

NEOCOLONIALISM, HIGHER EDUCATION AND STUDENT UNION ACTIVISM IN ZIMBABWE

Munyaradzi Hwami and Dip Kapoor
University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

ABSTRACT The Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) is often singled out as the only conspicuous social organization that has consistently enunciated an anti-Mugabe government agenda since the beginning of the new millennium (the popular refrain of the movement is, “Mugabe must go!”). Challenged by neoliberal policies adopted in higher education during the 1990s, students became the most outspoken critics of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) government. The University of Zimbabwe has become a site for demonstrations and violent confrontations between students and state riot police. Based on a case study of the University of Zimbabwe (including ZINASU/member perspectives) conducted in 2010, this paper deploys a neocolonial and internal colonial analysis considering the twin trajectories and imbrications of neoliberal globalization imperatives and ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism for understanding the politics of ZINASU. The main proposition being advanced here is that the emergence of student activism and the current mis/directions of ZINASU can be better understood and informed by a historical and contemporary colonial analysis.

ABSTRACT / PFUPISO Gungano revadzidzi vari muzvikoro zvapamusorosoro iro rinozikanwa nezita rokuti Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU) nderimwe remapoka anozikanwa nokupokuna uye kurwisana nehutongo hwehurumende yaVaMugabe. Kubvira pakatanga chirongwa chokusandura upfumi chaizikanwa nezita rokuti ESAP mumakore okuma 1990 vadzidzi vomumauniversity nezvimwe zvikoro zvapamusoro vakatanga kupindwa nourombo vakabva vananga hurumende yeZANU PF somuparanzvongo. PaUniversity yeZimbabwe muHarare pakasanduka kuita dandaro rokurwisana kwavadzidzi namapurisa emhirizhonga. Tichishandisa ongororo yakaitwa mugore ra2010, chinyorwa chino chinoshandisa pfungwa dzokutsvaga rusununguko mukunongedza utongi hwoumbimbindoga hwaVaMugabe

pamwe chete namazano ohusveta simba enyika dzokumadokero mukuedza kunzwisisa mapishapisha nemhirizhonga muZINASU. Pfungwa huru muchinyorwa chino kutaridza kuti mapipi nemafungiro evadzidzi vari muZINASU anogona kunyatsonzwisiswa nokunanganisa rungano hweutongo hwousvetasimba kubva mazuva evasina mabvi kusvika muZimbabwe yanhasi.

Introduction

The current era in Zimbabwe has been characterized by competing and seemingly antagonistic national and international influences, namely, neoliberal globalization and ZANU PF nationalism. The effects have been devastating ranging from increasing poverty and health epidemics (e.g. HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and cholera) to political violence and the psychological trauma of the general decay in standards of living as unemployment remains high while run-away inflation has destroyed the national currency (Bond & Manyanya, 2003; Bratton & Masunungure, 2008; Chetsanga & Muchenje, 2003; Dansereau, 2005; Gono, 2008). Zimbabwe has been undergoing a crisis, notably since 2000 (Dansereau, 2005; Zamponi, 2005; Hwami, 2010; Student Solidarity Trust, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2006; Ranger, 2004). Several organizations, including the likes of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) and the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) have sought to raise awareness and concerns about the plight of the people and in the process have been vilified by the ZANU PF government as enemies of the state and the people (Raftopoulos, 2003; Chikwanha, 2009; Chimankire, 2009). The Zimbabwe National Students Union has been particularly active in critiquing ZANU PF.

In this article, we briefly trace the origins of student activism from British colonial occupation at the then only

University of Rhodesia to the neocolonial and internal colonial ZANU PF present. Claiming to be the voice of the voiceless colonized masses (Chimanikire, 2009; Zeilig, 2009), the evolution of student politics from being pro-government soon after independence, to becoming critics and subsequently a full-fledged anti-ZANU PF government organization is considered here from neocolonial and internal colonial analytical standpoints to:

(a) trace ZINASU's evolution from pro-Mugabe activism in the 1980s and early 1990s to a full-fledged anti-Mugabe government social organization;

(b) describe the current nature of student activist grievances and analysis (with respect to the crisis in higher education and the country) that unite ZINASU against ZANU PF and the Robert Mugabe government that has branded students as the enemies of the state; and

(c) examine the current priorities of ZINASU with reference to neocolonial and internal colonial considerations while pointing out a potential role for unhuism (critical/reflexive African indigenous radicalism and/or unhu/ubuntu) in helping to keep the ZINASU focused on decolonization, despite the various challenges facing the Union¹.

¹ This analysis draws upon a recently completed critical case study of the University of Zimbabwe. The analytical discussion pertaining to ZINASU is informed by a critical case study of student activism at the University of Zimbabwe developed between 2008 and 2011; a critical interpretive study which included data from interviews with executive members of ZINASU, namely the president, secretary general, national spokesperson and other student activists. Faculty members, university administrators and a government official were also interviewed to get their views and understanding of ZINASU activism. Documents pertaining to ZINASU activities that included monthly and yearly reports and letters from university administration summoning students to disciplinary hearings were also utilized. Participant observation at student union meetings/rallies and an analysis of university/state policy documents were also conducted and data was analyzed using a constant comparative method (Boeije, 2002; Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Patton, 2002; Thorne, 2000) whereby segments of data were categorized and compared to enable the construction of a coherent conceptual framework or explanation of ZINASU activism and crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe.

Theoretical considerations pertaining to neocolonialism (Nkrumah, 1965; Rodney, 1989), the closely linked-development of internal colonization (Casanova, 1965; Fanon, 1963) in Zimbabwe especially conspicuous since 2000 and the related emergence of a national bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1952; 1963) and a kleptocratic capitalism (Tandon, 2011) (indicative of the imbrications of neocolonialism and internal colonialism) are central to this analysis of ZINASU activism, both, in historical terms and in relation to current mis/directions. A cautious consideration of Afro-radicalism and nativism (Mbembe, 2002), points to the potential of unhu/ubuntu (Battle, 2009; Ramose, 2003; Venter, 2004) in addressing the current predicament.

The neocolonial thesis proposes that countries like Zimbabwe continue to remain subject to the effective control of former imperial powers , i.e., “The essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus political policy is directed from outside” (Nkrumah, 1965, ix). The proposition underscores the continued control of ex-colonial powers and new prospectors (e.g. China) over Zimbabwean sovereignty today through, for instance, the IFIs, TNCs and NGO-led supports for an opposition party (the MDC) that is prepared to go further than ZANU PF in terms of implementing the current policy prescriptions of neoliberal globalization in higher education and across the policy scape.

Neocolonial control is simultaneously made possible by a process of internal colonization whereby the ruling class/elite in Zimbabwe begins to operate in complicity with the needs of international capital for its own benefit or

what Fanon (1963) identifies as a “national bourgeoisie” which is interested in the transfer into indigenous hands of privileges inherited from the colonial period. Also pertinent in this regard is Yash Tandon’s (2011, p.6) conception of “kleptocratic capitalism”, i.e., the creation of fictitious wealth without going through production of real wealth and a form of political governance that is controlled by looters and daytime robbers. A kleptocratic government is one that is led “by a group who enrich themselves on the country’s resources”, or “rule while engaged in plunder of the public treasury” (Nonini, 2005, p. 177). The neocolonial trajectory secures the interests of ex-colonial powers who simultaneously denounce dictatorial ZANU PF practices; a denunciation that is then harnessed by Mugabe-ZANU PF to strengthen an internal colonial grip by pointing the finger at such external manipulations and threats, while actively implementing the same neoliberal policies to enhance Mugabe-ZANU PF political-economic control over the country.

A Historical Overview of Student Activism

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; Zeilig, 2007), 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). This was evidence that student politics mirrored the wider African nationalist movement in the country. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) prescription for the student movement was very clear: students were to play an obedient role in the coming struggles, “being part of the revolutionary movement you are to ... be directed by it”, and there was no space for an “independent line” (Cefkin, 1975, 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 independence struggle 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 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. It can be argued that even today student demands and grievances are largely selfish though they resonate with their peasant and proletarian parents, i.e., the student union appears to lack a “critical nationalism” (Dei, 2010a, p. 2) that addresses the transition from national consciousness to social economic and political awareness and action.

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 this time 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”). Student activism then was against Western hegemonic tendencies represented by the white capitalists (Grosfoguel, 2005) who exercised exploitation with no restraint. However, immediately after this in 1988 students organized a demonstration that would mark a seemingly permanent divorce between the government and the students. Fanon (1963) would have conceived the student union as having taken up “the challenge to extricate themselves from the

confines of Euro-modernity” (p. 10). Zeilig describes this as follows:

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 (Federici, 2000; Chikwanha, 2009; 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 (Muzulu, 2010; Danzereau, 2005; Chimanihire, 2009; Bond, 2001, Bond & Manyanya, 2003). Thus the student body in Zimbabwe had undergone some metamorphosis, from concerns around elitist and egocentric demands of higher payouts from the government and administrative complaints concerning their institutions, to national demands that echoed the challenges and expectations of their parents who are largely peasants and underpaid civil servants. The students started to rise and protest against the perceived injustices of the Zimbabwean polity at large; their focus had expanded from their preoccupation with university concerns alone. Student activist analysis at this juncture seems to suggest an emerging awareness of ZANU PF as the face of both neocolonialism (exercised through an increasingly invasive neoliberal globalization) and a linked and pernicious expression of internal colonialism aimed at buttressing Mugabe-ZANU rule at any cost.

The evolution of ZINASU can therefore be understood as defined by its response and struggle against colonial and imperialist forces, notably British colonialism before 1980; IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes in the 90's or a global neo-coloniality expressed through a resurgent neoliberalism; and concomitant resistance to a ZANU PF self-aggrandizing economic agenda and an authoritarian nationalism (both expressions of an internal colonialism) targeting certain sections of the population, namely, the economically disadvantaged peasant classes

and select racial/ethnic and tribal groups who were labelled as foreigners.

Student Activist Analysis and Grievances: Crisis in Higher Education and ZANU PF

The current forms of student politics in Zimbabwe have taken on a national character unlike in other instances where student activism has tended to be concerned with the specific issues of student welfare (Altbach, 1989; Federeci, 2000, Zeilig, 2007; Hundscheid, 2010). Issues such as loans, grants, scholarships, though significant, do not appear at the apex of the list of complaints that the student body are currently raising. The main issue has been the unaffordability of university education, especially since the beginning of 2009 when the government of Zimbabwe discarded the local currency and adopted foreign money, namely the US dollar and the South African rand. Many studies have documented the immiseration of university students as a result of the dollarization of the economy (Hwami, 2010; 2011; Matenga, 2011; Student Solidarity Trust, 2009; Zeilig & Ansell, 2008) and the simultaneous impacts on general access to higher education.

After the dollarization of the economy, most students failed to pay tuition fees. Most parents were getting an average of US\$150.00 a month while tuition ranges from US480 to US800 depending on the faculty. The Minister of Higher Education and the permanent secretary said students must not be barred from writing examinations but institutions can hold results. We met the vice-chancellor as ZINASU and he refused and on the 14th of January we had a demonstration/protest and 28 students were arrested, spent three nights in cells and later released on

free bail. I was suspended and they were citing section 30 of the University Act/Ordinance 30 which gives the vice chancellor powers to suspend anyone and I was accused of bringing the name of the institution into disrepute (Interview Notes, Student Activist, July 2010).

Within this debilitating economic environment, informed by and framed within the domesticated neoliberal economic frameworks, and operating from an elite authoritarian nationalist posture of the government of Zimbabwe, many students find it difficult to undertake university education. Cases of deferments, drop outs, poor learning and living conditions have been highlighted (Zeilig, 2008; Share, 2009, Manyukwe, 2008). Capitalist education has devastated the dream of independence held by these youth who are mainly of struggling poor peasantry and civil servant background (See Chikwanha, 2009) while facilitating the political maturity of the student union which is now a highly influential actor in Zimbabwe's political equation.

There is no improvement in terms of the resources we are using as students. There is an improvement for the vice-chancellor and other top administrators. These people are greedy. They are changing vehicles. We are having poor lecturers, the library is poorly resourced. Students are not allowed into residence to prevent students from organizing themselves, VCs are there to safeguard their masters. It is a way of controlling students. But we are not moved by that since struggle is our birth right (Interview Notes, Student Interview, August 2010).

The economy could be a catalyst. There is a culture of greed and looting. Look at the vehicles being driven by

the administrators at this university. They are top of the range cars but there are no computers or books in our library (Interview Notes, Student Interview, July 2010).

These students are expressing a local consciousness of their existence, an anti-colonial understanding of the Zimbabwean crisis by critiquing the existential conditions encouraged by neoliberalism and a political elite that has harnessed the same for self-preservation and aggrandizement of a national bourgeoisie. The governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe described the economy of the country as a “casino, highlighted by the ravaging casino cancer through the gambling actions of some influential individuals” (Gono, 2008, p. 63) who through their illicit dealings with the Stock Market, banks and on the parallel black market became millionaires overnight. The rich new capitalists are mainly those with links to the ruling ZANU PF party (Sithole, 2001; Bond, 2001; Bratton & Masunungure, 2008) and students see their fees enriching administrators who are appointees of the ruling party, subsequently explaining the expressed sentiments from students.

The economic stress being experienced by higher education students has precipitated the development of high levels of consciousness among the student union after realizing that their university administrators are instruments of an authoritarian national system. As was noted among students in the United States (Hundscheid, 2010; Altbach, 1989), student anger has been shifted from university governance to national agendas of social injustice. The University of Zimbabwe is described as a “party university” (Cheater, 1991, p. 191) and the ruling ZANU PF widely perceived as violent and dictatorial (Blair,

2002; Krigger, 2006; Raftopoulos, 2003; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009a, 2009b), and students have since identified the democratization of the Zimbabwean state as the fundamental genesis of all attempts to find a solution to the Zimbabwean conundrum. In other words they have become conscious enough to locate neo-colonial and internal colonialist tendencies of ZANU PF. Consequently they have prioritized the end of President Robert Mugabe's rule and hence the adoption of the refrain 'Mugabe must go' by the current and most recent ZINASU leadership. Addressing fellow students at the official opening of the Students Constitution Convention in August 2010, the ZINASU president said:

We want a government that is accountable to the people. We all agree as a Union that this government has overstayed its welcome. We will not allow Robert Mugabe who lost elections to continue running this country (ZINASU President Opening Speech, Students Constitution Conference, August 2010).

Corroborating the same view, another student activist said:

The issue in Zimbabwe is that everyone is fighting for democracy. We meet and work together in the fight against Mugabe. I do not even know the names of leaders of some non-governmental organizations, but we know they are also fighting for democracy. As students our organization, ZINASU, falls under civic organizations in this country. We will support a party that fights for democracy or our vision. The crisis of the day forces one to join a specific political party (Interview Notes, Student Activist, August 2010).

Thus Zimbabwean students are protesting perceived injustices in society and their focus is not restricted to their local university. There is a growing understanding that is widely shared by the student body that the ultimate end to the Zimbabwean crisis lies in solving the national question. The national agenda and its narratives should be demonopolized from ZANU PF propaganda that has divided the nation between patriots and sellouts (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002; Raftopoulos, 2004; Krigger, 2006), while ordinary citizens need to find a voice again to challenge the government's suppression of citizen rights, the ugly face of "internal colonization" (Casanova, 1965, p. 27; Quijano, 2000, p. 224)—these are the new targets of student activism. It is when one examines the views of the students towards the university administration and state security institutions that one realizes the deep animosity among students towards the government and in the process unmask the authoritarian nature of the Zimbabwean government.

The student union's position affirms the notion held by anti-colonialists "that institutional structures are sanctioned by the state to serve the material, political and ideological interests of the state and the economic and social formation (Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001, p. 300). University vice-chancellors and other top administrators are appointed along party lines (Cheater, 1991; Ranger, 2004) and this is seen as ZANU-PF's efforts to distribute patronage and thereby maintain political control (Bratton & Masunungure, 2008). This has become a rallying standpoint for students:

Obviously administrators belong to ZANU PF as they are appointed by Mugabe, who is the chancellor. The vice-chancellor follows what is demanded by ZANU PF

and that is to silence us. We fight against high fees and if we go on a demonstration we are accused of having been sent by the opposition (Student Activist, Interview Notes, July 2010).

University teachers strongly support the views coming from their students. Some faculty members had this to say:

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 do not listen to lecturers or students' views. 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).

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).

Faculty members and students' views about the authoritarian nature of university administration, structured at the behest of a largely authoritarian ZANU PF state and government are widely corroborated by other studies on student activism in Zimbabwe (Zeilig, 2007; Zeilig & Ansell, 2008; Chikwanha, 2009). ZINASU apparently lays the blame for current woes squarely on the Zimbabwean government, with peripheral to no emphasis on neo-colonial impositions (neoliberal policies enforced by institutions controlled mainly by the ex-colonial powers). For most students the central problem is the ZANU PF and this has emerged as the central analytical and political pre-occupation of student activism and recent politicizations.

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-Chancellor. They report directly to the president. You can be suspended on the basis of party affiliation. For example, during my hearing they asked me why I reported my ordeal to Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai. I was asked whether I was his son. You can tell this is 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. They want to get rid of us and to set an example that others will go through my own experience. The university is saying their decision is final regardless of the fact that I was acquitted by the magistrate. Precedence has it that the vice-chancellor is well not known for contempt of court, defying court orders. Others who have successfully challenged their suspensions and were ordered to go back to college by courts were told that

they can go and learn at the high court (Student leader, Interview Notes, August 2010).

They use Ordinance 30 and can suspend or expel any student for bringing the institution into disrepute. Even if you make noise in town you can be arrested and be suspended. The university security guards have power and they assault us and you end up going to hospital. I have been arrested twice at the UZ and was beaten. Guards are invigilating and pulling out those who have not paid up their fees. They are paid handsomely by the university and they are well paid far more than civil servants, such as teachers. It is difficult to identify these guards because they will be in civilian. You can interview a Central Intelligence Organization (State secret agent) operative thinking that he/she is a student (Student Activist, Interview Notes, August 2010).

The perceptions of these students towards the situation at the University of Zimbabwe and the nation represent the general view of the population towards the rise of black African capitalists who are aligned to the ruling party. The meteoric rise to riches by ZANU PF elites is done in the name of black empowerment but the disturbing trend has been the failure to alleviate the suffering of vulnerable groups, the peasants and poorly paid civil servants, including their children who make up the student population at the University of Zimbabwe. What we are therefore now witnessing is the recolonization of Zimbabwe by President Robert Mugabe, “a neoliberal, aloof, secretive and paranoid intellectual who is bent on centralizing power” (Mbembe, 2006, p. 2). The Afro-radical and nativist paradigm that advocates for a “Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans” doctrine (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002; Ndlovu-

Gatsheni, 2009b; Raftopoulos, 2003), is being deployed to enrich elite nationalists while creating the wretched of Harare. Addressing such crude nativist-deployments, Achille Mbembe observes the following:

If historically, white nativism has always been about racial supremacy and the defence of immoral privilege, black nativism has always been a by-product of dispossession Nativism tends to repeat the sorry history it pretends to redress (2006, p. 3).

Having been driven into near destitution and with no space around campus to discuss and express their views on fundamental national issues, students have identified opposition parties, particularly the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party, as an ally and possible vehicle to address the crisis. The cracks among students are not over supporting ZANU PF versus the MDC but over considering whether or not the MDC has been too accommodating towards ZANU PF. Perhaps such positioning by students translates in to unequivocal rejection of ultra-nationalist tendencies of the Zimbabwean government together with their accompanying violent, intolerant, fundamentalist-capitalist and racist tendencies.

We want a government that is accountable to the people. We will not allow Mugabe who lost elections to continue running this country. As students we are not going to support the looting of diamonds by a few that is going on in Marange using some funny indigenous names like Mbada (ZINASU President Opening Speech, Students Constitution Conference, August 2010).

Those in power are benefitting from the current 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 (Student Activist, Interview Notes, July 2010).

MDC is our party. And for us in ZINASU, we are the youth wing of the MDC party. As students, we can confront ZANU PF youths and war veterans. Fund us as students and we can go to the rural areas to campaign for our party, the MDC (Student Activist, Interview Notes, August 2010).

There is evidence that students in Zimbabwe consider the MDC party as their own despite the party's pro-West and neoliberal posture. Former student leaders, from 1989 into the 1990s glorify their roles as having laid the solid foundation from which such opposition parties have arisen (see Zeilig, 2007 and Chikwanha, 2009). The government has since categorized such students as enemies of the state (Gandhi & Jambaya, 2002; Makumbe, 2009) with one minister labelling the university's law faculty as a factory for opposition politicians (Matenga, 2010). This view has been strengthened by the strong presence of former student leaders in the MDC and civil society that are critical of ZANU PF.

Neocolonialism, Internal Colonialism and Priorities for ZINASU

ZINASU perspectives and activism pertaining to the crisis in Zimbabwe needs to be understood within the context of contemporary societal relations prevailing in most post-independent nations of Africa. At the vortex of most of these crises are the external influences of

Northern-inspired neoliberalism and their neocolonial implications on the one hand and on the other, the authoritarian autochthony discourses emanating in weaker economies such as Zimbabwe. These trajectories often coalesce to benefit ex-colonial powers, while providing an opportunity for embourgeoisment and the further consolidation of the political power of an internal colonial elite (e.g. Indigenization and black empowerment programmes being practised in Zimbabwe by ZANU PF are illustrative of this trend). The global periphery has been ravaged by the devastating Western development formulae that came through World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programmes (Federici, 2000).

The adoption of these stringent economic frameworks in the 1990s in Zimbabwe marked the break with the period of “developmental nationalism” (Desai, 2008, p. 654) that had seen the government fully supporting university students through grants and scholarships (Zeilig & Ansell, 2008) and hence the label that they were “the elite and vanguards of the nation” (Zeilig, 2007, p. 130). An era of market liberalization and erosion of state intervention was promulgated (Makumbe, Moyo & Raftopoulos, 2000).

Cost sharing, a major tenet of the new neoliberal University of Zimbabwe meant reduced funding from the government and more responsibility on the part of families to take care of their children’s university education. The massification of higher education that started at independence meant more opportunities were available to the formerly disadvantaged social groups, mainly children of rural peasant parentage and poorly paid workers. The current student population is largely from these low income groups (Chikwanha, 2009; Zeilig, 2008), a section that is teetering on the verge of abject poverty due to the

right wing capitalist principles adopted in the country. Anti-government perspectives within the student body began to emerge during the early days of the adoption of neoliberal policies in higher education, demonstrating the immense influence of global capitalism (Amin, 2011) and a global coloniality (Escobar, 2004); a coloniality of power (Quijano, 2000; 2007) that clearly formed an impression on early student activism in the country.

Current student narratives, however, seem to be obsessed with the ZANU PF government while such neocolonial influences appear to have taken a back seat, if at all recognized. Some of the outstanding founding leaders of the student movement such as Arthur Mutambara, Munyaradzi Gwisai, Tinomudaishe Chinyoka and Brian Kagoro recognized the debilitating impact of externally imposed privatization and marketization on university students (Chikwanha, 2009; Zeilig, 2006; 2007), a dynamic that they feel today's ZINASU leaders have lost sight of. Brian Kagoro, for instance, succinctly summarized the prevailing situation that precipitated disaffection and ultimately student rebellion at the time:

The establishment came up with a more drastic ESAP 2. So ... you moved from '95, '96, '97 the rapidity with which the university privatised essentially meant that you no longer had student discontent, you had an outright student rebellion on your hands. You had the most violent demonstrations during the '96, '97, '98 period and so curiously you then had a third thing that happened ... the prices for almost everything were liberalised: the fuel price, everything just shot up. The largest numbers of redundancies were created there, so you now had students supporting their parents on their

student stipends which were not enough, because their parents had been laid off work. So in a sense as poverty increases you have a reconvergence of these forces. And the critique started off really being around issues of socio-economic justice. Right to a living wage you know, the students started couching their demands around the right to livelihood (Zeilig, 2006, p. 109).

The object of dissatisfaction today seems solely focused on the government of Robert Mugabe and surprisingly, even within universities where one might expect a certain critical acumen, there was little evidence of a critical diagnosis of the situation that also took in to account the neocolonial implications of the on-going association with the Bretton Woods institutions. It also boggles many minds why the government sold the structural adjustment programmes as home grown, as its own policies while deciding against unmasking the foreign pressure behind their adoption. On hindsight, one can only conclude that the erstwhile nationalists were too proud to allude publicly to the fact that some Western influences were directing government policy in Zimbabwe.

It has since been widely illustrated that the adoption of neoliberal policies and the subsequent development of a socio-economic pressure cooker, provided the soil from which opposition to the former liberators would blossom (Federeci, 2000; Tengende, 1994). The government then resorted to authoritarian policies to control and manage resultant student unrest and opposition and in the process drove students to public rebellion against the government. Zeilig summarizes the change of positioning on the part of ZINASU thus:

... from revering Mugabe as the pre-eminent liberation hero and ZANU-PF as the 'party of revolution', students at the University of Zimbabwe turned bitterly on them. Perhaps 1988 – the year of dramatic reawakening and betrayal – for the student movement marked the birth of the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. This struggle would reach its apogee with the formation of the MDC eleven years later. Students again played a decisive role in the formation of this organisation (2006, p. 111).

However, since these developments and as expressed over several interviews with students/ZINASU, while students/ZINASU seems to have recognized forms of internal colonialism (Casanova, 1965) and authoritarian nationalism (Hwami, 2010; Raftopoulos, 2006; Zamponi, 2005) being indulged in by the former liberators turned native bourgeoisie (Fanon, 1963) by means of neoliberal policies of black embourgeoisement that have been propagandized as programmes of black empowerment, ZINASU has failed to see the imbrications of neocolonial and internal colonial possibilities. This in turn has truncated the potential of such student activism and more significantly perhaps, added to the frustration of its' efforts given that the struggle against a despotic leader and his party alone (an internally-preoccupied activism that misses the forest for the trees) fails to target the forces of neocolonialism and neoliberal globalization that sustain this very regime and arguably, an replacement thereof, i.e., as already stated, the MDC for instance is prepared to go further than ZANU PF with the liberalization agenda that has already plagued higher education and reduced it to but a shadow of its' former public self.

Unhu/Ubuntu and ZINASU's Decolonization Agenda

The absence and failure by ZINASU to develop and adopt a guiding theoretical- ideological position in its struggle against ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and radical capitalism is also a key shortcoming of student union activism. Many scholars and writers from the global South have realized the potential in traditional wisdoms (Battle, 2009; Nandy, 2009; Ramose, 2003; Shizha, 2009) in the pursuit of justice and freedom. Zimbabweans are generally guided by the traditional philosophy of unhu/ubuntu (Shizha, 2009; Venter, 2004; Swanson, 2007). Unhu/Ubuntu means personhood” (Battle, 2009, p. 2). It advocates for “interdependence of persons for the exercise, development, and fulfillment of their potential to be both individuals and community” (Battle, 2009, p. 3). 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).

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). 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 an urgent need to tame the greed and violence which are increasingly characterizing Zimbabwean society today. In unhu/ubuntu ZINASU has a potential ideology to base their struggle for freedom as it can be harnessed and developed 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 which as at the root of current societal malaise, if not the crisis in higher education. Unhu/Ubuntu is an anti-colonial perspective whose tenets are against violence, greed and individualism that an alienating and exploitative internal colonialism and neocolonialism have imposed on Zimbabwean society. Harnessing unhu/ubuntu will not only give meaning and direction to ZINASU’s decolonization efforts, but it likely resonates with the wider Zimbabwean society at large. Sindane (cited in Venter) observes that “the greatest strength of unhu/ubuntu is that it is indigenous, a purely African philosophy of life” (2004, p. 152). Armed with such a perspective, the student union can garner the support of ordinary people including peasants, who may generally find it difficult to understand the grievances of elite university students. It is perhaps time to export the struggle from the campus to high density rural areas. Chinua Achebe (2000) noted that adopting such indigenous ideas is a way of reclaiming power that has been lost to dominating forces.

Fanon (1963) referred to such indigenous ideas as “national culture ... the collective thought process of a people to describe, justify and extol their actions ... must lie at the very heart of the liberation struggle” (p. 168). Edward Shizha strongly advocates for indigenous knowledge to be given space if any meaningful development is to take place in Zimbabwe (Shizha, 2009; 2011). Post-independent Zimbabwe has failed to realize any meaningful improvement in education and beyond despite the adoption of development and neoliberal globalization projects designed by the global North and the ex-colonial powers precisely because these are neocolonial interventions. The

challenge for ZINASU is to make their struggle national and to make their agenda resonate with the ordinary Zimbabwean. The struggle for decolonization needs to take on a national character.

Concluding Remarks

The cardinal role that has been played by the student movement in contemporary Zimbabwe cannot be ignored nor undervalued. It was the students, together with the workers' unions, who spearheaded the campaign against ZANU PF's attempts to establish a one-party state in Zimbabwe (Sithole, 2001; Makumbe, 2002) during an era when many other African states were following this Marxist-Socialist political doctrine. Today, the role of students in the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change party has been widely documented and their continued significance for this party must not go unheralded. However, it is difficult to understand ZINASU's reluctance to see the debilitating impact of neocolonial policies imposed on the country in an era of neoliberal globalization (globalization of capitalism). Students have relentlessly targeted the ZANU PF government as the author of the crisis bedeviling Zimbabwe today and have not publicly criticized nor acknowledge foreign hands in the Zimbabwean conundrum; an omission that will arguably hamper the longer term prospects for decolonization and the on-going efficacy, if not the reach, of student activism.

The decolonization efforts of ZINASU need to recognize that the crisis in higher education and the country is a "double tragedy of radical capitalism and radical nationalism" (Hwami, 2011, p. 104). The ability to locate

and name one's oppressor is significant in any struggle, and failure to confront radical capitalism has culminated in a limited student activism that targets individuals like the state president. Contrary to proclamations that there was a "decolonization process in 1980" (Moyo, 2001, p. 300), the crisis in higher education is but one of the indicators of a "postcolonial condition" (Gupta, 1998) and the unfinished promise of freedom and justice for all the people (Dei, 2010b; Kapoor, 2009; 2011).

The unfolding crisis of governance in post-independent Zimbabwe and its impact on higher education with potential implications for student union activism can best be summarized in the prophetic words of Franz Fanon who said:

Before independence, the leader, as a rule, personified the aspirations of the people - independence, political freedom, and national dignity. But in the aftermath of independence, far from actually embodying the needs of the people, far from establishing himself as the promoter of the actual dignity of the people, which is founded on bread, land, and putting the country back into their sacred hands, the leader will unmask his inner purpose: to be the CEO of the company of profiteers composed of a national bourgeoisie intent only on getting the most out of the situation. ... The leader manages to convince himself they resent his authority and question the services he has rendered to the country. The leader is a harsh judge of the ingratitude of the masses...the leader can be heard churning out the history of independence.... (1963, p. 112).

References

- Achebe, C. (2000). *Home and exile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Altbach, P. G. (1989). Perspectives on student political activism. *Comparative Education*, 25 (1), 97-110.
- Amin, S. (2011). *Transnational capitalism or collective imperialism?* Pambazuka News 522: Libya: Neither US invasion or Gadaffism. Retrieved from <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/71951>.
- Battle, M. (2009). *Ubuntu*. New York: Seabury Books.
- Blair, D. (2002). *Degrees in violence: Robert Mugabe and the struggle for power in Zimbabwe*. London: Continuum.
- Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality and Quantity*, 36, 391-409.
- Bogdan, R. C. and Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (5th ed.) Boston: Pearson Education.
- Bond, P. (2001). Radical rhetoric and the working class during Zimbabwean nationalism's dying days. *Journal of World Systems Research*, 7(1), 52-89.
- Bond, P. & Manyanya, M. (2003). *Zimbabwe's plunge*: Harare: Weavers Press Ltd.
- Bratton, M. and Masunungure, E. (2008). Zimbabwe's long agony. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4), 41-55.

- Casanova, G. P. (1965). Internal colonialism and national development. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 1(4), 27-37.
- Cefkin, J. L. (1975). Rhodesian university students in national politics. In W. J. Hanna and J. L. Hanna, (Eds.). *University students and African politics* (135-166). New York & London: Africana Publishing Company.
- Cheater, A. P. (1991). The University of Zimbabwe: University, national university, state university, or party university? *African Affairs* 90, 189-205.
- Chetsanga, C. J. & Muchenje, T. B. (2003). *An analysis of the cause and effect of the brain drain in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Centre.
- Chikwanha, A. B. (2009). Higher education and student politics in Zimbabwe. In D. P. Chimanihire (Ed.). *Youth and higher education in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Chimanihire, D. P. (2009). *Youth and higher education in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Choudry, A. (2007). Transnational activist coalition politics and the de/colonization of pedagogies of mobilization: Learning from anti-neoliberal indigenous movement articulations. *International Education*, 37(1), 97-112.
- Danzereau, S. (2005). Between a rock and a hard place: Zimbabwe's development impasse. In H. Melber (Ed.). *Zimbabwe-The political economy of decline* (7-26). Goteborg: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

- Dei, G. J. S. (2010a). Fanon, anti-colonialism and education: An introduction. In G. J. S. Dei (Ed.). *Fanon and the counterinsurgency of education* (1-10). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2010b). Decolonizing the Euro-American public education system: A transgressive revisiting of Fanon. In G. J. S. Dei (Ed.). *Fanon and the counterinsurgency of education* (11-28). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Dei, G. J. S. and Asgharzadeh, A. (2001). The power of social theory: The anti-colonial discursive framework. *Journal of Educational Thought*, 35(3), 297-323.
- Desai, R. (2008). Conclusion: From developmental nationalism to cultural nationalisms. *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (3), 647-670.
- Escobar, A. (2004). Beyond the Third World: Imperial globality, global coloniality and anti- globalization social movements. *Third World Quarterly*, 25 (1), 207-230.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Federeci, S. (2000). The new African student movement. In C. B. Mwaria, S. Federeci and J. McLaren (Eds.). *African visions: Literal images, political change and social struggle in contemporary Africa*. London: Hofstra University.
- Gandhi, D. and Jambaya, L. (2002). *Towards a national agenda on Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation: Vision 30 Revisited*. Harare: Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe.

- Gelfand, M., 1978, *A non-racial island of learning: A history of the University College of Rhodesia from its inception to 1966*, Gwelo: Mambo Press.
- Grosfoguel, R. (2005). The implications of subaltern epistemologies for global capitalism: Transmodernity, border thinking, and global coloniality. In R. P. Appelbaum and W. I. Robinson (Eds.). *Critical globalization studies*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Gono, G. (2008). *Zimbabwe's casino economy: Extraordinary measures for extraordinary challenges*. Harare: ZPH Publishers.
- Gupta, A. (1998). *Postcolonial developments: Agriculture in the making of modern India*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2003). *The new imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hundscheid, J. (2010). Raising cain: The university student and the politics of protest. *Academic Quest*, 23, 225-234.
- Hwami, M. (2010). Neoliberal globalization, ZANU PF authoritarian nationalism and the creation of crises in higher education in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2(1), 57-89.
- Hwami, M. (2011). Understanding the crisis in higher education in Zimbabwe: Critical explorations. In D. Kapoor (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on neoliberal globalization, development and education in Africa and Asia*. Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei.

Kapoor, D. (Ed.). (2009). *Education, decolonization and development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas*. Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Kapoor, D. (Ed.). (2011). *Critical perspectives on neoliberal globalization, development and education in Africa and Asia*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Krigger, N. (2006). From patriotic memories to 'patriotic history' in Zimbabwe, 1990-2005. *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (6), 1151-1169.

McMichael, P. (2005). Globalization and development studies. In R. P. Appelbaum and W. I. Robinson Eds.). *Critical globalization studies*. New York and London: Routledge.

Makumbe, J. (2002). Zimbabwe's hijacked election. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(4), 88-101.

Makumbe, J. (2009). *Gono, Mugabe to blame for wrecking education dream*. Retrieved from http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39515:gono--mugabe-to-blame-for-wrecking-education-dream&catid=42:opinion-analysis&Itemid=120.

Makumbe, J., Moyo, S. and Raftopoulos, B. (2000). *NGOs, the state and politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES Books.

Manyukwe, C. (2008). *Desperate universities launch income projects*. Retrieved from http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39515:desperate-universities-launch-income-projects&catid=35:opinion-analysis&Itemid=31.

Matenga, M. (2010). UZ Law faculty slams Chinamasa. Retrieved from <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/local/25925-uz-law-faculty-slams-chinamasa.html>.

- Mbembe, A. (2002). The Power of the false. *Public Culture*, 14(3), 629-630.
- Mbembe, A. (2006). South Africa's second coming: The Nongqawuse syndrome. *Open Democracy*, 1-4.
- Moyo, S. (2001). The interaction of market and land acquisition processes with social action in the Zimbabwe land reform. In I. Mandaza and D. Nabudere (Eds.). *Pan Africanism and integration in Africa*. Harare: SAPES Books.
- Mungazi, D. A. (1992). *Colonial Policy and Conflict in Zimbabwe: A Study of Cultures in Collision, 1890-1979*, New York: Taylor and Francis.
- Muzulu, P. (2010). *Student activism slowly dying in Zimbabwe*. Retrieved from <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/local/29091-student-activism-slowly-dying-in-zim.html>.
- Nandy, A. (2009). *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. New Delhi, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2009a). Making sense of Mugabeism in local and global politics: "So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe". *Third World Quarterly*, 30 (6), 1139-1158.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2009b). Africa for Africans or Africa for natives only? New nationalism and nativism in Zimbabwe and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 1, 61-78.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism*. New York: International Publishers

- Nonini, D. M. (2005). Making the case for kleptocratic oligarchy. *Social Analysis*, 49(1), 177- 189.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. (3rd edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Lati America. *International Sociology*, 15 (2), 215-232.
- Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural Studies*, 21 (2-3), 168-178.
- Raftopoulos, B. (2003). The state in crisis: Authoritarian nationalism, selective citizenship and distortions of democracy in Zimbabwe. In A. Hammar, B. Raftopoulos, & S. Jensen, Raftopoulos, B. (Eds.). *Zimbabwe's unfinished business. Rethinking land state and nation in the context of crisis*. Harare: Weaver Press.
- Raftopoulos, B. (2004). Nation, race and history in Zimbabwean politics. In B. Raftopoulos and T. Savage (Eds.). *Zimbabwe: Injustice and political reconciliation* (160-175). Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.
- Raftopoulos, B. (2006). The Zimbabwean Crisis and the Challenges for the Left. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 (2), 203-217.
- Ramose, M. B. (2003). Globalization and ubuntu. In P. H. Coetzee and A. P. J. Roux (Eds.). *The African Philosophy Reader*, New York: Routledge.
- Ranger, T. O. (2004). Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: the struggle over the past in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30 (2), 215-234.

- Rodney, W. (1989). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
- Share, F. (2009, November 11). Accommodation crisis forces University of Zimbabwe students to live in slums. Retrieved from http://www.herald.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=13369:accommodation-crisis-forces-university-of-zimbabwe-students-to-live-in-slums&catid=37:top-tories&Itemid=130.
- Shizha, E. (2009). Chara chimwe hachitswanyi inda: Indigenizing science education in Zimbabwe. In D. Kapoor and S. Jordan (Eds.), *Education, participatory action research, and social change: International perspectives* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shizha, E. (2011). Neoliberal globalization, science education and indigenous African knowledges. In D. Kapoor (Ed.). *Critical perspectives on neoliberal globalization, development and education in Africa and Asia* (15-32). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Sithole, M. (2001). Fighting Authoritarianism in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Democracy*, 12 (1), 160-169.
- Student Solidarity Trust. (2009). *Inside the pandora box: State of the educations in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Student Solidarity Trust.
- Tengende, N. (1994). *Workers, students and the struggles for democracy: State-civil society relations in Zimbabwe* (PhD. Dissertation). Roskilde University: Denmark.
- Thorne, S. (2000). Data analysis in qualitative research. *Evidence Based Nursing*, 3, 68-70.
- Tikly, L. (2004). Education and the new imperialism. *Comparative Education*, 40(2), 173-198.

- Venter, E. (2004). The notion of ubuntu and communalism in African educational discourse. *Studies in Philosophy of Education*, 23, 149-160.
- Zamponi, M. (2005). From social justice, to neo-liberalism, to authoritarian nationalism: Where is the Zimbabwean state going? In H. Melber (Ed.). *Zimbabwe-The political economy of decline*. Goteborg: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Zeilig, L. (2006). Increasing my value proposition to the struggle: Arthur Mutambara and student politics in Zimbabwe. *African Sociological Review*, 10 (2), 94-115.
- Zeilig, L. (2007). *Revolt and protest: Student politics and activism in sub-Saharan Africa*. New York: Taurus Academic Studies.
- Zeilig, L. (2008). Student politics and activism in Zimbabwe: The frustrated transition. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (43) 2, 215-237.
- Zeilig, L. and Ansell, N. (2008). Spaces and Scales of African Student Activism: Senegalese and Zimbabwean University Students at the Intersection of Campus, Nation and Globe. *Antipode* 40.1 (2008): 31-54.