for that semester were held and I was later told they were to be nullified. This year (2010) in January we demonstrated in support of expelled students and I was arrested. I then got a year's suspension up to September 14. I am not hopeful because it is well known that the Vice-Chancellor does not respect court rulings (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

These students' stories about their experiences show the level of crisis at the university, ranging from intimidation, no respect for basic human rights, failure to respect court rulings and in the process demonstrating the dictatorship of the

Vice-Chancellor's office. The Vice-Chancellor's office repeatedly ignores court rulings without facing any contempt of court charges. This is seen as further evidence of the political powers behind his office. One would think Frantz Fanon's crystal ball was directed at post-independent Zimbabwe when he said:

This dictatorship, which believes itself carried by history, which considers itself indispensable in the aftermath of independence, in fact symbolizes the decision of the bourgeoisie caste to lead the underdeveloped country, at first with the support of the people but very soon against them. The gradual transformation of the party into an intelligence agency is indicative that the authorities are increasingly on the defensive. The shapeless mass of the people is seen as a blind force that must be constantly held on a leash either by mystification or fear instilled by police presence (1967, p. 125).

The university community is complicated and conscious enough that it cannot be mystified and the use of brute force has been the policy option of the government. The ZANU PF government has illustrated that it is a “neo-colonial regime”, ... “a repressive machine” Its real power base resides not in the people but in imperialism and the police and the army” (wa Thiongo, 2009, p. 71). The table below illustrates the level of persecution students have been enduring.

Table II: 2009 Reported Cases of violations to students by category, adopted from the Students Solidarity Trust

Category of right violated	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total:
Unlawful arrests	0	6	3	55	1	2	2	14	6	7	18	10	124
Unlawful detention	0	6	3	55	1	2	2	18	6	7	18	10	128
Torture/Abductions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expulsion/Suspension	0	2	0	10	2	0	9	0	11	9	0	0	43
Assault	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	5	1	0	10
Political victimization	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Freedom of ass/mov/express	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	7
Death threats	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	14	6	123	4	4	15	32	23	33	37	20	313

In such an environment it is difficult to expect proper learning to take place and many highly qualified and experienced academics have left the institution and in the process depriving students the opportunity to be tutored by some of the best brains available. Some of the faculty members I interviewed were well known ZANU PF members and they considered government's strong hand in the university administration as a response to use of money by opposition parties and western non-governmental organizations in turning hungry and desperate students against the government. The same view that students are incited by western funded organizations such as opposition parties and human rights organizations was also raised by the official from the government. These differing explanations did not however take away the fact that there is high politicization of the university that has contributed to the crisis. From a critical colonial perspective nothing justifies ZANU PF's use of such forms of violence on young unarmed citizens who pose no threat. ZANU PF's claims are simple grandstanding by a political power that has become exhausted and unpopular but still desires to govern even without the popular mandate. This was well corroborated by yet another interviewee.

It is not conducive for independent or autonomous thinking. The vice-chancellor can be whipped into line where students or lecturers are seen as vocal or anti-government. This does not ensure the autonomy of the university from the state. Vice-chancellors are chosen along political lines and not on merit. ... Perhaps that is too simplistic to say he does not intervene. People want to see visible interference. The president has

tentacles. He has direct access through his agents. He appoints these administrators and he has the right to appoint and end the tenure of a vice-chancellor. He is the master of these vice chancellors (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers executive member, August 2010).

Neoliberal Globalization and Crisis

Besides the influence of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism on the University of Zimbabwe, this study also assumed that neoliberal globalization principles adopted by the country since the beginning of the 1990s were equally responsible for the crisis in higher education. Numerous studies have established the devastating impact of IMF and World Bank prescriptions on the social sectors of many weaker economies of the global south (Abdi, 2008; Kariwo, 2008; Shizha, 2008). Zimbabwe has not been an exception and a number of macro-studies mainly by western funded institutions exist and do present, mostly quantitatively, the dire situation in higher education. A number of questions during the interviews I conducted sought to explore and understand how neoliberal policies adopted in higher education have contributed to the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. This section of the presentation presents the findings under two sub-sections: firstly an illustration of the privatization and dollarization principles and how they are partially responsible for the crisis and secondly, a consideration of how neoliberal policies are contributing towards the deterioration of students living and learning conditions.

Privatization and dollarization of public university education.

The guiding principle of neoliberalism in education has been the withdrawal of government funding and in the process demanding individuals and families to share responsibility for university education (Altbach, 2004; Levidow, 2002; World Bank, 1988; 1994). In other words this means privatization of education and in poor economies like Zimbabwe, the effects have been debilitating. The University of Zimbabwe has been operating within an environment of underfunding leading to non-availability of expected resources such as books, computers, internet facilities, lecture rooms, office space among many other basic facilities. To address the situation university authorities raised fees and these are paid in United States dollars since the beginning of 2009. Many families cannot manage these new high fees and many students are reported to have dropped out of school. This grim picture is observed and presented by a macro study that looked at Zimbabwe's education system, and reported that:

In February 2005, the government scrapped off the loan system for students and introduced payment of fees directly. This plus the dollarization of the economy mean education has become fully privatised. This scenario has left many students stranded with no options but to drop out of college or to quit education and go abroad to explore other options. This trend is rampant particularly in marginalized Matabeleland region. Higher education has been de-prioritized and graduate prospects of employment have diminished (Students Solidarity Trust, 2010, p. 12).

Students, faculty members and administrators do agree that the fees being charged are too high considering the economic situation most families are operating within in Zimbabwe today.

The last academic board meeting showed that students have balances of over \$US1000. Even if we allow them to complete their studies they will not be able to pay the outstanding fees (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

The bulk of our students come from civil servant parentage and these are poorly paid, highest paid get \$US200 US dollars. The rest earn between \$US120 and \$US150. These are the ones who sent their children to university and we expect them to pay over \$US400 dollars a semester (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

Let us not forget that we are talking about an African university, with problems some inherited from colonialism and others created by the liberators who have unfortunately become crocodile liberators.

Privatization would be a recipe for disaster. It would ensure that those with money will get access to university education. Privatization will derail all efforts at eradicating illiteracy (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

Another independent study corroborates the views that were expressed by these participants.

The halls of residence have been shut, students eat from informal roadside caterers and students' vocational loans are not available. It emerged early

this year that 28% of students had dropped out of the UZ. Students have been struggling to raise fees of between US\$300 and US\$1 500 in a country where civil servants earn less than US\$300 per month and unemployment is pegged at 90%. Exacerbating an already dire situation, according to the Medium Term Plan, as of May last year, the University of Zimbabwe had an establishment of 1 171 but only 385 posts were occupied leaving 786 vacancies (Muzulu, 2010).

These views show that most of the students come from impoverished backgrounds and hence the failure to pay the required fees. Many other studies have captured the conditions students at the University of Zimbabwe are living and learning under and they detail the immiseration students endure (CIARA, 2010; Mashininga, 2011; Matenga, 2011; Muzulu, 2010, SST, 2011; ZINASU, 2011). The conditions emanating from the adoption of neoliberal principles have also negatively affected faculty members and consequently the standard of education. Those interviewed had this to say:

In 2008 there were many resignations as people had no reason to work. Money was not enough to pay rentals, school fees or even food. Some resigned and went to rural areas. Others crossed the border. The dollarization move has improved the situation and staff members are getting some allowances. But with time the ministry will soon demand a reduction of fees. Fees are too high while structures and facilities are poor. We are in crisis as we do not have adequate materials (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

The learning conditions of students are not ideal. Meals are a routine.

Students go a day or two without meals. The learning conditions are not adequate, e.g. learning space, teaching equipment like projectors, computers, internet points etc. My faculty does not have even a single power point projector (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

We do not have adequate learning space and student accommodation is a big problem. Enrolment figures have been affected and in 2009 students could not raise \$US105 dollars as registration and many couldn't take up places. We ended up taking people with as low as 3 points and in the past we could come down to 7/8 points in critical areas. This has lowered down our standards. Some are still to finish their studies. Those who can manage to pay have political contacts or relatives outside the country. For us education is not only about understanding the world but a tool for better life and for most of these people this is the end of any dream of social mobility (Interview notes, Faculty members, July 2010).

What is observed at the University of Zimbabwe is the disastrous impact of the adoption of neoliberal principles and policies. Lowly qualified and less experienced academics as well as enrolment of students with low academic abilities based on their entry points, paint a picture of deteriorating standards. The crisis is narrated from different standpoints: students, faculty, administrators and the government but all consistently portray a situation of crisis and the need to see change. One administrator further noted that:

I don't really know the cause. I think there are too many factors. This has

been there well before 2008, back to 2000. I think as a nation, we failed to use the resources properly. I think education for all was the starting point. We had no resources and these things were not planned for. To reverse the education for all policy is now politically difficult and maybe not possible (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

Student living and learning conditions.

The catchment area of the University of Zimbabwe is virtually the whole country because it offers almost all programmes while other newly established universities do not offer certain degree programmes. This means most of the students have to look for accommodation away from their family homes and consequently this has made the issue of student accommodation pertinent and critical. Cases of students becoming involved in anti-social behaviour such as prostitution and drug abuse have been reported because of their challenging living conditions have been shared extensively (Student Solidarity Trust, 2009; ZINASU, 2010; 2011). The university's halls of residence have been closed for almost three years now and the authorities say it is because there is no water. I visited Manfred Hodson, Swinton and Complexes 1 to 5, and all these were closed and students were not allowed in. This is how the origins and justification of the closure is described by the Student Solidarity Trust:

On July 9 2007, the vice chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, Professor Levi Nyagura ordered the closure of halls of residence in 30 minutes-rendering the estimated 4500 student population homeless. This was two weeks before crucial end of year examinations and during a pretty

cold winter spell. Students continue to long for the day when professionalism returns to colleges. Indeed, the current crop of college administrators continues to do ZANU PF (PF)'s bidding at the expense of students nationwide. They are condemning the country to a future where all educated minds will have to be imported. The culture of getting instructions from a political office must cease in order to enable full recovery of the education system (Student Solidarity Trust, 2011, p. 4).

Students and faculty also hotly dispute government explanation of the closure of hostels and see it as a political ploy to ensure students do not get organized and oppose the government. A number of views were captured from the interviews concerning student living conditions.

The conditions outside campus are pathetic. I am staying in a garage and we are 13 in that room. We now have slums developing within the Mount Pleasant area. Those staying outside Mount Pleasant have to board two buses to get to campus. That is expensive. We pay \$US25 a head (Interview notes, Student leader, August 2010).

Another different study also painted a very close picture to the one being described by the student above.

At the University of Zimbabwe over 5000 students squat in garages in and around Mt Pleasant while their hostels have become safe havens for rats and bats. The closure was ruled illegal by Justice Hlatshwayo at the High court in July 2007 in case the of Trevor Marai & Anr vs Director of Accommodation & Catering Services University of Zimbabwe & 3 Ors

HC 3592/07, but the order has been ignored by the Nyagura administration. It is clear that the closure is a blatant political move aimed at demobilizing the students of Zimbabwe by some uncouth politicians fearing to lose their positions to a student led uprising (ZINASU, 2011). Students' living and learning conditions further demonstrates a university education system in crisis and food catering services are equally affected. I observed only one point where one could buy food at the university and very few students bought their food from this Manfred Hodson Hall canteen because of the high price. Students could be seen buying lunch from women vendors at the university entrance. This is food that is unhygienic and no one knows where and how it is prepared but because of the \$US1.00 price per plate they charged, students could afford to buy it.

Interviewees' responses around questions and conversations of academic staff's situation illustrate that their working conditions have deteriorated as well. The major issues raised included qualified and experienced staff leaving the university as well as those still at the university being involved in other non-academic activities in an attempt to earn a living and the responses the university authorities have adopted.

Umm, lecturers! You won't find them in their offices. Lecturers are involved in other non-academic activities to make ends meet such as cross border trade. They travel to South Africa and Botswana to sell and order commodities for resell here. That is how they can survive ... (*shaking his head*) their salaries are not enough (Interview notes, University

administrator, July 2010).

We have 2 types of assistants, teaching assistants and assistant lecturers.

They are graded according to their degree classes, 2.1 and above are

assistant lecturers and those with 2.2 are teaching assistants. This is a

crisis situation. These assistants are not assisted in any way by any

experienced faculty member. We have a number of these and in the

Business Studies they form the majority of staff (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Academic staff have therefore voted with their feet and according to the Medium Term Plan, as of May 2009, the University of Zimbabwe had an establishment of 1 1171 but only 385 posts were occupied leaving 786 vacancies (Muzulu, 2010). The need to control and silence student activism and academic criticism of government's dictatorial nationalist policies and the impoverishment brought about by neoliberalism appears to explain the heavy handed policies of the government. Just as was the case during British colonial rule, when black African voices were silenced to protect the excesses of European coloniality, today the black African government is silencing academics and critical youth voices to safeguard global coloniality, global neoliberal and local internal colonial intrusions and tendencies.

The Relationship between ZANU PF Authoritarian Nationalism and Neoliberalism: Implications for Crisis in Higher Education

The adoption of neoliberal policies and principles, notably privatization and marketization at the University of Zimbabwe by the ZANU PF government has been interpreted as enough evidence to portray ZANU PF as a capitalist party, interested in political power for economic rewards. Participants showed that ZANU PF members were benefitting from the adoption of neoliberalism in higher education. Further analysis would point to the fact that ZANU PF is spreading and enforcing neoliberal ideas in Zimbabwe through, in this case, reforms and policies being enforced in higher education. Thus there is a symbiotic relationship between ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberalism; the two forces are strengthening each other's positions.

The narratives from participants and my own observations portray the negative impact of the adoption of neoliberal globalization principles at the University of Zimbabwe. Although the origins of neoliberal policies is traced to the IMF and the World Bank, since around 2000 these two Bretton Woods institutions have been excluded from Zimbabwe's policy frameworks. This means the ruling ZANU PF party is pushing the neoliberal agenda in Zimbabwe today and hence their adoption is set to strengthen the government's control of the economy, the university and consequently its hold on national power. I asked my participants questions that solicited information on how the authorities were benefitting from the privatization and marketization of the University of Zimbabwe. What emerged was that despite the high fees being paid by students

they have not seen any improvement in terms of learning facilities though the top administrators' working and living conditions have clearly changed. I observed classroom furniture in very bad state, the tiles on the floors were peeling off, ceiling boards falling off and there were no signs of any repairs being done. But most striking were the conditions of the washrooms around campus. Many of them were closed and not functioning, no running water and a clear looming health hazard. On the other hand administrators had recently been given top of the range vehicles that are expensive to maintain. I raised this issue with administrators and these were some of their responses:

These cars were donated from the President's Office to office holders who are supposed to have cars. All these cars are not registered that is why some of them do not have registration numbers and can be impounded by the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority. Even when they leave office at the end of their term they cannot take the cars and it seems they were imported unprocedurally (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

That goes back to the political system. You apply for a job and get it and when in the job, once you start showing that things are not okay, they throw you out. Most university administrators, what they appear to be to the public is not what they believe. Like other workers, they are not well paid. What they sometimes do to you, is give you a car and 20 litres of fuel a week so that you can drive around. They always make sure that they monitor your movements. Sometimes you wish you did not have the

car and these things are not supposed to be said to the public. You should show as if everything is fine. And all the problems you are facing you should not say them out. Everyone including us we are hoping that one day things will change (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

These pronouncements seem to paint a situation of patronage where administrators are given cars and other facilities to support a system that is not properly working, a system they do not believe in themselves. The money from suffering students is used to bribe administrators so that they control students through high handed tactics and falsehoods. Student leaders and faculty members observe what is unfolding and narrated the situation more eloquently.

That the UZ is producing half-baked lawyers is a fact I cannot dispute, that's a fact but it is because of the government, the poor learning conditions... Right now the library is dilapidated. Each year we must receive law reports of the cases that would have been decided by the High Court and Supreme Court, to help students understand the legal system but since 2001, the library has not received any. But they have the money ... (*let's go somewhere, seems someone is listening*). Right now the Vice Chancellor is driving 2010 C class Mercedes Benz and that vehicle can pay for nearly all the books we need in the law faculty (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

Firstly, from the 1990s there was the euphoria with Economic Structural Adjustment Programme believing that you could organize universities in a

way that they will raise income. That philosophy was accepted by the black bourgeoisie and the former liberators embraced this policy as well. The only beneficiaries of neoliberalism are the few leaders, and they continue to cling to this policy for their own advantage. In spite of seeing that neoliberalism was not working for the good of the people, they continued to cling to this policy. There was no proper domestication of IMF/World Bank policies, there was a cut and paste policy. They are camouflaging the interests of the few rich (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers Executive member, August 2010).

These perspectives further show the way ZANU PF top leadership is empowering itself through neoliberal principles. The Vice-Chancellor is a top party member and consequently he is observed benefitting from the privatization policy adopted. According to wa Thiongo:

The age of independence had produced a new class and a new leadership that often was not very different from the old one. Black skins, white masks? White skins black masks? Black skins concealing colonial settlers hearts" (1993, p. 65).

Along this perspective one student said this to me:

Economically we are colonised. We are using the US dollar right now. We are also still colonized by our own brothers. The people who were in Rhodesia are saying it was better than Zimbabwe (Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

What is observed is that privatization is economically empowering and enriching

those with connections to ZANU PF. These support and finance the party. The “police state” within the campus has raised the importance of campus security and students noted that the security guards are paid better than primary and high school teachers. Interestingly security services have been privatized and the company is owned by former liberation fighters, commonly referred to as war veterans. This further strengthens the observation that those with links to the ruling party are gaining and becoming rich out of the privatization policies being practised at the University of Zimbabwe.

Some policies were seen to be impoverishing students and this is intended to control student activism that has grown to be the cornerstone of the regime’s opposition. As was indicated above, student opposition to President Mugabe has been consistent since the 1990s. One participant said this to me:

Besides empowering and enriching those with ZANU PF party links, neoliberalism has operated to the advantage of the ruling party by forcing students to tow the party line. We now see punitive methods, privatization ensuring that the university is no longer a place for the best brains in Zimbabwe but a preserve of those who have money; who can pay exorbitant fees. Worse still there is a difference with the period prior to 1990. The university was a place where society could mould the minds of the young, vibrant and independent thinkers. Now a subservient condition has been created, students are no longer independent but should be subservient to the government for them to be able to access the little grants that are available. They cannot challenge the status quo (Interview notes,

Association of University Teachers Executive member, August 2010).

The use of government loans as a bait to control students was captured by a report that was tabled in Zimbabwe's parliament and exposed the politicization of government's funding policy, the cadetship system. The report said:

The committee on higher education, science and technology said a probe it conducted recently found that the country's so-called cadetship programme was highly politicised, benefiting mainly Mugabe sympathisers.

Parliament said the cadetship programme's criteria for selection were discriminatory, ranging from political affiliation to faculty preference. It said that proof of the partisanship of the cadet scheme was the recent withdrawal of the funding of 12 students, on the grounds that they supported the Movement for Democratic Change, a rival party to Mugabe's ZANU PF (Mushininga, 2011).

In June 2010 stories of students who were denied chances to sit for end of semester examinations were common. Again participants saw this as empowering ZANU PF in the long run.

In the past you could be allowed to sit for exam before paying up fees, but now we have security guards stationed at examination venues to bar those who are not paid up (Interview notes, Student leader, July 2010).

I had the advantage of teaching at three universities. What I am seeing is a deterioration of analytical tools of students. The system has killed the tools of analysis by ensuring that students have to depend on their families.

Parents pressurise their children to finish university at all costs. In the past

when students got loans and grants from the government students were weaned from parental pressure and could critic the system, something they cannot do now. Also you should be aware of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. With the privatization of education, students eehh..., without food, shelter... has blurred criticality of students. The analysis also suffered from an anti-Mugabe euphoria. People reduced all their problems to Mugabe. The students lost direction and were no longer articulating their problems. Anyone with money could employ the students to sing from his hymn merely because they have become so capricious to anyone with money as they had no money to pay for their education. Even ZANU PF produced a particular type or clique of student who parroted ZANU PF propaganda without questioning. Because of poverty, lack of food, fees were exorbitant it made student analysis very blunt (Interview notes, Faculty member, 2010).

Privatization is being described by some members of the university community as "Zanufication" of the economy because of the way it is driven and empowering the ruling ZANU PF party. Neoliberalism has brought about immizeration of students and in the process reduced them to high school pupils who rely on their families for education. The result has been the death of a scholarship that critiques the status quo and student activism seems to be gradually declining much to the delight of those in power.

Interviewees' responses showed that by adopting neoliberalism ZANU PF is gaining and maintaining its control over the largely restless university

community that has grown to be anti-Mugabe in the past decade as witnessed by lecturers' and students' role in the formation of the opposition MDC party (Zeilig, 2007; 2008). The interviews I carried out also managed to establish that ZANU PF policies in higher education were contributing towards neoliberal control. The rise of student activism has always been associated with opposition to neoliberal informed structural adjustment programmes. According to Brian Kagoro, a leading student activist at the university in the 1990s:

We saw an obscene accumulation of wealth by the political elite under the guise of people empowerment. And so the first critique was around issues of integrity ... While the rest of the country lived in abject poverty, you had an emergent class which was not based on production ... they were simply making money out of political positions and their children ... were being shipped off overseas on some scholarships. So you saw a progressive privatization of the State ... and most of us felt locked out of the independent Zimbabwe that our fathers had fought for ... You can't still place whether it was out of bitterness or out of just a sense of exclusion. We were not recognized ... So in a sense you could treat us like trash ...because we were not the children of ministers (Zeilig, 2008, p. 221).

It has since been observed by many that the dictatorial tendencies promoted by laws that empower the Vice-Chancellor to silence all forms of opposition and critical views are not only employed to prop ZANU PF's ruling position but also its accumulation of wealth that is being achieved through neoliberal frameworks.

One can therefore observe that for the bourgeoisie leadership of ZANU PF, “nationalization signifies very precisely the transfer into indigenous hands of privileges inherited from the colonial period’ (Fanon, 1963, p. 100). Stories from student activists clearly show how the state security apparatuses are used to silence any opposition to neoliberalism practices as well as to ZANU PF authoritarianism.

We went for a demonstration over privatization of canteens. The amount they were charging for a decent meal was too high and as students we decided to demonstrate. Those who ran the canteens were linked to the dean of student affairs. Those who were connected to the dean got tender. We were arrested and beaten (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

Neoliberalism treats education as a traded commodity, out to be obtained competitively on the market like any other product (Barr, 2004). The University of Zimbabwe has embarked on marketing of its programmes with the faculties of Business and Education taking the lead in starting degree programs earmarked for professionals who want to uplift their professional qualifications. The brochures of these faculties detail the availability of these programmes that are mainly done during weekends, evenings and school holidays. One outstanding feature of these programmes is the high fees students are expected to pay and it is rare for anyone to be turned away as long as they pay the required fees. Some academics assert that such programs involve degree buying and negatively affect the standard of education in the country. What is also seen is the consistent heavy hand of the

university administration, working in cohort with the state security agents and the courts in ensuring opposition to authoritarian nationalism and impoverishing neoliberalism is kept under the bud. The outcome based on the current situation in the country and at the university seems to be the triumph of neoliberalism and ZANU PF internal colonialism.

Policy Propositions to Address the Crisis

Some have described what is unfolding at the University of Zimbabwe as the politics of education, a campus where national and international power politics are being played out to the detriment of the innocent majority. The different participants experience and understand the crisis differently and hence their views and responses to the crisis are determined by the way they have been affected.

Student propositions.

Students' propositions are mainly influenced by the economic challenges they are facing because of neoliberal principles adopted in education and the relentless repression from university administrators and the police. Documents from the student organization, ZINASU, consistently call for free higher education or the return of grants and loans as was the case in the 80s and 90s. Students have described the current cadetship system as slavery and a ZANU PF ploy to bond and control them. In one of their documents, they recommended that:

It remains the state's responsibility to provide quality and affordable education to all its citizens; the cadetship scheme must be revisited, particularly its conditions of bonding, it must be administered by an independent body, which is non-discriminatory, no-partisan; and, there has

to be a clear and independent process for the appointment of vice-chancellor. University councils need to be empowered to make such critical decisions without any political interference (ZINASU, 2009).

Furthermore, students through ZINASU annual reports and policy pronouncements would like to see education declared a right for every Zimbabwean and for it to be free. According to Student Solidarity Trust:

There is need to educate the public on the international conventions on education, because its domestication is an initiative that can thrive better if nurtured within a rights-conscious community and if supported by a spirited use of the public interest litigation technique (2009, p. 35).

Furthermore, ZINASU has been demanding that:

The right to education in Zimbabwe has been confined to the Education Act. There is no right to education in the current constitution's bill of rights. This is contrary to Article 2 of the Limburg Principles, which requires a State party to International Conventions and Covenants to "use all appropriate means including legislative, administrative, judicial, economic and educational measures to advance the educational cause" (Student Solidarity Trust, 2009, p. 32).

Government policy is that assistance should be given to needy disadvantaged students but in practice this has proved to be students coming from ZANU PF aligned families. There is also open admission by the government that the economy of the country is not in a position to sustain higher education demands, statements one can easily link to the World Bank and IMF prescriptions on higher

education. Students and faculty are being called upon to support the ongoing redistribution of the economic means of production into indigenous Zimbabwean hands if the national economy is to finance education.

The government position is not acceptable to students and faculty as they see themselves as sacrificial lambs to ZANU PF capitalist hegemonic ambitions. Student union documents openly express their desire to see an end to the Mugabe government and their involvement in opposition politics where they practically operate as the youth wing of the MDC. ZINASU documents portray their organizational theme as “defending academic freedoms in Zimbabwe” and that “struggle is our birthright” (ZINASU, 2009). Such sentiments consistently came from the students during the interviews I held.

We demand that the Vice-Chancellor be appointed on merit and not political affiliation. There should also be free education as it was when most of these politicians went to school (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

We do not have a clear higher education policy. The Vice-Chancellor can suspend a student will-nilly, the police can arrest you when they want, we do not have the right to demonstrate and at the UZ we have not had the chance to choose student leadership. What I demand is for education to be enshrined in the bill of rights so that we do not have students being barred from learning (Interview notes, Student leader, August 2010).

I also raised a question with some students whether Zimbabwe had the capacity to provide free education and one of the responses was:

This country yes but this government no (looking emotionally charged).

Those who say education for all is not possible in Zimbabwe are the same people who destroyed this country and we will not listen to them

(Interview notes, Student activist, July 2010).

Students' dislike of the Mugabe's government is evident throughout most of their activities and our interaction during the interviews. I also observed students' behaviour during the National Student Constitution Convention and most of the speeches were clearly anti-government. Behind the high table was a big banner that read "Mugabe must go", which is the rallying call for the current student leadership. It is from this obsession with Mugabe that students' propositions are largely political and they cannot foresee change with Mugabe in power. The following extracts from student interviews illustrate this observation.

Those in power are benefitting from the system and will always oppose new ideas. The solution is to change the government and then the system.

We mobilized the people to vote for the MDC and we were successful. We are supporting the MDC and we hope they will stick to their social democratic policies (Interview notes, Student activist, August, 2010).

The problem lies with the regime. Mugabe is wrong. His appointees are responsible for our challenges. These administrators are security agents.

We all love to be Zimbabweans. We are not going to run away from this country and we will battle on. ... They have more than one farm. The system operates like that. They are given farms, even magistrates that consider our cases, have been given farms. The colonial era was better

from what our parents tell us. We are suffering from bad treatment by our fellow blacks. We will continue to fight Mugabe. We no longer have qualified lecturers in the system. We are being taught by our colleagues who recently graduated. There are conflicts within ZANU PF and if Mugabe is to go the party will fall apart and then this bad system. We can then support the MDC. It is its manifesto that we found making sense to us as students. The corruption and nepotism existing today will come to an end (Interview notes, Student leader, July 2010).

From the students' standpoint, a change in government is the only way out of the crisis. Student responses also concentrated on the internal explanations and seemed unaware of foreign or international forces such as neoliberalism. Student perspectives of the crisis failed to separate neoliberalism and nationalism, and to them neoliberalism was a ZANU PF policy. I also asked students if there could be local and/or African solutions to the crisis that they could propose. In probing for a response along those lines I even hinted on cultural informed solutions and one of the responses I got was:

We should have a stable economy first before we talk about coming up with local or cultural specific ideas for our own development. We still need to work with other countries as is done in other countries. There are Zimbabweans working in the USA, we should have Americans here as well if we are to develop (Interview notes, Student activist, August 2010).

Propositions from faculty members.

Academics at the University of Zimbabwe narrate their challenges

eloquently and from their different specific political perspectives. Despite differences around the genesis of and responsibility for the crisis, there is unanimity in recognizing the view that the solution is macro, national and not restricted to the academic world of the university. The political and economic framework of national policies mainly around governance issues dominated faculty members' suggestions for the way out of the current crisis. My research was focused on finding out about any local, indigenous and African informed propositions to solving the crisis. Some respondents saw the potential of African and Zimbabwean cultural customs and ideas in controlling the rampaging effects of elite nationalist neoliberalism as being practised in Zimbabwe. Others directly addressed the concept of unhu/ubuntu, its ideals and the potential to harness it in fighting the crisis and had this to say:

The concept of unhu means that society is interdependent and people help each other, no one suffers as an individual, brings responsibility, is against individualism, brings about the concept of corporate responsibility. That may assist the leaders and the youth to solve our problems. It would be dangerous to take all foreign cultures and ignore our culture and historical past (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

We need the best of the western ideas as well as our own best. We need to accept good ideas from the outside. We need not create a false sense of development. We should be able to blend foreign and local ideas. We can achieve great things if we partner ourselves with other people who have achieved other things. If we put the right people in positions we will not

have problems. There is new thinking in Zimbabwe, we no longer want to be seen as people who want to be given money, and we want our ideas to be sponsored and not to adopt foreign ideas (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Others observed the ills in the political system and shouldered the blame on Zimbabweans themselves.

There is sometimes intolerance on the part of the ruling party. There is no honest exchange of ideas in Zimbabwe. Foreigners will always have a willing partner in our country and this distorts the needs of the country. We share the blame. We are not passive victims of modern imperialism, but active collaborators. There is the need to redefine our politics, a change of moral values. If we were loyal to our ideals we could be able to force the hands of outsiders (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Closely linked to the intolerant political system, some faculty members pointed out the need to encourage professionalism in the administration of the university.

It could be either depending on how you use it. Some say such a set up (having president as chancellor) means government interference in the running of the institution. It is the people on the ground who manipulates the system to their advantage. This was meant to allow the government at the highest level to engage with education issues. It is the people who have been put in places and not the system (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

There is this realization among some critical scholars at the university that there is need to refocus the development agenda and look at harnessing local ideas. The need to tame rampant and violent elitist black empowerment programmes is widely recognized and this is the area where the traditional concept of unhu/ubuntu can be employed. Along the same realization of the devastation being caused by radical capitalism, faculty members attacked ZANU PF's version of capitalism. The following are extracts from the interviews that captured the opposition to capitalism and in a way showing that they would not like to see the privatization of the University of Zimbabwe.

The essence of privatization brings about a lot of problems. Let's not forget that we are talking about an African university, with problems some inherited from colonialism and others created by the liberators who have unfortunately become crocodile liberators. Privatization would be a recipe for disaster. It will not ensure that we tap and harness the best intellect of Zimbabweans. What it would ensure is that those with money will find their way into universities. Privatization will be unfortunate where we are fighting illiteracy, where we view education as the bedrock of development and where we know people were disadvantaged and will be used to create leaders and subjects, doctors and patients. We want a system that rationalizes and resonates with the basic realities in our society, that the majority of people do not have money (Interview notes, Association of University Teachers Executive member, August 2010). There is need to rationalize things in our country. That is why we expect

the government to avail loans and grants to students. We should be realistic in terms of the fees we charge. There is need to rationalize salaries. We have some in government companies (parastatals) earning \$US16 000 while civil servants get \$US150 dollars a month. This is black capitalism and appears worse than white capitalism. You demand so much for one who gets so little. The black capitalists, (pausing) their hands have been greased by the bourgeois system and they loot at the detriment of the nation. They use their political muscles to continuously tap and harness the country's wealth. They use the law, like indigenization to empower themselves. Civil servants are not going to acquire any of these properties/shares. What it entails is that it is a system that continues to enrich the rich and impoverishes the poor (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

There is therefore opposition to privatization of the university on the basis that it will have negative effects on the majority poor people. Academics also point at the dictatorial tendencies of the government that has had negative impact on the administration of the university. The national government's authoritarian system of governance and its firm control of the university are seen as explaining the intolerant academic laws and policies that govern the University of Zimbabwe. Consequently, academics are calling for the democratization of the Zimbabwean polity as a prelude to democratization and realization of academic freedoms at the institution.

It is unfortunate that during the day they profess that they are nationalists

but at night and deep down their hearts show their true colours, they are not nationalists. It is not necessarily nationalism. What we may say is that Zimbabwe is suffering from a defective political system of sultanism and even a defective economic system of statism. It is an attempt to maintain power by any means necessary. We have created a cult personality around the leadership that they in all and they be all and cannot be replaced.

We have cultivated as a system of clientalism patronism where those in power are in control of the resources of the nation and use these to reward those that support them. We are seeing increased corruption, criminality and these are blessed as long as they are done for ZANU PF (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

There must be political will to allow university to do their work, they are paragons of knowledge and should research to help lead society. Students must be allowed to develop as young adults that are independent and well-funded by the state, critical thinkers and not parrots of government policies (Interview notes, Faculty member, July 2010).

The democratization of Zimbabwe is viewed as an important step in ending dictatorial nationalism and controlling the ravages caused by neoliberalism, the two most plausible explanations of the crisis in higher education. The adoption of authoritarian nationalist policies from around 2000 is recognized as an attempt by the government to hide from international accountability and criticism. This was seen with the country pulling out of international community organization such as the Commonwealth and its refusal to be bound by some internationally recognized

obligations. Academics are calling for the country to re-join the community of international nations because the current isolationist policies have impacted the university negatively and brought the present crisis. The following sentiments capture the gist of what was said along these lines of thinking:

I think one can trace to the way we have established relations with the international community. Our relations have soured. We used to have programmes that were sponsored by Scandinavian countries, the Commonwealth etc. that were intended to make good our education. We used to have the Centre for African Languages which was meant to be the centre of research for African languages and used to be funded by Scandinavian countries. Now it is just a ghost building. They are now working with the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique. Our own political stances on issues that are of political nature have been clearly linked to the issues. It is also unfortunate that the international community has adopted such policies. (*Clearly emotional*) Norway, Sweden should be proud of the work the African Languages Research Institute accomplished but to punish educators for issues we have no control over. Just to abandon such work shows that they have not been considerate. Because of their hardened stance or insensitivity to higher education issues-slowly education has been going down on its knees (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

As a university we are constrained in terms of resource supply. This is because of sanctions that have been placed on the country. They have

ruined the economy. They are not just smart or travel sanctions. Even on the internet as you apply for scholarships you find as you scroll go down the list of countries that are eligible, it ends with Zambia. This means sanctions are also targeted at higher education. There is also the issue of developed countries taking skilled people from Zimbabwe. This is not only in the area of health but also in higher education. They are impoverishing the society. We had a meeting with some international organization claiming that they were interested in helping higher education but what they were interested in was just to confirm that universities in Zimbabwe do not have books and resources and therefore their products do not measure up. If sanctions are to be lifted, a lot of progress can be achieved. Some blame deterioration on government policy, but this is contestable (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

Faculty members consistently reiterated the importance of re-establishing relations with the international community. Some have narrated how they have lost from the country's withdrawal from the commonwealth; scholarships, research opportunities, exchange programmes, conferences and the need for visas whenever travelling something that was waived when attending other commonwealth nations. These closed opportunities require political change at national government level and academics are looking forward to such a development as one can discern from what they said.

Propositions from university administrators and government.

University administrators such as deans and those found in the registrar's office are some of the most experienced people, most of them having been faculty members who have moved on to administrative posts after years of lecture room experience. I discovered that most of them are considered sympathisers or supporters of the ruling party and there was no one who could claim to be an opposition party supporter as faculty members could do. But because of their seniority and experience, some of them opened up and narrated the way they see and understand events at the university. Sometimes they simply presented the official government position and these participants felt there is need for economic independence from the west for economic challenges to end. Issues of western countries' interference in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe were singled out and they perceived that an end to sanctions imposed by Britain and her allies on Zimbabwe would see an end to the crisis. Others considered the internal dynamics of national crisis and would like to see an end to national politicians meddling in the affairs of the university. They pointed out the control of the university by the state president as well the sponsoring of students by political groupings to further their own interests as some of the recipes of the current crisis and should come to an end. As administrators, they narrated the challenges they met in running the institution and consequently issues of finance dominated their narratives, and they would like to see a complete overhaul of the financing system of higher education.

This does not rest with universities but with the politicians. The problems

originated with the political system. We should overhaul the political system. As universities we cannot even resist politicians. To continue to ask parents to pay these high fees is not practical. As administrators we must run universities without money. The whole policy framework has to change (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010).

I agree there are a lot of anti-government activities in universities by staff and students because in the first place government is failing to help fund students education and pay staff adequately. These people who are starving cannot like the government because the government cannot afford to pay fees and salaries. The reason why there is politics is because that little money that is donated, many students and staff are suspicious that these moneys disappear into other people's pockets. Be that as it may, politics is not the reason government cannot pay; they are broke. Industry has largely closed. That is why we had trillion dollar notes that were valueless. There is no economy to talk about. So they are not deliberately refusing to fund universities. What I think is when donor funds come they are misused (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

We don't want interference from the government. Academics in the university have the duty. Concept of nationhood, togetherness should be inculcated. Students and lecturers do not have confidence. They think without foreigners/Europeans we cannot develop. As universities, centres of knowledge, we should learn to be independent and creative and try not

to be so much depended on other countries (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

But the problem is there is too much interference from outside. A lot of literature is flooding our system from outside to an extent that we are no longer thinking about ourselves. Necessity is the mother of all inventions. The literature around is stifling our creativity (Interview notes, University administrator, July 2010)

We don't see any moves of going back to something different. Right now we are encouraging foreigners. The indigenous aspect is difficult. We are divided over indigenization in this country and we want European ways that we describe as modern (Interview notes, University administrator, August 2010).

These views show the differences in perspectives based on the political standpoints and positions within the university administration. Government's view is presented from an ideological point of view, and sees economic challenges brought about by western imposed sanctions as the main cause of the problem. The government official told me:

Instead of attacking the country's leadership, these students and academics should unite behind the state president and fight sanctions (Interview notes, Government official, August 2010).

I further probed him and pointed out that some students and faculty members believe sanctions were brought about by government's violation of basic human right. As was the case with most of his responses, he gave a widely repeated

government position that sanctions were brought about because some countries were not happy that we were distributing land to Zimbabweans. The issue of human rights is seen as a scapegoat being used by the West to punish Zimbabwe. Government's position resonates with many social movements found in the global south because it effectively captures deep rooted grievances of the former colonized people, especially black Africans. The support the government gets from some African countries has made students' and faculty members' struggle more complicated and difficult. Again the partisan nature of government policy was further pointed out by as partly responsible for the crisis.

The situation is such that university students are disillusioned with what are called national goals, analyse them and conclude that these are not national but partisan goals. Not much is happening in that area. We have literature referring to how western education was imposed on Africa etc. There are attempts to incorporate western ideas with our own. We had experienced professors from Europe, America and Australia. They meet our very junior lecturers who cannot contest views held by these foreigners and there is vulnerability on our part. Some politicians think that it is them who monopolise the vision of the country (Interview notes, Administrator, July 2010).

Summary

In this chapter I considered themes that emerged from observations at meetings, interviews with students, faculty members, administrators and a government official, as well as data collected from documents pertaining to the

University of Zimbabwe. The following chapter discusses these themes in relation to the research purpose and questions and the critical colonial perspectives that informed the study.

CHAPTER V

THEMATIC DISCUSSION AND THEORETICAL REJOINDERS

Introduction

This critical interpretive case study was informed by critical/anti-colonial perspectives and consequently data analysis, interpretation, and discussion are undertaken from a critical colonial standpoint, thus in a way acknowledging Smith and Deemer's (2000) observation that we have come to the end of all attempts to secure an epistemological foundation for our knowledge and we must acknowledge that we are in the era of relativism. This implies that the analysis, interpretation and discussion of the themes that emerged acknowledge the widely acknowledged point that one cannot step outside their own social and historical standpoints (Bishop, 2005; Christians, 2005; Fontana & Fray, 2005; Holstein & Gubrium, 2005; Smith, 2005). In my case I am researching and making meaning of a system of higher education that I participated in as a student and faculty member; an experience that left me with bitter memories having been harassed and impoverished. This kind of historical and existential positioning in social research is in keeping with critical interpretive research sensibilities that recognize and appreciate that there is no possibility of theory free observation and knowledge (McLaren, 2003; Smith & Gallagher, 2008). Critical interpretivism further recognizes that research involves complex social interactions (Smith & Hodkinson, 2005), and in such social interactions research participants work to further their own interests, and subsequently different perspectives and

interpretations should be expected.

Critical colonial perspectives shaped and constantly interacted with the development of research questions, methodology and methods, including the approach to data analysis and the development of emergent themes, that is, theory influenced the way the whole study unfolded, theory acted like a cloud hovering over the whole process, informed my questioning, informed my meaning making/giving to what I heard and observed (Anfara & Metz, 2006; Crotty, 1998; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2009). The research sought to understand the perspectives of students, faculty members, administrators and government pertaining to the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. The emergent findings can be transferred to similar contexts and institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the study has significant policy implications for higher education in the country.

Internal Colonization and Higher Education Crisis

The narratives from participants, my personal observations of the research site and the numerous documents that were consulted strongly suggest that ZANU PF is a political party that is forcing itself on the Zimbabwean people. Domination, oppression, subordination, imposition through state administrative and security instruments characterize colonial relations. The suffering and lament students at the University of Zimbabwe confirm the anti-colonial observation that in most instances European colonial rule was replaced by elite nationalist African dictatorship (Fanon, 1963; Shivji, 2011). Internal colonization (Casanova, 1965; Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2000) or ZANU PF domination by coercion of the

people of Zimbabwe was clearly evident.

The failed promise of independence has been a big disappointment and as observed by Grosfoguel (2005), most students and faculty affirm the myth of the post-colonial. As one student interviewee said, “Our parents tell us Rhodesia was better”, and such expressions were commonly shared by participants. In other words the people of Zimbabwe have discovered ‘that the iniquitous phenomenon of exploitation can assume a black face’ (Fanon, 1963, p. 94). Student arrests and beatings exemplify exploitation as Fanon noted, “people must learn to give up their simplistic perception of the oppressor” (p. 94). Zimbabwe’s own erstwhile revolutionaries and liberators have turned into oppressors and “crocodile liberators” as one participant said. Nationalists such as those in ZANU PF blame Europe and North America as the imperialist oppressors responsible for the crisis in higher education and in Zimbabwe in general. However, critical colonial analysts have helped us see that elite nationalists and indigenous capitalists are nationalizing and indigenizing national resources using approaches that are tinged with racism (Fanon, 1963, pp. 102-103). Shivji (2011, p. 4) calls it “racial nationalism”, which is similar to white racism during European colonial times. These processes are aiding ZANU PF members such as vice-chancellors, to gain control of economic and political structures in the country much to the dismay of the people who are drowning in abject poverty. ZANU PF leaders have become the elite, the “black skins in white masks” (Fanon, 1952, p. 11).

The University of Zimbabwe has been turned into a poorly resourced institution. Cases of students dropping out of their studies were commonly

reported thus further confirming the perception that the country is slowly sliding back to the exploitation and oppression of British colonial times when poor families could not afford to send their children to school. The colonial situation that should have ended with the demise of British administration in 1980 has re-emerged and is being reproduced by ZANU PF. Fanon (1963) argues that there can be no authentic liberation without decolonization while Dei suggests that “decolonization must be complete and must overcome exploitation, alienation and oppression, and dehumanization” (2010c, p. xvii). This study strongly illustrates that oppression and dehumanization is rampant in higher education and hence confirms the idea that the decolonization process has a long way to go in Zimbabwe. The study strengthens the critical colonial observations pertaining to the prevalence of coloniality in the modern world and the need for anti-colonial forces to work towards the end of all forms of oppression.

The fact that the country has been led by one political party and under one leader, President Robert Mugabe (Blair, 2002; Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Cross, 2011), for over thirty-one years further illustrates the existence of a dictatorship and the absence of tolerance as well as a denial of political opportunities to those who hold alternative views; together indicative of the “post-colonial condition” or post-colonial situation” (Ake, 1996; Ayittey, 1992; Mudimbe, 1988). The underlying philosophy of President Robert Mugabe’s ruling party is that they and they alone have the right to govern on the basis of having led the war that liberated Zimbabwe from British colonial rule. As a result national institutions such as the military, police, oil industry, higher education and many others

operate under the ambit of ZANU PF and the line between national institutions and the ruling party is blurred at best.

It is a situation where the former liberators have organized themselves to exclude other people from their democratic right to participate in the politics of their country. Furthermore, what is observed is the absence of professionalism in critical national institutions, and one's position and mobility is depended largely on unwavering loyalty to ZANU PF's ideals. The University of Zimbabwe is no exception to this trend that heightened from around 2000 when opposition to ZANU PF was openly manifested by the ordinary people of Zimbabwe with ZANU PF failing to win a single parliamentary seat in the capital city of Harare and other major urban areas despite open violence against political opponents (Bond and Manyanya, 2003; Makumbe, 2002; Raftopoulos, 2004; 2006). The role of University of Zimbabwe students and faculty in the defeat of ZANU PF is widely acknowledged (Zeilig, 2007; 2008). Thus the discussion of the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe inevitably involves the politics of the nation and is at the centre of the Zimbabwean question or conundrum (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a; 2009b) as it has been described at international conferences.

ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism, like most genres of nationalism that were popularized in the global South survives on rhetoric, continuously and consistently portrays the image of Zimbabwe as a victim of Western imperialist machinations and all problems, including the current crisis at the university and in the country, are blamed on the West. Zimbabwe is portrayed as a black African country (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009) that suffered during the colonial period

and was saved by the heroics of those in ZANU PF. Those who question such a philosophy, (and unfortunately for ZANU PF, the majority at the University of Zimbabwe, especially faculty and students) are labelled as traitors, lost and misguided elements who intend to return the country to the snares of Western colonialism. The concept of a university involves discussion of divergent ideas (Bollinger, 2003; Harkavy, 2006) and the young adults at the University of Zimbabwe started questioning the liberators' policies way back in the 1990s. It is well documented that students, faculty and workers united against Robert Mugabe's plans to declare Zimbabwe a one-party state (Bond, 2001; Makumbe, 2009; Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This was followed by strikes and demonstrations against the government's adoption of IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs. This can be interpreted as a struggle against coloniality, local internal and foreign Western colonialism (Escobar, 2004; Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2000). The alliance between the workers and students was cemented with the formation of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party in 2000 (Raftopoulos, 2006). The presence of the MDC at the university is open and because of this students and faculty have crossed paths with the ruling party. The MDC is seen by the largely intolerant ruling party as a cobra in the house (Blair, 2002) that deserve to be crushed, and its leader Morgan Tsvangirai was described as "a national security threat" (Gumbo, 2011, p. 1) by a top Zimbabwe military general. Students overwhelmingly support the MDC and hence they are considered enemies of the state.

This study observed the consistent adoption of policies by the ZANU PF

administration at the university that are intended to safeguard and protect the party against fearless student activism and critical faculty analyses. The powers that have been given to campus security are so overwhelming that they infringe upon any student or faculty member's rights. Faculty members' offices are searched without notice, students are pulled out of their rooms and handed to the police, and they practically invigilate examinations and prevent tuition fee defaulters from entering examination rooms. It was also observed that the conditions of service of these guards are far much better than the country's civil servants, such as teachers and nurses. In other words they are bribed to exercise terror on campus. Student leaders and activists are constantly monitored and they were careful during interviews not to be overheard criticizing the state president as it is a criminal act. All this demonstrates the use of repressive measures to silence the university community and to a certain extent open revolt against the government has been contained to a few activists. The majority have been cowed into silence while unhappy and suffering. Guha's observations are being reproduced in Zimbabwe; "the state is non-hegemonic with persuasion outweighed by coercion in its structure of dominance" (1997, p. xvii).

The state and administrative forms of repression have not been felt by students alone, but also within the faculty body. Unlike students who mostly come from low income groups, experienced and highly qualified lecturers have left the university and the country altogether and are practising their trade from outside Zimbabwe. This study has widely cited scholarly studies done by former University of Zimbabwe faculty members, such as Brian Raftopoulos, Sabelo

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Rosemary Gordon, David Beach, Terence Ranger and Patrick Bond among many others. These are part of the best brains the nation's academic community had but could not withstand the conditions of service and the persecution that came with critiquing their society. The result has seen less qualified and more compliant members of staff remaining at the university, leading to the decline of academic standards. This was observed to be serving the interests of the ZANU PF government. What they want to see at the university is a compliant, passive and uncritical faculty and student body, and the brain drain that has been observed especially since 2000 has worked to the government's advantage. Less experienced lecturers not only lack the theoretical analyses to tackle ZANU PF hegemony, but are also found short in transmitting critical analytical skills to their students.

Closely linked to the politicization and unprofessionalism within the university has been the growing reluctance of the private sector to be associated with the university. Local businesses seem not interested in dragging their names into the muddy politics being practised at the university and the result has been very few donations or scholarship programs for students. Also the links that used to be found where scholars from outside the university would come in and make presentations and seminars have dried out. They are not allowed as the paranoid administration and government try to keep a lid over any alternative critical voices. Internationally, since ZANU PF pulled the country out of the Commonwealth organization, many scholarly links were downgraded and this has isolated the university from the international community of scholars. Scholarly

conferences that used to be hosted by the various faculties and departments have gone and this has affected the quality of scholarship and the growth of young scholars who have been denied opportunities to learn from established professionals.

The University of Zimbabwe is a critical institution that is posing genuine and serious threat to the ruling party's grand plan of governing into eternity, a re-colonization of the people of Zimbabwe by their own liberators. As was captured elsewhere in this study, in 1981 President Robert Mugabe pointed out that higher education was not going to be left in the hands of academics alone because it was very important to his administration. In other words from the beginning Mugabe saw the university as an ideological apparatus to utilize in his grand ambition of ruling till death. Consequently the administration of the university had to fall under the President's office, a euphemism for the state's secret security agency, the Central Intelligence Organization (CIO). As students, administrators and faculty narrated in this study, the major contributing factor to the crisis at the university was the politicization and control of the institution by ZANU PF. The top five administrative posts at the university, namely vice-chancellor, pro vice-chancellor, registrar, bursar and librarian are political appointees, well known ZANU PF functionaries. It goes without saying that they in turn will appoint people of similar political orientation throughout the university hierarchy whenever it is possible.

Such an administrative set up has largely succeeded to silence student activism through use of draconian suppressive measures, such as the continued

closure of student halls of residence and in a way reproducing “colonial situations” (Quijano, 2000; 2007) that the attainment of independence in 1980 should have buried. It boggles any sane mind the justification of closing campus accommodation for such a long period bearing in mind that the catchment area of the university is the whole nation. It is evident that this was a political decision, meant to safeguard the powers that be and not in the interests of the university’s core business. To throw out over 5000 students and make them in the city, where most of them are manipulated by unscrupulous landlords, overcharged in overcrowded garages and backyard shacks, was a political decision not in the academic interests of the institution. Students were punished for being a hub of anti-ZANU PF activities, for joining opposition political parties en masse. This further gives credence to critical colonial critics who have observed that the dismantling of colonial rule has failed to bring positive changes for all groups in post-independent nations, “a version of colonialism was reproduced and duplicated from within” (Kapoor, 2009, p. 4).

For years now student activists and critical and outspoken faculty members have been involved in a cat and mouse relationship with the security agency. I failed to interview a number of student activists because they refused to pick my calls thinking that they were from the state security agency. The same fear was shown by the reluctance of some female students to be interviewed, they would suggest I talk to other activists, mainly male students. We also had to change interview venue as one student interviewee was suspicious of certain individuals who appeared to have been eavesdropping. All this illustrates the

intimidation and use of violence that characterizes ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism, and students' narratives showed the level of intimidation the university has been subjected to in order to silence criticism. History records that in Hitler's Nazi Germany some students were paid to report their teachers and parents, and this is being replicated in Zimbabwe today. Some students are underground secret agents who are paid to report critical students and faculty. One student activists narrated how he was arrested by a fellow student in the middle of the night after he had raised critical views against the state president during a student meeting that had been held on campus during the day

Accompanying the use of state power to silence the restless university community, ZANU PF authoritarianism is demonstrated by the powers that have been invested in the office of the Vice-Chancellor. As was indicated, the University of Zimbabwe Act, particularly Ordinance 30, gives the Vice-Chancellor powers not intended for any academic purposes. The Vice-Chancellor's monstrous powers, bestowed on him by his ZANU PF paymasters, have seen hundreds of students suspended and many academics moving away. There are cases of high court rulings in favour of students being ignored by the Vice-Chancellor and nothing is done. The Vice-Chancellor and government justify their actions by reiterating that the country is under threat from Western imperialism through "transnational ruling classes" (Mookerjea, 2011, p. 54) and hence extraordinary measures are to be used to protect national sovereignty. However, this is seen a simple justification and explanation by a dictatorship that is running short of alternatives to satisfy the growing dissatisfaction of the people.

Thus global coloniality (Quijano, 2000; 2007; Grosfoguel, 2005) hated and criticized by progressives throughout the world is used by ZANU PF as the rationale for its local internal colonization (Casanova, 1965; Mignolo, 2000) policies and practices. The North African swing, where anti-Western dictators such as Muamar Gaddafi have come under pressure from their own people, is evidence that anti-Western rhetoric is not sufficient in modern times. In the case of Zimbabwe, what is being noted is the fact that progressive anti-imperialism abroad cannot long outlast vicious repressive practices at home (Raftopoulos, 2011). Kleptocratic capitalism, characterized by accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2003) and patrimony describes Zimbabwe's political economy policy framework and micro-policies at the University of Zimbabwe. It is such observations from North Africa and the Middle East that the fight against ZANU PF hegemonic tendencies, ZANU PF internal colonization of the people of Zimbabwe as demonstrated by the total subjugation of students' rights, will one day come to a successful end. This is the moral standpoint behind this study. Chinua Achebe's fictional narration captured below illustrates the deliberate murder of freedom and democracy by African leaders as is the case at the University of Zimbabwe. He wrote;

We had all been in the rain together until yesterday. Then a handful of us-the smart and the lucky and hardly ever the best-had scrambled for the one shelter our former rulers left, and had taken it over and barricaded themselves in. And from within they sought to persuade the rest through numerous loudspeakers, that the first phase of the struggle had been

won and the next phase-the extension of our house- was even more important and called for new and original tactics; it required that all argument should cease and the whole people speak with one voice and that any more dissent and argument outside the door of the shelter would subvert and break down the whole house (wa Thiongo, 1993, p. 67).

ZANU PF nationalist policies at the University of Zimbabwe are geared at controlling the academic community and the nation as a whole. It is turning party activists into academic administrators as the party silences student and faculty critics in order to fortify its hold on the country.

Political activity by almost all sections of the university community was widely observed. There was consensus among participants that politics and governance issues are at the centre of the crisis situation at the university. Studies of student politics or activism tend to show that it is temporary as students come and go leaving every student group to pursue its own different agenda (Altbach, 1989; Hundscheid, 2010). However, I noted that the student movement at the University of Zimbabwe is unique in that it is organized under the Zimbabwe National Students Union, with offices and secretariat in the center of Harare and because of this student leaders come and go while the objectives remain largely the same. Such high and seemingly efficient levels of organization have been singled out by the government as evidence that the students are not fighting their own grievances, but are pawns, used and sponsored by organizations that have nothing to do with universities. As a result government and the university administrators' decision to close students' accommodation was meant to stop

student organization on campus and hence put an end to student demonstrations and class boycotts. This has largely worked and hence eased a big challenge the government used to face as student demonstrations in the city always drew public sympathy and in most cases they joined forces with government workers in demonstrating against poor working conditions.

Some have noted the appealing and seductive nature of capitalism and the interviews I conducted showed that students, faculty members and administrators were to a certain extent motivated by personal economic reasons. The level of participation in political parties and the many cases of faculty members standing as party representatives in national elections made me raise the question whether this was for any other cause beside economic gains behind political power. The same question was raised to student activists as I wondered why they were enduring all the torture and the prospects of failing to finish their studies. I observed and concluded what I described as the commodification of politics, whether pro-ZANU PF or resistance. Students activists beside being motivated by the support they get from some non-governmental organizations, records show that notable activists have been given scholarships to go and study abroad, especially in Germany and the Netherlands. Others have been taken up by the Movement for Democratic Change party and work as party cadres while a few have gone up to become members of parliament.

I also noted that when talking about non-governmental organizations, reference is not just to the foreign funded that support opposition groups. There are also ZANU PF funded non-governmental organizations that are active at the

university as they try to recruit students into their ranks. Examples of these government associated non-governmental organizations include Upfumi Kuvadiki (Wealth to the Youth), Destiny of Africa Network, Millionaires Cash Flow Club and Affirmative Action Group (Matshazi, 2011). Considering the economic challenges students are experiencing, the chances of some aligning with these organizations are high, regardless of whether they share and believe in their causes. It should therefore be concluded that whether pro or against the government, the ideology of neoliberalism appears to have been accepted as the modern and accepted way of life.

The open control of university administration has not gone down well with other political players in the country and this has resulted in opposition parties, political civic groups and non-governmental organizations being involved. What was observed was the turning of the University of Zimbabwe into a political turf where the different political groups are scrambling for influence and support. In other countries student movements strategically position themselves and operate as pressure groups to have their interests addressed by different political parties (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008). This has not been the case at the University of Zimbabwe because of the dictatorial policies of the government and administration that has seen students generally identifying with the opposition parties, especially the Movement for Democratic Change. The repression that the student community endure should have seen the complete death of student activism at the university but what exists is a well-established support system where some non-governmental organizations and western embassies support students. There are

private doctors and hospitals that treat student-victims of police brutality, lawyers from the Zimbabwe Human Rights Lawyers Association that represent students in court as well as the Student Solidarity Trust that take care of students when in prison or on suspension. Student narratives, and explanations from governmental officials and administration see the support given to students by these outside players as fuelling indiscipline within the student body and this seemed so. Most student leaders once they finish their studies join opposition political parties, prominent non-governmental organizations and some are sent outside the country for further studies. The same can be said of faculty members who are politically active in the country's political parties and some have represented their parties as candidates in national elections. This therefore portrays the University of Zimbabwe as political field, an institution where the dynamics of national politics are being played out, and the net effect has been the deterioration of academic standards.

The politicization of the university has brought about crisis in the form of indiscipline and failure to respect university ordinances in the name of politics. Student activists have completely rebelled and there is no respect of the vice-chancellor's office as it is perceived as a party office. The open rebellion by students that culminated in the closure of student halls of residence has made student learning and living conditions difficult and some students attend one class in a week because they cannot afford transport costs.

ZANU PF's control of university administration and open violation of students' rights has not been received quietly by other political actors in the

country. ZANU PF's blood and soil arguments around issues of patriotism and sovereignty are largely exclusive and portray alternative narrations of the nation as alien and foreign sponsored. The Zimbabwe National Student Union at the University of Zimbabwe and the general student body is openly aligned to the opposition Movement for Democratic Change party, a party that trounced President Robert Mugabe in the 2008 elections. The impact of government policies at the university has been disastrous and predictably students have joined the MDC to seek a way out of their crisis situation. Some faculty members and administrators felt the government was punishing the students for taking the lead in opposing the party. Others think opposition political parties were taking advantage of students' difficulties and manipulating hungry students in their fight against the party. Government strongly believe students are being used as pawns in national political game by agents of regime change.

This study further observed that ZANU PF's grand objective is to see higher education institutions producing graduates who parrot the party's ideology, the anti-Western standpoint. The department of Teacher Education in the Faculty of Education was instructed to come up with a course called National Strategic Studies, which deals with the war of independence and portrays the heroism of ZANU PF in freeing Zimbabweans from British colonialism. While it is normal for countries to develop courses around citizenship, what is unique with National Strategic Studies is that it is like a party manifesto, an attempt at ideological brainwashing. Further evidence of government attempt at indoctrination and brainwashing the youths is seen in the Faculty of Arts where the history

department has been instructed to teach what is described as patriotic history, a version of history that “resents the disloyal questions raised by historians of nationalism. It regards as irrelevant any history that is not political” (Ranger, 2004, p. 218). This version of history is not allowed space to criticize ZANU PF and the government but to glorify the party’s revolutionary past and portray Britain and the West as eternal enemies. Again we note the fulfilment of Frantz Fanon’s prophecy here. He said:

Years after independence, incapable of offering people anything of substance .. the leader can be heard churning out the history of independence and recalling the united front of the liberation struggle” (Fanon, 1963, p. 114).

It is this history department that lost lecturers such as Beach, Ranger and Ndlovu-Gatsheni, a huge loss to students but being seen as a giant gain for ZANU PF as experienced and critical faculty had left. As Grosfoguel (2005) analyzed, the idea of decolonization has largely been a myth and in Zimbabwe “black skins in white masks” (Fanon, 1952) as represented by elite nationalists in ZANU PF, just replaced the Europeans and nothing has changed for the ordinary Zimbabwean to claim that there is independence.

What is observed at the University of Zimbabwe are policies meant at putting students under immense pressure, economic and political, so that they concentrate on their studies and stay out of national politics. The government, students, administrators and faculty were unanimous in lamenting and narrating the inhuman living conditions of most students, whose families struggle to keep

up with the demands that range from high tuition fees, accommodation and transport costs. Thus as one faculty member said, “families and parents pressurise their children to finish university at all costs”, and to be heard being involved in student activism will bring rebuke and disciplinary measures from parents and guardians. The system is therefore killing the activism that stopped Robert Mugabe from declaring Zimbabwe as a one party state, joined forces with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions to fight structural adjustment programs and to form the formidable Movement for Democratic Change party.

Global Coloniality and Higher Education Crisis

ZANU PF’s control and undemocratic policies, both political and economic, can be seen as attempts, sometimes successful, to silence its critics and extend its days in office and from the perspective of this study, home grown colonization of the people of Zimbabwe. It can be concluded that the biggest casualty is the main mandate the University of Zimbabwe was set up to achieve. The brain drain of experienced and highly qualified staff has left the university with no PhD holders in most of the departments leading to the adoption of a system of using assistant lecturers and teaching assistants. In some cases these assistants are first degree holders and this has negatively affected the quality of university education. It is observed that ZANU PF is not interested in any form of liberating and “decolonizing education” (Dei, 2010a, p. 6), an education that would expose internal and external colonial power matrices prevailing in Zimbabwe.

This study also noted that the University of Zimbabwe has become an

institution attended by children from low income groups, notably peasants and government workers. The rich and top ZANU PF members' children are sent to foreign universities in South Africa, Europe and North America as well as Australia among other notable English speaking countries. I discovered that there is a Presidential Scholarship, that is publicly funded, which sends children of ZANU PF members to South African universities. It can be reasonably concluded that the quality of education at the University of Zimbabwe is not a pertinent issue to those in government; their main preoccupation is for the university to tow the line. They are not interested parents and guardians, and students and faculty consider this as the main reason why government is not interested in measures and policies that can alleviate the conditions of students such as opening halls of residence.

The participants in this study, despite coming from different political and economic backgrounds, were unanimous in lamenting the economic challenges the university was experiencing. The adoption of neoliberal policies from the IMF and the World Bank and their impact on education have been widely documented all over the world, and more importantly the devastation that has resulted in weaker economies of the global south (Altbach, 2004; Johnstone, 2003; Levidow, 2005; Shizha, 2006; Wangenge-Ouma, 2008). At the University of Zimbabwe, neoliberalism is seen as two-fold, privatization and dollarization of the university.

In other countries neoliberalism brought about the idea that government should stop subsidizing higher education and families and guardians should pay for education just like any other commodity found on the market. Since

independence up to the end of the 1990s government provided loans and grants to university students and this allowed the best students from across the nation to compete for places at the university regardless of one's economic background. But with the demand for fees many students from low income groups such as rural peasants find it difficult to meet university student tuition demands. It has been observed that privatizing education; selling education to the poor does not bring about profits, but is destroying the commodity that the system is selling. Privatization at the university has not brought about improvement in terms of facilities and resources needed by the university to pursue its core business. The opposite has occurred and one can justifiably conclude that privatization in higher education is meant to make education elitist, drive out the children of the poor out of university education, and negatively affect the development of the human resource base of the country. There is evidence from this study that the talented but poor student is failing to access university education, while the rich but less academically gifted student are getting degree qualification.

Closely related to the privatization and introduction of fee paying policies at the university is the issue of dollarization of the university that was introduced at the beginning of 2009. Students decried this policy where fees were now to be paid in USA dollars, and these fees ranged from around \$400 to \$1300 a semester depending with one's programme. Payment of fees in Zimbabwean dollars was a difficult task for many families and to make the fees paid in foreign denominations has made it very difficult for most parents. All over the campus and city I witnessed pamphlets, brochures and graffiti depicting opposition to

privatization and dollarization, and the students union had coined two campaigns against these two policies, National Campaign Against Privatization of Education (NACAPEZ) and National Campaign Against Dollarization of Education (NACADEZ). Students do not see the privatization of the university as an international trend and they focus their opposition to the government and not to international institutions. Through all the interviews I conducted, and the study of the student union's documents, there is no criticism of the West and the Bretton Woods institutions. Students have not held demonstrations against the IMF and the World Bank. Also document studies of non-governmental organizations that support student do not mention the international institutions as the origins of the privatization policies. The obsession is with the government as the author of privatization and dollarization. This shows the failure to go beyond local neo/colonialism and recognize global coloniality and coloniality of power (Escobar, 2004; Grosfoguel, 2005; Quijano, 2000; 2007), an analysis of power and domination that combines class, race and/or ethnicity.

Students and faculty indicated that Zimbabwe's economy has the capacity to provide affordable higher education but the ZANU PF government was not interested and because of their policies, the country was now failing to do so. This demonstrated a higher level of conceptualization and understanding of the political-economy of Zimbabwe, a realization of kleptocratic capitalism, indigenized and patrimonized resulting in the few concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few. In other words Zimbabwe is witnessing the unmasking of the inner purpose of the ZANU PF leadership led by President

Robert Mugabe, “the CEO of the company of profiteers composed of a national bourgeoisie intent only on getting the most of the situation” (Fanon, 1963, p. 112), and these profiteers include vice-chancellors.

This study further noted privatization in the form of the catering services at the university. With the students’ halls of residence closed, a private company was preparing and selling food but most students found the price out of reach. The result has seen students looking for alternative places to buy food and this has invited unlicensed but enterprising women from the nearby suburbs to sell food to students. A scene at the university entrance gate with students milling around to buy food, epitomized the devastation brought about by privatization. One wonders whether privatizing and dollarizing an institution dominated by students from poor peasants was an economic or political inspired policy. It is difficult to see huge profit margins at the University of Zimbabwe, but what is immense is the dehumanizing loss of status of the university student. The larger picture that emerges from the critical colonial point of view of this study is that the impoverishment and consequent suffering of the student body brings about a passive and compliant student, well suited for the hegemonic intentions of global and local capital, represented in Zimbabwe by ZANU PF elite nationalists.

Government claims the effects of dollarization and privatization have been mitigated by its policy called cadetship where students apply for loans from the government. The policy has been widely condemned by students, faculty and some administrators as partisan and form of ZANU PF bondage (See Mashininga, 2011). The profit motive behind this government motive is clear but equally

evident are the controlling machinations inherent in the cadetship system where students are expected to be disciplined and this means mainly staying away from demonstrations and criticism of the university administration and government.

Following Levy's (1993; 1986) analysis of privatization of the university in Latin America, Schugurensky (1994) recognized what he termed the five C's of the commercial university, namely cultivation of private universities, customer fees, client-oriented activities and programmes, corporate rationality and contracts with business. As has been shown these features were found at the University of Zimbabwe with the exception that this is a state and not private university and the privatization process is government controlled. Consequently private business is not given the space to influence programmes at the institution as most big business are foreign owned and are seen as working against the interest of the ruling party. When one looks at the institutes that are at the university, they are mainly funded by internal funds and only the Confucius Institute which was established by the university and the office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) seem to be well funded by the Chinese government and the intention is to develop it into a center of excellence in the teaching of the Chinese language and culture.

While the loss of professionals to greener pastures in foreign countries was seen as a big issue when addressing the quality of university education, the politicization of the academy, most specifically the "Zanufication" of the administration, has brought about partisanship and appointments not based on professionalism but political affiliation. Interviewees, mostly students and faculty

saw such moves as contributing to the death of professionalism at the university and consequently the decline in education standards. The university used to be accommodative and friendly to outsiders, and foreign nationals were among the faculty body but today foreigners are not welcomed. Administrators acknowledged that at times they had to tell students not the real picture of what was going on and to do otherwise would be seen as going against the government. This further demonstrates administrators as an extension of the ruling party's arm that is meant to control the students.

It has generally been acknowledged that ZANU PF's main concern is to remain in power and any discussion of President Robert Mugabe's term of office and of him stepping down is considered treasonous and those who have raised the topic within ZANU PF have been banished into the political wilderness. At independence Robert Mugabe proclaimed a socialist doctrine for the country and this was dumped with the collapse of the USSR and the socialist Eastern bloc. There was the adoption of neoliberalism through structural adjustment programmes, first under the authorship and guidance of the Bretton Woods institutions and from 2000, through home grown indigenous policies. Participants in this study rarely mentioned the IMF and the World Bank in their narration of the economic challenges brought about by privatization and marketization in the university. This showed the extent the people closely associate the policies and the resultant challenges with the ruling ZANU PF party. As one faculty member said to me:

These people, eeh I mean this party, whatever they adopt as policy is

meant to work to their advantage. Privatization is making them economically powerful and this will make them maintain their power in this country (Interview notes, Faculty member, August 2010).

It is because of such realization that when addressing the issue of neoliberalism in Zimbabwe, it is better and more in context to consider indigenization and black empowerment or what Tandonis (2011) terms kleptocracy. In government official documents, terms such as privatization and marketization do not exist but concepts such as black empowerment, indigenization, and affirmative action are ever present, and all this is an attempt to camouflage black capitalism that is driving this elitist nationalist party.

The narratives from students and faculty members consistently portrayed privatization and marketization as benefitting top university administrators and there is no improvement in terms of student learning resources such as books, computers and the general conditions of their learning rooms. The explanations and understanding of students and lecturers is that privatization and the accompanying dollarization is meant to reward top ZANU PF officials such as the vice-chancellor. In return the vice-chancellor is expected to keep student activism under control and critical faculty members silenced. The idea is not to question and challenge ZANU PF's "divine right to rule the country" (Tsvangirai, 2011). It is evident that privatization and marketization have been domestically clothed in indigenous terms and behind high sounding moral arguments while the former freedom fighters enrich themselves.

The domestication of IMF/World Bank sponsored policy reforms in 1991

ushered in a new era in education and specifically university education. The guiding principle was the reversal of government support and the adoption of what the World Bank (1988) referred to as, "... relieve the burden on public sources of financing higher education by increasing the participation of beneficiaries and their families (p. 77). The privatization of university amenities such as catering and accommodation services benefitted those with connections within the government or the ruling party (Muronzi, 2009). They became the new entrepreneurs in the name of black empowerment and indigenization. Students realized the trend and they held demonstrations that sometimes turned violent with the state riot police using tear gas meant for military use on students and helicopters being sent to the university campus to attack and end student demonstrations. The fact that students at the University of Zimbabwe have been a thorn in the flesh of Mugabe's party for over two decades should be factored in when trying to understand the harsh repressive measures students have been subjected to. The closure of residences, privatization of catering services, banning of any student gathering on and off-campus together with the accompanying strong tactics of the administration in collusion with state institutions such as courts and the police, are all aimed at squeezing any forms of student activism, a major threat to ZANU PF power and dominance (See Muzulu, 2010 and Student Solidarity Trust, 18 May 2011). It is the observation of this study that privatization of the University of Zimbabwe is meant to end student activism and maintain ZANU PF dominance.

The importance of education to black Africans in Zimbabwe cannot be

overestimated. Before independence African children had very narrow if any opportunity to access higher education because of the apartheid system of Smith's Rhodesian regime (Gwarinda, 1985). The doors and opportunities were opened up in 1980 with independence and thousands flocked to the then one and only University of Zimbabwe on the basis of very high university entrance grades. Convocation became a proud moment more for the peasant parent who never got the chance to attain such high levels of education. But thirty years into independence the opportunity for the poor rural peasant's child to enter the University of Zimbabwe is dwindling and getting slimmer. Even straight A's at Advanced Level, university entrance grade, are no longer adequate. Privatization, marketization, indigenization, whichever term one picks, has introduced new and difficult challenges for the poor.

World Bank and International Monetary Fund's macro-economic principles of budget deficit reduction and restricted social spending (Johnstone, 2001; Nafukho, 2004) forced the government to stop financing higher education and leave that responsibility to individuals. Student activists deny that the government was forced; they see government policies as punitive and aimed at punishing them for daring to question ZANU PF's misrule. They see the adoption of the home grown development blueprint by the Zimbabwean government when it abandoned western structural adjustment programmes as a continuation of privatization. With the abandonment of the valueless Zimbabwean dollar and adoption of multi-currencies, especially the US dollar and the South African rand, higher education became even dearer and more out of reach (Sunday Mail, 2009;

Share, 2009; ZINASU, 2009). Universities are largely underfunded and this forced universities to close doors for the whole of the second half of the 2008 academic year (Manyukwe, 2008). The University of Zimbabwe, the flagship of higher education in Zimbabwe, failed to open at the beginning of the 2009 academic year and only opened in August, and when it did open it could not accommodate first year students. It is surprising that the government is failing to finance the university but it has money to send children of ZANU PF members on scholarships to different expensive South African universities (See The Herald Reporter, 2010). Such contradictory policies give weight to faculty and student conceptions that they are being punished and that the country has the capacity to support the university but the government has no political will.

Privatization and the entrenchment of capitalism in Zimbabwe.

This critical colonial study also observed radical capitalist principles, generally referred to as neoliberalism, widely dictating economic administration of the University of Zimbabwe. Privatization of public institutions has witnessed the emergence of an elite economic class in the country who are brought together by their allegiance to ZANU PF. They have embraced neoliberalism as the economic dogma of the country. They have become rich overnight and in the process forming a strong base for the ruling party. They fund and defend their party and thus further entrenching internal colonial machinations of ZANU PF. While most literatures show neoliberalism as the new form of imperialism driven from the Euro-America group of nations (Amin, 2011; Appadurai, 1996; Escobar, 2004; Harvey, 2003; Mignolo, 2000; Quijano, 2000; 2007), there was no evidence

to illustrate this at the University of Zimbabwe and throughout the country. What is being seen is cooperation between ZANU PF inclined companies and businesses from mainly China and India and other countries from the East. The elite nationalists in ZANU PF are accumulating wealth by dispossessing businesses owned by Transnational Companies. I found these developments unique and going against current trends, however further confirming Fanon's prophecy. Fanon (1963) saw that for the bourgeoisie, nationalization signifies very precisely the transfer into indigenous hands of privileges inherited from the colonial period.

My participants did not recognize the role of capitalism. I expected university lecturers to be critical of capitalism and for them to enunciate home grown ideas to help end the crisis in higher education. There is an abundance of literature isolating capitalism or neoliberalism as the modern nemesis of the poor. It was therefore a surprise and a personal disappointment when students and faculty failed to see neoliberalism as the oppressive system. The obsession of the student body and most faculty members is to see the end of President Robert Mugabe's rule without critiquing the system. Also the way the university community supports the neoliberal opposition MDC party further raises questions about the path the decolonization project is taking in Zimbabwe. It does not seem to be targeting capitalism. There are strong signs that within the next decade, the economy of Zimbabwe would have been transferred into ZANU PF hands and this implies ZANU PF's firm control over the country. This further means the

prospects of the decolonization process that is ending authoritarian nationalism and neoliberalism will be pushed back.

Considering the Implications of Neoliberal Globalization and Authoritarian Nationalism on Higher Education

Most available literature on indigenization and post-independent Africa tend to portray western neoliberalism as one of the major obstacles to the realization of any form of progress that indigenous and independent people are yearning for (Connell, 2007; Eppel, et. al., 2009). It is rare to find the indigenization struggle being led by the national government, but this is the scenario that is found in Zimbabwe today. It is also critical to observe that the state led indigenization process is radically capitalist, in other words neoliberal and seen as there to serve the interests of a rising class of black African capitalists associated with the political establishment. The interviews I held, especially the eloquent narrations of some faculty members and student leaders continuously sent a message that to be rich you need to belong to ZANU PF. This was also strengthened by the stories I got of the people who were awarded tender to provide campus security or catering services. The information I got showed that these were people associated with the top university administrators and that translates to being ZANU PF member.

As has been repeatedly captured in this study, ZANU PF's main objective is to remain in power by all means necessary and because of that it is difficult for them to be seen following any democratic principles. The threat to ZANU PF hegemony came from strikes, demonstrations and boycotts that were orchestrated

by students and workers with the open complicity of company directors who instructed their employees not to turn up for work. These are the companies that are being taken over by ZANU PF members in the name of indigenization while the adoption of neoliberal principles in the university has weakened student activism. It can therefore be discerned that ZANU PF control of the country is being strengthened by neoliberalism, and at the same time neoliberalism is spreading its tentacles in a supposedly anti-Western society.

What is being seen at the University of Zimbabwe, a different economic class of administrators led by the vice-chancellor, and the granting of the small business opportunities found around campus to ZANU PF members is a tip of an iceberg of what is taking place throughout the country. ZANU PF control of the country is being led by accumulating wealth through dispossessing businesses owned by whites of European origins and some Zimbabweans perceived as unpatriotic. Private companies such as mines and commercial farms have fallen into the hands of the black elite, the military and top ZANU PF members who see it as a way to gain control of the country they liberated from British colonial rule. In the past decade students would have taken the lead in the fight against this new appropriation of the country's wealth, but they have been under siege and currently occupied with questions of whether they will be able to finish their studies.

In terms of international policy, the ZANU PF government has developed poor relations with the West because of its dictatorial tendencies and deplorable human rights record characterized by violence and stolen elections (Cross, 2011;

The Standard, 18 June 2011). President Mugabe has turned to China and his government has adopted what is called the Look East Policy in a simple geopolitical game meant to punish Western companies. Chinese capitalism is state driven and the human rights discourse is largely portrayed as western and imperial. Again there is no change of government in China; it is a capitalist one party state and there is evidence this is the path Robert Mugabe would want to see Zimbabwe embarking on. Zimbabwe is a capitalist dictatorship where government and the military is one and the same thing. As one analyst commented:

It has to be pointed out that the political umbilical cord between the current security leadership and ZANU PF stretches back to the early 1970s. The relationship is so interlocked and intertwined that the career path of the security top brass naturally leads to joining the political leadership of ZANU PF upon retirement from the security establishment. The above scenario replicates itself in all strategic organs of government, signifying ZANU PF's omnipresence in all key levels and levers of government (The Standard; 18 June 2011 21).

It has been noted that the military is the major force behind ZANU PF power, and the economic policies framing the country's development discourse (Zhangazha, 2011). There has clearly been a realization that to maintain political power, there is need to control the economy and ZANU PF is doing just that. The security arms of government have been used to silence notable critics like the University of Zimbabwe student body, and wealth accumulation by the ZANU PF elite in government and the military proceeds unchecked.

Some have critiqued the modern form of imperialism as collective imperialism (Amin, 2011) focusing on Western policies towards the global South. In Zimbabwe narratives from some interviewees pointed to a re-emergence of pre-colonial feudal form of imperialism, that which involves national leaders and Eastern countries, particularly China. As was the process that led to European control in the 19th century, treaties and agreements involved kings and chiefs with no consultation with or consideration of the population's interest. The recent Chinese-Zimbabwe loan agreement exemplifies this disregard of ordinary people's welfare resulting in US secretary of state, Hilary Clinton warning African countries of modern colonialism (Reuters, 2011), referring to African leaders and Chinese government agreements. For the Zimbabwean government to accept a loan of 98 million United States dollars and in return give the Chinese control of Marange diamonds in the east of the country, is no different to King Lobengula's treaties with the British in the 1890s. The loan is meant to finance a military academe while civil servants cannot get a salary increment. Thus ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberalism should be seen as two hegemonic forces cooperating and impoverishing the ordinary people in Zimbabwe.

New Directions: Decolonization and Policy Responses

There is variance of ideas when it comes to providing possible theoretical and practical alternatives to the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. Most students and faculty pointed out that they wanted to see the general conditions of the university returning back to what it was in the 1980s and early 90s. The idea that the student union was struggling for social democracy was widely expressed

and in essence this meant removing authoritarian ZANU PF and having the MDC in power. Participants were clearly concerned with the economic situation at the university. Students and faculty as well as some administrators would like to see a situation where the country re-establishes links with the international community, particularly the West. The way exchange programmes and some cooperation with Western institutions ended has left many academics critical of government foreign policy.

This study noted that participants' suggestions were shaped by their positions within the institution and some had developed close to ideological aspirations towards what they would like to see. The position of the government was ultra-nationalist, outlining a vision when students at the highest institution in the country would realize that Zimbabwe was no longer a colony and they had to be patriotic to protect the nation's sovereignty. Such nativist sentiments were generally dismissed by most participants as being held by those in high positions and benefitting from the current crisis.

What was striking was the absence of any home grown ideas especially from the student body. While there is a huge campaign to use indigenous ideas to harness development in many countries in the global south, the use of the term indigenous raised suspicion because of the way it has been defiled by the ruling party. Some faculty members elaborated well on the philosophy of unhu/ubuntu that is popular in South Africa, and saw in it the potential to discipline ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and black capitalism.

One observes the debilitating impact of the flight of qualified and

experienced staff on the level of analysis from both faculty and students at the University of Zimbabwe. This highlighted the need for decolonizing education, that is one that

brings to the fore questions of power relations among actors and different players in the school system while the same time upholding the agency, resistance and local cultural resource knowledge of all learners. ... is about change, it is about a particular way of knowing that emerged through bodies of difference, it is about embodied knowledge, it is a particular process that encounters the foreign and the local of imposition.

It is about resistance and the fight for social justice (Dei, 2010a, p. 6).

Progressive scholars throughout the world have been advocating the use of home grown indigenous solutions to modern challenges. My search for solutions to the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe was cognizant of this idea and I raised it with the participants. The concept of unhuism is a traditional Zimbabwean philosophy of living in harmony with other people (Battle, 2009; Ramose, 2007; Swanson, 2009; Venter, 2004) and embodies the spirit of sharing (Shizha, 2009). The values in this traditional philosophy clearly stand in opposition to the hegemonic tenets inherent in ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and immiserating neoliberalism. Thinking and advocating from unhu would be in line with what Mignolo described as “intellectual decolonization” (2000, p. 64). As was observed above, the University of Zimbabwe community is failing to think beyond capitalism and intellectually, they are not thinking outside Western modernity. Their reluctance to expound ideas from indigenous perspectives illustrated the continued existence

of “colonized intellectuals” (Fanon, 1963, p. 158).

This study sought to think and encourage conceptualization outside the framework of the oppressive forces of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberalism. It is “border thinking” and “double critique” of the two colonial forces that ultimately lead to “an another thinking, a thinking that is located at the border of coloniality of power” (Mignolo, 2000, p. 67). It is liberative epistemology aimed at ending global and internal coloniality as currently played out in Zimbabwe’s higher education. In another sense, a double critique as utilized in this study is “the criticism of the imperial discourses as well as national discourses asserting identity and differences articulated in and by imperial discourses” (Khatibi, 1983, 39). This critical border thinking as demonstrated in this study is the epistemic response of the colonized (Grosfoguel, 2005) that is “contributing to academic efforts to defend the public sphere from its further integration into the neoliberal and imperialist practices of the state and of global capitalism” (McLaren and Jaramillo, 2005, p. 131). Thus in a way this study is corroborating efforts of many other scholars to give back value to indigenous belief systems in the fight against colonizing forces.

The failure to speak from indigenous epistemologies should be noteworthy for those interested in decolonization. It leaves ZANU PF internal colonization machinations well masked under post-independent nationalist demagoguery that justifies rule by coercion on the pretext of national sovereignty. The pressure exerted on the academic community that saw highly qualified and experienced faculty leaving the university is bearing intended fruits for ZANU PF dictatorship.

The university is not giving space to progressive local ideas that can be utilized in critiquing the Zimbabwean society and consequently not posing any threat to coloniality of power in the country.

Summary

The four main research aims of this study were concerned with exploring the influence of ZANU PF nationalism and neoliberal globalization on the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. Evidence from the data showed that most students and faculty saw the crisis as generated by ZANU PF nationalism; internal hegemonic desires of the party that are prioritized above the social democratic demands of the ordinary citizens. ZANU PF aligned faculty and administrators pointed the finger at foreign influence and interference in the affairs of the country as responsible for the crisis. What these contrasting perspectives demonstrate is the combined responsibility of neoliberal globalization and ZANU PF nationalism for the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe and possibly for higher education in the country as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS ON POLICY AND THE CRISIS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore and understand how the processes of ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and neoliberal globalization have contributed towards the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe, while attempting to unearth possible responses to the same. In this concluding chapter I share personal reflections on the research and on policy implications that have emerged from the study. I conclude with some suggestions for recommendations and research in the future.

Personal Reflections

The post-colonial period in Zimbabwe, especially during the past two decades, can be described as wasted decades, years of agony and retrogression in the lives of the ordinary person. The way authoritarian nativist and neoliberal principles have been pirated by the ruling elite has created a crisis situation in higher education as testified by the stories and narratives of those at the University of Zimbabwe. The grand hegemonic theories of nationalism (Afro-radicalism) and Western neoliberalism have been concocted into high moral sounding policies and programmes of indigenization and black empowerment by a system of benevolent despotism, bent on enriching itself, retaining power indefinitely and infinitely, all in the name of national sovereignty and self-

determination. It is time the elite nationalists, kleptocrats in Zimbabwe help the country look to the future, prepare for the future generations and stop holding the whole population at ransom. Zimbabwean nationalism is providing Eurocentric solutions to a Eurocentric global problem and in the process ZANU PF policy frameworks are reproducing an internal coloniality of power.

The crisis at the University of Zimbabwe illustrates the challenges the Zimbabwean community is going through. The challenge concerned community members of the university face is to find a way forward that can tame the excesses of authoritarian triumphalist neoliberalism and nationalism as evidenced by the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. It is now abundantly clear that there is a missing space in the nationalized and indigenized neoliberal trope President Robert Mugabe has been implementing in Zimbabwe; an ethical space urgently demands to be filled. To close this moral gap, the emancipatory call of this critical interpretive case study is to advocate a critical adoption of African and Zimbabwean traditional wisdom, to utilise the main tenets of unhu/ubuntu. Such a consideration will remind some sections of the Zimbabwean community that leaving university students starving and homeless, assaulting them and imprisoning them, Zimbabwe is laying a foundation of conflict and the future looks “African”. Post independent Africa is littered with unresolved disputes, ethnic tensions, civil wars, and a refugee crisis that has left many avoiding being seen as African. The massive movement of Zimbabweans considered in this study as brain drain, can very well be seen as refugee situation and the conditions of Zimbabwean nationals in South Africa and Botswana is ample evidence.

According to a New York based financial magazine, Zimbabwe was ranked as the second poorest country in the world as of June 2011 (Global Finance, 2011). Stories from interviewees that were involved in this study together with observations I made of the University of Zimbabwe corroborate such ranking and it is sad to witness such a mineral rich country failing to send its children to school. There is a general perception that the country has the capacity to do better, but the adoption of such a path undermines and threatens the control of the ruling ZANU PF party. It was from such observations that this investigation concluded that there is internal colonialism in Zimbabwe, perpetrated by the ruling party that is supported morally by some countries in the SADC region, and most importantly by the economic weight of a rising China.

What was also observed is the defiling and vulgarization of the noble cause of indigenization, in the process affirming Zimbabwe as a kleptocratic capitalist state. The challenge to students, faculty, administrators and all concerned should be to attempt to conceptualize a university outside the capitalist framework. To continue to dream of a University of Zimbabwe as it was in the 1980s may not be realistic. That was an island, cut off from the realities of the ordinary Zimbabwean community. The University of Zimbabwe should look ahead to be a Zimbabwean and African institution, its infrastructure should be in tandem with the surrounding community, and the high density suburbs from where most of the students and staff come from. The current crisis should be accepted and understood in the context of the political transition Zimbabwe is going through. The University of Zimbabwe's neutrality and its aspired role as the

conscience of the nation has been compromised but from this critical interpretive case study, informed by critical colonial perspectives, the current crisis represent temporary pain, a challenging push towards a democratic system with a human face.

The suggestions and recommendations outlined in this chapter should be viewed as part of an endeavour to end the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe. Internal colonialists and elite nationalist neoliberals may look at some of these ideas as threatening their dominant positions but it is time to free the people of Zimbabwe. Rarely are student studies such as this one read and conclusions considered for practice but the situation in Zimbabwe is critical and there is urgent need to participate in one way or another in ending the crisis. This is part of “literature of struggle” (wa Thiongo, p. 8), academic activism and studies, and suggestions from ordinary Zimbabweans should be given a chance in the search for solutions to the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe.

Propositions to address the Crisis: Policy Recommendations.

Most students and faculty would like to see a change of government and this would then open up international links and end state violence in higher education. Participants did not indicate that they would like to see a change in the capitalist neoliberal system. They were demanding an increase in government funding as well as change of government. This showed that there is not much discussion and understanding of the crisis capitalism has brought to social services. This study was informed by critical colonial perspectives including unhu/ubuntu. Such local and traditional ideas were not clearly expressed by

students and faculty members that I interacted with. It seemed the idea is to see capitalism tamed to suit and accommodate the vulnerable in society but this is not rooted in any philosophic conceptualization.

The recommendations are arrived at in view of the research questions that guided this study as well as the conclusions arrived at and presented above. The central significance of the university to any narration of Zimbabwe's story makes it difficult and unfeasible to suggest policy recommendations that do not involve national governance issues. The crisis at the University of Zimbabwe, and the accompanying deterioration of learning conditions, should be shouldered by Zimbabwe's political players, within and outside the university, who because of their grand political ambitions are prepared to see the institution drop to its knees, to sacrifice educational opportunities of the poor for political expediency. Policy implications and recommendations being suggested and presented here acknowledge the existence of hegemonic ambitions within the ruling party in Zimbabwe that has failed to separate party and government and in the process compromising professionalism and efficiency in most critical institutions of the country. While neoliberal globalization is seen as the modern version of imperialism and radical capital accumulation, this study also recognized a violent and intolerant version of internal colonialism, ZANU PF internal domination of the people of Zimbabwe, a radical capitalist domination that is driven and camouflaged by progressive discourses of indigenization and black empowerment. The following recommendations are emergent from the findings of

this critical interpretive case study and are influenced by the critical or anti/colonial perspectives and analyses.

The Zimbabwean question and the University of Zimbabwe.

The problems and challenges of Zimbabwe have been on the agenda of international conferences and national meetings and the debate has never been resolved. Some have perceived it as the unresolved colonial question, the issues that would arise when any weaker economy attempts to shackle itself from the knuckles of international or global capitalism. Others simply reduce it to Third World dictatorship, greedy and power hungry African leadership that cannot let go of political office once they taste it. And consequently of late, even Zimbabwe's neighbours in SADC, have belatedly realized that in Zimbabwe's president and ruling party, they are dealing with a self-serving dictatorship that is not prepared to listen to the will of the people. The University of Zimbabwe's crisis that has been narrated by students, faculty and administrators should be viewed and analyzed from this national context. This means acknowledging that there is a dictatorship in Zimbabwe that does not tolerate any form of criticism and opposition, let alone from students and faculty that it financially supports. The government of Zimbabwe should learn not only from history but also from the contemporary world, where dictatorships in other parts of the continent have been falling despite well-established political and military strength. Based on these observations, the following recommendations are suggested to redress the situation:

1. The University of Zimbabwe should be democratized to allow the vice-

chancellor and other top administrators and academics to be appointed on merit and not the current scenario where they are political appointees whose allegiance is to the ruling party and not the academic constituency they are supposed to serve.

2. The Council of the University should be made up of members of the community that have some connections to and interests in the core service of the university and should not be political appointees as is the present case.

3. There is no need for the state president to be the chancellor of the university, and if he is to be, he should only be ceremonial. The current situation where he appoints vice-chancellors and his office clears the appointment of other top officers has bred unprofessionalism, politicized the university and affected the core business of the institution.

4. University students and faculty members should be given the chance to praise and critique their society and in the process allow debate and the growth of divergent perspectives that should be considered to come up with solutions to the many challenges facing the nation. The current environment where those who dare to criticise the government are arrested and victimized is not healthy for the nation. Similarly the youth should be left to criticize and suggest their future and not a situation where they are imprisoned, assaulted, suspended and expelled for demonstrating on campus.

5. The powers bestowed on the Vice-Chancellor as enshrined in the University of Zimbabwe Act and more specifically Ordinance 30, are not needed by any academic superintendent. To associate such monstrous powers with the highest

institution of academic learning in the country is incomprehensible and hence to allow free debate of divergent views and research, faculty and students should be allowed to responsibly exercise their academic freedom.

Funding of higher education.

Since the adoption of structural adjustment programmes in the 1990s, funding of the University of Zimbabwe has been going down with deleterious impact on students' learning and living conditions. It is an international trend that funding higher education has become a responsibility of individuals but in the global south governments should ameliorate the impact of such policies by helping the needy student. The idea that institutions should charge students and use the revenue from tuition to run the university has been shown that it does not work at the University of Zimbabwe because it is a huge campus and many students are not able to pay the required money. Students, faculty members, administrators and even parliamentarians raised concern over the cadetship system that is currently the official government supporting system for students. As a result, the conditions of public amenities at the institution are in bad state, libraries are poorly equipped and some basic learning and teaching equipment expected to be found in a university are non-existent. The following recommendations are being suggested to redress this situation:

1. The University of Zimbabwe is a state institution and government should develop and spell out a clear higher education policy for the country. Currently there is no policy that governs higher education and the university relies on the Act that was used to set it up with numerous amendments that have been passed

throughout the years. Such a policy should clarify the responsibility of the state in the funding of the university. It is generally believed that it is the state's responsibility to provide quality and affordable education to all its citizens.

2. The cadetship scheme should be revisited, particularly, its conditions of bonding, it must be administered by an independent body, which is non-discriminatory and non-partisan. The body will be responsible for fundraising, disbursing the funds through a reasonable means testing mechanism and also the follow up of re-payment of funds.

3. The University of Zimbabwe Act and its accompanying statutes and ordinances should be reformed to guarantee institutional autonomy enough to guarantee the private sector (especially the indigenous business community) to play a critical role in providing alternative sources of funding. There is the imperative need to depoliticize the university in order to attract funding from donors and the private sector. Currently the private sector is unwilling to contribute to skills development as they argue they do not want to be seen endorsing the political standing of the university.

Patriotism, tolerance and the University of Zimbabwe.

The University of Zimbabwe in the 1980s and 1990s was representative of the different cultural and racial backgrounds found in sub-Saharan Africa.

Different nationalities were represented and there were numerous exchange programmes with other countries and institutions, academics from other countries would come to the institution for sabbatical or contact leave. There were signs of authoritarianism and non-tolerance of different opinion in the 1980s when a

Kenyan law professor, Shadreck Ghutto was deported and his work permit cancelled for his radical and anti-capitalist teaching. It was from around the year 2000, after losing the referendum and that was followed by massive gains by the opposition MDC party in parliamentary elections that citizens in Zimbabwe began to be categorized. Those of European origin became settlers and citizens by colonization and consequently lost their citizenship and the properties they owned, especially those who were farmers. Some lost their lives, and university students, workers and most people in urban areas who voted for and supported the MDC were labelled traitors, unpatriotic Zimbabweans and faced persecution and harassment. Foreign nationals in all sectors of the economy felt insecure and many left Zimbabwe and the University of Zimbabwe faced massive loss of academic staff. Not only foreigners left, but many experienced and highly qualified Zimbabwean nationals migrated to other countries with South Africa and Botswana being the main beneficiaries in the region. The loss of skilled people has had tremendous impact on the university and the production of much needed skilled power in the country. What this study recommends is for tolerance of diversity on the part of the government and in the process permit people of different nationalities to live freely in the country as long as they abide by the laws of the country. Holding a different opinion to ZANU PF's should not be a punishable crime. The current situation where no journal publication in the country would accept an article critical of the establishment does not foster well for the development of the country. Government should accept the basic view that diversity brings about richness and betterment of the people of Zimbabwe and

therefore the other story should be told, one that is outside the ZANU PF liberation narrative.

Faculty, professionalism and politics.

There is a huge debate on whether academic members should openly align themselves with certain political parties or the policy that governs civil servants such as teachers should also be used to university lecturers. The University of Zimbabwe has been over politicized and this is not only by the ruling party but all political players are involved. One of the faculty members I interviewed had this big poster of himself on the wall of his office that he had used in the senatorial elections where he was a candidate. This was found to be prevalent as seen by the number of lecturers who were candidates for opposition political parties. One wonders how this affects the professionalism of the academics in the way they approach certain topics that may be political and the amount of influence they may employ to sway students to their parties. Considering the crisis at the institution, whose root cause is by and large political, I suggest that academics at the university should be guided by a code of conduct that guides them not to be actively involved in party politics. They should remain critics and commentators of national developments and not become candidates. The same regulations apply to civil servants such as teachers. The idea is not to reduce university lecturers to the level of high school teachers, but to reduce the political tension at the University of Zimbabwe and give the institution a new beginning.

Closely related to this recommendation, is the realization that was made that academics cannot publish anything that is critical of the government in any

local scholarly publication, such as a journal. Journal editors seem to practise self-censorship or they have instructions not to publish such articles. Articles that are critical of the government are published in foreign publications and the striking case was of a faculty member who was denied tenure because of an article he had published that was critical of the state president. Cases of harassment of academic members seen as anti-regime have been reported and this study recommends that there should be formed an organization to campaign for academic freedoms and help them speak out and comment on developments in their society. Such an organization should publicize the academics' conditions and protect and help them publish their works.

Student activism.

My interaction with student activists and leaders during this study was an eye opener, I learnt a lot about the dynamics of the student movement at the University of Zimbabwe. There is no doubt that the student union is very organized but it was difficult to see if this was coming from within the student themselves or it was because of the assistance they got from outsiders. The student movement at the institution is made up entirely of undergraduate students and my analysis from the interviews and general conversations left me observing a structural weakness in that respect. It is difficult to explain why graduate students are not part of the student movement, but their absence led me to conclude that it deprived the student body of deeper analysis of national and international issues, especially with reference to their grievances and what they prescribe as possible solutions. I noticed the failure of the students in analyzing

the problems they were encountering beyond the personality of the state president.

I therefore, developed the following policy implications;

1. Students at the University of Zimbabwe should spell out their policy position clearly and should go beyond the person of the state president. Students' obsession with seeing the back of President Mugabe, though understandable from their perspective, is to a certain extent short sighted. Students should address neoliberalism and authoritarian nationalism that have negatively affected their education, and this goes beyond Robert Mugabe.
2. There is a clear gap between students' oral presentations and what appears in the documents they publish. There is a huge accusation that students are manipulated by bigger political players in the country and there is urgent need for them to clearly spell out their position vis-à-vis various political institutions in the country. The student body's open alliance with the MDC party has compromised their status, and has opened them to be categorized as anti-government or anti-ZANU PF and in the process compromised their struggle for better conditions of learning. It would be ideal for students to position themselves strategically and try to be lured by political parties and in the process pressurise them to have their concerns addressed.
3. Students have also been accused of being driven by economic motives on the basis that a term of office in a leadership position has the potential to lead to a political office in an opposition party or being observed by some non-governmental organization or western embassy and get a scholarship to study abroad. The claim that student activism has been commodified is very strong and

the student movement need to remain focused and united to show that they are concerned with redressing the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe.

4. The student movement should be more disciplined in their interaction with members of the public, and even amongst themselves if their views and concerns are to be taken seriously.

Policy dialogue.

Zimbabweans have been practically at war with each other for more than a decade now and there is need to realize that they should discuss their challenges as a family. An all-inclusive policy of university education should be developed by all stakeholders that would address the role of the government and the level of support it can provide. Government should be forced to drop its hegemonic tendencies, its desire to use the university to maintain its hold on national power, and in a way recolonize the population it liberated from British colonial rule. Such policy formulation should involve all important stakeholders if it is to become meaningful, and the process should include students and faculty members. The context of such deliberations should be Zimbabwean, informed and guided by home-grown ideals and this study observed the humane and moral tenets found within the Zimbabwean traditional and cultural philosophy of unhu/ubuntu. As discussed elsewhere in this study, developing policies and guiding principles informed by and based on the basic ideals of this traditional philosophy could be one big way to tame the devastating nativist and authoritarianism practised by the ruling party as well as the accompanying greediness inherent in radical capitalism. The University of Zimbabwe has been a victim of political machinations and it is

time politicians let go of this historically important institution and leave it to perform its core business; teaching, researching and serving the community.

Pointers for Future Research

This was a case study of the University of Zimbabwe and one would hope to see studies of both private and public universities and other institutions of higher learning being undertaken. Such studies should endeavour to bring an end to the crisis in higher education. Based on the experiences I had in the course of this study, the following ideas can serve as pointers for similar research that should be undertaken in future.

1. With reference to post-independent Africa and its struggle to end poverty and improve the lives of ordinary people, liberative critical colonial perspectives should be employed in such research. Since time immemorial, African people such as in Zimbabwe have stumbled from one crisis into another, and each episode of crisis is marked by concerted attempts by some well positioned groups to dominate and exploit the majority. Critical colonial perspectives and analysis proved to be appropriate in unmasking external and internal colonial tendencies driving current challenges faced by the academic community at the University of Zimbabwe and beyond.

2. The use of a critical interpretive research informed by critical colonial perspectives proved to be an ideal combination for research aimed at ending suffering and crisis as is the situation at the University of Zimbabwe. Such studies empower participants by assisting them in defining their suffering as participant awareness of their undesired situation is increased. It can easily be seen as

academic activism and if educational research is to be practically meaningful, this should be the future thrust.

3. African post-independent nations have been characterized by racial, class, ethnic and or tribal conflicts with devastating consequences. Critical colonial perspectives and analysis have the capacity to expose all these divisive forces through the liberative, anti-colonial and anti-hegemonic critics imbedded in these analyses. Critical colonial perspectives proved to be useful in framing research in areas of conflict and crisis such as the University of Zimbabwe and further in the interpretation and understanding of views and behaviour of different people based on their socio-economic status in an organization.

4. While researching the oppressed and suffering is very important, I think there is need for some studies to use these liberative perspectives on the oppressing and dominating groups in an attempt to conscientize them regarding how disastrous some of their actions have become.

5. The policy of indigenization and black empowerment as unfolding in Zimbabwe seems to be nothing more than indigenization or localization of neoliberalism by the elite. There is need for more studies on indigenization to stop its abuse by some well positioned groups or the state as is the case in Zimbabwe. Indigenization has given birth to black capitalism with devastating impact on the university education and the country as a whole.

6. Activist research or social action research should be encouraged and this should aim at developing African and local ideas and solutions to African problems. It was very disturbing to realize the absence of any eloquent narration of home

grown ideas such as unhu with respect to addressing the crisis at the University of Zimbabwe.

The numerous policy recommendations that came from the participants should be seen as their march towards freedom and an effort aimed at decolonizing the country from ZANU PF authoritarian hegemony and a kleptocratic capitalism being nurtured by neoliberal globalization. In concluding a journey that is just commencing, a walk towards freedom and justice and speaking *for* dissident students and faculty and *to* hegemonic powers, I leave this piece of work with a quotation from the immortal Nelson Mandela:

I was made by law, a criminal, not because of what I had done, but because of what I stood for, because of what I thought, because of my conscience. But there comes a time, as it came in my life, when a man is denied the right to live normal life, when he can only live the life of an outlaw because the government has decreed to use the law to impose a state of outlaw upon him. I was driven to this situation, and I do not regret having taken the decisions that I did take. Other people will be driven in the same way in this country, by this very same force of police persecution and of administrative action by the government, to follow my course, of that I am certain (1995, p. 331).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Request for permission to conduct a research at the University of Zimbabwe

17 9903-105 Street NW

Edmonton, Alberta,

Canada, T5K1A9

The Secretary of Higher and Tertiary Education Ministry of Higher and Tertiary
Education

Private Bag CY7732

Causeway, HARARE, ZIMBABWE

Requesting permission to conduct a research project at the University of Zimbabwe

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Munyaradzi Hwami. I am a lecturer at Great Zimbabwe University. I am currently a student at the University of Alberta in Canada where I am studying for a Doctor of Philosophy degree. I am currently conducting a research project that explores how the processes of nationalism and neoliberal globalization have contributed towards the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe. Therefore, I am requesting permission to visit the University of

Zimbabwe and your offices to conduct this research project. The research findings from the study will be used for the fulfilment of the requirements of my studies, help me in teaching, conference presentations and in research articles published in academic journals. The information will also be made available to educational policy makers, universities and other institutions of higher education in Zimbabwe.

I intend to carry out observations and interviews between July and October 2010 to collect the required information from students, faculty, administrators and government officials. If you have any concerns and complaints regarding my conduct during this research, you are advised to contact the following persons:

Munyaradzi Hwami (Researcher)

Telephone: 0912 625 585

Email: hwami@ualberta.ca

Dr. Dip Kapoor (Supervisor)

Telephone: 1 780 492 7617

Fax: 1 780 492 2024

Email: dkapoor@ualberta.ca

Dr. Frank Peters (Graduate Coordinator)

Telephone: 1 780 492 7607

Fax: 1 780 492 2024

Email: fpeters@ualberta.ca

“The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEAS REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Sincerely,

Munyaradzi Hwami

Appendix II

Notification of Approval - Delegated Review (HERO)

Study ID: Pro00013246

Study Title: Nationalism, Neoliberal Globalization and Crises in Higher Education in Zimbabwe: Policy Perspectives from the University of Zimbabwe.

Study Investigator: Munyaradzi Hwami

Study Supervisor: Dip Kapoor

Date of Informed Consent: Approval Date	Approved Document
6/26/2010	Consent Form for Interviewees.docx

Thank you for submitting the above ethics application to the Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint-Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB). Jerrold Kachur has reviewed your application and, on behalf of the EEASJ REB, approved it as of June 26, 2010. The approval will expire on June 25, 2011. A renewal report must be submitted prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval at that time. If you do not renew before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.

Sincerely,

Dr. Stanley Varnhagen

Chair, Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint-Jean Board (EEASJ REB).

Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).

Appendix III

Letter of Initial Contact

Researcher: Munyaradzi Hwami
Educational Policy Studies
7-104 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2G5
Phone: (780) 492 6745

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Munyaradzi Hwami. I am a student at the University of Alberta in Canada where I am studying a Doctor of Philosophy degree. I am currently conducting a research project that explores how the processes of nationalism and neoliberal globalization have contributed towards the crises in higher education in Zimbabwe. Therefore, I am inviting you to take part in this research project that focuses on your understanding of higher education. The research findings from the study will be used for the fulfilment of the requirements of my studies, help me in teaching, conference presentations and in research articles published in academic journals.

I intend to carry out interviews with you. The interview will be tape-recorded so that the conversations are recorded as accurately as possible. Your participation in this research is voluntary and that you have the right to withdraw

from the study at any time. The degree and level of participation is left entirely to you, and you are entitled to decide whether or not to continue participating. Your participation and the information that you will give will be kept strictly anonymous and confidential. Your name will not be mentioned in the final report or in any other document thereafter.

I would also like to assure you that the information I will gather from you for this study would be used and handled in compliance with the University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants. If you have any concerns and complaints regarding my conduct during this research, you are advised to contact the following persons:

Munyaradzi Hwami (Researcher)

Telephone :0912 625 585

Email: hwami@ualberta.ca

Dr. Dip Kapoor (Supervisor)

Telephone: 1 780 492 7617

Fax: 1 780 492 2024

Email: dkapoor@ualberta.ca

Dr. Frank Peters (Graduate Coordinator)

Telephone: 1 780 492 7607

Fax: 1 780 492 2024

Email: fpeters@ualberta.ca

“The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana and Campus Saint Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEAS REB c/o (780) 492-2614.”

Sincerely,

Munyaradzi Hwami

Appendix IV

Consent Form for Interviewees (Government Officials, University Administrators, Faculty and Students)

Researcher: Mr. Munyaradzi Hwami
Educational Policy Studies
7-104 Education North
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada, T6G 2G5 Phone: 780 492-6745

To be completed by participant interviewees

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study? Yes No

Have you received and read a letter of invitation to participate? Yes No

Do you understand the inconveniences involved in taking part in the research study? Yes No.

Have you had the opportunity to ask questions and discuss the study? Yes No.

Do you understand that you are voluntarily taking part in the study? Yes No.

Do you understand that you are free to participate or withdraw from the study any time? You do not have to give a reason for opting out. Yes No.

Has the issue of anonymity and confidentiality been explained to you? Yes No

Do you understand who will have access to your recorded information?

Yes No

This research study was explained to me by:

.....

I agree to take part in this study.

.....

(print name)

(signature)

(date)

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and volunteered to participate.

Munyaradzi Hwami (Researcher)

(Signature and Date)

Appendix V

Interview Schedule for Faculty Members

These questions are just guidelines for the interview and they may not be addressed in the order they appear below. Their main purpose is to ensure that the conversation does not lose the focus of the study. More questions may arise from the conversation.

1. To which faculty do you belong, your position and years of experience?
2. Are you an active member of the University Teachers Association? Are there any advantages of being a member?
3. What is the motivation behind your job? Would you mention some of the advantages that come with your position? Are there any disadvantages?
4. How would you describe your working conditions?
5. What is your opinion to the view that there is a crisis in higher education? What could be the causes?
6. How do you view privatization policies in the university? What have been the results?
7. Some say government policies are to blame for the problems being faced in higher education. What do you say?
8. How would you describe the learning conditions of your students?
9. How would you describe courses that you teach? Do they encourage students to be patriotic and critical?

10. Some quarters have accused universities of being political, e.g. the Minister of Justice say the Faculty of Law is producing politicians and not lawyers. What do you say about this? Do you think the university has discredited itself by openly being involved in anti-government politics?

11. What role do you think academics like you have to play to improve the university?

12. Scholars in the global South are trying to come up with local indigenous ideas to the challenges being met today. Are there any developments along that line at this university?

Appendix VI

Interview Schedule for Students

These questions are just guidelines for the interview and they may not be addressed in the order they appear below. Their main purpose is to ensure that the conversation does not lose the focus of the study. More questions may arise from the conversation.

1. What year and faculty are you?
2. Describe your type of accommodation.
3. What is your understanding of being patriotic to Zimbabwe?
4. In what ways do your studies develop you to be patriotic to Zimbabwe?
5. What is your understanding of privatization in universities?
6. How have privatization policies affected your studies?
7. What is your understanding of crisis in higher education?
8. How would you describe your learning conditions?
9. What do you think has been the role of;
 - a) government
 - b) opposition political parties
 - c) universities and,
 - d) foreign forces, in the crisis higher education?
10. What is your understanding of academic freedom? Do you have this freedom at your university?
11. Have students contributed in any way to the crisis in higher education?

12. What do you see as the solution(s) to the problems universities are facing? Are there any Zimbabwean ideas or you would rather want to see adoption of ideas from the developed countries?

13. Some blame the ZANU PF government while others see Western developed countries' policies/interference as the core of the crisis. What do you say about this?

Appendix VII

Interview Schedule for University Administrators and Government Officials

These questions are just guidelines for the interview and they may not be addressed in the order they appear below. Their main purpose is to ensure that the conversation does not lose the focus of the study. More questions may arise from the conversation.

1. How would you describe the condition of the university today?
2. Are universities meeting the challenges the nation expects from them?
3. Some say the university is in crisis. What could be the reasons?
4. Are the privatization policies that have been introduced in universities, government policies or are they prescriptions from the IMF and the World Bank in Washington?
5. Do you see the university producing confident patriotic Zimbabweans or it has become a haven of politics?
6. Can the university help find solutions to Zimbabwe's problems or it is part of the problem?
7. What is your opinion towards the view that the quality of higher education has deteriorated?
8. What do you see as the future of the university? Government funded or the private sector is taking over?

9. Some quarters blame the government while others point the finger at foreign forces. What is your view about this?
10. Is it government policy for a university for every province? Is this sustainable within the prevailing economic environment?
11. Universities in the global South have always been state institutions. How do you view the idea that the crisis in the university is because the Zimbabwean state is in crisis and decline.
12. Are government policies being studied in universities, for example land reform and black empowerment/indigenization?
13. Some have argued that higher education authorities, for example, vice-chancellors, have too much powers. What would you say?