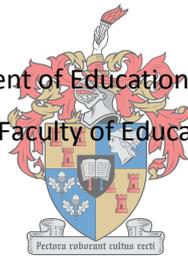


**DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE'S HIGHER
EDUCATION SYSTEM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING AND
LEARNING**

Dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree in
Doctor of Philosophy

The department of Education Policy studies
Faculty of Education



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March 2018

DEDICATION

To my late father Kaschula Matavire who died on the 2nd of January when I was preparing for my thesis defence. I miss you baba.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

By submitting this dissertation, Democratic citizenship Education in Zimbabwe's higher education system and its implications for teaching and learning, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, except where explicitly indicated otherwise. I declare that this dissertation has not been submitted previously for any degree or qualification at any university.

.....

Monica Zembere (signed)

Date.....

19 October 2017

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I want to thank all those who contributed to the completion of this dissertation. I am highly indebted to the Almighty God for His Love and Guidance. The Creator is Merciful. Thank You Lord.

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I do not forget professors Higgs, Divala and Nuraan Davids for the insightful assessment of my work and their corrections. I thank you professors.

I am also grateful to my husband, Philip Zembere for his encouragement and believing in me. My children Gamu, Dan and Methuselah who endured on their own when I was studying.

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Abstract

This study sought to access the implications of democratic citizenship education for higher education in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2015. Critical inquiry was used as the main research design and it was adopted from social reconstructivism and transformation as frameworks informing this research. The research used deconstruction as method, and this enabled the research to claim openness in thinking about university education in Zimbabwe to unforeseeable in becoming – being other than it is today, so that university education can contend with issues of inequality, corruption as well as electoral and ethnic violence in whatever singularity.

The main research question addressed in the research is: Does the Zimbabwean higher education system contain a justifiable form of democratic citizenship education? This main question was supported by the following sub-questions: To what extent is higher education in Zimbabwe informed by DCE? How committed are universities in Zimbabwe to educate for DCE? How did the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2015 determine the form of DCE in higher education institutions of learning? How does a reconceptualised notion of DCE assist Zimbabwe's higher education to address problems associated with social inequalities? In the light of the above research questions, this researcher gathered that Zimbabwe's higher education requires an extended view of liberal DCE for it to be able to fulfil its transformational and reconstruction agenda. This is in line with deconstruction as a reflexive paradox that reinforces the potential for DCE.

The researcher also found that higher education in Zimbabwe is already conceptualised in liberal DCE but in a limited form, and that it is actualised, suggesting that it cannot resist electoral and ethnic violence. More so, having literate citizens is not enough. Citizens must be literate in terms of the principles of democratic living, so that they may learn to participate democratically in the day-to-day activities of the communities where they live and shun violence. In the light of the above findings, the researcher recommends a DCE in becoming because this could potentially enable students and teachers to learn to think autonomously and to respect others with whom students co-belong. Furthermore, DCE in becoming could contribute to the discourses and pedagogical encounters needed to cultivate responsible and emancipative individual agency in becoming humans who respect community values and co-belong to the coming community. Finally, education in becoming has the potential to make students see things differently, which will prevent them from making rush judgements. Such an education is still in becoming in Zimbabwe; it has not yet been reached, but is still a process of becoming, which can be reached if teaching and learning enable students to enter into speech and thought without rush judgement.

Key words: University, Zimbabwe, Transformation, Democracy, Citizenship, democratic citizenship education, Ubuntu, Deconstruction, Communitarianism, Belonging, Potentiality, Reflexivity, Pedagogy, Friendship

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing het beoog om toegang te verkry tot die implikasies van demokratiese burgerskapopvoeding vir hoër onderwys in Zimbabwe van 1980 tot 2015. Kritiese navraag is gebruik as die hoof- navorsingsontwerp en dit is van sosiale konstruktivisme en transformasie as raamwerke wat hierdie navorsing geïnspireer het, oorgeneem. Die navorsing het dekonstruksie as 'n metode gebruik en dit het die navorsing daartoe in staat gestel om aanspraak te maak op openheid in denke oor universiteitsopleiding in Zimbabwe vir die onvoorspelbare in wording – om anders te wees as wat dit vandag is, sodat universiteitsopleiding met vraagstukke van ongelykheid, korrupsie asook verkiesings- en etniese geweld in watter hoedanigheid ook al te make kan kry.

Die hoof- navorsingsvraag wat in die tesis aangeroe is, was: Beskik die hoërondwysstelsel in Zimbabwe oor 'n geregverdigde vorm van demokratiese burgerskapopvoeding (DBO)? Hierdie hoofvraag is in die ondersoek deur die volgende sub-vrae ondersteun: tot watter mate word hoër onderwys in Zimbabwe deur DBO geïnspireer? Hoe verbonde is universiteite in Zimbabwe tot opvoeding vir DBO? Hoe bepaal die ekonomiese en politieke situasie in Zimbabwe van 1990 tot 2015 die vorm van DBO in hoërondwysinstellings? Hoe dra 'n herkonseptualiseerde opvatting van DBO by tot Zimbabwe se hoër onderwys om probleme geassosieer met maatskaplike ongelykhede die hoof te bied? In die lig van bostaande navorsingsvrae het die navorser tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat hoër onderwys in Zimbabwe 'n uitgebreide siening van liberale DBO vereis om dit moontlik te maak om sy transformasionele en 'n rekonstrusie-agenda te kan deurvoer. Dit is in ooreenstemming met dekonstruksie as 'n refleksiwede paradoks wat die moontlikheid vir DBO versterk.

Die navorser het verder bevind dat hoër onderwys in Zimbabwe alreeds in liberale DBO gekonseptualiseer is maar in beperkte vorm en dat dit verweselik is, wat te kenne gee dat dit nie verkiesings- en etniese geweld kan weerstaan nie. Geletterde burgers is verder nie genoeg nie. Burgers moet geletterd wees ten opsigte van die beginsels van 'n demokratiese bestaan, sodat hulle kan leer om op demokratiese wyse aan die daaglikse aktiwiteite van die gemeenskappe waar hulle woon, te kan deelneem. In die lig van die bostaande bevindings beveel die navorser 'n DBO in wording aan aangesien dit studente en onderwysers in staat kan stel om te leer om outonoom te dink en ander met wie studente mede-behoort te respekteer. Daarbenewens kan DBO in wording bydra tot die diskoerse en pedagogiese ontmoetings wat nodig is om verantwoordelike en emansiperende individuele agentskap te kweek in wordende mense wat gemeenskapswaardes respekteer en aan die wordende gemeenskap mede-behoort. Laastens het opvoeding in wording die potensiaal om studente dinge verskillend te laat sien, wat hulle van oorhaastige besluite sal weerhou. Sodanige opvoeding is steeds in wording in Zimbabwe; dit is nog nie bereik nie, maar is steeds 'n proses van wording wat bereik kan word as onderrig en leer studente in staat stel om by spraak en denke betrokke te raak sonder oorhaastige besluitneming.

Slutelwoorde: universiteit, Zimbabwe, transformasie, demokrasie, burgerskap, demokratiese burgerskapopvoeding, ubuntu, onderwysfilosofie, dekonstruksie, kommunitarianisme, behorende, aktualiteit, potensialiteit, refleksiwiteit, pedagogiek, sorg, vriendskap

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AUT	Association of University Teachers
BUSE	Bindura University of Science Education
CIO	Central Intelligence Organization
CSO	Central Statistics Office
CUT	Chinhoyi University of Technology
DCE	Democratic Citizenship education
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EFA	Education for All
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IIAG	Ibrahim Index of African Governance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LRP	Land Reform Program
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MHET	Ministry of Higher Education and Technology
MSU	Midlands State University
MTHE	Ministry of Tertiary and Higher Education
NAP	National Action Plan
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education
NUST	National University of Science and Technology

RDPs	Regional Development Priorities
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRC	Student Representative Council
STEM	Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics
TNDP	Transitional National Development Plan
U Z	University of Zimbabwe
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
UNESO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ZANU–PF	Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front
ZIMCHE	Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZICOSU	Zimbabwe Congress of Students Unions
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Association of Students Union

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION.....	i
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT	IV
OPSOMMING.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	VI
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VIII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	XIV
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background to the study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the problem.....	3
1.4 Main research question	4
1.5 Sub research questions	4
1.6 Aim of the study.....	5
1.7 Objectives of the study	5
1.8 Scope of the study	5
1.9 Assumptions of the study.....	6
1.10 Research methodology and method.....	6
1.11 Positivist theory	9
1.12 Conceptual analysis	10
1.13 Research design and philosophical methods	11
1.14 Theories of modern education	13
1.15 Philosophical foundations of Zimbabwean education system	14

1.16 Motivation.....	14
1.17 Chapter outline	17
1.18 SUMMARY	19
CHAPTER TWO	20
AN INVESTIGATION OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION WITHIN THE LIBERAL FRAMEWORK.....	20
2.1 Introduction.....	20
2.2 Definition of key terms and the theoretical framework	21
2.3 Conceptual meanings of democracy and democratic citizenship.....	21
2.4 Advocating for democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe	28
2.5 Undemocratic and Uncitizenship narratives in the history of Zimbabwe	29
2.6 The demand for Democratic Citizenship Education in Zimbabwe.....	31
2.7 Conceptions of citizenship	36
2.8 The African conception of communitarianism: Menkiti’s Perspective	45
2.9 Democratic citizenship education as deliberative encounter	49
2.10 Rawls Public Reason and Justice.....	50
2.11. Communicative rationality and democratic citizenship education	51
2.11.1 Speech-oriented consensus	52
2.11.2 Speech oriented toward securing understanding.....	52
2.11.3 The ability to learn from mistakes	52
2.11.4 Acting prudently in situations of normative conflict	52
2.12 In Defence of a democratic citizenship education as dialogical encounter	53
2.13 Summary.....	55
CHAPTER THREE	57
HIGHER EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE WITH REGARD TO DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION	57
3.1 Introduction.....	57
3.2 Early Colonial Ordinances in Education.....	60
3.3 Colonial education in Rhodesia and democratic citizenship in a plural society	60
3.4 Colonial Curriculum for industrial labour and indoctrination	64
3.5 Education: A common good	66

3.6 Policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe.....	71
3.7 Citizenship and democratic citizenship	73
3.8 A New philosophical orientation for a post-colonial higher education in Zimbabwe.....	75
3.9 The concept of equality before quality in education transformation	77
3.10 Education for social transformation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe	79
3.11 Goals for Social Reconstruction	80
3.12 Social reconstruction for the purpose of transformation	81
3.13 Reconstruction and equality of access and equity.....	82
3.14 Transforming Education through Democratic Citizenship Education.....	84
3.15 Transitional National Development Plan for higher education 1983	85
3.16 The new policy shifts in education during the 1990s	88
3.17 The Williams Commission 1989	89
3.18 Impact of the declining economy on higher education provision.....	92
3.19 Legal instruments governing higher education in Zimbabwe.....	94
3.20 The University of Zimbabwe Act 1990: a breach to university autonomy and freedom	94
3.21 The Presidential Commission of 1999 on Higher education and Citizenship education	96
3.22 The commission’s recommendations on higher education.....	99
3.23 The parliamentary portfolio committee on Higher Education 2002.....	100
3.24 The Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act 1999 Amended 2005 (ZIMCHE)	101
3.25 Enhancing institutional accountability through quality assurance.....	102
3.26 Electoral violence, education and democratic citizenship	103
3.27 Summary.....	106
CHAPTER FOUR.....	109
A REVIEW OF INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT TO EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN ZIMBABWE.....	109
4.1 Introduction.....	109
4.2 The University as a democratising Institution	111
4.3 The economic background influencing university funding in Zimbabwe.....	113
4.4 Zimbabwe’s universities and the concept of Democratic Citizenship Education	115
4.5 Conceptions of a university	116

4.6 Establishment of the University of Zimbabwe	117
4.7 Models of university governance	120
4.8 University governance and democracy: the 1982 Act	121
4.9 The University of Zimbabwe	124
4.10 The mission of the University of Zimbabwe	125
4.11 University funding in Zimbabwe	125
4.12 Model for national development for the University of Zimbabwe	126
4.13 University of Zimbabwe’s Vision for the new millennium	130
4.14 Establishment of Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE)	131
4.15 Bindura University Vision	131
4.16 Weaknesses in Democratic Citizenship in Zimbabwe’s University Education	133
4.17 Policy development and deliberation.....	137
4.18 Equality and access in university education in Zimbabwe	137
4.19 Relevance.....	140
4.20 Summary.....	141
CHAPTER FIVE	143
RECONCEPTUALISATION OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AGAINST SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE	143
5.1 Introduction.....	143
5.2 Interrogating the Liberal democratic citizenship education and the democratic citizenship education in becoming.....	144
5.3 Democratic citizenship education in becoming-A potential remedy to the liberal flaws	147
5.3.1 The learning discourse	147
5.3.2 Education in becoming	149
5.4 Democratic citizenship education in-becoming	150
5.5 Belonging and Identity as Instances of Democratic Citizenship Education in Becoming	151
5.5.1 Ontologies of belonging and identity.....	151
5.6. The University - Agamben’s Coming Community	153
5.7 Ubuntu as an Instance of DCE in Becoming	154
5.8 Democratic citizenship education in becoming and the African university	156

5.9	Potentialities of Democratic Citizenship Education in Becoming	158
5.10	Compassion and Narrative Imagination as Potentialities of democratic citizenship education	158
5.11	Freedom and justice as potentialities of DCE.....	162
5.1	2Citizenship education-A pedagogical encounter for a plural Zimbabwe.....	164
5.12.1	Skepticism as a potential for DCE in Becoming.....	164
5.13	Friendship and mutuality as potentialities for DCE in becoming.....	166
5.14	Implications of Democratic Citizenship Education in Becoming for the University in Africa	168
5.15	Summary.....	170
CHAPTER SIX		171
A RECONCEPTUALISED VIEW OF AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON TEACHING AND LEARNING IN ZIMBABWE’S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM.....		171
6.1	Introduction	171
6.2	Pedagogy for a reconceptualised African university in becoming and the coming community	173
6.3	On the potentiality of cultivating responsible pedagogy in Zimbabwe	175
6.3.1	<i>Critical pedagogy</i>	176
6.4	Teaching and learning that disrupts violence	178
6.5	On the potentialities of cultivating a culture of mutuality and friendship pedagogy in Zimbabwe’s universities.....	181
6.6	On the potentialities of emancipating equal intellectual agency; a radical pedagogy for the university in Zimbabwe.....	184
6.7	Teaching and learning for the cultivation of Ubuntu: A pedagogical encounter with ‘The Other’	186
6.8	Summary.....	191
CHAPTER SEVEN		192
A RECONCEPTUALISED VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE AND ITS POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE		192
7.1	Introduction.....	192
7.2	Synopsis of the research process.....	192
7.3	Synopsis of the findings	195
7.3.1	Access to university education.....	198
7.3.2	<i>University governance in Zimbabwe.....</i>	199

7.3.3	<i>University Council as policy making body</i>	201
7.3.4	Student Representative Councils	201
7.4	Contribution of this research Study	206
7.5	Recommendations for further study concerning university education in Zimbabwe	208
7.6	Summary	209
REFERENCES	210

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Chapter One

Introduction and background of the study

1.1 Introduction

Zimbabwe attained political independence on 18 April 1980. The independence came along with many reforms and modifications on the education system in the country at all levels. The country embarked on a massive reform of its education system from 1980 to align with the new national goals of promoting democratic principles of equal access to education, equity, quality and reconciliation. This was contrary to the colonial education, which promoted the rights of the minority whites whilst curtailing active citizenship for blacks (Sigauke, 2011: 269). In this research, I endeavoured to assess the state of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe and show the extent to which the education system has been influenced by the findings of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry (also known as the Nziramasanga Commission, 1999) into the education system in Zimbabwe. The central argument of this research was that, although citizenship education has taken a centre stage in the education systems of developed countries (Enslin & Divala, 2008: 215), Zimbabwe as a developing country has not yet internalised democratic citizenship education. In the light of this, I investigated the status of democratic citizenship education in the higher education system of Zimbabwe in an endeavour to evaluate the extent to which democratic values of access, equity, quality and justice are realised in Zimbabwean universities.

1.2 Background to the study

In 1980, the country inherited a colonial curriculum from the British 'masters', whose civic education aimed at ensuring that the blacks would remain politically illiterate and not claim their rights (Zvobgo, 1999). The colonial education system was elaborately segregatory, while Europeans received a well-advanced and well-catered for educational system, African children received a poorly developed and bottlenecked education that was aimed at derailing African advancement (Zvobgo, 1999: 60). Education was thus used as a tool for the exploitation of the African majority so that the Africans would not pose either economic or political threat to Europeans. The African education in Zimbabwe did not prepare African students for citizenship roles but ensured that they would remain marginalised from major political, economic and social activities of the country (Mutumbuka, 1985: 33). At

independence in 1980, the task of the new government was to design a new curriculum for all educational levels, with redefined parameters of citizenship. The assumption was that providing quality education to all citizens would result in the improvement in standards of living of the previously oppressed citizens. So, the education that was designed was expected to redress all the colonial educational imbalances. The other assumption was that the new education system would allow citizens to participate fully in the social, political and economic development of their country, dictates that are supported by democratic citizenship (Cheater, 1991). My argument, emanating from this analysis is therefore that colonial education did not prepare African students for citizenship; it was not relevant to the African, but was meant to create an African who was docile in every respect and therefore uncritical. Therefore, from 1980, government's thrust was to increase educational opportunities for all citizens without discrimination (Zvobgo, 1999: 63).

There was a need to introduce reforms that would reflect the motives and aspirations of the new political dispensation. Therefore, a socialist ideology had to be adopted and applauded as a solution to colonial exploitation and repression (Mutumbuka, 1982). The newly socialist oriented curriculum for all educational levels came with new methods, content and policies influencing educational practice. At secondary level, a History syllabus was introduced which according to (Sigauke, 2011: 277) had an African history-dominated content to complement the socialist-oriented curriculum. Some citizenship topics were infused into the new school syllabi specifically in History, Geography and Social Studies. In the late 1990s, the country began to experience some political and economic challenges that Nherera (2000: 16) attributes to corruption by government officials, failure of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), land reform and the economic sanctions by the EU. This was followed by a spate of strikes and violence, specifically in institutions of higher learning. Reasons for student discontent ranged from inadequate funding of the university education by government, shortage of decent student accommodation, and inadequate learning materials because of growing enrolments (Materike, 2012: 85). Clashes between university students were common between 1990 and 2006. Property in institutions of higher learning was destroyed with the UZ recording astronomical figures of destroyed property. In 1991, a new Act governing higher education (Education Amendment Act, 1991) was tabled in parliament and later that year it was adopted. The Act emphasised the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination in the education system. Unfortunately, the racial discrimination policy was thwarted by a policy (Education Act Amendment 1994/5) which allowed communities,

2

groups of persons or individuals to start their own schools and colleges. At tertiary level, the policy has resulted in the mushrooming of private colleges and church-run universities that charge exorbitant tuition fees to keep away the ordinary citizens. Another policy governing higher education in Zimbabwe was the National Council for Higher Education Act 1990, amended in 1994 and 2006. The policy was established to cater for higher education in the maintenance of appropriate standards with regards to teaching, courses of instruction, examinations and academic qualifications in all institutions of higher learning (Mlahleki, 1995: 120). In 1999, a commission appointed by the president stated that the unrest in Zimbabwean universities was a result of a crisis in citizenship and a disconnection of the youth from values. The Presidential Commission (1999) recommended civic education at all educational levels from primary schools to universities (Presidential Commission, 1999: 346). The introduction of citizenship education as a compulsory subject in Zimbabwe since 2002 has not helped to transform people's behaviour, lives and attitudes positively (Sigauke, 2011: 276).

1.3 Statement of the problem

Although policy documents in Zimbabwe are vocal about equal access to higher education, the situation on the ground point to the contrary. In 1983, the Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) (1983: 103) mentioned in its preamble the need to redress the imbalances and inequalities that had been created during the 100 years of colonialism (1890-1980). In the document, the government pledged 'to provide both quantitative and qualitative improvements in the provision of educational services to the nation and that equity in the way education is financed would be key' (TNDP, 1983: 105). This was followed by the passing of a series of other policies on education drawing their points of reference from the TNDP of 1983 and 2005. The policies are: The Education Act 1987/90/91, the University of Zimbabwe Act 1991, National Action Plan, (NAP) 2004 and the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act in 2006 to safeguard quality delivery of education in all institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe. Individual state universities had also individual acts like the Bindura University Act 1996 and the National University of Science Education Act 1991. As these policies had a commitment to provide meaningful education in Zimbabwe that would transform the country into a vibrant economy "...the realisation of the full potential of the human being was and is a central objective of education which should, however be integrated with growth and socio-economic development objective" (TNDP, 1983: 89). My argument was that, although policy in Zimbabwe was and still is guided by liberal democratic

principles, practically, it has become difficult to realise the educational goals. Even the constitution of Zimbabwe which ushered a democratic independent and sovereign state in 1980 emphasised the tenets of liberal DCE which are justice, equality, respect for individual freedoms, and human rights (see Sigauke, 2011) but since then, Zimbabwe has been engrossed into ethnically motivated conflicts and electoral violence (Mandaza, 1986; Muchemwa, 2016: 91; Ndhlela, 2008; Nyazema, 2010). On the other hand, ethnically motivated conflicts have been witnessed in teacher's colleges, polytechnic colleges and universities across the country (Muchemwa, 2016: 91). This indicates that the liberal perspectives have failed to solve the problems confronting Zimbabwean citizens. My argument does not completely discredit the liberal perspectives as irrelevant but I am arguing that since these perspectives have already been actualised in the policies influencing university governance and programmes, they have failed to produce sustainable solutions to the challenges confronting higher education in Zimbabwe. These policy frameworks are so vocal about quality, justice, equality and freedom but are mute on how these DCE principles are to be realised. In view of the above problem statement, this study was guided by the following research questions described below.

1.5 Research questions

The research questions according to Leedy (2005) are a methodological point of departure in any study. They determine the design of the research and how issues will be organised. This research sought to probe different questions, which were sub-divided into primary and secondary research questions.

1.4 Main research question

Does Zimbabwean higher education contain a justifiable form of democratic citizenship education?

1.5 Sub research questions

The following are the sub-research questions derived from the main aim and the statement of the problem that the research sought to investigate.

- What is DCE within the liberal framework?
- To what extent is higher education in Zimbabwe informed by DCE?
- How committed are universities in Zimbabwe to educate for DCE?

- How does the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe from 1990 to 2016 determine the form of DCE in higher institutions of learning?
- How does a reconceptualised notion of DCE assist the Zimbabwean higher education system to address problems associated with social inequalities?
- What are the implications of educating for democratic citizenship education to Zimbabwe's institutions of higher learning?

1.6 Aim of the study

This research sought to investigate the status of democratic citizenship education in the higher education system of Zimbabwe in an endeavour to evaluate the extent to which democratic values of access, equality, quality and justice are realised in Zimbabwean universities.

1.7 Objectives of the study

- To investigate how higher education in Zimbabwe could potentially address conflicts and violence that erupt as a result of economic and political inequalities.
- To reconceptualise higher education within the Zimbabwean context so that it may deal with violence and social inequalities in an effective and vibrant way.
- To determine the extent to which frameworks of democratic citizenship education (DCE) has informed higher education in Zimbabwean institutions of higher learning.
- To evaluate the relevance of DCE to teaching and learning in Zimbabwe's higher education institutions.

1.8 Scope of the study

This study focused on higher education in Zimbabwe to understand how it may potentially contribute to the cultivation of democratic citizens. This prompts the researcher to locate the shortcomings of DCE in Zimbabwean universities, and on that note to recommend a

conception that would help to reduce social inequalities, as well as ethnic and electoral violence. I argue in the study that a reconceptualised higher education in Zimbabwe should prepare citizens for socio-economic and political development through a nuanced conception of DCE. In this regard, the research focused on two institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe in an attempt to examine how higher education in Zimbabwe and its policy frameworks could possibly address the above stated challenges confronting the country.

1.9 Assumptions of the study

The study assumed that a lack of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwean institutions of higher learning affected the youth and university graduates negatively and that is why they responded violently to the political crisis in Zimbabwe.

The other assumption was that the current citizenship education running in institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe has been influenced by political and ideological factors more than the inculcation of democratic citizenship in students.

1.10 Research methodology and method

This section outlines the research methodology that formed the basis of my research. LeCompte and Preissle (1995: 417) states that a research journey must be directed by a germane research design that focuses on what approaches the researcher will employ to explore the main questions of the enquiry. According to Trauth (2001: 4), “What one wants to learn determines how one should go about learning it”, what I wanted to learn in this research was whether there is DCE in Zimbabwean higher education. I used conceptual data analysis as a research method and critical inquiry as a research methodology. Within the context of my enquiry, basic research was used to make a conceptual contribution to the subject under investigation, which is DCE in Zimbabwe.

Research methodology and research method are often used interchangeably in educational discourse (LeGrange, 2000: 192). It is therefore necessary to distinguish the two especially in relation to how each was employed in this research. Harding (1987: 62) refers to methods as “techniques for gathering empirical evidence, while methodology is the theory of knowledge and the interpretive framework guiding a particular research project”. On the other hand, Fien (1992: 147) views methodology as the general orientation to life, the view of knowledge. This understanding informs particular ways of doing research activity. On the other hand, Hopkins and Antes (1990: 21) describes research methodology as part of the overall plan that

structures the specific procedures about what or who will supply the data, and how data will be analysed. Research methodology refers to the metatheoretical narratives such as positivism, interpretivism and critical theory which frame educational research (Leedy, 2005). The above explanation on the meaning of research methodology indicates that methodology should not generally be viewed as technical terms of method but is concerned with theories behind method. It involves the “consideration of research design, data production, data analysis, and theorising together with the social, ethical and political concerns of the researcher” (Burgess, 1984: 109). Methodology guides ones’ practice, while methods which can be used to do research in education include a literature review, observation, surveys, interviews, use of questionnaires, focus group discussion and several other qualitative and quantitative ways of doing research.

Harvey and Knight (1996: 1) describes methods as ways by which empirical data are collected and these range from asking questions, reading documents, and observation in both controlled and uncontrolled situations. Harvey and Knight contends that although some methods incline themselves more readily to certain epistemological perspectives, no method of data collection is inherently positivist, phenomenological or critical.

This research as stated earlier on in this section used critical inquiry as a methodology. The advantages of using critical inquiry are outlined, especially against the assumptions of positivist inquiry. The research was interpretive in nature. Interpretive methods have been used as one of the primary research methodologies and critical inquiry as its other informing methodology. Interpretive research is rooted within the qualitative research method that seeks to explain, interpret and analyse social phenomena that are difficult to quantify (Waghid, 2003a: 96). The choice of interpretive method is an acknowledgement by the researcher that the aspects of democratic citizenship in Zimbabwean higher education are too complex to measure with standards instruments. This is contrary to quantitative researchers who perform tests of “prediction” and “control” (Harding, 1987: 57). A qualitative inquiry begins from an ontological foundation that defines reality as a projection of imagination, the point of view of more than one actor, and a social construction, which can be explored through a science of meanings, phenomenological insight and subjective processes (Harding, 1987: 63). In the light of this stand-point, my research acknowledged multiple ways of knowing and that knowledge is socially constructed (McIntyre, 1999: 166) and therefore, I used multiple methodologies to interpret, understand, explain and bring meaning to them (Polit & Hungler,

1991: 18). Interpretive Methodology has been used in the study of policy documents which are the main sources of democratic programmes in Zimbabwe (Kariwo, 2011). The research therefore used those methods that are prescribed by interpretive inquiry namely; content analysis, and policy text study (Leedy, 2005). The methodology was chosen because it allowed the researcher to use “archival knowledge, as well as narrative or observational knowledge” (Fay, 1996, in Waghid, 2003a: 47). Archival data such as journals, policy documents, minutes of meetings and circulars are used in the study as data gathering methods. Since my research stretches between 1980-2015, interpretive inquiry was used as the most appropriate method in gathering in-depth historical information that can no longer be observed. This was also ideal for my research because it allowed me to identify information about subjects especially on sensitive topics, under-researched areas or groups that are hard to reach (Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010: 240). The sensitivity of my research is on how politic of the land reform has affected the implementation of democratic citizenship education from 1999 to 2015. My research claims conclude that education policies in Zimbabwe are a mirror to the political and historical background of Zimbabwe as a nation; this is why I narrated the story of education from the colonial to the post-colonial era so as to identify the forms of life that such policies imprinted on the people in Zimbabwe. This justifies connection of interpretive inquiry with critical inquiry.

Critical inquiry is a process of learning and understanding that is derived from Social Reconstructionism. It is a method of examining ideologies and identifying their shortcomings. The methodology has been selected for its ability to offer insight into the origins, growth, theories and personalities as well as the crisis arising from the political and economic challenges due to a lack of democratic citizenship in Zimbabwe. Habermas (1987b: 19) summarises critical analysis as that which should prioritise human interests. This explains that critical theory is emancipatory and transformative as it seeks to liberate human beings from all forms of repression. McLaren (1995, in Waghid, 2002b: 50) summarises critical inquiry thus; “It is at the centre, an effort to join investigation (qualitative research), the task of interpretation (quantitative research) and a critic of this reality ... to improve human existence by viewing knowledge for its emancipation or repressive potential.” Critical inquiry offers description, and explanations as well as criticism and change not only to understand it, but to develop interest in particular historical situations and gives explanations that help people to change. However, Habermas (1987b) charges that the emancipatory role of critical inquiry can only be possible if people in a situation can think about ways in which their

situation could be improved.

The focus of my critical analysis was DCE as a discourse and the design was built around a qualitative review of higher education in Zimbabwe. I considered this to be a critical analysis because the motive was to ascribe meaning to realities and come up with policy frameworks that are based on informed analysis. In this research, critical inquiry was complemented by the qualitative variables in the collection of conceptual data so that the research could offer an in-depth understanding of the educational situation in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2015 in a manner to summon defensible DCE in Zimbabwean higher education system. In this view, educational policies in Zimbabwe have been analysed to clarify the concepts of DCE that are embedded in the higher education system in Zimbabwe because, like Waghid (2008b: 10) contends, “critical inquiry assists us to get a deeper, clearer, more informed and better reasoned understanding about issues affecting all citizens either socially or politically”. The other strength of the critical inquiry is that it is supplementary to observation and the researcher may test the authenticity of the reports or observations made by others (Leedy, 2005: 67). This inevitably directed me to consult studies on democratic citizenship education and the background material against which they had been undertaken.

1.11 Positivist theory

Positivist inquiry is based on the assumption that all knowledge in the world is objective, with no space for any kind of value judgment. Positivists advocate rationality, objectivity and truth as limited and practical. Kemmis and Carr (2003: 61) summarised positivism ideas thus:

- Knowledge has purely instrumental value in solving educational problems. Positivists have a tendency to see all educational issues as technical in character.
- The other argument by Positivists is that that reality can be objective in the sense that it can be described, understood, or explained solely with reference to some foundational categories of knowledge and without reference to the social processes and historical processes by which knowledge is constructed.
- Positivists also claim that knowledge can be value free, or value neutral in the sense that it can be used to describe without reference to the world views, concerns, values and interests of researchers and those whose lives they research. Positivists argue that there are no rational arguments about values.

According to Waghid (2002b: 447), positivist inquiry insists that there is only one proper form of explanation, that is the deductive nomological (D –N) model of explanation. This

implies that whenever E happens then F occurs. This means that in the absence of E, F cannot occur because E can be referred as an independent variable the occurrence of F is dependent. This implies that E is a necessary condition for F.

The D-N analysis of causality and its emphasis on verification leads to the understanding that the given situation is under control because the outcome is predictable (Waghid, 2010b). This leads again to the manipulation of variables, for instance if E can be controlled then F could be manipulated. Because of this model, the positivists argue therefore that the learning by learners depends on the teacher. For example, they would argue that a high failure rate in public examinations could be attributed to poor teaching without researching further on what contributes to the ineffectiveness of teaching that could possibly result in high failure rate. This argument implies that in the absence of a teacher, learners cannot learn and pass. According to this assumption, the teacher is the independent variable, and the learner is the dependent variable because the outcome of his or her learning depends on the teacher.

My research argues that for democratic citizenship education (DCE) to be realised, there should be room for deliberation, equity, justice and equality as well as for different opinions and ideas. In this line of thinking, positivist approach could not fit into this research because it does not accommodate metaphysical value judgements and therefore leaves no scope for intersubjective human action to occur (Kemmis & Carr, 2003: 61). The positivist theory sees human action as something to be determined and guided by specific events. My research argues that educational problems are problems of human and social action, historically shaped and structured by the intentions, beliefs and worldviews of people who interact within a culturally given framework. I disqualified the positivist theory for not providing an adequate framework of thinking to analyse DCE in Zimbabwe since positivism interests are on manipulation and control of events. My emphasis was on observation, interpretation, analysis and exploration all of which do not have a place in positivist framework of thinking.

1.12 Conceptual analysis

Conceptual analysis is an analytical and theoretical tool used in philosophy of education where education concepts are only understood in relation to other concepts (Hirst & Peters, 1998). Hirst & Peters (1998: 34) describe conceptual analysis as a method that helps us to pinpoint more precisely, what is implicit in our moral consciousness. Analysis according to these authors, analysis is one way of engaging in philosophy. It is an activity where one seeks to understand meanings, which make concepts what they are. For instance, if one wants to

know the implications of democratic citizenship education for teaching and learning, one has to search for the meanings that give DCE its body of knowledge as well as its distinct character.

My analysis was not confined to analysing the situation, but it also involved reading about what others have written about democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's higher education. The idea was 'to try to make sense of something that seems problematic' Taylor (1985: 87). In this research, the problematic issue was whether there is democratic education in Zimbabwe's universities, considering the educational policies that regulate higher education in Zimbabwe. The second problematic issue was to determine the type of DCE that the Presidential Commission of inquiry of 1999 recommended especially at a time when the education system was deeply involved in economic and political problems facing the country. Considering the economic and political problems confronting higher education in Zimbabwe, I explored the historical context which shaped and guided educational policies in Zimbabwe through a conceptual analysis in order to measure and situate the extent of DCE in universities in Zimbabwe.

1.13 Research design and philosophical methods

This research used philosophy of education as a research approach but was premised on the philosophy of Social Reconstructionism (Sehr, 1997; Ozmon & Craver, 1995) which states that society is in need of constant reconstruction and that social change involves both construction of education and the use of education to reconstruct society (Ozmon & Craver, 1995: 99). Philosophy of education was used as an approach that allowed me to identify problems in texts and society and to value judgement on the justifications that are given in policy texts. Meanings that underscore DCE were examined in the study by looking at the liberal understandings of the concept. This explains that my study was both conceptual and practical. It was practical because I envisaged that uncovering meanings have some implications for both higher education policy texts and the conditions leading to social inequalities. The search for meanings and explanations justified the classification of my study into the interpretivist category. This again is where Reconstructionism as a philosophy influenced my research, to identify and understand the nature of challenges Zimbabwe as a country faces. Through the application of social Reconstructionism and interpretive analysis, I identified problems of corruption, nepotism, inequality and injustice, and I found that policy texts in Zimbabwe are mute about how such problems could be addressed although the

documents acknowledge that these problems exist in the Zimbabwean higher education system. This dissertation therefore reports about the inadequacy of higher education in Zimbabwe to respond to the outlined challenges.

Philosophical methods are used to provide spaces to explore literature on specific topics and also to analyse and deconstruct existing literature in order to reconstruct authentic ideas on a topic (Derrida, 1988). Such methods of deconstruction involve, exploring hidden assumptions, underpinning specific schools of thought and critiquing concepts in terms of ideology on deconstruction, questioning certain practices or policy and considering alternative proposals for particular challenges (Derrida, 1997). In this research, focus was on literature on the implications of DCE to university teaching and learning. I examine how and why the notion of liberal democratic citizenship is central to higher education in Zimbabwe in the country's attempt to fight ethnic and electoral violence and tensions arising from social inequalities and injustices.

The philosophy of Reconstructionism contains two major premises. They are that society is in need of constant reconstruction or change, and that such social change involves both a reconstruction of education and the use of education in reconstructing society (Sehr, 1997; Freire, 2004). According to this philosophy, education is the most effective and efficient instrument for making such changes in an intelligent, democratic and humane way (Ozmon & Craver, 1995: 369). Reconstructionism as a philosophy assumes that knowledge construction is accelerated as social interrelationships become increasingly interconnected in complexity (Freire, 2004). Social Reconstructionists are critical theorists who believe in the changing of systems that are oppressive and inhibitive to overcome social inequalities, oppression and advocate for the improvement in human conditions of life (Freire, 2004). For reconstructivism, education is viewed as a vehicle through which social change can take place but only if the education system permits dialogical encounters, critical consciousness and the development of awareness to overcome domination and oppression. This philosophy has been selected as a research design (critical inquiry), for it is interested in addressing social questions in the quest to create a democratic society. The philosophy of Reconstructionism curriculum focuses on social reform, with special emphasis on the social and cultural environment in which communities exists (Freire, 2004). Its proponents such as George S. Counts, Karl Marx, and Theodore Brameld concentrate on how socio-cultural conditions could be made more palatable for full human participation (Sehr, 1997: 3).

Reconstructionism focuses on a curriculum that advocates and promotes social reform. It advocates an attitude toward change that encourages individuals to try to make life better than it was or is. Theodore Brameld (1904–1987), who is a proponent of this philosophy and is cited in Ornstein and Hunkins (2009: 51), argues, “students and teachers must not only take positions; but must also become change agents to improve society”. Freire (1996: 120), echoes the same sentiments when he projects that education is a weapon to overcome oppression and that teaching is not ‘banking’ knowledge into students which must be reproduced in examinations but must allow students to invent and reinvent the world. Social Reconstructionism has been selected in this study for advocating of pedagogies which promote analysis, criticism and research. Proponents of this philosophical argument advocate a teaching and learning atmosphere where teachers and students are not compelled to accept the status quo without interrogating it. They emphasise academic freedom where teachers and students are free to promulgate new ideas, no matter how controversial they may be (critical pedagogy).

1.14 Theories of education

Philosophical educational theories that speak to contemporary policy and practice could be traced from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, coinciding with the need to develop a better-educated workforce in an industrial society (Dewey, 1916). Prior to this, education was a preserve of the ruling elite. Emphasis was placed on the classics, with little relevance to everyday life more particularly to democratic principles and work. John Dewey regarded this kind of education as irrelevant, and he proposed his ideas on the need for universal education for democracy, and saw the school as a microcosm of society (Dewey, 1916: 19).

“a society which makes provision for participation for the good of all its members on equal terms, and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interactions of the different forms of associated life is in so far democratic. Such a society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder” Dewey (1916: 19).

Dewey introduced the modern concept of democratic education and the education for all. Dewey’s purpose of education is for construction of a society based on equality and democracy (Chung & Ngara, 1985: 27).

1.15 Philosophical foundations of Zimbabwean education system

As societies develop, they evolve philosophies of life peculiar to their existential circumstances. This prompts Mawere (2012: 466) to argue that “any system of education, whether simple or sophisticated is firmly based on some philosophical foundation”. The philosophy that is generated by society is a reflection of the peoples’ philosophy of life, their hopes and aspirations. This is supported by Luthuli’s conviction that “philosophy of education emanates from a philosophy of life of a people and one which has been formulated from a distance could not be considered to be a philosophy of education” (Luthuli, 1982: 6).

Considering the Zimbabwean context in particular and Southern and Central Africa in general, the education system in these regions is directed by the philosophy of Ubuntu/Unhu. Anything contrary to the dictates of Ubuntu as a philosophy guiding the education systems is not recommended. Since Ubuntu determines the aims, content and methods of instruction, it is therefore essential to understand it as a theory and see how much of it remains of relevance in Zimbabwean higher education that, according to Zvobgo (1999: 42) “dangerously emphasizes literacy and technical instruction to the neglect of education for life”

1.16 Motivation

This research was motivated by the findings and recommendations of the 1999 Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the education system in Zimbabwe. The Commission was tasked to “inquire into and report upon the fundamental changes to the current curriculum at all levels so that education becomes a useful tool for character and citizenship formation” (Presidential Commission of Inquiry, 1999: 62). This gives the impression that the education system in Zimbabwe had not been performing this role. The findings of the inquiry as presented by Dr Nziramasanga led to the introduction of citizenship education in Zimbabwe’s universities as well as alterations in other school syllabi, notably in social studies and history. The concept ‘democracy’ is mentioned several times in the Commission’s presentation such as “our democracy”, “in a democracy” (Presidential Commission of Inquiry, 1999: 69), ‘education and democracy’ (Presidential Commission of inquiry, 1999: 146). Citizenship education therefore would not just promote and protect democracy but “our democracy” (Presidential Commission of Inquiry, 1999: 69). An important point to note here is that these changes did not only affect the content but also the methods of instruction to “*promote and protect our democracy*” (Sigauke, 2011: 277). This came at a time when Zimbabwe was

experiencing economic and political upheavals. Therefore, what Shizha and Kariwo (2012: 201) refers to as “philosophical frameworks and emerging political and economic circumstances” could have motivated the call for the introduction of citizenship education in Zimbabwe. It was therefore the interest of this research to establish whether principles of DCE have been observed in the new university curricula that sought to safeguard “our democracy”. In other words, does the new citizenship curriculum for universities promote democracy in class?

This comes after the realisation that education has a life transforming potential, because it is difficult to build a nation when citizens who are the builders of such a nation do not have the traits of good citizenship (Waghid & Davids, 2013). In the wake of this influence, the research attempted to determine the extent to which democratic citizenship education has been implemented in Zimbabwean tertiary colleges and also examine how teaching and learning can either promote or curtail democratic citizenship. Two state universities have been used in the study, namely Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) and the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). These two universities were selected because they are both mandated to train teachers from Zimbabwe and beyond. Although there are other universities and colleges training teachers, BUSE carries the national mandate of awarding higher degrees to teachers who desire to further their studies in science subjects. I have also included the UZ in my study because it was the first university to be established in Zimbabwe and therefore holds a lot of influence on higher education policy in the country (refer to Chapter 3).

When the commission of inquiry into the education system was set up in 1998, Zimbabwe had only a few state universities that were affiliated to the University of Zimbabwe. The (UZ) then devised syllabi for all institutions of higher learning in the country. In actual fact, at any given time, all state run institutions of higher learning were affiliated to the one and only state university, which had a monopoly on the education system in Zimbabwe for nearly six decades. Since the period of my study stretched from 1980 to 2015, it became mandatory to include the University of Zimbabwe because by 1999, UZ dictated the educational policy in the country and controlled upcoming institutions of higher learning.

The University of Zimbabwe has an affiliation of seven out of ten teachers’ colleges in the country (UZ prospectus, 2016). It also trains teachers among other programmes. I have selected these two universities because teaching and learning are the heart of the knowledge society and because what students learn is mainly influenced by what teachers know and do.

Students are a by-product of their teachers in every respect (Darling-Hammond, 1997: 42). In other words, teachers transmit to students what has been transmitted to them. The danger here is, if the modes of transmission are non-democratic from teachers' colleges to university; the non-democratic methods will be cascaded down to the classroom practice. This is why this research concurs with Freire's argument of "rejecting the position of a teacher as of maintaining the entrenched values and ideas and whose role is to shape students to fit pre-existing models of living" (Freire, 1996: 67). This supports the idea that education generally and the curriculum particularly can be influenced by socio-economic and political factors and can be used either to perpetuate a system or to destroy the same system. Education has been used in different countries to transmit political ideologies and dominant cultures as well as serving some sectional interest groups (Ozmon & Craver, 1995: 69). This study assumed that the conflicting situation in Zimbabwe's universities from 1990 to 2015 was possible because the school system was manipulated to safeguard the interests of the few. Furthermore, the kind of DCE offered in universities did not prepare students to tolerate those with diverse views, and show respect for human dignity, honesty and unity, attributes that could only be inculcated through democratic citizenship education. The research therefore examines the socio-political background in Zimbabwe from 1980–2015, its link to democratic citizenship education and, how this has impacted on teaching and learning in higher education. As a university educator in Zimbabwe my other motivation for this study also stemmed from the prevailing socio-economic and political challenges in Zimbabwe that have a significant bearing on higher education. The deteriorating economy has had negative impact on the attainment of quality education in Zimbabwe and widespread inequalities undermine the concept of nation building and national unity in Zimbabwe that called for education policy. The country's current education policy, which calls for the promotion of equity, access for all and quality in education, creates space for such a study. As a citizen of Zimbabwe, I was prompted to carry out this research by the marginalisation of the poor in the distribution of goods and services such as power and education respectively. Mine was a concern for social justice, economic and political stability that in turn will propel growth, quality and access to higher education in Zimbabwe without tilting the policies towards the minority and disadvantaged groups because this again is not equality but reverse discrimination which goes beyond what is acceptable in social transformation.

1.17 Chapter outline

Chapter one

Introduction and background to the study

This chapter introduces the reader to the thrust of the research through delineation of the research context, motivation, statement of the problem and the research methods and methodology. I also provided an orientation to the study in this chapter.

Chapter two

An investigation of DCE within the Liberal Framework and conceptions of DCE

In this chapter, the liberal framework on democratic citizenship education from various philosophical perspectives are analysed, the analysis assisted in building and enriching a nuanced conception of democratic citizenship education. Greater reference was made to African conceptions of communitarianism by Gyekye (1998) and Menkiti's (2004) strict communitarianism, Rawls' (1971) theory of justice; Benhabib's (2011b) notion of cosmopolitanism and Habermas' (1978) views about public reason and communicative action are explored in this chapter. Since this chapter presents a review of related literature, the literature that is reviewed here is meant to build theoretical impressions of democratic citizenship education within the liberal frameworks.

Chapter Three

Higher education in Zimbabwe with regard to democratic citizenship education

This chapter presents an exploration of the education system in Zimbabwe through an analysis of the education policy in the country. My aim with studying policy texts influencing higher education was that these policies pronounce conditions on which institutions of higher learning rely on. The chapter traces the development of the education system from the pre-independence to the post-independence era. The rationale was to unravel the possibility and the impossibility of DCE in the Zimbabwean higher education system from its historical context to the present. The motivation to study higher education came from the premise that an independent scholarly community supported by strong universities would enhance a healthy, stable democracy. Within this context, the chapter presents an analysis of higher education policies in Zimbabwe in relation to governance, access, equality, justice and

quality to assess the nature of democratic citizenship that is conceived in Zimbabwean higher education system.

Chapter four

Review of institutional commitment to educating for democratic citizenship in Zimbabwe: The Policy Frameworks of Two State Universities

The chapter presents an analysis of university commitment to educating for DCE by focussing on university governance, mandates and mission statements. Two universities were used in the research to determine the extent to which these institutions are prepared to educate democratic citizens. I have indicated in the chapter how conditions at these institutions are implicated by harsh economic conditions.

Chapter 5

A reconceptualization of democratic citizenship education against social inequalities and electoral violence in Zimbabwe

In this chapter, I discussed a reconceptualised idea of DCE and its tenets as an extension of the liberal idea. This was done to explain how reconceptualised notions of DCE could assist in helping us to think differently about the higher education policy in Zimbabwe. The implications of the reconceptualised DCE on the universities in Africa will be analysed.

Chapter 6

A reconceptualised view of an African university and its implications on teaching and learning in Zimbabwe's higher education

This chapter is a follow-up on the findings made so far in my chapters 3, 4 and 5. I am arguing in this chapter that higher education in Zimbabwe has the potential to respond to the socio-economic political and environmental problems currently confronting the country and those problems which Africa as a continent face.

Chapter 7

An extended view of Democratic Citizenship Education: Potential contributions to university academic programmes

In this chapter, I provide concluding remarks for my research. Recommendations and areas for further study are discussed in this chapter. I further illuminate on the contributions my

research makes to higher education in Zimbabwe.

1.18 Summary

This chapter presented the philosophical frameworks, and the methods and methodologies of my research. I used critical inquiry as methods to examine the liberal frameworks in deliberative democracy. I have provided the philosophical underpinnings that speak to higher education in Zimbabwe to understand the state and nature of democracy found in this context.

CHAPTER TWO

AN INVESTIGATION OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION WITHIN THE LIBERAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The study reported here emphasised developing Democratic Citizenship Education (DCE) in Zimbabwe's higher education system, and this chapter emanates from the premise that a plausible conception of DCE could aid in reconceptualising higher education in Zimbabwe. To begin with, a framework for analysing the current predominant practices of university education is provided in an attempt to assess the degree to which universities support individual self-development towards that democratic vision. The purpose being to evaluate the extent to which higher education in Zimbabwe is influenced by the competing theories of individualism (liberalism) and communitarian liberalism (republican) that are rooted in democratic citizenship education. In addition, I have a conviction that the values of communitarian liberalism can contribute towards deepening democratic citizenship and democracy in Zimbabwe's higher education. More so, democratic education can guide higher education in Zimbabwe to enhance its capacity to realize a dream of a democracy committed to justice and the full participation of citizens. However, the challenge comprises the preparedness and readiness of the universities in question to embrace the virtues and conditions associated with DCE in the current economic and political environment. The contention is that education is a strategic factor for both mental and socio-economic development, but its capacity to do so is enhanced through democratic engagement and dialogical encounter of its equal citizens. Taylor (2008) echoes this notion when he posits that the growth of any society is largely dependent on the capacity of its human resources to confront worrying challenges as well as providing informed and innovative solutions. For Zimbabwe, one may contend, to achieve a meaningful democratic citizenship, the country has to develop well-thought educational policies that ensure not just mass literacy but also full utilisation of their graduates not only for economic achievement but also for citizenship as well. This can only be achieved if the education system is restructured, redesigned and implemented in a way that is informed by and promotes democratic principles of justice, participation, equity, equality, tolerance, access debate, discussion and dialogue.

2.2 Definition of key terms and the theoretical framework

The specific focus of this study necessitated that I explore the meaning of democratic citizenship education from various theoretical strands showing how other scholars have defined DCE. An exploration of a variety of DCE principles and debates assisted me to understand the factors that determine and guide higher education policy and practice in Zimbabwe. In order to come up with a balanced analysis, I provide some philosophical and contextual delineation that guided the parameters within which my research operated. In this chapter, I further discuss democratic citizenship as deliberation that creates public spaces to promote active engagement of citizens. I focus on DCE prominent writings from liberal theorist whose works have significantly influenced my understanding of DCE, such as Benhabib 1996, Callan 1997, Dewey 1916, Greene 1995, Guttman 1999, Young, 2000; and Rancière (1999, in Biesta, 2009). I advance a deliberative democratic citizenship approach from the viewpoints of liberal communitarians (stated above) for the Zimbabwean higher education system since it aims to create an environment in which decisions are reached through dialogue, open discussion and debate (Waghid, 2010a: 15).

I also consider a discussion of the notions of liberal DCE in my analysis since they contain prominent ideas that illuminate the notions of community, humanity and responsibility, and the interrelationships amongst people in the public sphere. I examine how these liberal notions contribute to democratic citizenship education and how they promote equality, dialogue, respect, reasonableness, quality and the concern for one another. I consider liberal DCE as an important concept that could engender reasonableness and collective dialogue in reaching a consensus to reduce social inequalities, corruption, ethnic and electoral violence in Zimbabwe and enhance healthy ethnic politics and equal distribution of public goods for Zimbabwe as a country to thrive politically and educationally. For me to build the premise for my discussion on what DCE is, I examined the concepts so that an understanding of them could help in addressing the research problem.

2.3 Conceptual meanings of democracy and democratic citizenship

In order to understand DCE, I use Derrida's (1997) deconstruction. The deconstruction of democracy, education and citizenship allowed me to understand these concepts in order to reconstruct the new bases for the concepts.

Theorising democratic citizenship education is fraught with complexities as defining

democracy itself. The word democracy is derived from the Greek words ‘Kratos’, which means rule or power and ‘demos’ which means ‘people’ (Fraenkel & Kane, 1983: 5). So, the Greek word ‘demokratia’ ‘means ‘rule’ by the people or the people’s rule. The earliest meaning of democracy had negative connotations as it was meant to suggest the rule by the propertyless and the uneducated. It meant the rule by the mob (Harber, 1997: 2). Plato criticised this form of democracy then as being “the rule of the ignorant over the educated and well-versed philosophers”, but Aristotle argued for democracy, thus “a good government is a combination of a rule by a small number of educated citizens with the authority of the ignorant masses” (Crick, 2008: 13). In today’s meaning, democracy refers to a government that rules with the permission of the people (legitimacy) (Fraenkel & Kane, 1983: 5). Giddens (2001: 63) defines democracy as ‘a political system for the participation of citizens in political decision-making, often by the election of representatives to governing bodies’. According to Crick (2008: 13), “democracy is both a sacred and promiscuous word”. It carries with it different meanings to different groups of people. On the one hand, it could suggest certain institutional arrangements, while on the other hand it suggests the democratic behaviour of authorities or individuals. For Harber (1997: 3) democracy emphasises reason, cooperation, open-mindedness, fairness, bargain and compromise as well as accommodation. In this respect, any education premised these democratic concepts ought to contribute to a political culture that upholds the values of tolerance and mutual respect (Freire, 2004). This means that in a democratic system of education, everyone should be treated equally. This notion of DCE is substantiated in Callan’s (1997) seminal work: *Creating citizens* in which he advocates for a political account of education that teaches learners democratic virtues like tolerance, justice and mutual respect so that students can participate freely and competently in a dialogue as equal citizens.

In Callan’s opinion, DCE entails three assumptions,

- firstly, teaching learners to speak their minds without fear of being silenced. Secondly, encouraging learners to participate in a distress- provoking dialogue on the basis that one is not more than the topic of conversation, and finally, initiating learners into a sense of justice according to which they accept responsibility for the rights of others, that is, to care about others as partners and to restrain themselves from violating others rights (Callan, 1997: 79, 204).

In this research, democracy is defined in a way that would portray it as the best system of

governance in contrast to non-democratic forms of governance, and further identified elements that are common to different forms that democratic education can take. I opted for democracy which combines both representation and participation because according to Birch, (1993: 49) democracy cannot work through representation alone, it requires participation. Birch further avers that such a democracy creates conditions that enables equal chances of participation and establishes conditions whereby people are reasonably democratic, tolerant in their social attitudes, and willing to participate in relevant matters (Waghid, 2001: 84). This type of democracy rejects state control and authoritarianism, especially that which undermines diversity. With this background in mind, I therefore, define democracy as a form of governance in which public policy decisions on questions of law and policy depend directly or indirectly upon public opinion formally expressed by citizens of the community who all have equal political rights (Weale, 2011: 39). This kind of democracy is referred to as social democracy by Birch (1993: 46) where class distinctions are undermined by social relationships. This democracy is welfare oriented, and people have to control their own lives, participate on the grounds of equality and liberty in class, racial, ethnic and gender interactions. This is also labelled as direct democracy where people directly participate in economic, political and social matters of their state or community. Dalton, Scarrow & Cain, (2004: 127) also contend, “Democracy is grounded in the concept of public participation in political matters. It is a process and a set of political expectations that elevate democracy above other political forms ...” I prefer the term democracy, which expresses more active citizen participation and involvement that relates not only to the political level but also to the interpersonal level (Dewey, 1916: 113). Deweyan democracy has been shaped by his faith in human capacities and his faith in the great power of cooperation. This kind of democracy distinguishes citizens by a set of values such as political tolerance and accountability. It is associated with political equality where a diversity of political opinions is respected and where leaders respond to popular mass needs (Dalton, Scarrow & Cain, 2004: 127).

On the same note, Dewey (1916: 115) maintains that a democratic society (education) is one ‘that makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms and which secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through interaction of the different forms of associated life’. According to Dewey (1916: 115) “Belief in equality is an element of the democratic credo” For Dewey, democracy is only secure when it becomes part of the bone and blood of the people in daily conduct of its life. Democracy for Dewey (1916: 87) is more than a form of government, but is a mode of associated living, of conjoint

communicated experiences. Education therefore, is viewed a social practice that involves humans and the various ways in which they communicate in a community of life with one another. This process determines the kind of learning that becomes a community (Dewey, 1916: 94). In such a democratic society, provision for participation in its good of its members on equal terms is valued. Such a society avers Dewey, must have its education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder.

Furthermore, Dewey (1916: 113) argues that democracy should be seen as a way of life which needs citizens who are autonomous. For Dewey, education in a democratic sense involves participation by (immature) participants who belong to a learning community of life. This means that the Deweyan democracy entails human association that results in the success (fruition) of the purpose of that association. Dewey (1916: 117) further says that the purpose of democratic education depends on the purpose of the community that engages in the communicative practice for educative purposes. Dewey added that the purpose and the quality of education in a society depend on the participation, freedom and interactions of all members and the worth of the contributions they bring in their association with one another in public concerns. Democracy frames education in the sense in which it ‘offers individuals personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secures social changes without introducing disorder’ (Dewey, 1916: 144). This is further supported by Giroux (2004: 104) who advances the idea that democracy should be aimed at creating opportunities for humanity for personal development of every citizen. This shows that the concept of democracy is closely linked to citizenship. In a democracy, citizenship involves a set of values such as the commitment by citizens to participate in a democracy and their ability to express satisfaction with democratic supply. This explains that democracy is an expression against all forms of inequality. For the purposes of this study, my preference as stated earlier in this section was democratic citizenship, which allows citizen participation, individuals to acquire knowledge and skills needed to execute forms of political behaviour and socialization (Diamond, 1997: 244). In this research, education is placed at the centre as it has the capability of serving as a societal warranty for democracy and democratic citizenship beyond national and cultural entities.

The research is premised on the argument put forward by Habermas (1987a: 89) that if more people are involved in decision--making processes in matters affecting them, it would

improve both government and people's quality of life and that constructive engagement with government is the best way to address social and economic problems and conflict. In this analysis of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's higher education system, I concur with Kahne and Westheimer (2001) when they assert that citizenship is rather practised than given. Their argument is that democratic citizenship is learned through education, socialization, exposure to politics, public life and day-to-day experiences. They further assert that social institutions like schools and universities can help create active citizenship if they involve citizens, in this case students, in policy making and make information available to students so that they understand what would be going on in their institutions. Waghid (2007: 185) echoes the same sentiments when he explains that the capacity to deliberate as free and equal citizens in a democratic polity is one of the virtues of democratic citizenship. Waghid (2007: 186) raises the idea of democracy as a reflexive discourse. This democracy leads to the liberation of thought and practices. It is emancipatory and is against privileged representations and marginalisation of minority groups, oppression of women, disfigure environment and reduction of knowledge structures to instruments of social control and legitimation. Waghid, therefore calls upon universities to educate students in a way that will make them internalise these virtues of democracy so that "...possibilities of injustices against humanity could be minimised or even eradicated" Waghid (2007: 185). Due to these observations, my research, therefore, considered deliberation which is central to liberal communitarianism, as ideal to the inculcation of democracy and democratic citizenship.

'Democratic education' refers to an educational practice based on critical pedagogy, but translated more strongly into the organisation of education and to participation in society (Apple, 2002: 303). It is more about how and what people learn, the opportunity for students to learn about their system of government, democracy, rule of law, rights and responsibilities and the knowledge and skills associated with political issues (Print, 2007: 337). According to Print (2007) democracy "is a voice for learner expression." Another theorist to be considered in this section is Gutmann (1999; 2012) whose work on democracy and education extends the relationship between democracy, citizenship and education that was popularised by Dewey (1916) and Rawls (1971) and from which contemporary philosophers have built their assumptions and contributions on DCE.

According to Gutmann (2012: 339) democracy as an inclusive and deliberate social

propagation in education ought to recognise the value of parental education. This promotes the good life and professional authority by enabling students to appreciate and evaluate ways of life different from what their parents offer, and also recognises the value of political education, which consist of participating in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in democratic society. According to Gutmann (2012: 340), democratic states need not discriminate; rather, they should allow all citizens who are educable to participate in shaping their future society. The democratic facet of education entails the ability of individuals to deliberate and participate in public education (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996: 68). Gutmann (1999) asserts that DCE should introduce students to competing perspectives and equip them to deliberate as equal citizens about why and when it is justifiable to agree to disagree over an issue and when it is morally necessary to decide collectively on a single substantive policy (such as racial and non-discrimination of gender.) For Gutmann, DCE should cultivate equal dignity and civic equality amongst students and educators. Furthermore, a democratic education must inculcate in students an ‘understanding and appreciation of liberty and justice for all from multiple perspectives’ (Gutmann, 1999: 315).

Callan (1997) defines DCE as an act of the political dialogue. This implies that educators and learners to engage in dialogues in which they function as civic equals on the basis that their deliberation will receive due recognition by the other even in belligerent fashion. The learners are attentive to social injustices such as the marginalization and exclusion of the weaker other, and that students embark on communicative action with the aim of solving particular problems and reaching out to that which is in becoming (still to come) that is stimulating one another towards the unimaginable.

In Greene’s view, DCE must be able to shape students into citizens who ‘reach out for meanings and go beyond the normal...better able to provoke and release rather than to impose and control’ (Greene, 1995: 57). Greene, implores educators to encourage students to tell their stories (narratives) so that they can make meaningful the birth of their own rationality (Greene, 1995: 54). Furthermore, Greene provokes educators to be attentive to and transform what is inhuman such as torture, inequality, exclusion, hunger, famine, victimisation and starvation (Greene, 1995: 57). The educational implication of Greene’s notion of DCE as participating in dialogues is that dialogue is connected with arousing in learners an awareness of social injustices by stimulating in them to search for ‘new beginnings’, their ‘lived lives’ and to show their outrage about human suffering and all forms

of injustice (Greene, 1995: 79).

I am attracted to Greene's account of the dialogical encounters that should exist between students and their educators. Greene (1995) assumes that a democratic community of students and educators is never complete (not actualised) but is always in the making (in becoming). In Greene's opinion, this means "our democratic classrooms ought to resound with the voices of articulate young people in dialogues always incomplete because there is always more to be discovered and more to be said..." (Greene, 1995: 114).

Another implication of Greene's notion of DCE is that educators are encouraged to create pedagogic encounters that cultivate dialogue so that learners can narrate their stories and be provoked to "release their imagination". This is based on the understanding that individuals should be included in the deliberative process of engagement (Greene, 1995: 79; Young, 2000). This notion considers DCE as inclusion of those who are not part of a democratic sphere in a sphere of inclusion. In this case, inclusion is at the core of DCE values and the purpose of democratic citizenship education is to achieve the inclusion of everyone (Biesta, 1999: 204). Biesta (1999) highlights two types of inclusion, namely; internal and external inclusion. Internal inclusion defines how we make our practices even more inclusive, while external inclusion looks at bringing more people into a democratic deliberative sphere. More people are drawn into the democratic sphere so that they may be guided into democracy by values such as rationality, justice and tolerance all of which are indicative of the democratic sphere (Biesta, 1999). My assumptions, however, are that the problems experienced in Zimbabwean institutions of higher learning (student activism, strikes, hooliganism etc.) were compounded by the lack of DCE in state universities and that the policies guiding university education in Zimbabwe between 1990 and 2015 portrayed a narrower conception of democratic participation. The chapter therefore, advanced the relevance of democratic citizenship through deliberation and participation as solutions to higher education challenges in Zimbabwe. I am against student participation that is only biased and favourable to politicians and educators but the research is in support of student participation and deliberations that are about the demands of justice for all individuals (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996: 68). It is the understandings of democratic citizenship education from Callan (1997) Biesta (1999) Greene (1995) Gutmann (1999) Dewey (1916) and Rawls (1971) that influenced my research in relation to higher education in Zimbabwe's policy and practice.

2.4 Advocating for democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe

The central argument in this research was to foster democratic citizens in Zimbabwe through DCE. My argument stemmed from Dewey's (1916: 113) suggestion that democratic citizenship education's legitimate function is to nurture responsible citizens who can guarantee the perpetuation of a democratic society. Accordingly, Gutmann (1999) describes human interaction as involving a form of engagement that creates a sense of belonging. Gutmann (1999) extends the relationship between democracy and education that was popularised by Dewey (1916) and Rawls (1971) on which contemporary philosophers have built their assumptions on DCE. In Gutmann's (1999) view, DCE should first 'introduce' students to competing perspectives, and equip them to deliberate as equal citizens as well as cultivate equal dignity and civic equality amongst learners (Gutmann, 1999: 315). On the same note, Harris (2005: 46) gives a description of what DCE entails referring to the Council of Europe, and points out that citizenship education is a crucial component of education for it enhances critical understanding of democracy and democratic political institutions since these are components of citizenship education. In view of this function, Harris adds that education in any democratic state should aim to strengthen in its citizens the knowledge of political systems, foster respect for justice, law, democracy, and nurture common good at the same time as encouraging independent thought. Citizenship education should develop in students' skills of reflection, enquiry and debate while at the same time promoting intercultural dialogue, solidarity, gender equality, and harmonious relations within and among peoples (Harris, 2005: 46). In support of Harris, Waghid (2005b: 55) adds that DCE should be grounded in compassionate imaginative action that encompasses multicultural dimensions of human diversity. This means exposing students to a fundamental perception of the histories and cultures of various groups of people, including major religious and cultural groups as well as marginalised ethnic, racial, gendered and social minorities. This is necessary because it triggers a sense of respect among citizens for others who are different from them and yet occupy the same space as they do (Waghid, 2005b). Following this discussion on the necessity of DCE, I argue that the conflicts and violence that have been experienced in Zimbabwe from 2000 onwards was a result of a lack of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's education system. For me to elucidate the need for democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe attention will be drawn back to a historical era, which was characterised by undemocratic, and 'uncitizenship' encounters.

2.5 Undemocratic and Uncitizenship narratives in the history of Zimbabwe

Soon after independence in 1980, the new Zimbabwe government adopted the policy of education as a basic human right, and committed itself to universal and equal educational opportunity for all (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 1997). It was within this broad policy framework that the government buttressed by the progressive Bill of Rights in the independence Constitution of 1979, reorganised, and expanded its education system. The Bill of Rights enshrined fundamental human rights and freedoms designed to guarantee equality of opportunity for all regardless of race, colour, gender, creed, place of origin or any other considerations. Thus, the first decade of majority rule was characterised by government's efforts to democratise its education institutions in order to fulfil the education for all agenda (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 1997). University education was also realigned to meet the new transformational agenda of social reconstruction and peace building (Machakanja, 2010).

Prior to the year 2000, Zimbabwe boasted a vibrant and efficient social sector, with one of Africa's most impressive educational systems. The literacy rate was above 85 per cent, the highest in Africa at the time (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2000). The health sector was also remarkable, with referral hospitals in practically all its administrative provinces, and both government and private clinics in virtually all the districts. The University of Zimbabwe's Medical School made a significant contribution to the training of reputable and highly skilled medical doctors over the years. Although the rural-urban divide also existed in Zimbabwe as in many other African countries, poverty was more pronounced in rural than in urban areas. Indeed, most high school leavers often migrated from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment. Poverty levels were as low as 27 per cent in the early 1980s, but have since soared to well above 90 per cent (Mlambo, 2008: 3) in the late 2000s. Sadly, by 2001, all this progress began to crumble in the face of a debilitating economic and political crisis. Economic hardships resulted in many parents failing to raise school and college fees for their children. The school dropout rate, for example, has been increasing since 2000 and is currently estimated (as of 2017) to be approaching 36 per cent (Government of Zimbabwe, 2012). Many professionals; teachers, nurses, doctors and other skilled people have since migrated from Zimbabwe to countries such as Botswana, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, New Zealand, Canada and Australia (Mlambo, 2008).

The efforts at democratisation of institutions of higher learning were thwarted after the

introduction of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme [ESAP] which ushered in catastrophic results on all social institutions such as health and education (Mlambo, 2008: 3). The political landscape tilted in the late 1990s when a new political party emerged from trade Unions. This party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) became a major threat to the ruling government mainly because the urbanites and the educated elite supported it (Gatsheni-Ndlovu & Muzondidya, 2007). ZANU PF, which had enjoyed monopoly for over twenty years, did not take the formation of the MDC lightly. The new political party used general strikes by urban workers and civil servants to weaken the ruling party. The ruling party on the other hand devised defence mechanisms that were more catastrophic to the people in its effort to dismember a new threat in the political realm (Gatsheni-Ndlovu & Muzondidya, 2007).

Thus, the formation of the MDC in 1999 was a response to several challenges in the socio-economic and political sphere, which this research blames on the failure by government to democratise its social institutions such as the higher education system fully. The general populace was swayed from one political party to the other. In 2001, the EU and the United States of America slapped the country with economic sanctions on the pretext that, it was grossly violating and abusing human rights (Raftopoulos, 2003). The sanctions further weakened an already dying economy. This posed serious threats to service delivery, educational instruction and infrastructural development. This was followed by a deep economic crisis especially after the Zimbabwe dollar's inflationary period 1997–2008. This situation, according to Atkinson (2006: 135) drove many people including students to indulge in unorthodox means to survive such as joining militia groups for any political party that promised some incentives. Mlambo (2008: 67) observes, "Some school children especially from economically disadvantaged families dropped from school either to indulge in gold and diamond panning in river banks or to sell fire wood and foodstuffs in streets". The methods used by the people in general and the state in particular in trying to address these socio-political problems have been blamed as grossly violating the principles of democracy that the government purported to advance. The events to remember in the period under discussion include, the aggressive land reform programme (Jambanja) specifically directed against white commercial farmers as a way to redress the land imbalances between whites and blacks. Analysts blamed the process of land invasions as being motivated by racist tendencies on the part of the ruling ZANU PF. It is estimated that at least 150 people and 10 white commercial farmers lost their lives as a result of the violence perpetrated by the supporters of ZANU-PF

during the farm invasions (Mlambo, 2006: 72). In 2005, ‘Operation Clean up’ (Murambatsvina) left thousands of urban dwellers homeless as the so called illegal structures were demolished. Campaign strategies employed by various political parties were characterised by hate speech and aggressive behaviour such as intimidation, beating and at times killing of political opponents.

Violence became a nationalised phenomenon that could be condoned as long as it was perpetrated on ‘the enemy of the people’. It was considered rather heroic to behave aggressively towards your political opponent (Mawere, 2012: 456). Hate speech and language were devised to describe an “enemy” (Atkinson, 2006: 137). In schools, teachers omitted teaching some aspects in the syllabus, which were considered sensitive for fear of political victimisation. Universities were not spared during this crisis. Student activism became increasingly violent as students demanded their academic space which they claimed the ruling party usurped through legislations and policies that were meant to contain the situation (Raftopoulos, 2006). The most unpopular legislation was the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1990, which denies students’ access to communication and deliberation (Cheater, 1991). The Act vested all power in the university administrators, vice chancellors, deans, registrars and departmental chairpersons (Mlambo, 2008: 69). The Act that is discussed in chapter 3 was exported to other state owned universities which were established after 1990 because they were directly off springs of the University of Zimbabwe.

2.6 The demand for Democratic Citizenship Education in Zimbabwe

In the light of this background, I drew my argument for deliberative democracy from the writings of Seyla Benhabib (1996), Amy Gutmann (2012), and Callan (1997). My intention was to highlight some of the democratic principles that were absent in Zimbabwe during this crisis period. The intention was to examine the kind of higher education that is suitable for Zimbabwe especially when one considers the heterogeneity of the Zimbabwean society.

Firstly, DCE involves making people aware of their right to political participation, the right to hold certain offices and perform certain tasks and the right to deliberate and the right to decide upon certain questions (Benhabib, 2002: 162). This means is that people need to be educated to appreciate that joining a political party of one’s choice is one’s moral right. A person does not need to be incentivised or intimidated to do so. It is everyone’s rational choice. Denying people, the right to join a political party of their choice through the use of violence is not only a violation of their right but thwarts personal autonomy, and also limit

their power to deliberate, participate and engage in meaningful encounter with others (Benhabib, 2002). This is supported by Dalton, Scarrow & Cain (2004: 120) who contends, “Democracy is grounded in the concept of public participation in political matters”. Intimidating political opponents is an indication of the failure to tolerate political diversity and other peoples’ rational choice (Van Wyk, 2003). Instead of empowering citizens to participate in deliberation and decisions that affect their lives, they became disenfranchised and disempowered. They lose their dialogical power to decide, debate, discuss and to deliberate in order to construct “informed, unforced general agreement” (Bohman, 1996: 156) or what Habermas (1987b) refers to as uncoerced consensus”.

Therefore, reviewed literature showed that in Zimbabwe, the people’s right to political participation was curtailed, and democratic citizenship was therefore not prominent. In the narrative, (see 2.4; & 4.2.6) I mentioned that the greater part of 1990s was characterised by economic decline characterised by acute unemployment, underdevelopment and corruption by the elite. These political and economic upheavals continued beyond 1998 into the 2000s. It resulted in the government stifling the democratic space of both the citizens and the students (Cheater, 1991; Negombwe, 2013). As a result, universities in Zimbabwe were characterised by students’ political and economic discontent and activism (ZINASU, 2010). According to Zeilig (2008: 219), the student’s voice should be interrogated in order for the public to understand the meaning of student activism. In Zimbabwe, student activism was and is ruthlessly suppressed. In most cases student representatives were/ and still are either suspended or jailed (ZINASU, 2010; Negombwe, 2013). This explains why and how university students have lost their democratic right to be heard together with their bargaining power. In state- run universities, student representatives are appointed along political affiliations and student council activities for all universities have their activities monitored by state security agents despite the fact that they would have come to office through “correct political standing’ (Negombwe, 2013: 14). This shows that students’ fundamental rights such as freedom of expression inside and outside the classroom, citizenship rights, and autonomy of students’ publications are not guaranteed. The alignment of Student Representative Councils (SRC) to political parties renders the system of student representation useless and flawed without serious public deliberation. According to Gutmann (2012: 337) through public deliberation, people could endeavour to establish educational practices based on the construction of more reasonable views that others might find more palatable, and through which people could together make modifications and adjustments to arguments that prevail. It

means public deliberation considers argumentation, persuasion and consensus making as reasonable endeavours to pursue in search of justifications that enjoy the support of an association of individuals as they embark on educational practices.

In light of the above, Mawere (2012: 443) notes that, even the standards of discipline are similarly flawed due to what he describes as “bureaucratic circumvention and intolerance”. It is the denial of students’ democratic space in Zimbabwean institutions of higher learning that has seen students running battles with the police, especially between 1990 and 2008. Dewey, 1916 and Habermas, 1987b emphasises on students’ right to communication when they posit that students are not passive objects; they have the right to be heard through proper democratic channels of communication like deliberation and dialogue. In his writing, Dewey (1916) sees public communication as the glue that binds a democratic community together. I contend that in Zimbabwe, there was violation of students’ right to communication as their activities including academic research were monitored by state security agencies (Gatsheni-Ndlovu and Muzondidya, 2007). It is, therefore, ideal for the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education to strive to readjust undemocratic screws and allow universities to foster pedagogies that guarantee student autonomy, communication and participation and not just a transfer of learning. The education system must be realigned so that it recognises the differences in people for them to be able to live together and resolve their problems collectively.

To add, in her book, *Democracy and difference* (Benhabib, 1996: 67) puts forward an argument for a discursive democracy model as an attribute of deliberative democracy. She argues that in a state where there is democracy, public goods such as economic welfare, legitimacy and collective identity will exist in some form of equilibrium when democracy functions well. Legitimacy in this case, needs to result from the free and unconstrained public deliberation about all matters of common concern (Benhabib, 1996: 67). The implication for this to the situation in Zimbabwe is that the social institutions were not informed by democratic principles since people were coerced to join and vote for political parties outside their choice (Gatcheni-Ndlovu & Muzondidya, 2009). Students at universities should have been consulted when the legislations concerning them were drafted, rather than having the legislation imposed on them infringing their right to debate, discuss, deliberate and participate in affairs that affect their learning. Consulting students when decisions are already made is a tokenistic gesture of participation which is not only undemocratic but is opposed to

genuine participative voice of students in matters that affect their learning.

On the issue of the violation of the minority white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe, I focus on Callan's (1997: 221) view of democratic action as comprising aspects of cohesive identity, public deliberation and responsibility for the rights of others. Such a conception of democratic action, according to Callan (1997) "honours the sources of diversity that thrive within the boundaries of a strong common citizenship, and yet supports a judicious tolerance to ways of life that conflict with some of its demands." Democratic action involves prevention of ethnic hatred and religious intolerance. The compulsory acquisition of land formerly owned by white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe by the government between 2000 and 2012 is an indication of failure to accommodate and tolerate multiculturalism and diversity by both the whites and the blacks. Whites refused to accept the constitutional ruling of 1979, which gave the government the right to buy land from the whites for resettlement on a willing buyer willing seller basis. Although the government had money to buy land from the whites, very few of them were willing to sell their land and those who did, charged exorbitant prices (GoZ, 1990b). The government responded by passing legislations between 2000 and 2007 which resulted in white commercial farmers losing both their citizenship rights and their immovable property (see Raftopoulos, 2007; Hwami, 2012; Negombwe 2013). Although the legislations had nothing to do with the education sector, their effect and implications were felt across the social institutions.

In 2002, many people of Malawian, Zambian and British descent lost their citizenship status through a constitutional amendment of 2001, despite most of them having been born in Zimbabwe (Machakanja, 2010). Their citizenship status had been revoked because they were blamed for being sympathetic to white commercial farmers whose land was under confiscation and again for being supportive to the new political party, the MDC, which was sponsored largely by the whites. The implication was that they were no longer able to vote, and worst still others became stateless as they could not accurately trace their origins. The irony is that most of the people who lost their citizenship status had been residents to Zimbabwe for over fifty years and had been voting in the past only to be denied their citizenship rights in 2002. This indicates a deliberate attempt by the state to ignore the diversity cultures that exist in Zimbabwe by its failure to respect and accommodate them as equal citizens.

The government deliberately refused to consider the views and aspirations of the white

minority farmers, breaching the basic principles of deliberative democracy, which Gutmann (1995: 6) outlines as comprising: basic liberty, basic and fair opportunity. Gutmann's deliberative theory recommends that citizens or their representatives have mutual justification emanating from mutual cooperation (Gutmann, 1991: 9). In *Democracy and deliberation 1997*, she outlines the principles of reciprocity, publicity and accountability as regulatory conditions if deliberative democracy is to be realised. Reciprocity is a core principle of Guttmann's (1999) deliberative democracy in that it is an on-going activity of mutual understanding and reason giving, punctuated by collectively binding decisions. In Zimbabwe, whites lost their citizenship rights to be heard, to debate and engage the government into deliberation and discussion on an equal basis on matters concerning the land issue. The resolution of this political conflict turned violent when mutual respect and reasonable disagreements were not valued.

My argument is that the manner in which the government violently dispossessed white commercial farmers of their land closed the avenues for dialogical action. Unfortunately, the violent reaction to the whites did not yield desired consequences as the nation was slapped with sanctions on the pretext of violating human rights. The government sealed all avenues of multicultural dialogue which allow people to make public their competing narratives and significations so that people might have a real opportunity to co-exist without disrespecting others' life worlds (Benhabib, 2002: 135). Disregarding the citizenship rights of whites to own property and security is tantamount to removing them from group membership and rendering them destitute by not to belong to the community of equals with the right to engage and converse with one another. White commercial farmers were disempowered and were forced to retreat into seclusion and despair. In this case, the principle of reciprocity, which prescribes fair opportunity and non-discrimination in the distribution of social resources in this case land, was not respected. This is contrary to Benhabib's (2002: 134) notion that equal citizens must be free to influence each other's opinion by engaging in public dialogue in which they examine and critic each other's positions in a civil and considerate manner. According to Waghid (2010b: 91) dialogue as a component of deliberative democracy has the capacity to create opportunities for people to listen to others and to be persuaded by reason. This means that government and student activists as well as white commercial farmers should have engaged in dialogical action where they would have valued what each group had to say and be persuaded by a justifiable account of the other's point of view so that they restrain their anger through respecting the dignity of the other person.

The government did not engage students when the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1990 was deliberated. On the question of whites and government, government used its political muscle to thwart efforts by whites to engage in a meaningful dialogue by passing the Land Acquisition Act in 2000, which prohibited whites whose land had been targeted for acquisition to take the government to court and resist eviction (Atkinson, 2006: 135). I have dwelt on the land issue and the undemocratic practices that characterised it because it has had catastrophic implications on higher education especially after the imposition of sanctions by the west. This affected equity, quality and access to education for many people could not afford sending their children to university due to economic hardships.

Deliberative democracy further values the principles of liberty and integrity of individuals through the protection of freedom of speech, religion, justice and conscience as well as equal protection under the law. Basic opportunities include adequate health care, education, security, work and income as goods necessary for one to live a decent life (Kanyongo, 2005). Referring to my narrative above, the situation in Zimbabwe was far from being democratic, as citizens could not access these public goods. This explains why many people fled the country to relocate in neighbouring states where these public goods could be accessible. This is in line with the observations made by Waghid (2002b) that education policy and practice in the contemporary world is influenced and driven by capitalism and economics in a society. In Zimbabwe, higher education is heavily affected upon by socio-economic and the political environment. The state has been experiencing economic challenges emanating from the Western imposed sanctions which further weakened efforts by the state to provide democratic citizenship education. This research recommends an education policy and practice for Zimbabwe, which is informed by democratic principles, such as access, dialogue, tolerance, justice, deliberation, equity, equality and participation. The research therefore attempted to highlight the importance of citizenship education in redressing the distorted social institutions in Zimbabwe. Later in the chapter (see 2.7), an analysis of the link between deliberative democracy on one hand and dialogical engagement the liberal (individualism) and liberal communitarianism, democratic justice on the other hand are be presented.

2.7 Conceptions of citizenship

The concept of citizenship closely ties to the idea of democracy. It is linked to liberal ideas of individual rights and entitlements on one hand, and to communitarian ideas of membership in an attachment to a particular community on the other (Rawls, 1971). Like democracy, the

meaning of citizenship is also fluid and contested. It is conceptualised differently by different authors especially in relation to the individual's legal and political status as connected to a nation state, identity, issues of practical engagement, as well as the guarantee of rights (Arthur, Davies & Hahn, 2008: 339). The consensus is, however, that understanding the notion of citizenship depends on the understanding of both citizenship and citizen. Arthur and Bohlin (2005, in Waghid & Davids, 2013: 3) introduce two conceptions of citizenship, which are the minimal and the maximal. The former refers to citizenship as the relation of belonging that a person has to the social and political domain, while the latter refers to citizens as culturally and intellectually well-developed persons who contribute to the cultural enlightenment of a nation. Another dimension by Yuval-Davis (2006) is to define citizenship as a notion of participatory dimension of belonging to a political community. Marshall (1964) conceptualises citizenship into three elements namely civil, political and social aspects of citizenship. These three elements are interrelated and they overlap. According to Marshall (1964), social aspects of citizenship provide citizens with the health, education, and the welfare needed to participate fully in their cultural communities and the national civic culture. Civil aspects of citizenship give citizens individual rights and freedoms such as the freedom of speech, the right to own property, and equality before the law. The political aspect is the last element in Marshall's aspects of citizenship, which gives citizens the franchise and the opportunity to exercise political power by participating in the political process (Marshall, 1964; Young, 1996). Galston (2001) puts forward the issue of responsible citizenship, which requires four types of civic virtues. The virtues which by Galston lists (2001: 219) are:

- general virtues: law abidingness, courage and loyalty;
- social virtues: open-mindedness and independence;
- economic virtues: work ethic, adaptability to economic and technological change, delay to self-gratification; and
- political virtues: ability to evaluate performance of those in office, willingness to engage in public discourse and lastly the capacity to discern and respect the rights of others.

The above types of civic virtues illuminate the concept of citizenship, and DCE in Zimbabwe requires that these virtues be instilled in our students and the general citizenry. I am arguing that citizenship concepts are ideal for DCE because if citizens remain passive in the political or economic discourse, they give the government the task to determine the course, and this

may result in people's voices being muted.

After an exploration of conceptions of citizenship, I shall attempt to conceptualise citizenship in relation to belonging. Citizenship is defined by Dryzek (2008: 168) as an ensemble of rights and obligations that determine an individual's access to social and economic resources. Citizenship is an important resource, which a society ascribes to a person as a legal personality. In this regard, citizenship is seen as an inclusionary principle for the distribution and allocation of entitlements, and an exclusionary basis for building solidarity and maintaining solidarity (Dryzek, 2008: 169). People are said to have citizenship rights if they are able to function effectively as citizens. In a liberal sense, described by Miller (2000: 82) citizenship is understood as a set of rights and obligations enjoyed equally by everyone who is a citizen of the political community. Central to the liberal view is the idea of a fair balance of rights and obligations. To be a citizen is to enjoy rights to personal security, to vote, to freedom of speech and association.

This means that a person has citizenship when he or she participates in the affairs of a political community, where one such person expresses her sense of belonging. This is contrary to (Banks, 2008: 129) liberal assimilationist notions of citizenship which assume that individuals from different groups have to give up their home and community cultures and language to attain inclusion and to participate effectively in the national civic culture. Banks (2008) calls for the reformation of citizenship education so that it reflects the home cultures and languages of students from diverse groups, rather than force them to adapt the culture and language of the majority. According to Banks (2008: 131), group rights can help individuals to attain structural equality. Banks goes on to extend Marshal's (1964) conception of citizenship to include cultural citizenship in which Marshal calls for the increased equality and an extended social justice. According to Banks, minority groups all over the world are denied full citizenship rights because of their language and cultural characteristics, because they maintain attachments to their cultural communities as important to their identities, and because of historic group discrimination and exclusion (Banks, 2008: 130; Young, 1989).

Forcing people to vote for a political party which they do not support is not only robbing them of their citizenship rights but is also undemocratic. From the narrative above, I have indicated (see 2.5) that in Zimbabwe the unemployed youths were recruited into some political clubs for some incentives (money). These went around the campaign period terrorising opponents into submission (Raftopoulos, 2009). Some were forced to defect to

political parties, which offered both social and political security so that their houses would not be destroyed. This entails is that the youths' freedom of choice was impeached by the promise of money. They became involved in activities out of the need for money without being rational. According to Waghid and Davids (2013: 5), youths like these needs to be educated to instil in them capacities for participation to come to understanding one another and to engage in matters that affect them, thus enhancing their sense of belonging. Universities are depicted here as locations for creating a sense of belonging in relation to what, how, and why students learn. Universities are charged with the task to open spaces that can help student deal with social ills that influence their sense of belonging. This kind of education enables citizens to think beyond their cultural boundaries to a more cosmopolitan perspective that enables citizens to enact justice and equality. Education must be structured to focus on dealing with diversity and recognition and redistribution of economic resources to citizens toward an equal and just society (Ramphela, 2013).

In *Citizenship and national identity*, Miller (2000: 43) identifies two contrasting conceptions of citizenship, namely, the liberal view of individual rights and entitlements on the one hand, and the republican (communitarian) view of membership with attachment to a particular community on the other. Communitarianism is a philosophical stance which was developed from a criticism of liberal individualism by such people as Michael Sandel, Alasdair McIntyre, Charles Taylor and Michael Walzer (Bell, 1997: 2). It further holds that the community, rather than the individual or state, should be at the centre of our analysis and our value system. It also argues that when a child is born, he or she finds himself or herself among other individuals and thus establishing the relational nature of a person (Miller, 2000: 43). Advocates of communitarianism include Jürgen Habermas, Seyla Benhabib, Amy Gutmann, Iris Marion Young, Martha Nussbaum, and Jacques Derrida. Miller (2000: 43) posits that the individual self cannot be understood as separate from the social relations in which it is situated. It is important to say that communitarians do not have in mind a monolithic society where everyone has the same commitments and simply conform, but they do claim that there is no such thing as the 'unencumbered self' (James, 2006: 356). This line of thought about the centrality of the community has been criticised by the liberals for placing limits on individual freedom and autonomy through emphasis on individual attachments to the community. On the other hand, communitarians have also consistently accused liberalism of resting on an overly individualistic conception of the person, a conception which does not sufficiently take account of the importance of the community for

39

personal identity and moral thinking (James, 2006: 353).

The key element in the discussion on the liberal and communitarianism is the relationship between the individual and the state (Miller, 2000). Liberalism received its formulation in the works of Hobbes, Locke and Bentham. It was as a theory of politics during the rise of industrial capitalism but is not essentially concerned with how individuals live their lives (James, 2006: 359). The liberal conception regards citizenship as a set of rights and corresponding obligations enjoyed equally by every person who is a member of the political or educational community (Gutmann 1999: 17). To be a citizen is to enjoy the rights to personal security, freedom of speech, voting, assembly, etc.

The liberal communitarian concept of citizenship is associated with the notions of belonging, identification and participation in society (Kymlicka & Norman, 2002: 102). This approach (liberal) focuses on the relationship between the individual and the state. In the field of education, the liberal tradition testifies of ways in which educating competent citizens' remains the liberal concern: it aims to educate citizens who are sensitive to individual autonomy, who follow laws and regulations and participate in universal registers (Fien, 2003). The educational aim of the liberal thrust is to boost awareness and participation of individuals in knowledge and interest at local, national and global levels in different parts of the world (Young, 2000).

The rationale for liberal communitarian thrust is that every individual must participate fully and equally in the community. Communitarians like Young (2000) argue for communicative democracy in which all people are included in the discussion. The model ensures the inclusivity of all people in the democratic process of discussion and decision making. Young (2003) further argues for a community which allows citizens to participate in matters that concern them as equals despite their race, ethnicity, gender or level of education. She expresses the conviction that "Democracy is grounded in the concept of public participation in political matters. It is a process and a set of political expectations that elevate democracy above other political forms..." (Young, 2000: 103). This kind of democracy distinguishes citizens by a set of values such as political tolerance and accountability. It accentuates communal inclusiveness and solidarity among people on the grounds that the social or cultural groups in which people grow and live share a common language. Inclusion sheds off ethnic prejudices about the other but acknowledges that societal cohesion does exist (Young, 2000: 103).

This is also supported by the community of inquiry theory which considers (see Habermas, 1984; Young, 2000; and Benhabib, 2011) the community as a fundamental human good, and advocates life lived in harmony and in cooperation with others. Such communitarian thinking is traditional to Africa and it propagates in children a life in which one shares in the fate of the other, where products of an individual's talents and endowments are regarded as assets of the community. Noteworthy, is that the liberal conception of citizenship has attracted a host of criticism most notably from the proponents of communalism for being too individualistic and most crucially for trying to "...defend the priority of the individual and his or her rights over society" (Gutmann, 2012: 309).

On the same note, Rawl's (1971) liberal theory has also been blamed for being rooted in a faulty assumption that human beings are rational beings. The criticism levelled against this assumption by Gutmann (1999; 2012) is that Rawls and other liberal disciples forget that by nature, human beings are individualistic and naturally possessive and selfish. The source of their individualism according to Gutmann (2012: 328) lies deep down in the metaphysical level. Secondly, further criticism of the liberal view of citizenship advanced by James (2006: 353) is that the liberal notion of freedom is psychologically and morally deficient. Rather than the freedom to do what one wishes, freedom consists of obedience to the dictates of the higher self, the demands of morality (James, 2006). A free person is self-governing in the sense that he or she governs himself or herself by subordinating the lower self to the higher, and by participating in the formulation of the laws that govern the community (James, 2006: 354). Freedom is related to democracy in that it only prevails if there is democratic governance. A free and democratic political or educational environment allows communitarian engagement.

However, Waghid (2010a) identifies three factors namely; political, economic and cultural globalisation, which he says are a threat to public engagement, justice and democracy especially when one, considers how globalisation has resulted in reduced state power to multiple centres of power at global level. These have resulted in the absence of state sovereignty and otherwise concentration of both economic and political power and authority in the hands of a few leaving the weak social groups that is the majority poor and unemployed individuals (Waghid, 2002b: 107). Waghid further charges that this entrenchment of socio-economic inequalities is closely linked to the atomistic view of liberalism since it only considers self-fulfilment as the major value and priority without

seriously recognising a commitment to others. This atomistic view of liberalism is a threat to democracy since individuals are mainly concerned about their self-interests and would want to avoid active engagement with any form of public discourse (Waghid, 2002b: 107). The danger that Waghid envisions is that in the event of the loss of state power and control, individuals would strive to do what they want simply for the attainment of the good life without any state interference. Individuals would demand unrestricted conceptions of the good life at the expense of the majority (Waghid, 2002b: 108). The example in Zimbabwe could be the demand for compensation by the liberation war veterans in 1998 when the government had to pay them the unbudgeted \$50 000 gratuities each, plunging the economy into a run-away inflation in which it is failing to recover from in the past two decades (Raftopoulos, 2006).

Therefore, one can contend that the problem is that individuals in this type of citizenship are mainly concerned about themselves; therefore, they do not consider that their economic and political life will always affect others. Taylor (1998, in Waghid, 2002b: 109) finds it difficult to defend such a conception of a good life where individuals could do what they want without restrictions from the state because human beings are not isolated from one another. For Taylor, the individual's identity depends upon the individual's dialogical relation with others; each person's way of thinking is mutually dependent on others. For example, a person cannot be truly critical if she does not care about what and whom she is being critical. Furthermore, creative thinking emerges from some sort of dialogical, that is, collaborative, activity. In support of liberal communitarianism, Waghid (2002b: 109) avers that children working in a community develop not just thinking skills (questioning, reasoning, supposing, evaluating, etc.) but also develop dispositions to think well. The community of inquiry provides children with the opportunity, skills and knowledge to transform their previously unreflective system of beliefs, ideas and habits into more reasoned, objective and justified thoughts. To that end, liberal Communitarianism facilitates the development of autonomous, independent students who also recognise their interdependence and interconnectedness with others (Waghid, 2010b). Thus, implicit in the ideal workings of the community is the thinking that is caring; where each member is supported and allowed to be an integral member of the community: creative new ideas are sought out and encouraged, and critical good reasons are expected for one's ideas and positions. Contrary to the liberal perspective, there is the republican (communitarian) conception (Etzioni, 1996; McIntyre, 1999 and Callan, 1997) which considers citizenship as a right, but accentuates the idea that citizens need to engage actively

with others in determining the future of society through educational deliberation. Communitarianism is a movement which calls for the strengthening of the community as the place where personal responsibility is first learned and then the school reinforces that which has been learnt, Etzioni (1996: 109). On the same note, McIntyre talks of a dependent relationship between the individual and the community where he argues that the individual engages in 'practical reasoning' or communitarian liberalism (McIntyre, 1999: 109). Practical reasoning in this case refers to practices where individuals reason together with others through engagement in social relationships. The communitarian responsibility of the citizen is to promote the common good through participation in community life. The good of each could not be pursued without also pursuing the good of all who participate in those relationships.

Further to that, McIntyre introduces the notion of 'the good of each' for 'the good of all' (McIntyre, 1999: 109). Apart from the fulfilment of citizens' rights, there is an important obligation to participate and actively engage in educational discussion and dialogue for the benefit of all people in the society. The same sentiments are echoed by Callan (1997: 221) who posits that citizens, especially students, should be taught to completely participate in public reason through dialogue (Callan, 1997: 221). This community of participation brings about participatory democracy through dialogical engagement. Liberal communitarianism takes learners as a community who if given the opportunity to participate democratically in their learning- will have the time to share their joy, sorrow, failure, success and their accomplishments with their colleagues.

In addition, in Freire's (1996) perspective, universities and colleges serve as a pipeline, socialising and training prospective workers to fulfil the economic interests of their respective states. In this regard, Freire challenges universities to prepare students for democratic citizenship, civic leadership and public service (Freire, 1996: 66). The argument proffered by liberal theorists is that universities that seek to include DCE in their mission statements as democratically inclined or organised institutions must have practices and processes that are democratic in their structures. For instance, they must have a commitment to democratise their ways of doing research, teaching and a deep commitment to serving humanity and finally a commitment of accessibility for all (Crick, 2008).

On the same vein, Miller (2000: 83) contends that the communitarian view of citizenship portrays an active person who is expected to participate with others for the achievement of

‘the common good’ and in shaping the future path of their society through political debate. For communitarians, debate, discussion and dialogue are instrumental forms of discourse that allow citizens in a community to acquire competences that enable them to transcend their societal barriers (Fletcher, 1999: 67). For university students, dialogic and active learning are the two among several streams of knowledge that are well positioned to promote democratic citizenship participation. Through interaction and dialogue, the reasonable community (students) can agree to disagree. The disagreements are regarded as temporary as citizens will come to a rational consensus (Carlson & Apple, 1999: 27). This means that the social fabric that communities strive to strengthen is solely dependent on how individuals in a community interact and how they participate in exchange of reasons for the purposes of resolving problems that can probably not be resolved without interpersonal cooperation.

Another central tenet of communitarianism is to defend the rights of other members of the political community, and to volunteer for public services when there is need without the implementation of power or force (Miller, 2000). This view also calls for an active role in both the formal and informal spheres of politics. In this way, citizens as individuals will be free to express and devote their commitment to the community. Citizens are also expected to set aside their individual interests and be involved in other aspects that promote public interest and democratic consensus (Miller, 2000: 85; Van Wyk, 2004: 49). For instance, students are part of the larger community whose views should also be considered. This is different from the liberal perspective of citizenship. The liberal perspective is attacked for not striving to produce a community of citizens, who share common views for the common good which is the moral autonomy of the individual members of society who, in Rousseau's formulation, “will be in harmony with themselves” and consequently with each other although the individuals are driven by their self-interests (Smith, 2007: 205). It does not argue that human beings achieve the fulfilment of their highest potential in the political community, a view that is ascribed to by public communitarians. Public communitarians emphasise the notion of the common good rather than individual rights. They are concerned with civic virtue and public spiritedness. They conceive of citizenship as a demanding activity in which the citizens should be actively involved. Many of them argue that involvement in the institutions of civil society is at least as important as participation in the political institutions of society (Smith, 2007: 207). This is contrary to the liberal communitarian idea which is dependent on the willingness of the individual to participate as long as the individual autonomy, freedom, liberty and preferences are not at stake. It does not

primarily consider public interests and democratic consensus.

2.8 The African conception of communitarianism: Menkiti's Perspective

African communitarianism is characterised by the discursive democracy between the individual and the community. It eschews the dominant position of many African scholars on the primacy of the community over the individual. The individual owes his/her existence to other people.... he is simply part of the whole (Mbiti, 1969: 109).

According to Mbiti (1969: 109) in traditional African culture, the individual does not exist alone except corporately. The individual owes his existence to other people...he is simply part of the whole. This kind of a social contraction gives prominence to the group at the expense of individual autonomy. Mbiti (1969) and Menkiti (1984) seem to accept the dominance of a community over the autonomy of the individual when they outline the role of a community as that of creating, making or reproducing the individual for the individual, depends on the corporate group. For Menkiti, personhood is achieved and not endowed. Whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. In Mbiti's (1979) views, one may be forced to assert that African communitarianism prescribes human identity without which human beings possess no subjectivity.

This form of strict communitarianism advanced by Mbiti (1970) and Menkiti (2004) falls short when it comes to modelling a democratic education system. Waghid (2009) is worried that an education system that may be informed by such a form of a traditional or conservative communitarianism is likely to be associated with a patriotic loyalty to the group and, therefore, has the potential to foster uncritical or unchallenged allegiance to the views of the group or community. He further adds that such relations are often characterised by a relative lack of reflective thinking, and at times blind imitation, resulting in over-zealous, dogmatic political and social action.

Habermas (1984: 69) criticises this form of citizenship by arguing that although individual identification with a particular ethnic and cultural heritage is crucial in the *dynamic* development of democracy it is *not an essential structural component* of democracy. The idea that Habermas puts forward is that for democratic citizenship to be achieved, the individual does not need to give up one's local identities and affiliations but should strive to make all human beings part of the larger community through dialogue and concern while showing respect to all people as equal human beings (Habermas, 1984: 69). Habermas is

opposed to conservative communitarianism and what it stands for in education. It does not promote a culture of critical thinking in students, neither does it create in them what Derrida (1997: 153) refers to as a “community of thinking” which cultivates a kind of thinking that is concerned with creating possibilities for dissent, diversity of interpretations and opening up to the other.

According to Menkiti (2004: 334), African communitarianism does not place children and adults on the same level of choice. He adds that children in African communitarianism are still in the process of acquiring their personhood (Ubuntu), therefore, they cannot enjoy equal freedoms with the adult. He goes on to argue that the notion of individual autonomy and individual rights are foreign to Africa. The danger of this line of thinking in the higher education is that it promotes a top-down approach in decision-making. Students are not consulted since they are not yet “complete” human beings (Menkiti, 2004: 337). Decisions are made for students and passed without deliberation. This line of thinking is premised on the thinking that students cannot be consulted on everything because they are not mature, therefore, their commitment to the mission of the community may not be complete (Carlson & Apple, 1999: 30). This argument has, however, been criticised by Gyekye (1997: 59) who avers that an individual enjoys some inherent rights despite the natural sociality of the human person which at once places him or her within a system of shared values and practices. It is defined by the community and not by qualities such as rationality, will or memory. Menkiti (2004) criticises the definition of a person that includes anyone with a soul, will or memory as minimalist. He adds that the communal ethos has ontological and epistemological precedence over the individualist. Menkiti (2004) refers to Western views on personhood as minimalist since they hold that a person is alone and an individual, one is not defined by reference to the environing community (Menkiti, 1984: 190). In Menkiti’s (1984) view, personhood can only be achieved when one carries out moral acts. This is opposed to Rawls (1999: 11) position who argues that every individual has the potential of becoming a moral person not that personhood is defined by the community. Rawls criticises the African perspective of freedom and justice and how the community defines it. Rawls further cites that the community is given a primate role in the life of an individual, and that an individual becomes a communal being and is defined by the community.

Educationally, the member of a group is socialised to think in a certain way. Menkiti, (2004) and Menkiti’s (1984) conservative communitarianism is intolerant to other people who are

not members of the group. The danger posed by conservative communitarianism as noted by Nussbaum is that failure to accommodate people who are not members of your group may be the basis of racism, ethnicity and religious conflicts (Nussbaum, 1997: 69). It is guilty of de-emphasising individual interests and failing to play any significant role towards the realisation of his or her personhood. Individual liberties and rights play little or no role as far as personhood is concerned since members of community are expected to act and make choices from those designed by the community. Individuals are to show strong loyalty to the community in order to attain group solidarity and achieve community interests. Contrary to this minimalist conception of citizenship, liberal communitarians propose an education that train and promote decision making in children and develop a sense of equality, democracy and social justice by removing racism, sexism and homophobia in the young (Steyn, 2001b: 116). Waghid (2008b) adds his voice when he observes that much of the communitarian demands on education meshes well with John Dewey's ideas of democratic education and the egalitarian character of the community (Waghid, 2008b: 197). Communitarians propose an education that calls for the awareness and raising consciousness so that students in the end will become sensitive to other people's feelings.

Gyekye (1995) attacks Menkiti's (2004) strict communitarianism by stating that the latter's views are misleading in that he ignores factors such as rationality, virtue, evaluation of moral judgements and choice which are important in determining personhood in Africa. What separates Gyekye's (1995) moderate communitarianism from the strict communitarianism of Menkiti (2004) and Mbiti's (1970) are his views on communitarian ethics which attempts to integrate individual rights with the notion of community interests.

While Gyekye (1995) accepts that people have an orientation towards others because they are born into the community, he refutes Mbiti (1970) and Menkiti's (2004) notion that individuals are wholly defined by the community citing that "It is a mistake to conclude that there are no individual dimensions to personhood in Africa" (Gyekye, 1995: 38). Community, according to Gyekye (1995) derives benefits from the individual, meaning to suggest that the relationship between the individual and the community is derivative and not primary as suggested by Menkiti (2004). The individual chooses whether they want to join a community or not. The community on the other hand allows an individual to actualise his or her own potential and develop personality in the social world without destroying one's will. Gyekye (1995) argues that equal moral standing must be given to both the community and

the individual. Accordingly, he proposes the principle of equiprimordiality¹ which underpins his idea of communitarian ethic. The notion is that community needs the individual for its development and at the same time, the individual needs the community to achieve his or her goals. Gyekye's (1995) arguments are that both individual values and interests and the values and interests of a community should be given equal attention. His aim is to bridge the gap between extreme individualism and extreme communitarianism.

Therefore, moderate communitarians (Gyekye, 1995; Appiah, 1992) are quick to point out that the gap between the individual and the community can only be bridged through education for democratic citizenship. Students must participate in democracy despite their race, religion or gender (Appiah, 1992). They criticise conservative notion of education for encouraging individuals to compete against each other for material and symbolic advantages because they promote individualism in their views of personhood. Emphasizing the values and interests of a community at the expense of individual values and interests or vice versa is, according to Gyekye (1995), an error. The idea of equiprimordiality is an attempt to come to terms with the notion of the "natural sociality" of an individual, on the one hand and the concept of "individuality", on the other hand. This entails acknowledging the claims of both communitarian thinkers and liberal thinkers by integrating individual desires and social values (Gyekye, 1995: 45). Contrary to Menkiti's (2004) notion that personhood is earned, Gyekye (1987; 1998) posits that in Africa the term person is ambiguous since it carries several meanings. Similar sentiments are echoed by Waghid when he reiterates that for one to become a person one has to display the norms of human behaviour like generosity, compassion, benevolence, kindness and respect for other people (Waghid, 2002a: 461).

Gyekye's (1995) moderate communitarianism is influenced by multiculturalism that characterises the African continent. He argues for the integration of individual rights with the notion of a communitarian ethos in addressing the socio-political and cultural problems confronting multicultural communities in Africa. The argument that I draw from Gyekye (1997; 1998) is that each member, irrespective of his or her ethnic group of origin, should be able to exercise his or her rights, which include freedom of speech, freedom of movement

¹ Gyekye 1995; 2004 popularised equiprimordiality as the relationship between the person and his community. Gyekye is a moral and political theorist who lists virtues such as respect for other as binding African communities together. Equiprimordiality underpins the idea that the individual and the community are dependent on each other. Gyekye believes that equiprimordiality, as a virtue is important to the welfare of both the individual and the community. In education, equiprimordiality demands relevance in higher education. Education that is responsive to the needs of the community.

and freedom of choice, and the right to justice and participation. The communitarian view of students' involvement in decision-making and governance is based on the role and status of students as members of an institutional community involved in knowledge co-production James (2006: 356). Because of this collective experience in which students and the university are seen as combining resources and both having a stake in the educational process, the communitarian view argues for equal voice and authority through the learning and governance process. In this way, members (students, lecturers, stakeholders, etc.) will be able to enjoy equal opportunities (which include education opportunities included) and be treated equally. The other aspect for which communitarians are prominent is their support for academic freedom. To them, academic freedom is a democratic right for both students and lecturers. It is unfortunate that most African states that are still struggling to democratise their political institutions are failing to extend democratic space to institutions of higher learning, thus, compromising the collective good between higher education and institutions of higher learning.

2.9 Democratic citizenship education as deliberative encounter

In Cohen's (1989: 17) terms, deliberative democracy refers to an association that is governed with the help of deliberation. Its members agree that the association was founded based on the results of deliberation and constitutes a framework for further discussion. According to Cohen (1989: 20) debate is therefore a central feature and the basis for the legitimacy of the association and must be conducted in accordance with the previously agreed and accepted general rules. The same concept of deliberative democracy is explained by Rawls' as a just and procedural communicative process of public decision-making guided by principles of justice (Rawls, 1999: 21). Rawls further asserts that, for decision making to be fair, the principles of justice are to guide the process of deliberation and everyone concerned in collective decision making, and requires that the 'original position' [initial situation] be characterised by stipulations that are widely accepted by all who are concerned. On the same note, Cohen (1989: 21) concurs that although the members of the association have different preferences and visions of the common good, they all share an obligation to resolve disputes and make decisions by means of deliberation. While Cohen is worried about the process and 'ideal procedure' of deliberation, Rawls (1999) is concerned about justice and inclusion for all in the deliberation process. Cohen (1989: 30) posits that justice in a deliberation can only be achieved if the procedure for debating and making decisions is applied in all institutions

where possible. In Cohen's opinion, the necessary conditions for debate are those which allow an exchange of arguments and information so that the any decisions (political or civil) taken by the parties should be accepted or at least respected. In the debate, all participants have an equal right to put forward rational arguments, criticise them and ask questions. However, Rawls (1999: 21) arguing on the idea of rational arguments in debate points out that there is some difficulty in making rational choices or in reaching a general agreement on an original position. As such, Rawls says that the original position should be characterised by equality and redress. On the same note, Cohen (1989: 19) argues that in a public discussion, all members should be included and should be characterised by openness. This means that all participants have an equal right and opportunity to put forward arguments, criticise them and ask questions. Equality is considered in the allocation of basic rights and duties; redress is illustrated in the sense that there is compensation for injustices for the benefit of citizens who are economically and socially disadvantaged (Rawls, 1999: 15). However, for Cohen (1989) and Rawls (1999), equality is only possible if members are fully sovereign and cannot yield to any external pressure. The theorists discussed above share the conviction that deliberative democracy is desirable and through it, the public can change their preferences and determine what will benefit their community. Again, Cohen (1989), Rawls (1999) and Dryzek (2008) concur that participants in a community must be free to question government without fear and that if decisions were made by means of deliberation violence and conflicts could be minimal. In the next section, I continue to discuss Rawls' notions of public reason and justice, and Habermas' (1987b) communicative rationality. I endeavour to situate how these authors view belonging, engagement and interaction.

2.10 Rawls Public Reason and Justice

In his *Theory of Justice* Rawls (1999), discusses justice as fairness. Fairness according Rawls is one of the features of justice because fairness is to think of the parties in the initial situation as rational and mutually disinterested, the individuals are conceived as not taking an interest in one another's interests. Rawls' (1999: 86) public reason describes how people engage with one another within the public sphere for the purpose of justice. Rawls views engagement as public reasoning that is conducted in a community of people who belong together. This engagement occurs in a just and fair manner. Rawls'

(1999: 86) justice entails equal opportunities and redress as explicated in the principles of justice guiding the basic structure of society. According to Rawls, DCE should help

individuals to acknowledge the rights of others and ensure justice for all. According to Rawls, the justice entails two different principles which are: firstly, equality in the assignment of basic liberty rights and duties, secondly that social and economic inequalities such as inequalities of wealth, authority and power, are just only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, or specifically for the least advantaged members of society. These two principles by Rawls (1971; 1999) describe how public reasoning can be conducted to facilitate engagement, belonging and a sense of interaction. According to Rawls (1999: 86) justice has to do with the proper distribution of benefits and burdens among persons. In view of this observation, Rawls recommends equal citizenship rights, equality of opportunity in the distribution of authority, income, and wealth. For Rawls, all social values are to be distributed equally unless unequal distribution of any or all of these values is to everyone's advantage. By this assertion, Rawls gives room to inequality if it is done to benefit all (Van Wyk, 2004).

Rawls' arguments are relevant to my argument for higher education in Zimbabwe as I strive to argue for DCE, an arrangement that can only be achieved if fairness, equality and equity are realised. Following Rawls' argument that justice should inform social transformation, I contend that higher education system in Zimbabwe should be a just arrangement and policy guiding higher education should be in line with DCE principles.

2.11. Communicative rationality and democratic citizenship education

This section reports on an examination of the link between communicative rationality and democratic citizenship education. I refer to Habermas' (1987a) *Theory of communicative action* in the discussion. Communicative rationality is central to Habermas' critical social theory and it refers to the interaction of two or more competent speakers and actors who can initiate interpersonal relations (Habermas, 1987a: 86). Communicative rationality is expressed in the unifying force of speech oriented toward securing understanding. Habermas (1987b) defines rationality with reference to the employment of descriptive knowledge (Van Wyk, 2004: 53). The actors in a communicative interaction pursue an understanding of the particular situation through negotiating with one another by way of providing valid reasons in order to reach an agreement (Habermas, 1987b) The negotiations that take place during this process are crucial because they determine the model in which a consensus is determined (Habermas, 1987b). When communication is externally directed rationality (speech or action) paves way for the ability to learn from mistakes. This process as Habermas asserts, gives language a prominent role. This means that language as a medium of speech can be used to

show how people relate to and reflect on the world in which they live (Habermas, 1987b: 46). Habermas notes that communicative action presupposes language as a medium of unconstrained communication, whereby speakers and listeners alike can interpret and understand one another in the context of their reinterpreted life world.

In summation, there are aspects raised in the above discussion that are needed in DCE. The aspects are *speech-oriented consensus*, *speech aimed at securing understanding*, *the ability to learn from mistakes and acting prudently in situations of conflict* (Van Wyk, 2004: 53).

2.11.1 Speech-oriented consensus

This is the idea that in higher education all decisions must be made through consensus not merely based on the majority vote but also on deliberation and persuasion on the strength of argument. This will make those who would have objected to the initial proposal come to agreement without being coerced to agree.

2.11.2 Speech oriented toward securing understanding

Participants in higher education (students, academic staff and administrators) come from diverse backgrounds. This means that, these stake holders need to understand democratic citizenship and its principles so that they can contribute meaningfully and rationally.

2.11.3 The ability to learn from mistakes

As universities in Zimbabwe grapple with the challenges and complexities confronting higher education it is necessary for these institutions and their actors to learn from mistakes.

2.11.4 Acting prudently in situations of normative conflict

Constructive input is needed in higher education in Zimbabwe to make debates in democratic citizenship education constructive and meaningful. This will reduce conflicts in institutions of higher learning.

Several important points for DCE arose from the discussion on citizenship. Miller (2000) argues that education must focus on the acquisition of transferable skills and a spirit of intellectual inquiry. This means that critical inquiry is a necessary condition of transforming higher education in line with DCE principles. The skills to be imparted on students must be related to a wider context. DCE therefore needs to be conceptualised in such a way that the content students learn is depicted in a language that will aid better communication. This is because language according to Habermas, (1987b) embodies emancipation and

communication a basis for critique since it embodies understanding of actors without use of force. Education as a social practice can be achieved when participants adopt an attitude oriented to reaching understanding and not only success (Habermas, 1987b: 286). In this manner, understanding is regarded as the mechanism for coordinating actions (Habermas, 1987b: 287). I find the link between citizenship and education important in Zimbabwe as the country attempts to develop progressive and active citizens.

2.12 In Defence of a democratic citizenship education as dialogical encounter

Democratic citizenship education has been described from Gutmann's (1991: 69) point of view, who charges that for university education to be considered democratic, it must be modelled along the mission and vision of cultivating character and democracy. In other words, it is not enough for higher education to be accessible to citizens if it fails to instil in its recipients the values of tolerance, justice, dialogue and participation (Gutmann, 1991). According to Gutmann, it is the role of a university to create a democratic citizenship through its three dimensions of teaching, research and service to the community. Strayhorn (2005: 4) also echoed the same sentiments when he avers that a proper function of a democratic institution (university or school) is to promote social responsibility, community, democratic decision-making and modelling the democratic state. I need at this juncture to assess how decisions can be made in a democratic atmosphere where citizens (students) are treated equally and are taught to respect the views and dignity of the other person whose ways may be different and threatening to their own.

Benhabib (2002: 127) talks about dialogue as a process where people enact what they have in common at the same time making public their competing narratives and significations, and people might have the real purpose to co-exist. Benhabib (2002: 127) adds that this is "intercultural dialogue". This means is that dialogue as a principle of DCE is not only fundamental to learning but also to "social cohesion, active citizenship and the group society (Alexander, 2005: 109).

If higher education institutions claim to be democratic in their teaching and learning processes, they should have visions which are informed by democratic citizenship principle of dialogical engagement in order to cultivate humanness Nussbaum (1997). Central to that democratic vision is the nurturing of debate and mutual respect (Waghid, 2010b: 27). Waghid

goes on to explain the significance of dialogue as that of identifying meanings and thoughts, developing critical thinking and linking participants to each other through such values as tolerance, respect, impartiality, openness, justice, diligence and courage (Alexander, 2005:109). The argument from which I draw this concerning higher education in Zimbabwe during the crisis period of 1999 to 2015 is that the system did not fully embrace the values of democratic citizenship such as dialogue especially in the formulation and implementation of regulations and laws which affected students and lecturers. Through dialogue, practices are interrogated and developed, concerns are deliberated and resources are shared. In my narrative earlier on (see 2.5), I explored how the 'us' and 'them' relationships have been so apparent throughout the political and educational history of Zimbabwe. I, therefore, recommend dialogical engagement because it has the capacity to set aside the notion of oppositional identity within groups and nation states (see Nussbaum, 1997; 2002; Waghid, 2010b).

To elucidate further, in higher education, dialogism is significant in the notion raised by Ramphela (2013: 7). Ramphela notes that, the traditional oppositional relationships between the lecturers (the knowing expert who imparts knowledge and wisdom) and the learner (unknowing learner who receives knowledge and wisdom) are challenged by participatory notions of teaching and learning through dialogue, a partnership in which all parties take action and responsibility. Traditional relationships are therefore reframed around more active engagement and reciprocity. The implication is that dialogical orientation to university teaching and learning disrupts the traditional spaces of university instruction in a multiple way. Firstly, considering the student lecturer relationships, roles and responsibilities within an institution, teaching and learning should be more interactive in order to shape dialogical spaces of democratic citizenship education which may include justice, interrogation, tolerance, participation and deliberation (Greene, 1995: 115). This is consistent with the notion that students and lecturers are re-imagined as partners in pursuit of higher learning and not as 'them' and 'us'. They are partners in the collective experiences of teaching, learning, research and knowledge development and application. The benefit of student participation in university matters are the development of trust, justice and a peaceful coexistence between students and university staff and administrators. It also ensures a better quality of decisions.

Secondly, dialogue as a tenet of deliberative democracy does not only guarantee academic freedom but encourages epistemological curiosity especially regarding freer and critical

inquiry (Freire, 1996: 68). By allowing spaces for dialogue, ways of thinking may be disrupted and re-negotiated, ideas can be deliberated and understandings can be developed where different ways of seeing the world can be considered. In Zimbabwe, where the education system is market driven though affected by socio-economic and political environment, attempts have been made by universities to reshape their mandates in line with the demands of the global markets. University curricular has become science-oriented even at universities whose mandates were traditionally arts and humanities.

2.13 Summary

The discussion above has attempted to outline different conceptions of democratic citizenship through the lenses of different theorists in political and educational theory. The chapter attempted to probe different conceptions of DCE put forward by various authors from Africa and the Western world. Theories discussed in the chapter contribute to the call for educating citizens for democratic citizenship. Benhabib (2002; 2006; 2011a), Gutmann and Thompson (1996), Young (2003), Mbiti (1970), Menkiti (2004), Gyekye (1995) as well as Waghid (2001; 2003a; 2010b) agree that problems facing society must be dealt with through public deliberation in a free and non-coercive environment. This kind of deliberative engagement will allow students to develop a sense of generosity and compassion towards others. My conviction is that the challenges that the country faced and is currently facing are a result of disabled democratic values. It is, therefore, my suggestion in this study that deliberative democracy and its communitarian facets are ideal for the promotion of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe.

Kahne and Westheimer (2001) offer an argument for democratic citizenship education that creates 'good citizens' in society who will be willing to lessen the anguish of others, and respect the values of solidarity, responsibility, equality, participation, freedom, justice, generosity, publicity and reasonableness. University education in Zimbabwe should use education to foster sustainable development and active and effective global and local and not obedient citizenship, which must contribute to the strengthening of democratic principles of dialogue, mutual understanding. This recommendation follows the conviction that the university's main purpose is to educate for democracy through the inculcation of the stated democratic principles. However, reviewed literature reveals that democratic education is a process that can only be possible in a country where there is political stability and democratic governance and also that democratic education becomes the bedrock upon which global

citizenship is built. In so far as the education system in Zimbabwe is concerned, particularly higher education, I concur with the arguments put forward by the above African scholars that democratic citizenship education must be of relevance in invoking critical analysis skills that will help citizens to solve their own problems.

In the next chapter, I shall discuss university education in Zimbabwe from 1999 to 2015 in relation to the democratic purpose of university education. An analysis of the legislations regulating the university system is reported to establish whether these have been informed by a defensible democratic education.

CHAPTER THREE

HIGHER EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE WITH REGARD TO DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

My intention in this chapter is to report on an exploration the education policies that were introduced after Zimbabwean independence to reverse the inequalities that had existed during the colonial era. This stems from the realisation that the transformation from an oligarchic racial state to an inclusive political democracy in 1980 has been in itself the key determinant in shaping the education system in Zimbabwe. This means that educational transformation and democratic citizenship education are key concepts as my focus is on policies that influenced higher education in Zimbabwe after 1980 when the country attained independence. In this chapter I intend to show that higher education policy documents in Zimbabwe are vocal about issues of DCE but are silent about the recognition of diversity as an important attribute of a just education system. As I traced the success of DCE in the Zimbabwean higher education system, my intention was to advance an education system that promote conditions necessary for effecting Democratic Citizenship Education. In this regard, the dissertation is arguing for an extended view of DCE that contributes towards cultivating a non-coercive and non-violent society. Considering that Zimbabwe's education system was influenced by the liberal theory as revealed by Mutumbuka, (1982; Zvobgo, 1999; Hwami, 2012). I advance an argument drawn from Waghid (2010b: 247) that a liberal view of DCE might not be sufficient to address the weaknesses and challenges confronting the Zimbabwean society and within policy texts, therefore, I propose the extended view of DCE to what is still in becoming, which is about what can still potentially happen (Waghid, 2010b: 247).

Research published on higher education in Zimbabwe (policy as discourse) by Maravanyika (2005), Zvobgo (1999), Mumbengegwi (2001), Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru (2002), Shizha and Kariwo (2012) and a study of the policy documents (policy texts) has been studied. These researches revealed that although the policy texts such as the (Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) (1983 and 2005); National Action Plan (2004); University of Zimbabwe (Amendment) Act (1991); Presidential Commission's Report on Education (1999) and the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education (ZIMCHE) indicate a commitment towards

several elements for DCE in line with national unity, access, national development, quality, social justice, equity, national and international consciousness, personality development and socio-economic development, It is unfortunate that the same policy documents reveal a lack in the planning for democratic citizenship in the light of tribal conflicts, tribal bias and electoral violence (Kariwo, 2011: 29; Shizha, 2005). The citizenship that the documents promote is the kind of loyal citizenship that is not critical to authority (Kariwo & Shizha, 2012: 10). This kind of citizenship lacks recognition and an alternative understanding of citizenship that enhances and equips university graduates with critical and creative abilities to engage and participate in public collectiveness (for community development) so as to exercise equal opportunities and freedoms that can deal with any form of violence (Waghid, 2014: 92). According to Waghid, these areas need additional innovation, and a reconceptualisation of citizenship to re-imagine and improve sustainable education towards ethnic violence. (Waghid, 2014: 90).

As stated in my introductory chapter (see 1.1.1 & 1.1.3), a qualitative document study (policy texts), observation and the conceptual analysis of written documents and speeches on higher education in Zimbabwe were employed in this research. Qualitative document analysis together with conceptual analysis was employed as methods that aided me to understand education policies in the Zimbabwe's higher education system so that I would be able to weigh the extent to which these policies adhere to and promote democratic citizenship education. The documents were interpreted critically from personal experiences in the Zimbabwe higher education system as its product as well as an instructor. The research findings from analysing policy documents for democratic citizenship education triangulated with other sources (primary and secondary) on policy in higher education in Zimbabwe. The chapter again borrowed from both the philosophical and theoretical frameworks that were discussed in chapter 2 and drew literature from the political, socio-economic and social demographic sources to come up with an analysis of the values and philosophical underpinnings that speak to and inform policy in higher education in Zimbabwe. The intention was to understand the dynamics of post- independence higher education in Zimbabwe, therefore it is imperative to comprehend the realities of everyday social, and economic relationships that affected on higher education. For that reason, I drew most of the literature from the historical and socio-economic demographical sources that are available at the time of the research. In order to assess the extent to which higher education has been and

is informed by principles of democratic citizenship education, a thorough evaluation of policies and policy texts was done.

Policy frameworks to be discussed in this research are: The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) enunciated in the First Five Year Development Plan. The (TNDP) was developed to implement the objectives of higher education from 1980 to 2015, the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1990, the Education Act of 1991, the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act of 2006, and finally, the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of 1999. The study of these legal frameworks governing higher education in Zimbabwe was necessary as these instruments have an influence on instructional delivery in universities and that the policies illuminates the extent to which DCE is pronounced in those policy texts.

The chapter begins with a brief historical review of colonial education in order to set a context. It then goes on to explore policy frameworks governing higher education in Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. An attempt is made to answer the research question on the challenges (possibility and/ or impossibility) of implementing democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's universities in the light of the prevailing economic and political atmosphere. Another revelation that will be made in this chapter is that much of the influences that speak to policy formulation in Zimbabwe have come from outside higher education, from the macroeconomic arena, global and market forces, and broader ideological and discursive contestations (Kariwo, 2011; Maravanyika, 2005: 13; Sigauke; 2012). Higher education policies between 1980 and 2016 were affected negatively, first by the failure of the socialist economy which the government borrowed from the then Union of Soviet Socialist republics (USSR) and China, and secondly by the economic and political environment in the country Raftopoulos (2003). It is also my contention that the country pursued a philosophy of education which many people did not understand, and which was again associated with the F1² and F2³ (vocational) systems in the colonial education system that trained blacks to

² A system of education devised for white students. They were educated for leadership academic curriculum for the gifted children. A few black qualified for this system. Selection was rigorous for blacks, to limit them from competing with their white counterparts for high paying jobs. Zvobgo 1986 explains more on the two systems.

³ A practical oriented system (industrial) in Rhodesia for the majority of black students. It focused on training blacks for industrial labour and community employment. This was different from the current technical education where one can enrol after Advanced level. Students enrolling for F2 were deemed unsuitable for F1 system.

become labourers (Mandaza, 1986: 79). There was a need to educate the general public on the new philosophy of education and the need to improve production. I promote an education system for tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe that is based on the principles of equality, deliberation, inclusion, communication and justice with the intention of cultivating a non-violent society (Machakanja, 2010: 94).

3.2 Early Colonial Ordinances in Education

The first legislation governing education in Rhodesia was the Education Ordinance enacted in 1899 (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 17). This ordinance was used by the colonial government to perpetuate oppression through restrictions and regulations that marginalised African students. For instance, through this ordinance, educational grants amounting to \$4.00 were provided per white student who attained academic proficiency in English, Music, History, Geography, Science, Literature, Mathematics and Shorthand (Zvobgo, 1999). A further 10 shilling (\$1.) per student was provided per each academic year (Mutumbuka, 1985: 39). This ordinance did not provide for African funding as African education consisted of menial work. Rather, African students were required to receive not less than two hours of practical work per day with inclusion of four hours of manual labour with the attendance register making more than 50 days of manual work out of 200 school days. The 1899 legislation was premised on the Victorian opinion which stipulated that Africans were only to be trained to function as cheap labourers (Zvobgo, 1999). The institution of education policy along racial lines was a deliberate strategy to design policies that would separate Whites from Blacks and consequently under develop the blacks. The exploitation model can best explain the colonial administration African education. This is a model which is relational to income inequality, by allowing one group to plunder on the efforts of other groups resulting in exploitation and marginalisation of the weaker other (Parker, 2001: 11).

3.3 Colonial education in Rhodesia and democratic citizenship in a plural society

This section traces colonialism and colonial education in Zimbabwe to establish the foundations of democratic citizenship in the current formulation of educational policy. I endeavoured to outline the colonial legacies that influence democracy and democratic citizenship in Zimbabwe today. I have taken this stance following Kariwo's (2011: 75)

writing on the Development of education in Zimbabwe in which he noted that some historical encounters have had deep-seated influences on the present political, socio-economic and educational developments in Zimbabwe. Moreover, a scrutiny of the nature of democracy in its historicity will enable reflexivity (Waghid, 2002b: 27) that is helpful in the analysis of the democratic conception of education in Zimbabwe. Reflexivity is further elaborated as a critical educational discourse, an action which involves critically examining one's personal and theoretical dispositions, at the same time investigating how one's personal and theoretical commitments could transform patterns of critical educational discourse (Waghid, 2001: 59). In this research, reflexive action was used to deconstruct educational discourse so that I can be able to uncover practices that according to Waghid (2001: 60) have been "muted, repressed and unheard" in the study of education policy in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe was colonised by the British South Africa Company in 1890 after Cecil John Rhodes had been granted the Charter by the British Queen to occupy the colony. In 1923, the company lost its territory to a settler government in a referendum that was conducted that year. Some of the reasons for the company relinquishing its grip on Rhodesia included mismanagement of the territory by the company and untold human rights abuse and excessive exploitation (Shamuyarira, 1997: 54). For a period of close to a century (1890-1980), Zimbabwe was a British colony characterised by unequal distribution of wealth, land and education (Mutumbuka, 1982: 5). In Rhodesia, white settlers mostly of the Dutch-descended Afrikaners and British whose total population never exceeded 5% of the total population laid claim to 80% of the most productive farmland and recruited the Ndebele and the Shona as labourers (Shamuyarira, 1997; Zvobgo, 1986: 15). In order to maintain their grip on the territory and its inhabitants the colonial masters used education as a wheel of oppression and subjugation as evidenced by colonial policies discussed in chapter one (see 1.2). The settler population sought to use education to shape Africans into subordinate roles. It had been white policy since the colonial era that Europeans and Africans be educated differently because whites believed that "an uneducated native was the most honest, trustworthy and useful" (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 16). There was therefore no need to destroy those virtues in Africans by giving them education equivalent to that of Europeans. The above utterances by Sir Milton one of the colonial administrators, reveal that Europeans did not approve of an education curriculum that would enlighten the blacks politically and economically. They only needed Africans as labourers to sustain their colonial system (Zvobgo, 1999: 49).

The philosophy guiding the colonial education system in Zimbabwe was white supremacy and the dominance of the ruling minority was clearly stated by Godfrey Huggins, later Lord Malvern when he was Prime Minister of Rhodesia:

I will go a little further and say that it is only by allowing our race the very best education and bringing out the latent talents there may be that we will enable our race to survive in Africa. I will go even further and admit that although our youth may be able to play Rugby football and protect their skin with differential legislation, they will not be able to preserve their white brain and if they are to survive, it will be by nothing but by superior education (Zvobgo, 1986: 18).

Education in the colonial era was used as an instrument of oppression designed to prepare African children for their predestined statuses in life (Maravanyika, 2005: 23). It was provided to keep Africans economically, socially and politically incapacitated (Maravanyika, 2005: 24; Shizha & Kariwo, 2012; Zvobgo, 1999). The colonial government pursued a dual policy⁴ of provision of education in which, education for whites in the European system was free and compulsory from 1930 onward for all white children up to the age of 15 years. In the African education system, education was not free and compulsory (Mutumbuka 1985; Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 29). Furthermore, the colonial regime ensured that Blacks would not receive any meaningful education that would give them ideas of self-worth and liberation, the education system in Rhodesia mirrored the racial divide that characterised the nature of Rhodesian society (Chung, 1991; Zvobgo, 1999: 54). The system was fraught with inequalities and injustices. It was oppressive, intolerant and restricted Africans to the acquisition of knowledge required for cheap labour (Mutumbuka, 1985: 13). Africans were exposed to indoctrination and education was to prepare them for industrial labour. Missionaries who used education as a weapon of colonialism through religious indoctrination ran African education. They emphasised Christian education, which encouraged submission and further used education not for emancipatory purposes but for easier management of the Africans (Chung, 1991: 41). For that purpose, the curriculum placed Christianity at the core of the school activities. From a general perspective, it would be difficult to find enabling conditions for democratic citizenship within a system, which did not view education as a common good.

⁴ This was a separate curriculum for blacks and whites pronounced in 1929. African education was expected to teach the values of labour. Education was not to admit Africans to the same political, economic and social positions as whites.

The government on the other hand regulated African education through the Native Department so that the missionaries would not ‘overeducate’ the Africans, hence, the colonial education violated the democratic purpose of education (Mutumbuka, 1982; Zvobgo, 1999: 3). Taylor (2005: 98) asserts that the democratic purpose of education is democracy and further reiterates that any education system that does not engender democratic values is not a good education. Moreover, Taylor (2005) made another observation that democracy is not possible within the context of great inequalities. Education in the colonial error was dualised according to race. Whites received superior education in preparation for their citizenship roles as statesmen, while Blacks in Zimbabwe were educated for subservience and not citizenship, for oppression and not for freedom (Zvobgo, 1999: 78). They were given an inferior education because they were regarded as inferior, people who had no voting rights (Gatawa 1999; Zvobgo, 1999: 78). In parliament, whites represented Africans. The Native Department who were very much detached from the African customs and beliefs and were not willing to be accountable to Africans (Kariwo, 2011: 19; Zvobgo, 1999: 3). The Native Department was instructed upon creation in 1929 to “teach Africans the dignity of labour.” The department assured the parliament in 1930 that it was not their intention “...to hand over this country to the population or to admit them to the same society or political position as we occupy ourselves...we should make no pretence of educating them in exactly the same way we do the Europeans” (Challiss, 1983: 109).

The system robbed Africans of their right to engagement and equal participation. In short, there were no equality of opportunities in colonial education; it was undemocratic (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 43; Zvobgo, 1999). This kind of education does not display the kind of human interaction that Habermas suggests as an inter-subjective sense of belonging in communication among humans as equals (Habermas, 1987b: 137). It does not show how a sense of belonging to the human community displays the right to have rights, especially rendering equal opportunities for Zimbabweans to choose the kind of education they needed for the integration of their voices. Zimbabweans did not have freedom of choice and equal rights to education (Challiss, 1983: 111). In Challiss’ view, Africans were denied their sense of community. The worst thing about colonial education was how it defined Africans along ethnic affiliations (Kariwo, 2011: 29, Maravanyika, 2005: 13). This was done to divide communities and set them apart to frustrate their chances of uniting and to resist colonial government. The curriculum portrayed the Shona as “a weak community of good for nothing natives who were served from extinction from Ndebele raids by the coming of the white

men” while the Ndebele were on the other hand, were described as a “bloody thirsty lazy people who survived entirely on raiding the Shona”. This was done deliberately to dehumanise Africans and in turn locate the whites as superior (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 45). Zvobgo (1999) also observed that Rhodesians fuelled tribalism and ethnicity as instruments for controlling blacks. The type of education given to Africans in Zimbabwe did not prepare citizens to know their rights and their government structure. It did not allow them to acquire skills to take part in governance processes and structures. The civically minded citizen was not part of the curriculum. The curriculum was to remain inferior to that of their white counterparts because the natives were to remain the ‘uneducated national assets’ who should bear their imperial burden of providing cheap labour (Mutumbuka, 1982: 36). Furthermore, the settlers saw Africans as a distinct section of the society who did not qualify for the same rights and privileges as white Rhodesians.

The system denied Africans higher education that could bring out their potential and enhance their critical thinking abilities Mutumbuka (1982). In this case, the democratic values that aim to cultivate democratic principles in students were not cultivated. The colonial curriculum did not create active citizens but passive ones who waited for teachers to reproduce content to them (teacher singing content style). During the colonial period, learners were conceptualised as passive citizens and did not gain the disposition of criticality. This was a deliberate way to disenfranchise the blacks so that they could not compete with the whites on the job market.

3.4 Colonial Curriculum for industrial labour and indoctrination

The education in the colonial Rhodesia created two parallel systems, which reinforced the racial divisions of the colonial administration. African education was left to the missionaries while the state was responsible for developing a modern academic and technical system for the settler’s children. The colonial curriculum was meant to reorient Africans away from their culture especially epistemological, metaphysical and axiological orientations. Education which considers the African epistemology would value issues such as strong interpersonal relationships with others, communalism, peace with nature, science, self-awareness and morality (Gyekye, 1995: 200). Instead of the colonial curriculum to consider the epistemology and metaphysics (nature of reality) it further disenfranchised the Africans from their belief systems of peaceful coexistence (Gyekye, 1995: 200).

Education was meant to make Africans accept the inferior status to which they had been relegated in relation to the settlers (Challiss, 1983: 124; Mutumbuka, 1982: 67). The curriculum for Africans was therefore premised on labour, discipline and indoctrination and not on democratic principles of equal access and opportunity. The colonial curriculum promoted learning of vocational skills, “in order to teach them the dignity of labour...and increase taxation so that able bodied men should be obliged to work for at least three months in a year for a European master” (Challiss, 1983: 124). Corporal punishment was indiscriminately applied for minor offences from primary school level to vocational training centres. Methods of teaching were dominated by “chalk and talk” or “teacher singing content” (Kuster, 2007: 81). Children were expected to be “well behaved sponges, absorbing the textbook knowledge relayed to them by teachers and furthermore expected to reproduce those facts in examinations” Harber (1997: 118). The curriculum was premised on the wrong assumptions put forward in the Tate Commission of 1928 (Challiss, 1983; Zvobgo, 1999; Atkinson, 2006) that Africans were docile and only good for European labour. The Commission stated:

Southern Rhodesia has a population of 20 times the European stock, composed of a people who are for the most part docile enough and intelligent enough to afford a large supply of labour.... (Atkinson, 2006: 135).

This entails that colonial education was never meant to empower blacks significantly but to disenfranchise them.

The education system in the colonial era failed to provide citizens with equal opportunities for employment, as (Chung, 2008: 27) observes, “educational deprivation was one of the worst forms of colonial oppression”. The amount of money spent on African education was comparatively small to that spent on whites’ children (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2002: 36; Murray, 1970: 39). According to Zvobgo (1999: 78), the curriculum for the African was crafted in such a way that it would make him “a useful auxiliary in the progress of the country.” The Department of Native Affairs on the other hand believed that Africans would do well if they were guided to acquire habits of industry and not through academic learning but through a program of industrial education. This would teach the African to be useful to his employer and to be contented (Harber, 1997: 119; Zvobgo, 1999: 20). On the other hand, the European curriculum was modelled along South African education system. It was purely academic with one or two technical subjects like Woodwork and Needle Work. Education

was more accessible to whites because they received grants which Africans could not access (Murray, 1970: 41). Enrolment to higher levels of education was restricted for Africans by limiting funding to Europeans. African university education was viewed as a threat to white economic and political supremacy (Cheater, 1991: 189; Gatawa, 1999). The government of that time had a narrow conception of democratic citizenship since educational resources were inequitably distributed and access to quality education was along racial lines. Colonial education did not prepare citizens for democratic participation; neither did it promote capacities that would cultivate in students' perspectives of democratic citizenship and critical thinking (Kariwo, 2011: 23). Democratic principles of basic and fair opportunity did not have any place in colonial education for blacks.

3.5 Education: A common good

From an analysis of the colonial education and its curriculum above, I shall employ Gyekye's (1997; 1998) views discussed in detail in chapter 2 (see 2.6) to cement my earlier submission that colonial education was undemocratic. Gyekye, an Afro-Communitarianist brings in the issue of the common good as connected with the idea of communitarianism and maintains that, a common good means that a good that is common to individual human beings and which is embraced within a human community. In Gyekye's (1997) words, a common good can be said to be commonly, universally shared by all human individuals a good the possession of which is essential for the ordinary or basic functioning of the individual in a human society (Gyekye, 1995: 45). The argument that I want to proffer from this discussion is that colonial education was not informed by democratic citizenship as it was not inclusive. Education was selectively offered with Europeans receiving better education facilities while African education was underfunded and poor (Shamuyarira, 1997: 47). In this respect education was not a common good, but a privilege and not a right. A common good is meant to be shared universally and equally by all members of the community without discrimination, a review of the colonial education in Zimbabwe reveals gross discrimination and a separatist approach to education (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 17). Besides education and health, other goods listed by Gyekye (1998) are security, peace, freedom, dignity and respect (Gyekye, 1998: 46). The colonial education unfairly discriminated against the blacks and was therefore not informed by DCE principles. Steyn (2001b) makes a crucial observation when he comments that it would not be possible for democracy to thrive within the context of great inequalities and disparities (Steyn, 2000: 47). Africans were not respected and accepted, they

were not even consulted when legislation which affect them was discussed (Chung, 2008: 41). The Native Department was led by whites who also represented blacks in parliament because Africans were viewed as inferior and without any moral worth (Chung, 2008: 44; Kariwo, 2011: 40; Sigauke, 2012: 145). To further the argument that colonial education was undemocratic, I refer briefly to the quality of education that Africans received as compared to their European counterparts. The government emphasis was on providing elementary and technical education to Africans not on academic because Africans were not to compete for jobs with Europeans (Shamuyarira, 1997: 67). For instance, from 1890 to 1963 there was only one government school in Rhodesia and 16 primary schools to cater for the entire African population (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 56; Zvobgo, 1999: 66). This stifled the chances of many pupils to access education as schools were few and could not satiate the demand for education. Opportunities for blacks were therefore limited.

In my next analysis, I discuss the education system in Zimbabwe after independence and argue that the frameworks informing higher education in Zimbabwe are mute about DCE. As stated in Chapter one (see 1. 2), the earliest institutions of higher learning in the early years of colonisation were the vocational training centres of Domboshava and Tjolotjo which were opened in 1920 and 1921 respectively (Mutumbuka, 1982). The University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established in 1957 under the European College Council. This was the only university for the federal states of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi). The major factor that contributed to the establishment of this university was the refusal of South Africa to continue to accept foreign Africans at its segregated universities (Gatawa, 1999: 197). Before that, a number of African Rhodesians attended South African institutions especially Fort Hare. The Royal Charter regulated the University of Rhodesia. That charter prohibited any form of discrimination and favoured racial integration (Shamuyarira, 1997: 2). Entry requirements were the same for blacks and white students. It was hoped that the races kept apart at primary and secondary levels would now change their attitudes by interacting at university level; this was difficult because multiracialism at university did not translate to equal opportunities (Kariwo, 2011: 22).

Equality of opportunity is defined by (Simon, 2015: 5) as that view which says rules should not exclude individuals from achieving certain goals (educational attainment) by making the reference to arbitrary personal characteristics such as race, socio-economic class, gender, religion and sexuality. This view emanates from the rational argument that all children are

equal therefore, are entitled to equal opportunities (Biesta, 2011: 16). However, Biesta is criticised by Simon (2015: 11) for his seemingly uncompromising insistence on equality of opportunities for all students when students are actually not equal. Simon is advancing a rather radical view of rights and therefore argues that unequal treatment of unequal students is necessary to increase equity (Simon, 2015: 11). The author highlights and supports the unequal treatment in education opportunities in America between Afro-American citizens in Ohio and their white counterparts. Simon's argument is similar to that made by colonial administrators in Zimbabwe, namely Africans are by nature inferior to whites and therefore should not be educated to compete with whites but must receive education that will make them useful to the colonial system (Challiss, 1983: 119). I appreciate Biesta's (2011: 13) submission in this regard that any system that does not allow all its citizens to partake in public goods is undemocratic.

On the same note, I am attracted to Rancière's (2006) notion of equality in his book: *Hatred of democracy*. Rancière argues that DCE as equality aims to redefine the democratic order such a way that new identities, and new ways of doing and being become possible and can be counted Rancière (2006: 18). In Rancièrian terms, DCE as equality is not only the inclusion of the marginalised into the existing order as suggested by Althusser but is rather a transformation of that order in the name of equality where the impetus for transformation comes from outside and not from inside (Biesta, 2009: 143). Althusser was Rancière's teacher in the 1960s. According to Rancière (2006), DCE as equality empowers those who have no power with the assumption that everyone is equal because they are able to act and speak (Rancière, 2006: 18). This was the missing link in colonial education in Zimbabwe, for which was characterised by severe inequalities and restrictions which resulted in the bottleneck system (Chung, 2008: 66; Mumbengegwi, 2001; Zvobgo, 1986).

The opportunities for African students, as noted Zvobgo, (1986) were adversely affected by the way financial aid was administered. Many scholarships awarded by bodies outside the university excluded Africans. The reality was that not many Africans attained standard education above the elementary level and therefore did not qualify for university entry. Those few who were admitted were restricted Bachelor of Arts degrees majoring in such subjects like Shona, Ndebele, English language and Divinity (Zvobgo, 1999: 50). Subjects that promoted critical thinking were avoided especially Art and Literature (Zvobgo, 1999: 41). The bottle-neck system that characterised primary and secondary education affected the

enrolment of Africans at the only university in the federation of three countries. For instance, at its inception in 1957, the university had 77 students of which 8 were blacks (Kariwo, 2011: 3). The Rhodesian Front under Ian D. Smith restricted the enrolment of Africans by limiting government grants to Europeans. They viewed African university education as a threat to whites' political and economic supremacy. Many African students who passed and qualified for university entry could not go due to a lack of adequate financial resources (Kuster, 2007: 91; Zvobgo, 1999: 43). Affordability is a key determinant of access to university especially when one considers students of different backgrounds such as race and income. Africans could not afford higher education because many of them had no meaningful income. Although there were several grants available at the University of Rhodesia, the distribution of grants was marred by racial bias (Challiss, 1983; Mumbengegwi, 2001: 39). This explains why black African students were visibly a minority at the then University of Rhodesia although the colonial government tried to portray the university as a multi-racial institution and a non-racial island of learning (Gelfand 1978:19; Zeilig, 2008: 213). The debate on this section is that colonial education lacked democratic tendencies of access, quality and equity.

There was no quality for purpose in the colonial education which Harvey and Knight (1996: 10) describe as the quality that meets the requirements of the customer. This is quality which according to Waghid (2001), is responsive to the needs of students (clients) employers, government and society (Waghid, 2001: 126). The challenge with the colonial government was that the student who was the customer did not make any contribution towards the governance of his or her education. The system did not recognise dialogue, rather, it perpetuated a "fragmentation of society into racial groups" which is neither desirable nor defensible (Waghid, 2001: 101). Whites continued to receive preferential treatment at the expense of blacks especially in the awarding of scholarships and bursaries. The policies that were instituted at the University of Rhodesia did not benefit all students equally, they were biased since the colonial administrators drafted them and blacks did not receive equal treatment since they were not represented (Zvobgo, 1999: 67). This kind of citizenship is contrary to Biesta's (2011) notion of democratic citizens in which he argues for the commitment to democracy by institutions. Biesta says, to believe in democracy is to commit oneself to equality in the full sense of commitment as a faith and an enactment (Biesta, 2011: 96). Deducing from the utterances of colonial administrators presented earlier in the research and those to be presented below one would not be wrong to assert that higher education in the

colonial era of Zimbabwe was not informed by democratic citizenship education as racial segregation was both institutionalised and codified.

The settler population sought to use education to shape Africans into subordinate roles and not to include them in any debate or communication which would empower them to challenge the status quo (Mutumbuka, 1985). In response, Africans used all methods at their disposal to register their discontent. Strikes, stay-aways and protests over the curriculum were employed to seek improvements in education (Hwami, 2012: 65). Students at the only institution of higher learning constantly ran battles with police as they demanded for a reconstruction of the existing colonial governance through philosophical principles that promote democracy (Zvobgo, 1999: 71). Students were demanding quality and equity in the distribution of the common good. They demanded quality education which would result in them contributing towards the development of their communities.

The examinations were set by the London University Examination System to cater for the British colonies (Kuster, 2007: 79). This system had the dual role of measuring the quality of education and its graduates in British colonies and that of devising curricula content for high schools and universities. The problem with the uniform curriculum for all British colonies lay in the diversity of African and Asian states. The syllabi were a-sized-jacket-fits-all (Bude, 1983: 345). The other problems noted by (Bude, 1983) on the syllabi are that the content was irrelevant to indigenous people. It did not take into consideration issues of quality as perfection. A similar education system for all British colonies that had people from diverse backgrounds was a breach of quality and access. It did not bring improvement to the generality of Africans since it was irrelevant. This resulted in many students dropping out of school either in frustration or because of failure to pay fees “a revolving door syndrome” (Waghid, 2001: 116). The curriculum was designed to incentivise a few young graduates who would climb the academic ladder to seek opportunities for social and economic integration. Unfortunately, native graduates at the only university in Rhodesia outnumbered the positions in the social and economic marketplace, and their ensuing entitlement presented “the danger of an academic proletariat” (Matera, 2010: 389). An examination of the situation indicates the unwillingness of the colonial officials to integrate African graduates in colonial business and governance (Kuster, 2007: 79). This means that colonial university education was also deliberately designed for the perpetuation of the imperial system, rather than the expansion of humanitarian services. Access to university education was determined by phenotype rather

than by the academic abilities of the individuals (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 69). Very few Africans were admitted to university education because the selection was rigorous. The selection criteria excluded many African students thus violating their rights to education rights. Africans were not given equal opportunities to compete with Europeans because they did not have equal citizenship rights (Kuster, 2007: 76).

The review of background literature on colonial education in Southern Rhodesia above revealed that colonial education was informed by the politics of separate development than rather by the democratic principles of access, equality, equity, justice, communication and participation. The education system was built against the background of racial struggle and a segregated society (Kariwo, 2011: 80; Shizha, 2005; Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 69). The reviewed literature also indicated the economic and political pressure that characterised the colonial government curtailed democratic citizenship.

3.6 Policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe

Policy is the formulation, endorsement and operation of a plan of action approved by law in the public or private sectors (Hanekom, 1991: 3). In Ball's words, policy is, text and action, words and deeds, but it is not static but is an enactment of what is intended (Ball, 2006: 49). Educational policies require a deep understanding of macro- and micro-level policy development, especially those aspects that entail feedback and the response of stakeholders to the enactment and implementation of a policy (Ball, 2006: 43). As Pal (2005: 6) observes, "Policy to put it simply, comes from those who have legitimate authority to impose normative guidelines for action. In a democracy, policy is made by elected officials in concert with advisors from the higher levels of the administration". The same sentiments are echoed by Mlahleki who places the political environment high on the list of sources of education policy especially in Africa. He insists that "public policy, including educational policy, is essentially political in nature" (Mlahleki, 1995: 123). He is supported by Kapfunde (1997: 284) who posits that "policy is made in a political environment in which there usually are many groups which compete for and influence the allocation of resources." This means that any attempt at tracing the origins and reasons for the introduction of any policy in education, ought to begin with a study of the political culture of the time. The same sentiments are echoed by Hanekom (1991: 69) when he says "Public policy is the output of the political process and is inseparable from politics or the political ideology of the government of the day, hence for the analysis of public (educational included) policy, politics is an inescapable

reality” (Hanekom, 1991: 69). Waghid (2002a: 1–2) substantiates this by discussing three main aspects that help to explain policy. These are:

- policy as formulated by those who exercise power;
- policy as a set of justifiable prescribed actions; and
- policy as a coherent framework for implementation in an education system is aimed at bringing about change.

Hanekom (1991) astutely observes the complexity of policy analysis as a contested terrain that ranges between policy as a text and policy as a discourse, and the impact and effects it creates. In keeping with this understanding, textual and discourse policy will be analysed to provide a description of the policies that guided educational practice in Zimbabwe (see 3.2.3; 3.2.4; and 3.2.5)

Governments can play a role in shaping what the public believe and want. The way citizens understand and act toward the political system is determined by the government through policies. Unfortunately, the practice and implementation of policy is complex. If the process of policy-making and implementation is not properly carried out, conflicts between those who make policy and those who put it into practice may arise (Hanekom, 1991). Although some may want to argue that the public influence policies, the argument advanced in this research is that policies influence the public more often than the other way round because sometimes policies are imposed and forced on people by those who are in authority. The above reflections on the factors influencing educational policy will be referred to in the discussion below as educational policies in Zimbabwean higher education and DCE will be looked at closely with the aim of measuring its effect on teaching and learning.

For a clearer understanding of higher education policies in Zimbabwe and the values, beliefs and attitudes constructed in those policies, I took a deconstructive path towards democratic citizenship education. This was done to check whether the values articulated in the policies in relation to democratic citizenship education; production processes; policy actors and processes of advocacy; and policy allocation, dissemination, implementation and evaluation are effective. I explored how policies are developed and how they are enacted. In addition, Attention was paid to the opinion of Shizha (2006: 27), namely that policy as a text relies on commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations, cooperation, intertextuality and compatibility. In examining policy as a discourse, the Foucauldian notion of discourse was used. This includes communicative practices, systems of social and political

practice as well as the ideological systems that animate these wide fields of practice (Foucault, 1987: 113). Foucault further explains that discourses are patterns of life that are more than the linguistic elements and that also include social, political, and ideological and even the economic elements. In this chapter, I discussed some policies that guide institutions of higher education in Zimbabwe to determine the factors that influenced the institution of those policies as well as to establish the extent to which they are informed by the democratic principles of equality, access, justice, participation, deliberation and debate. For one to understand whether higher education is informed by DCE, one has to attempt to understand the philosophical framework informing the education system by scrutinizing it. In the light of this context, I shall employ the three liberal strands on DCE that I discussed in Chapter two (see 2.7; 2.8 and 2.9). The aim is to analyse and re-imagine higher education in Zimbabwe in order to address the challenges facing the country in trying to educate its citizens for democracy. A synopsis of the challenges facing the country was given in Chapter two (see 2.5). In this chapter, the links between a liberal democratic conception of citizenship education and higher education policy texts are used to guide the analysis.

3.7 Citizenship and democratic citizenship

In my chapter two (see 2.7 and 2.8) different conceptions of democracy and citizenship were presented, from these; my argument for deliberative democracy is drawn more specifically from the writings of Seyla Benhabib (1996), Amy Gutmann (2012), and Callan (1997). My intention is to highlight some of the democratic principles that were absent in Zimbabwe during its transformation and reconstruction period. The aim was to examine the kind of higher education that is suitable for Zimbabwe especially when one considers the heterogeneity of the Zimbabwean society.

In chapter two, I defined citizenship from a liberal perspective. I drew the definition from Kymlicka and Norman (2002: 288), Dryzek (2000; 200) and Larry Diamond's (1997: 244) work *on Cultivating Democratic Citizenship Education For a New Century in Americas*. Diamond relates to citizenship in terms of the relationship between the state and the individual and as comprising three interrelated concepts. These concepts are a sense of belonging, human interaction and public reasoning (Benhabib, 1996, Diamond, 1997). Human interaction is interpreted by Diamond as affording citizens equal opportunities to participate in learning, or to participate willingly in the political affairs of their community or country (Diamond, 1997: 245). It carries with it the freedom to participate without being

coerced. The next concept is that of citizenship as belonging. This belonging is created within a community when all citizens are afforded equal opportunity to participate (Benhabib, 1996; Miller, 1995). Public reasoning is another concept of citizenship that refers to the kind of engagement that should exist in citizenship. Public reasoning means being able to participate in a rational argumentative way to persuade and enable others to reach consensus about a particular issue of public interest (Benhabib, 1996: 67; Young, 2000: 3). Benhabib further gives another perspective of citizenship as indicated by democratic iteration (talking back) as a means of reflexive dialogue in resolving issues of human rights and cosmopolitanism in both private and public education (Benhabib, 1996: 73). According to Benhabib (1996), democratic iterations gives people a space to interpret, intervene between the norms and will of the democratic majorities. This iteration was absent in the colonial education system as different races were treated differently even before the law. According to Benhabib (1996) democratic iteration becomes unfair and undemocratic if conversations and deliberations which contribute to democratic iterations are not carried out by the most inclusive participation of all those whose interests are affected and if these conversations and deliberations do not permit the questioning of the conversational agenda and do not guarantee equality of participation. In that case the iteration process is unfair, exclusionary and illegitimate (Benhabib, 2006: 445). She refers to this as discrimination that contradicts the universal moral respect we owe each other as human beings (Benhabib, 2006: 90). I argued in Chapter two that deliberative democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's institutions of higher learning would be an ideal method to foster and inculcate democratic principles of deliberative engagement, dialogism, and belonging. The values to be instilled in students include deliberation, compassion, equality, dialogue, freedom, generosity, publicity, justice, inclusion, collaboration, respect, reason and independence among others (Presidential Commission, 1999: 349). The literature reviewed indicates that this kind of deliberative engagement will allow students to develop a sense of generosity and compassion towards others (Waghid, 2009: 71). It is further argued that through democratic citizenship education, university students will come to learn, listen to and respect the views and opinions of others, even when they are not in agreement with them (Nussbaum, 1997: 53).

3.8 A New philosophical orientation for a post-colonial higher education in Zimbabwe

A review of the colonial education above has shown why the new government prioritised redressing of the imbalances in the provision of education created by the colonial administration. However, I argue in this section that the reforms for transformation in education introduced in Zimbabwe foreshadowed the need for quality, relevance and equity, freedom and accountability as the reforms were more influenced by the political and economic environment than DCE.

The post -independence higher education system in Zimbabwe has been shaped to conform to the 1980 and 1985 ZANU PF election manifesto (Colclough, Lofstedt, Manduvi, Maravanyika & Ngwata, 1990: 53). The main orientations of these reforms have been guided by the following principles, decolonisation of the education system, abolition of the colonial social structures, promotion of scientific socialism, and the promotion of social transformation (Colclough et al., 1990: 54).

According to (Colclough et al 1990: 56) some of the basic assumptions of Scientific Socialism are:

- People can only be free if they free themselves from poverty.
- They can be free if their struggle for freedom is fought out on the economic field and that;
- human society is governed by material factors and it is the unfair distribution of these resources that causes conflicts.

In line with the ideology of socialism, the government of Zimbabwe pledged to democratise the education system in terms of accessibility, quality, equity, curricula and orientation (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 1997). The new Zimbabwean government adopted a policy of education as a basic human right, and committed itself to universal and equal educational opportunity for all (Government of Zimbabwe, 1983). Due to a protracted history of inequality between white and black education, the general perception was that the abolition of all racial distinctions is the only acceptable solution. As a result, state control and intervention were seen as the only way through which equality can be promoted and become a reality. So, in 1981 one of the earliest reforms introduced in education was therefore the amalgamation of the separate education systems that were present before independence from

a dual separatist system to a single system under one ministry. Furthermore, the government embarked on a massive drive to provide education to the majority of citizens who had been marginalised during the colonial era by making primary education free and compulsory. Education was made accessible to the majority of Zimbabweans and enrolment figures more than doubled. For instance, in 1979 there were 2 401 primary schools with the total enrolment of 811 586 pupils. In 1979, there were 177 secondary schools with a total enrolment of 66 215 pupils but these figures shot up significantly in 1989 to 4 504 primary schools with a total enrolment of 2 274 178, while secondary schools were increased to 1 502 with a total enrolment of 695 882 in 1989 (Gatawa, 1999: 83).

The proclamation of the education for all has seen the education sector receiving on average, above 20% of the national budget in a bid to increase access and participation in education (Gatawa, 1999: 88). Between 1980 and 2002 the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture has topped budget allocation by being allocated 21.2% of the total budget while higher and tertiary education received 5.4% giving a total of 26.6% of the national budget (National Action Plan, 2005: 40). The rationale was to increase access to basic education in Zimbabwe and to address the disparities in economic and political development of the colonial administration. However, of the total budget allocated to education 93% of this went to staff salaries and allowances leaving only 7% for learning materials, infrastructural development and maintenance (National Action Plan 2005: 40). According to Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, (1997), the Education for All (EFA) programme introduced the building of primary and secondary schools in the rural and remote areas in Zimbabwe. The expansion in education was a positive reform as the majority of the citizens could access the education of which they had been deprived for a long time (Gatawa, 1999: 81). There was a holistic approach to improving the education system in the country, both in terms of quality and quantity of provision, from primary through secondary right up to tertiary education level.

In 1990, the Zimbabwean higher education sector underwent massive restructuring in order to increase the number of places available significantly and move the sector further into mass and towards eventual universal education (Kariwo, 2007). In addition to increased access for all races in education another key goal of the reforms was equity (Gatawa, 1999: 14). Zimbabwean higher education equity policy focussed mostly on access and participation with the implicit assumption that disadvantage would be ameliorated through educational achievement (Gatawa, 1999: 18). The overall objective for equity in higher education was to

ensure that Zimbabweans from all groups in society have the opportunity to participate democratically in higher education. This was to be achieved by changing the balance of the student population in institutions of higher learning to reflect more closely the composition of society as a whole. To encourage access to higher education in greater numbers, students from previously disadvantaged remote areas and girls were encouraged to apply for university enrolment (Gatawa, 1999: 18; Mawere, 2012: 444).

This was a shift from elitist system that characterised the University of Rhodesia under the British where it enrolled very few students in its academic programmes and most of them whites whose education was fully paid for by the state (Education and Culture Report, 1990: 2). While limited access for black students was a negative factor that needed redress soon after independence, it is significant to note that the UZ inherited a legacy of academic excellence and values that were sustained for the first two decades of independence, something that contributed quite significantly to the development of a sizeable pool of high-quality local academic staff. This was a cherishable inheritance in terms of quality (Mlambo, 2008: 76).

3.9 The concept of equality before quality in education transformation

The government of Zimbabwe through the Ministry of Education reiterated its educational focus in the 1981 Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) as working towards the removal of inequalities in education and increased access to education for all children (Government of Zimbabwe, 2005). Thus, the first decade of majority rule was characterised by the government's efforts to democratise its education institutions in order to comply with its transformation agenda. To transform is to bring total change, from previous inequalities to a more just and equitable society. It is a process of change from one form to another (Waghid, 2001: 107). The implication of this definition was that transformation would entail the removal of inequalities in access and resources in education provision, democratisation of the education system and the improvement of the quality of education (Enslin & Pendlebury, 1998: 266). Education in Zimbabwe needed a complete transformation from a segregated bottle neck system promoted by the racial white Rhodesians to a redefined non-racial culture of equality and justice. Education for transformation was premised on correcting the ills of apartheid by adopting policies that are more progressive and values that upheld equity and inclusiveness. My argument in this section is on the notion of quality and equality as democratic variables which should characterise a democratic system of education. This

concern echoes Steyn, DuPlessis & DeKlerk's (1999: 23) observation that "quality and equality should be part of transformation of education to a democracy, but overemphasising one or the other may have devastating results. A delicate balancing of the two seems to me the utmost importance." It is from this complementary view between quality and equality that I would like to advance an argument that early education policy in Zimbabwe that is before 1995 was silent about issues of quality, rather there was an emphasis on equality as the government attempted to shift from the dual education system that was indicative of the colonial administration. Equality of opportunities was a major gospel of scientific socialism⁵ as conflicts are explained by the socialists in terms of the absence of equality and oppression of the weak by the poor (Gatawa, 1999: 87). In socialist perspectives, any inequality is regarded as damaging and unjustifiable hence must be eradicated.

As I hinted earlier in this section, the document (TNDP, 1983) which talks about increasing access and removing all forms of inequalities in education is mute about issues of quality. Although the national budget on education was higher (see statistics on 3.8), the money was not used to improve on quality but quantity as the larger amount 93% of it was swallowed by teachers' salaries and allowances leaving only 7% for learning and infrastructural development (Sigauke, 2012: 141). In order to enhance the transformation process democratically, quality and equality should not be seen as separate entities but must be seen as balanced and complementary. Democratic education in Zimbabwe must be able to accommodate both quality and equality meaningfully in order to rebuild a culture of democracy. In this case, quality of education is that which is linked to the improvement and development of processes of change such as enhancing transformation processes. My conclusion to this analysis is that education in the first decade of independence in Zimbabwe transformed the society through increased access to education and partly eradicated the inequalities that had existed in the education system but quality remained compromised. Gatawa (1999: 96) made observations that, schools which were established in the first decade of independence were manned by untrained teachers especially those located in rural areas.

⁵ A political ideology adopted from USSR that influenced education in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1991. In education, scientific socialism demanded a combination of theory with practice. Although this ideology was short-lived, it influenced the education system in Zimbabwe in terms of policy and practice. New schools to pilot the theory and practice curriculum were opened in all provinces with the support from the communist countries. The schools were run through a council, the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP). Vocational technical colleges were also established. In schools, emphasis was on practical subjects such as Agriculture, Building studies, Food and Nutrition, Woodwork, Metal Work, Fashion and Fabrics. Scientific socialism collapsed in Zimbabwe because parents and teachers associated it with the colonial F2 system of education for labour.

The massification, which occurred as a result of the education for all policy resulted in an increased demand for university education in Zimbabwe and forced the government to establish more universities after 1991(Kariwo, 2007). However, the dilemma that the state faces now is of achieving broader access while at the same time maintaining quality with little resources.

3.10 Education for social transformation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe

Educational transformation, democratic citizenship education and reconstruction are key concepts for my study. I therefore explored the meanings of transformation and reconstruction as they frame a particular understanding of DCE can address the educational problems identified above. First and foremost, education as a transformational tool was expected to be responsive to the needs of the society. These needs were unity, peace and reconciliation so that reconstruction and transformation would be achieved (Zvobgo, 1999: 46). Education was intended to eradicate the inequalities generated by the colonial administration and later inherited by the new democratic government. Reforms in the first decade of independence focused on increasing quantities and significant increases in the number of schools and colleges were recorded (Kapungu, 2007: 2). Education for All, enunciated in the first five- year plan, made education a right and mandatory for all primary school going age pupils regardless of race, religion, colour or creed (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 1997). The idea of affording access to all races is in line with what (Howe, 1998: 214) refers to as the “enabling good” which allows individuals to acquire knowledge and skills for educational transformation and where the least transformed become more transformed. In this case, the least transformed were the black majority who had been deprived of educational opportunities by a colonial administration of the whites Rhodesians.

The government of Zimbabwe outlined its basic assumptions for transformation and reconstruction summarised in the government’s National Development Plan of 1982.

The following were the transformation goals:

- provision of a good education to all citizens would result in the uplifting of the standards of living of the previously oppressed black majority;
- a new education thrust would enable citizens to participate fully in the social, political and economic development of their country;

- the education system was to give the black majority equal democratic space which they had been deprived of during the colonial era; and
- to increase the educational opportunities for all citizens without discrimination, in primary, secondary, tertiary and non-formal settings (Zvobgo, 1999: 63).

It is evident from the first goal that education was to be used as an economic investment in terms of employment opportunities, specifically for tertiary graduates. It was to redress the colonial system of job reservations for whites, which did not promote skills development in Africans. Education was to be used to redress all the societal imbalances and characteristics of colonial education further (Mutumbuka, 1982: 6). Education for transformation was to incorporate the democratic dictates of equality, quality and analysis. Policies that were initiated after 1980 attempted to eradicate the colonial education which was not inclusive (Gatawa, 1999: 16). The quotation below by then Prime Minister R. G. Mugabe epitomises what the new revolutionary government would do to redress the oppressive education policies that had been inherited. He proclaimed: “I make bold to say, to change Zimbabwe we must first change the educational system. Our children in school today are after all tomorrow’s workers and leaders” (Ministry of Education, 1981). Following this proclamation, several policies on education were passed. The first policy appeared in the party’s 1980 Election Manifesto, item L, which was later incorporated in the first five-year development plan of 1982 discussed earlier in this section. The document outlined the three cardinal principles, which would guide education in an independent Zimbabwe for the purposes of achieving social reconstruction.

3.11 Goals for Social Reconstruction

The three principles for the achievement of social reconstruction were:

- Abolition of racial education and the utilisation of the education system to develop in the young generation, a non-racial attitude and a common loyalty,
- the orientation of the education system to national goals, acknowledging the special role of education as a major instrument for social transformation; and
- the promotion of unity and reconciliation with consideration of the cultural diversity of the Zimbabwean communities.

Harvey and Knight (1996: 10) define transformation as “a form of change from one change to another”. These authors refer to democratic education within educational transformation as

the extent to which the education system transforms the conceptual ability and self-awareness of learners and enables them to become active participants in educational and societal matters. When one transforms society, from a segregatory colonial system to a more just and democratic society, that on-going process of change from one form to another is transformation (Carrim, 1998: 31; Maravanyika, 1990: 49). The education system in Zimbabwe after independence, meant that transformation would entail overhauling of the school system from the previous dual system, which was promoted by the colonial administration especially the kind of curriculum, redefining the school/university structure and a shift in mentality from being racist, undemocratic and authoritarian to being non-racial, democratic and enabling (Waghid, 2001: 107). It is with such an understanding of transformation in mind that I argue for higher education in Zimbabwe which produces a people who can lead and produce knowledge (Waghid, 2001: 108). Referring back to Harvey and Knight (1996: 10) transformation goes beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge and skills by students as it has to include the on-going change in the way educators and students approach the acquisition of knowledge and skill and relate them to a broader context. In support of this view Waghid (2001: 108) reveals that higher education therefore requires transformative conditions which effect changes in the experiences of educators and students. In the context of Zimbabwean education system, transformative conditions would include notions of equal access, quality, student participation, justice and academic autonomy. These four conditions influenced my discussion on higher education and democratic citizenship education. Furthermore, an analysis of the Zimbabwean concept of transformation revealed that transformation expounds a complete turnaround of the education system to a new system enshrined in a new philosophy of equal access and mutual respect. It was in line with Waghid's description of transformation as "knowledge production, reflective action, seeing new problems, and imagining new ways of approaching old problems and, deconstruction and reconstruction or constant exploring beneath surfaces" (Waghid, 2002b: 459).

3.12 Social reconstruction for the purpose of transformation

In this section, I that Gyekye's (1998) idea of communitarianism postulated in chapter two can assist in an understanding of the socio-cultural problems that confront multicultural communities during transformation and reconstruction. For instance, Zimbabwe has had problems of integrating several groups into a large political community during transformation and reconstruction (Kariwo, 2011: 37; Ndhlela, 2008). Reconstruction is explained by

Gyekye as bringing the diverse cultures of Africa together for the purposes of social cohesion (Gyekye, 1995: 49). Gyekye explains in his book *Transition and modernity* (1997: xiii) that post-colonial experiences of the African communities dealing with transition and reconstruction are largely common. He attributes the common experiences to the diversities of the cultures and similarities between the African cultures. Although Gyekye (1995) draws most of his examples and references from an analysis of the Ghanaian communities, his ideas have relevance to other African communities undergoing transformation and reconstruction like Zimbabwe and South Africa. The problem that has hindered social reconstruction and transformation in Zimbabwe is of strong ethnic affiliations by people. Members of various ethnic groups have strong allegiance towards their ethnic groups. The Ndebele claim that the Shona are given preferential treatment at the national level while other minority groups are marginalised (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 77). They complain that Mashonaland has better and quality education facilities than Matebeleland. They further claim that access to university education by the children from minorities is stifled by the poor schools that they have in their provinces. The claim is that the Shona and the Ndebele are often not given equal opportunities in accessing education and employment (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 46). In order for social reconstruction and transformation to be realised in Zimbabwe, members of the multicultural community are expected to remain loyal to the nation state and not to ethnic groupings (Gyekye, 1995: 67). Gyekye's idea of communitarianism supports an open and democratic society, a society in which opportunities are open to all regardless of ethnic affiliations.

3.13 Reconstruction and equality of access and equity

The whole transformation process was premised on correcting the ills of colonial administration by adopting more policies that are progressive and values that upheld equity and inclusiveness. There was a need to inculcate in students the spirit of tolerance so that young people would learn to appreciate other cultures different from their own (Kapfunde, 1997: 76). Education for reconciliation was necessary because Zimbabwe was emerging from a conflict crisis. In one of his political manifestos, President Mugabe called on all the citizens of Zimbabwe to embrace reconciliation and forgiveness as an aspect of Ubuntu. The President pronounced it thus:

I urge you whether you are African or European, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive others and forget, join hands in a new amity, and

together as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism and work hard to reconstruct and rehabilitate our society as we reinvigorate our economic machinery (De Waal, 1990: 46).

The President acknowledged the power of education in reconciling and uniting people. School texts were printed for the several new syllabuses aimed at advancing respect for human life and human dignity, both of which are values that give meaning to people's lives. This justified the alteration of the curriculum content and methods of instruction in line with the transformative purpose of education. As mentioned earlier on in this discussion, whites continued to distance themselves from African schools (see 3.3 & 3.4). They built their own expensive schools where they had a different curriculum (Kapfunde, 1997: 77). Only children of ministers and other upper middle-class people could afford to send their children to those elite schools. This meant that capitalist tendencies were still rife among the people. Europeans continued to enjoy their upper middle class life styles, therefore they saw no need to embrace government policies. After all, they were protected by the Lancaster Constitution, which forbade the government to touch their property for nationalisation for a period of ten years (Kariwo, 2007). Education for reconciliation also failed to unite the Ndebele and the Shona who for a long time had been clashing over supremacy (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 1). The Ndebele who had their own political party did not accept ZANU PF as a legitimate party in 1980. They continued to carry out acts of sabotage and vandalism presumably with the support of the apartheid government in South Africa. Confrontational war between the two groups ended in 1987 with the signing of the Unity Accord. The reviewed literature reveals that the policy of reconciliation was not fully supported in education because the groups that needed to be reconciled were economically different (Machakanja, 2010: 103). It is therefore in the light of such inequalities created by the colonial government that reforms in higher education in Zimbabwe have to be understood.

Furthermore, education for transformation sought to deconstruct the so-called white superiority and the misrepresentations of indigenous people and their cultures (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 14). Education for transformation sought to stimulate in learners an awareness of and appreciation for mutual respect, disagreement, justifiable criticism, critical and rational deliberation (Waghid, 2004: 50). On the other hand, Freire (1996) avers that the transformational role of education is to promote a tendency for critical analysis among the participants through a mutual process rather than through a self-achievement process. This

kind of education is regarded as relevant because of its ability to liberate the oppressed citizens and the oppressors. Kariwo (2011: 29) posits that, education for transformation was necessary to create an enabling environment for learners and teachers or lecturers together with the general citizenry. Transformation would make it possible for them to engage in deliberations in which the participants provide reasons to justify their points of view, respect other people's points of view and accept criticisms (Waghid, 2002a: 45). This kind of education is guided by democratic principles and not by the practices of a regime (Kariwo, 2012: 88).

3.14 Transforming Education through Democratic Citizenship Education

My analysis of social transformation and democratic citizenship education in the first decade of independence in Zimbabwe borrows heavily from Waghid's (2001: 47) analysis in *Manifesto and values, democracy and education*. His arguments raise instructive issues for the development of DCE in Zimbabwe. Waghid (2009: 74) argues that the pledge of allegiance articulated in the South African manifesto, is an expression of a 'blind patriotic sentiment' that can militate against democratic citizenship in a multi-cultural society emerging from apartheid rule because, for him, "loyalty to one's country has nothing to do with building democracy and achieving reconciliation" ... (Waghid, 2009: 72). In this case, I subscribe to Matereke's (2012) recommendation of a citizenship that will help Zimbabwe to confront challenges of nation building within the context of diversity and pluralism, and not the kind of citizenship which separates people along tribal lines and stifles critical thinking. This is different from Waghid's conceptualisation of education for transformation as "knowledge production, reflective action, seeing new problems, and imagining new ways of approaching old problems, and deconstruction and reconstruction or constant exploring beneath surface" (Waghid, 2002b: 459). Waghid further reiterates that education for transformation should stimulate in citizens an awareness of and appreciation for mutual respect, disagreement, justifiable criticism, critical engagement and rational deliberation (Waghid, 2002b: 459). The failure with regard to achieving social transformation in Zimbabwe can be attributed to the system not embracing the democratic goals of transformation. Education in Zimbabwe limits students to national affiliations without taking a critical view of their reality (Shizha & Kariwo; 2012). Disagreements were not tolerated as evidenced by the years of tribal violence 1980-1987 between the Shona and the Ndebele. The conflicts were over the supposed domination of political and economic spheres of the state by

the Shona and the marginalisation of the minority Ndebele (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 57). The violence (Gukurahundi⁶) threatened ethnic co-existence in colleges and the University of Zimbabwe.

The problem confronting the government was how to create a nation state that would serve the interest of a multicultural Zimbabwe. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya (2007: 277) reveals how nepotism and discrimination along ethnic lines are some of the problems experienced in government institutions. For instance, members of parliament and university chancellors are chosen on secondary factors like political affiliation and ethnicity (Raftopoulos, 2003: 55). People are not given the opportunity to compete for top government posts. There are eleven ethnic groups in Zimbabwe that are dominated by the Shona with 75% of the population, followed by the Ndebele with 15% of the population (Central Statistics Office, 2013). If a member of parliament or a university chancellor is Shona, this is taken as an opportunity for other Shona people to occupy important positions at that institution of higher learning (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Muzondidya, 2007: 276). The implication is that the minority ethnic groups are excluded and marginalised, as there is often discrimination against their members. The argument advanced in this section is that although the government tried to use education as a tool to cement people together, the nation state lacked ideal features for the survival of a multicultural society, which are tolerance, solidarity, fellow feeling and mutual recognition (Gyekye, 1997: 79). Nepotism and ethnic violence in tertiary institutions continue to exist, the signing of the Unity Accord in 1987 reduced the incidences of violence but has not completely eradicated it (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: IV). The idea of 'us' and 'them' is more pronounced and people need emancipation if DCE is to be achieved.

3.15 Transitional National Development Plan for higher education 1983

Zimbabwe was in a restructuring phase and the relationship between citizens and the state was to be fostered for the purpose of pursuing the common good. At that time, the 'common good' meant peace and reconciliation that was to be spearheaded by a good philosophy of

⁶ A Shona word, which translates to 'the early rains which washes away the chaff before the spring rains' In Zimbabwe Gukurahundi has ethnic connotations. It is used particularly referring to the disturbances in Matebeleland where approximately 20 000 people are believed to have been massacred by the Zimbabwe National Army between 1980 and 1987. The army targeted civilians suspected to be anti-government among the Ndebele communities (chaff). Human rights organisations in Zimbabwe regard the conflict as a deliberate attempt at ethnic cleansing by the government of Mugabe. The conflict ended on 22 December 1987 after the signing of the Unity Accord between ZANU leaders and PF ZAPU represented by Joshua Nkomo. Gatsheni-Ndlovu details the Gukurahundi conflict in a book: *Breaking the silence, Building true peace. A report on the disturbances in Matebeleland and the Midlands.*

education. In 1983, the government adopted a liberal approach to education and social reconstruction. The liberal conception regards citizenship as a set of rights and corresponding obligations enjoyed equally by every person who is a member of the political (educational) community (Diamond, 1999: 244, Gutmann, 1999: 18). To be a citizen is to enjoy the right to personal security, freedom of speech, voting, etc. Liberal theory was a departure from the philosophy that was popularised in many African discourses during the liberation struggles and apartheid where the community was deemed more important than the individual (Mbiti, 1970: 91). In a liberal society, citizenship is associated with the notion of belonging, identification with and participation in society (Kymlicka & Norman, 2002: 102).

The new democratic government in Zimbabwe viewed liberal education in terms of perspectives of Dewey (1916) and Freire (1996) as the cultivation of social responsibility and of the endowment of students with transferable skills that cultivate a strong sense of ethics and values, the same values of African culture that the colonial education tried to erode (Gatawa, 1999: 15). The major objectives to be achieved in education, as defined by the Minister of Education according to the Transitional National Development Plan 1983 (TNDP) included:

- An emphasis on Science and Technology so that Zimbabwe would have enough technically trained manpower to run critical industries.
- The university was expected to carry out research that would continue the struggle for mental decolonisation and would promote a democratic, socialist society.
- Education was expected to raise the living standards of the masses by relating to real life problems (TNDP, 1983).

The focus on Science that the TNDP outlined is subsumed under equality as arising from the unequal segregation in higher education due to discrimination and inequalities characterising enrolment and programme allocation at the University of Rhodesia (Atkinson, 2006). Africans were confined to general degrees in Arts and Humanities. According to those who hold this view, inequalities in income, power and status are a reflection of the unequal distribution of cognitive skills. This entails that the government in Zimbabwe was trying to bridge the cognitive gap by not only widening access to education but also emphasising vocational and technical subjects (Nherera, 2000: 40). The thinking behind this philosophy is that work through private enterprise can free a people from poverty. The government

intensified its efforts towards poverty eradication through technical education by introducing a standardisation plan for vocational and technical education (Mawere, 2012: 90). The science and technology called for the restructuring of programmes at institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe in a bid to respond to the demand for human resource, economic and development needs of the newly independent country (Mawere, 2012). Sciences were opened up to all students capable of mastering the scientific studies despite the race, colour or creed. Government bursaries for science related subjects were given top priority in tertiary institutions (Chung, 2008: 29). More vocational training centres were opened. Ironically, this same policy had been suggested by the 1962 Judges Commission, but was rejected by Africans who interpreted the policy as being instituted to perpetuate the oppression of the majority blacks so that they would not compete with whites for jobs. Science and technology was expected to transform the society economically, socially and politically. In this respect, it was therefore to be accessed by all the “masses” (Mutumbuka, 1982: 37). This explains the socialist-oriented democracy of affording equal opportunities and equal distribution of the available resources. This was also in line with the goal of equality that motivated the liberation struggle against British colonial masters and after independence, it continued to be a persistent demand. Furthermore, education was supposed to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease especially in rural areas. Provision of equal education was one of the top priorities of the Zimbabwean government and it remains part of the on-going educational debate (Kariwo, 2007). Equality in education is seen as part of the reconstruction of our divided society and as part of the process of establishing a just society (Steyn, 2000). The principle of equal opportunities for education – irrespective of colour, creed, etc. – has been spelt out clearly in the first five- year development plan as a matter of high priority. The thinking was that without equal opportunities, the overwhelming majority of learners in Zimbabwe would remain poor and powerless.

For a country which had suffered socio-economic and political segregation for so long, education was viewed through Dewey’s lenses of having both an egalitarian and a developmental function. According to Dewey (1916) for education to realise these functions in a society, it has to be democratic. It must be an education which allows the free interaction of all social groups within a society. According to the government of Zimbabwe, the school had to bridge the gap between the extremes of the rich and the poor through an extension of opportunities to all, regardless of race, religion and ethnicity (Gatawa, 1999: 119).

3.16 The new policy shifts in education during the 1990s

As discussed in the previous sections, the state's education for transformation goals were influenced by the socialist doctrine to value the principle of equality, equity, obedience, human rights, freedom and reconciliation (Kariwo, 2011: 27). In this section I endeavour to assess the economic policies that were introduced in Zimbabwe and how they subsequently impacted DCE in higher education. The idea was to identify how politics and economics impacted on educational policy, which also has a bearing on democratic citizenship education. I argue that the shift away from socialism did not promote active citizenship and democracy in Zimbabwe's institutions of higher learning. I base my argument on the opinions of Hogan and Smith (2003: 166) who assert that public education is not an autonomous practice, but is part of the whole system within society, whether authoritarian or democratic. This shows that education in its totality is embedded in the authority of those in power (Hwami, 2012: 72). The arguments advanced in this study with regard to higher education are that university education in Zimbabwe has been prone to the influence of the colonial legacy and that current educational policies and practices in higher education have been largely responding to either economic, political or global trends.

Another argument advanced here is that as the economy continued to deteriorate, the situation in the universities worsened to such an extent that it had a bearing on the implementation of DCE. Policies such as the Education Act of 1990, the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1990, and the Zimbabwe Higher Education Act 2006 were explored through an extended view of democratic citizenship education.

In the 1990s the government abandoned scientific socialism and embraced a free market economy as the new guiding principle for the country's social and economic development (National Action Plan, 2003). This was mainly caused by the fall of the socialist giant, the USSR, in 1991 which had funded the majority of the educational and social programmes in Zimbabwe, but also the requirements of the World Bank, and the economic prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund on developing countries (Mandaza, 1999: 79). The World Bank introduced the new economic order enshrined in the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP). When ESAP proved disastrous, the government dovetailed a home grown economic blue print, the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) between 1996 and 2000. By 2006, Zimbabwe's economy was close to its demise, with detrimental results for higher education (UNESCO, 2015). The

failure of these two economic policies (ESAP, ZIMPREST) and the disastrous effects of the land reform in 2000 had an obvious impact on the economy of the country and subsequently affected the quality and equity in the provision of education (Hwami, 2012).

3.17 The Williams Commission 1989

In 1989, government realised the need for expansion in the numbers of tertiary education institutions, ideally to decongest the University of Zimbabwe, which could no longer accommodate all the graduates from high schools, and specifically to meet the objectives of the National Development Plan of 1983.

It was in 1989 that the Williams Commission recommended the expansion of the number of facilities for higher education. The commission's recommendations resulted in the opening of Zimbabwe's second university in 1991 in Matebeleland Province. The National University of Science and Technology (NUST) was established through the National University of Science and Technology Act (chapter 25: 13), with the sole mandate to:

Promote the advancement of knowledge with a special bias towards the diffusion and extension of science and technology through teaching, research and learning and, so far as is consistent with these objects, the nurturing of the intellectual, aesthetic, social and moral growth of the students of the University (NUST Prospectus, 2014).

The commission reiterated the national objectives contained in the National Development Plan of 1983 on political equality, human dignity, inclusiveness, affording equal opportunities to marginalised groups, freedom of conscience, freedom from want, ignorance and disease, and equal distribution of income (Williams Commission, 1989: iii). On these premises, the rationale for the development of a second university was developed to widen access to university education (Kariwo, 2011: 27). Another reason for this development as propounded by Kariwo was to increase equity by situating the second university in Matebeleland, a predominantly Ndebele stronghold in order to improve access to higher education by those living in the areas of the country were perceived as marginalised. In that respect, the reasons for the establishment of the National University of Science and Technology in Matebeleland were to foster national unity, serve the needs for national development, and equip the youth with the science and technology skills and expertise necessary to play a collective and effective role in ensuring equal opportunities for using

individual talents and personalities. However, there are other authors, such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Raftopoulos (2009) who perceives the establishment of NUST in Matebeleland and other universities in various provinces as a narrow interventionist policy for political gains by government. Research by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and Raftopoulos (2009) point out that the establishment of a university in Matebeleland was far from addressing the issue of equity and access because there were not enough science schools in the region to feed the university with students. They substantiated their argument using a high percentage rate of university participation by people from other provinces of the country and revealed enrolment statistics at NUST, which they claim to be dominated by students from provinces outside Matebeleland (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Muzondidya, 2007: 278).

The Williams Commission conceptualised the university as a place where intellectualism is cultivated by training rational citizens of good character, with creative minds and strong convictions, as well as critical abilities in studying human culture universally, and promoting and radiating humanity. It therefore has to provide training for both economic and moral social development. Social justice and morality were depicted in the commission as important for developing the right attitude for social obligations and responsibilities.

The training in sciences was envisaged to equip students with the skills required for entrepreneurship so as to drive industry and commerce. It was expected to produce graduates who would bring practical solutions to the economic challenges that the country was facing. As stated earlier in the chapter (see 3. 8), the opening of the second university coincided with the negative impact of the ESAP on industry and commerce. Several industries and companies were closing and workers were being retrenched (Nyazema, 2010: 239). The university's mandate was to produce graduates who would revive the economy. Nussbaum regards emphasis on science and technology without critical thinking skills as "placing education on a very narrow terrain" (Nussbaum, 2011: 389). Science and technology have been overemphasised in Zimbabwe's education system to an extent that 9 out of 14 universities in the country have science-related mandates (Sigauke, 2012).

The conceptions of DCE in the NUST mandate are necessary for the development and nurturing of social and moral growth. This is consistent with Nussbaum's (2010) concept of the democratic purpose of a university. She states that science and technology are important, but abilities connected with the humanities and arts are more crucial to the formation of citizenship (Nussbaum, 2006: 388). She elaborates her views by referring to Socrates who

defended democracy in response to the allegations of “corrupting the young” thus; “Democracy needs citizens who can think for themselves rather than simply referring to authority, who can reason about their choices rather than just trading claims and counter claims” (Nussbaum, 2011: 389). The same sentiments are echoed by Alexander (2005) in Waghid, 2002b) when he says education is now solely concerned with transmitting the knowledge and skills needed to prepare for economic productivity, and is thus abdicating from its task of engaging in ethical deliberation and visioning about the good life. Thus education is becoming an instrument of performativity within the global economy without its primary role of cultivating goodness in people (Waghid, 2010a: 179).

The following is a list of the universities that were established as recommended by the commission. Private universities are also chartered by the state to award degrees. Before that, they awarded degrees in association with American universities.

State universities in Zimbabwe

Name of university	Year of establishment	Location
University of Zimbabwe(UZ)	1955	Harare
National University of Science and Technology (NUST)	1991	Bulawayo
Zimbabwe Open University	1993	All Provinces
Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE)	1996	Bindura
Chinhoyi University of Technology (CUT)	1999	Chinhoyi
Midlands State University (MSU)	2000	Gweru
Great Zimbabwe University	2000	Masvingo
Harare Institute of Technology	2005	Harare
Lupane State university Joshua Mqabuko University	2005 2014	Matebeleland North Matebeleland South

Private universities in Zimbabwe

Name of University	Year of establishment	Location
Africa University	1988	Mutare

Solusi University	1994	Matebeleland South
Catholic University of Zimbabwe	1999	Harare
Women University of Africa	2002	Harare
Zaoga Ezekiel Guti University	2012	Bindura

Source: Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education, (2014)

The number of teachers' colleges and polytechnic colleges was also increased from three and two to 13 and 8 respectively. The government ensured that there was a university and a teacher's college in each province. These were the educational gains achieved in the first two decades of independence. Higher education was expanded at a time when industry and commerce were crippled by the effects of economic policies (Kariwo, 2007). The result was that several graduates were not employed; even teachers could not find relevant placements. Secondary school teachers were employed to teach at primary schools because posts had already filled at secondary schools. Universities and colleges produced more work force than the labour market could absorb (Hwami, 2012). A study by Hwami (2012) reveals alarming figures of graduates who crossed to neighbouring countries and beyond to look for employment. From 1995 to 2016, it is estimated that three million people have left the country and the greater part of these are professionals and graduates who could have been rendering much needed service to their country (Hwami, 2012). Brain drain was mainly caused by deteriorating economic conditions in the country and it affected university operations significantly.

3.18 Impact of the declining economy on higher education provision

Between 1995 and 2008, the country's economy was in trouble. The country had accumulated debt which it could not service as a result of the failed economic policies (Mawere, 2012: 440). Life expectancy had fallen from 52 in 1990 to 49 in 2007 (Nyazema, 2010: 233). Every sector of the country felt the pinch of economic downswing and education was not spared. In response to the economic hardships that the country had been experiencing since the failure of the ESAP, the government amended the 1987 Education Act in 1991, 1995, 2001 and 2003 to bring it in line with the new socio-economic environment. The government realised that free education was no longer sustainable and therefore passed the 1991 Act (No.26/1991) which introduced fees at the primary school level. (which had been tuition-free since independence.) The budget for the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary

Education was shot down following the International Monetary Fund's economic principles of budget deficit reduction by stopping the financing of higher education in 2003 (Mawere, 2012: 445). This forced the government to stop the financing of higher education leaving that responsibility to individuals (Nyazema, 2010: 238). This was followed by the privatisation of university amenities such as catering and accommodation at all state universities in Zimbabwe. This brought untold suffering to the students, most of whom were from peasants and working-class parentage (Nyazema, 2010: 237). In 2003, financial crisis at state institutions of higher learning worsened as most students struggled to pay fees. A study carried out by Makoni (2007) reveals a drop in standards at state universities as a result of underfunding. The economic crisis forced the government to reduce salaries for university employees in 2006. This resulted in a mass exodus of lecturers into neighbouring countries leaving state universities understaffed. The University of Zimbabwe was reported to have lost 60% of its academics by 2010 (Mawere, 2012: 446). The brain drain has had a negative bearing on standards and quality provision of university education in Zimbabwe (detailed analysis on individual universities is given in Chapter 4). My argument is that although the government achieved quantitative expansion in education, this was not enough as it was not complemented by quality provision of education. In 2009, the government abandoned the valueless Zimbabwean dollar and adopted the use of multi-currencies especially the US dollar, South African rand, British pound and the Botswana pula (Makumbe, 2009: 9). These multi-currencies made it difficult for children of poor parents to access university education since it was difficult to get. The implication of the introduction of university fees and a reduction in state funding of higher education caused plummeting in university standards specifically the newly established universities. University education was provided to accommodate the large numbers of students from secondary schools but little was done to support the students financially (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 118). The democratic principles of quality and access to higher education were compromised as the economy diminished. The following discussion is an analysis of some policies that govern higher education in Zimbabwe after 1990 as they have been changing under the influence of either politics or economics. This is in line with the submissions made by Ball (2006: 45) that policies are changed over time as they represent a particular period in history. The discussion in previous chapters has revealed that educational policies in Zimbabwe have been shaped throughout history by historical events. The implication this has on my research is that an analysis of

those policy documents in relation to historical patterns becomes imperative so that I do not draw conclusions basing on flawed methodologies.

3.19 Legal instruments governing higher education in Zimbabwe

Several complex factors have influenced policy development in Zimbabwe. These are political, historical, sociological and economic aspects as well as the current forces of globalisation. Chapman and Austin (2002: 4) observes “There is a general tension and sometimes a direct trade-off between the political necessity to expand enrolment, the moral imperative to increase equity, the educational desire to raise quality and the overwhelming need to control costs.” The policy environment in Zimbabwe after 1990 has been very fluid because of the turbulent economic and political situation in the country.

3.20 The University of Zimbabwe Act 1990: a breach to university autonomy and freedom

According to this Act, the Minister of Higher Education has a hand in the selection of the governing bodies of all state institutions of higher learning. The Act further strengthened the position of the head of state as the chancellor of all state universities in Zimbabwe. The Act also gives the university authority to define its code of conduct. It further gives the government authority the right to arrest students and any members of the university staff suspected of causing disturbances at the institutions of higher learning. Many students and lecturers have fallen victim of this act. When this Act of Parliament was finally passed in 1990, students from UZ went on strike and rioted. Students were concerned about policies and legislation that are passed concerning higher education without consultation with the students. Students’ grievances included what they described as “a clear manifestation of rising state repression...against students, women, university lecturers, workers and trade unionists” (Nyazema, 2010: 261).

The Association of University Teachers (AUT) released a statement rejecting the bill, citing that the bill if passed into law would turn the university into a party university without academic autonomy. Students and lecturers further remarked that the offices of the dean of students, registrar, student disciplinary committees and faculty deans were to be free from politicisation and members should be appointed to those offices on merit and not as a result of political affiliation. The demonstrations resulted in several closures and expulsions of the academic staff and student representatives. In October 1990, the UZ was closed indefinitely

by the university council and all 8000 students were suspended (Cheater, 1991). The studied policies reveal that educational policy in Zimbabwe frame the role of education as that of ensuring democracy by means of training people appropriately for a life in a Zimbabwean culture (Shizha, 2005: 130). The policies further frame children as disciples of a specific national setting. This is a dangerous assumption as it results in educating for the nation and not cosmopolitanism. My argument is that education policy in Zimbabwe is centred on nation-bound references that do not promote democratic attitudes in children (Shizha, 2005: 103). This means that the premise to which education policy is framed in Zimbabwe is in itself problematic since it fails to be democratic in itself. The government focused on increasing the numbers of educated graduates, but these graduates were not democratically educated (Nherera, 2000).

The crisis that followed the passing of this Act is an indication that the Act was founded on flawed democratic values. For the purposes of determining how DCE principles were violated, I will describe Benhabib's ideas enunciated in her book: *Democracy and difference* in which she advances arguments for discursive democracy (Benhabib, 1996: 67). Benhabib's notion of discursive democracy in the educational community is that people should be free to engage actively in matters that concern them for the promotion of democracy. In this case, a community is definable by place and space as a people who hold common values and beliefs that bind the community together (Menkiti, 1984). The university is a community comprising learners, lecturers, administrators, financiers and the state. All the listed stakeholders have the right to be consulted and participate in policy-making concerning university business because they are interested parties. They should be treated as a community with rights to be observed, and any systematic exclusion of stakeholders as unworthy to engage in dialogue is unfair to them and undemocratic (Benhabib, 2007: 31). Excluding students from dialogical engagement is a notion borrowed from African communitarianism that does not place children and adults at the same level of choice (Gyekye, 1987: 38). University students, in this case are viewed as persons in the process of acquiring their personhood (not- yet-citizens) therefore, they cannot enjoy equal freedoms with the adults. The problem with this notion of thinking is that a child in the African context is anyone who has no children and is still dependent on the parents for survival no matter what age and achievements (Menkiti, 1984). As discussed in chapter two (2.7), Menkiti is a disciple of strict African communitarianism whose views are in tandem with undemocratic methods of family and institutional governance, since they view individual rights as foreign to African culture.

Menkiti (1984) views children (students) as persons that have the potential of becoming moral persons if their behaviour is defined by a community of adults. In this case, university students were recognised as members of an institutional collectivity because they had not been consulted when the university policy was discussed and passed. This is contrary to moderate African communitarianism represented by Gyekye (1997) which advocates for the enjoyment of the same rights by individuals in a community and advocates that all members of a community be given an equal voice and authority in the policy formulation on matters that concern them (Gyekye, 1997: 45).

The Act in question did not open avenues for public engagement; it excluded students and lecturer's voices who are consumers of the same act, they were not given the opportunity to 'talk back'. Talking back is a concept in Benhabib's (2011b) processes of iterations (see chapter two (see 2.9). It involves the articulation of democratic citizenship through "rational public argument, deliberation and exchange through which universalist rights, claims and principles are contested and contextualized, invoked and revoked, posited and positioned throughout legal and political institutions as well as in the association of civil society" (Benhabib, 2007: 33). The Act has several democratic flaws; firstly, it does not conceptualise the university as a democratic community with full democratic rights (Habermas, 1987a: iv). Secondly, the Act closes channels of communication in universities by politicizing academic leadership. By this Act, students are denied the right to belong to a community (Menkiti, 1984) which further disenfranchises them from the right to have rights (Benhabib, 2006: 21). Both the state and the university expect students to conform to the set standards. The Act therefore does not give students self-autonomy to make rational decisions and judgment to question that which they do not agree, it does not recognize students as self-directing and self-determining because it is routed in strict communitarianism where students do not have rights.

3.21 The Presidential Commission of 1999 on Higher education and Citizenship education

In response to a series of strikes and demonstrations by university students and staff, the President appointed and established a commission in 1998 "to inquire into and report on education and training in Zimbabwe" (Presidential Commission, 1999: 1). Instead of concentrating on the entire terms of reference for this commission, I shall review the philosophical framework that informed the commission in order to diagnose how citizenship

education was conceptualised. The Commission comprised 12 members from different disciplines: education, commerce, religion and the civil service. After several consultations with the public, the commission submitted its recommendations in 1999. It recommended that: “Citizenship education be included in the curriculum at all levels as a matter of urgency” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 354). The commission also justified citizenship education in the report in that, as part of its terms of reference, it was instructed to “inquire into and report upon the fundamental changes to the current curriculum at all levels so that education becomes a useful tool for character and citizenship formation” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 349). The commission identified problems of varying magnitudes that it says are prevalent in society especially among young people, such as vandalism, lawlessness, violence, indiscipline, anti-social behaviour and lack of respect for authority. Furthermore, the Presidential Commission (1999: 349) notes how moral decadence has taken its toll with vandalism, violence and indiscipline in schools and society as the result of a lack of values, relevant ethics and morals, individual and collective responsibilities for protecting property and the valuing of human life. This shows that recommendations for citizenship education were based on the assumption that civic education would be able to mould and reform students so that they could become better citizens. Citizenship education is further described in the report as “the centre of the education curriculum for the twenty-first century Zimbabwe ... and is central to all forms of learning because it instructs learners in citizenship transmission and democracy (Presidential Commission, 1999: 349).

The commission defines citizenship as “a set of relationships that prevail between the individual and the state or nation” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 349) and further acknowledges that the rights, duties and responsibilities of individuals are central in a democratic state. These rights include the right to be heard, to participate in governance, a guarantee to fair treatment and protection and the enjoyment of basic freedoms. The Commission recommends a citizenship education that socialises students into an already established cultural and national setting for the sake of protecting “our culture and our national heritage as well as our democracy” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 358). This also implies that a student who challenges these beliefs and does not conform to these practices is not a good citizen. The commission is silent on the teaching of critical and analytic skills that empower students to challenge these assumptions (Freire, 2004). From this report, a good citizen seems to be one who conforms to certain practices and unquestioningly holds certain beliefs simply because they are part of culture. The report seems to be recommending a

citizenship that promotes the convergence of views, thinking alike rather than a divergence or diversity of views (Sigauke, 2012: 118). This notion has been borrowed from Rousseau's philosophy that education must be used to shape patriotic citizens (Wiborg, 2002: 238).

3.9.11 The Presidential Commission on higher education and the philosophy of Ubuntu

Recognising the absence of a clear Zimbabwean philosophy of education, the Presidential Commission made recommendations for the adoption of Ubuntu as a philosophy of education for the 21st century Zimbabwean education system "The philosophy should, among other things, spell the type of person that the education system should produce in order to promote a successful nation" (Presidential Commission, 1999: 333). The commission further recommended that the product of the proposed education system should be "a product that has morality and the ability to learn from the philosophy of Unhu/Ubuntu" What this entails is that the commission realised that without a properly defined philosophy to guide education in Zimbabwe, no meaningful achievement would be realised. According to the commission, the absence of a philosophy of education manifests itself in the products of its education system which demonstrate a lack of "moral focus, respect for other people, are intolerant and corrupt" (Presidential Commission, 1999: 335). The commission further pointed out that the lack of morals was even manifesting itself in the conduct of business and the practice of politics. The commission cites high levels of intolerance, corruption and nepotism as resulting from lack of moral integrity and focus among the populace. *Ubuntu/Unhu* in Gelfand's (1973) words is humanness and is perceived as a philosophy that promotes respect for human life and human dignity and values that give meaning to people's lives and livelihoods (Gelfand, 1973: 104). Among the important principles of humanness are respect for human life, respect for others, human dignity, compassion, an awareness of the needs of others, kindness, courtesy, consideration and friendliness in the relationships between people, a code of behaviour, an appreciative attitude to other people and to life (Challiss, 1983: 109). According to Nussbaum, these are all in the interest of building and maintaining a community' (Nussbaum, 2006: 383). Nussbaum further qualifies Ubuntu by stating that it cherishes tolerance and that dialogue among people is encouraged. At the time of the presentation of the commission's findings, the country was characterised by the economic meltdown and political upheavals (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2002: 36). Political conflicts were rife because people could not appreciate diversity of thinking and opinion. Political opponents were tortured, their houses burnt down, a demonstration that in Zimbabwe,

dialogue and tolerance were far from being achieved. Dehumanisation, abuse and harassment became the order of the day (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2002). The commission reported that in universities it was not unusual for students to be exploited or sexually abused for marks. The country was corruption-infested in all social spheres, such as hospitals, education, commerce and industry and politics (Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru, 2002). It was because of this background that the Presidential Commission recommended Ubuntu as a philosophy to guide and inform the education system in Zimbabwe.

3.22 The commission's recommendations on higher education

The commission acknowledged the United Nations' goals of education as their point of departure. These goals are intended to improve the socio-economic conditions of all the people. For the realisation of these educational goals in Zimbabwe, the commission made the following recommendations: the elimination of all forms of poverty, social classes, stratification and freeing man from human misery. It is however disturbing how such a recommendation could find space in the Presidential Commission in 1999 when the economy was at its worst due to the effects of ESAP. The commissioners do not explain how the poverty and stratification should be eradicated. Between 1995 and 1999, poverty levels had been exacerbated by company closures, relocations and retrenchments in industries that were the result of economic policies. In this regard, recommending poverty eradication to a state that is struggling to survive in a capitalist economy would be insincere. The introduction of university fees again stratified the education system as in the days of colonialism.

Another recommendation made by the commission on universities was with regard to the administration of the institutions of higher learning. The commission posited that student strikes in universities and colleges were the result of poor administration in the institutions of higher learning (Presidential Commission, 1999: 435). The commission pointed out that colleges and universities were run like "poultry projects". According to the commission, this was the result of too much interference from government which threatened academic freedom. They suggested that instead of the government appointing university administrators like Chancellors and Deans, a university council should be tasked to do so. This recommendation has not been fully implemented because the so-called university councils are controlled by the state. The President remains the Chancellor of all state universities and he together with the Minister of Higher education, recommends who should be appointed as

university chancellor. This means that Vice chancellors are known supporters of the ruling party. This has cascaded down to student unions.

Academically the commission implored institutions of higher learning to harmonise what is taught in universities with what is required in the real world (Presidential Commission, 1999: 439). They challenged higher education to produce manpower for the economy. According to the Presidential Commission, universities are expected to produce graduates with entrepreneurial skills required in “our society” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 440). Students have to be job creators not job seekers. The commission pointed out that universities are producing “arrogant young people who are unrefined and uneducated: learned graduates who when they enter the teaching field end up producing students like them” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 479).

On the proliferation of new institutions of higher learning the commission argued that while it was quantitatively noble to have several universities, this also had a bearing on the quality of graduates that would be produced. The already existing universities and colleges were operating without adequate resources like computers and resource libraries.

3.23 The parliamentary portfolio committee on Higher Education 2002

The committee was established to look into the enrolments in higher education institutions following the opening of new state institutions and the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of inquiry of 1999. The Committee was also tasked to recommend ways and means of improving accessibility, equity, relevance and quality, with special attention to disadvantaged groups such as those with special needs and girls (Maravanyika, 2005: 18). In its report, the committee indicated that an increase in university enrolments was registered for both male and female students. The Report further commended the government on widening access to higher education specifically by establishing more universities and polytechnic colleges in provincial towns. However, the committee noted with regret the deterioration in standards at state and private institutions as a result of the declining economy. Discrepancies in enrolment procedures were noted. Some universities were enrolling students with low entry points at A Level on the basis of their ability to pay fees (Maravanyika, 2005). This has resulted in inequality, especially in accessing higher education because highly qualified prospective students sometimes do not get access to university if they cannot afford the fees. This leaves the admission system prone to manipulation as cases of bribery to get admission has been reported at some universities (Hwami, 2012: 85). The implication noted by the

portfolio committee was that access to higher education remains for those who are rich and have the money to pay for their degrees while the economically disadvantaged remain excluded (Maravanyika, 2005). Since access is dependent on the ability to pay fees, quality of tertiary institutions in terms of performance has been negatively impacted (Makoni, 2007: 18). The Committee recommended an establishment of a revolving fund that could be accessed by students through loans and grants.

3.24 The Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act 1999 Amended 2005 (ZIMCHE)

Historical background of ZIMCHE

At independence, the quest for quality education was seen in the abolishing by the Zimbabwe government of the racially segregated dual system of education provision in which blacks were offered inferior education to that offered to whites (Mlahleki, 1995:147; Zvobgo, 1999: 33).

The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) was established in 1996 and in 2005, the name was changed to ZIMCHE. ZIMCHE was established to guarantee and sustain quality in university education in Zimbabwe. As stated earlier in this chapter (see 3.3), higher education was first introduced in the then Southern Rhodesia in 1957, with the establishment of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which opened with an initial enrolment of 57 students (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 88). The university later changed its name to the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) when the country gained independence in 1980. From 1980 to 1991 the country had only one university to cater for all secondary school leavers who qualified to undertake a university degree (GoZ, 1996). However, as expansion in primary and secondary education began to yield results, the UZ became overwhelmed by numbers of students seeking to study at the only university in the country. The university responded by increasing enrolments and introducing new faculties and programmes to meet the student demands and the socio-economic needs of the new nation (Nherera, 2000: 53). Enrolment was increased from 2 240 students in 1980 to 9 017 students in 1990 (Nherera, 2000: 59; Shizha & Kariwo: 2012). In 1991, a second university was established following the recommendations of the 1989 Williams Commission. Thereafter, eight more universities (five public and three private) were established between 1991 and 2005 (See Table above 3.2.6). It was this rapid expansion in university education, and the emergence of new institutions that

prompted a relook at quality assurance in university education. It was the recommendations from the Presidential Commission of 1999 that a compromise on quality was observed. The Commission hinted that the establishment of so many universities in such a short time had led to the decline of standards (Presidential Commission, 1999: 499). The commission pointed on indicators such as lecturer student ratio which was very high, laboratory and library equipment as well as infrastructural development. The commission therefore recommended the establishment of a body would advise the Minister of Higher Education on issues related to quality assurance, the monitoring and evaluation of the performance of higher education providers, standardisation of higher education qualifications and accreditation of new higher education provisions.

3.25 Enhancing institutional accountability through quality assurance

In educational discourses, quality is defined as the ability of an educational programme to meet the needs and aspirations of the society that it serves (Taylor, 2005: 102). Taylor, 2005) further opines that quality is the extent to which the universities achieve and realise the goals which they are expected to aspire. This explains that universities are expected to meet certain standards if they are to remain relevant to the society they serve.

The establishment of universities in Zimbabwe prompted the government to come up with some buffer mechanism that facilitates steering of the quality assurance policy of university education at national level. Such a buffer mechanism is a statutory body that oversees higher education on behalf of government and in most cases consists of representatives from government, institutions of higher education, the private sector and other key stakeholders, such as student organisations (Hwami, 2012: 61). Such mechanisms are quite common in many higher education systems especially in developed countries as governments are aware of the disadvantages of direct state control of universities. The Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education ZIMCHE was established to regulate higher education in Zimbabwe, but the Council has been blamed for interfering with the autonomy of universities as it sometimes recommends the inclusion or removal of degree programmes. ZIMCHE is run and sponsored by the government and therefore operates as an extended arm of the state. Besides advising central government on the size, shape and funding of higher education, the council is also responsible for promoting and monitoring quality assurance in universities and colleges (Hwami, 2012: 61). The quality assurance system that was introduced requires institutions to be accountable to ZIMCHE (Garwe, 2015: 43). It is due to the changes in the national higher

education terrain that all universities in Zimbabwe are now taking steps to put in place institutional quality assurance policies. Bindura University of Science Education and Chinhoyi University of Technology have established institutional departments on quality assurance. This is in line with new government expectations of all the universities in the country, to ensure quality in the provision of their higher education due to the general opinion of the public that universities, especially in Zimbabwe, have lost their reputation of high-quality delivery, and are no longer producing graduates who are marketable internationally (Garwe, 2015: 45). Some parents especially the more affluent ones, are increasingly sending their children to institutions in South Africa, China Malaysia and Europe where they perceive the quality of education to be high (Raftopoulos, 2006: 203). This means that a university has certain quality expectations to meet in society and failure to do so results in the loss of confidence in the institution.

3.26 Electoral violence, education and democratic citizenship

While significant democratic gains were made in Zimbabwe in the first decade of independence, the country failed to sustain its democracy beyond 1999, and the decade of the 2000s is one characterised by what Samuel Huntington described in his book *The clash of civilizations* as the ‘reverse wave of democratisation’ (Huntington, 1997). The period 2000-2009 in Zimbabwe was characterised by mixed fortunes for democracy (African Development Indicators, 2009). Zimbabwe was listed as a “flawed democracy” on the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) in 2009. The index used electoral democracy, participation and human rights, civic liberties and sustainable economic opportunity as terms of reference in their listing (African Development Indicators, 2009). The World Audit on the other hand ranks Zimbabwe among the worst in terms of democracy (World Audit, 2010). This leaves one with a question: Which type of democracy has Zimbabwe been pursuing and what is missing in the democratic process of Zimbabwe? Mandaza (1999: 70) responds by reiterating that when ZANU PF failed to make Zimbabwe a one party state in 1985, they vowed to make the existence and operations of opposition political parties difficult. Brutal activities resulting in untold suffering; torture, violence and deaths were common. Members of the opposition were targeted, especially during election and post-election times (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009: 67). Opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, was incarcerated on several occasions for causing violence and influencing people. Media Houses that opposed ZANU PF were banned and others like the *Daily News* had their printing machinery burnt (Ndlovu-

Gatsheni, 2009: 59). Nonetheless, the opposition grew stronger with the support of white Commercial farmers whose land had been targeted for resettlement through the government's Land Reform Programme. Mugabe suppressed the growing need for opposition on the pretext that they wanted to reverse the revolutionary goals of land redistribution. Schools and universities became places and spaces for political recruitment and indoctrination of the youth militia by the ruling ZANU PF, encouraging them to be intolerant and violent towards those seen or perceived as 'different' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Muzondidya, 2007: 279). Security forces were authorised to arrest and detain those suspected of being against the ruling party. Some headmasters and lecturers were sent to militia camps for so-called 're-orientation' (Raftopoulos, 2003). School leavers and jobless university graduates were often recruited during election times under the guise of national service to perpetrate horrendous crimes against citizens. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Muzondidya, 2007). Since 2000, the demands for civil and political rights have been dismissed as minority and foreign concerns aimed at unsettling majority political will and reversing the gains of national independence and sovereignty (Raftopoulos, 2003: 154). The picture that is painted here is of a people who are denied access to their liberal democratic rights.

A narration of the anti-democratic patterns in Zimbabwe serves to illuminate how the system prevented democratic communication. The effects of the conflicts on higher education in Zimbabwe are numerous. Notably, higher education has failed in its transformational agenda because of the deep seated undemocratic practices in the country. Steyn (2000) attributes the failure to absence of democracy in a state. He reiterates that higher education can only be democratic in a state where democratic values are entrenched. Steyn proposes deep democracy in a conflict ridden situation. Deep democracy entails the preservation and protection of human rights and humane democratic values. The values according to Steyn are to respect diversity of culture and opinions. Steyn's argument is that states should value democracy first then schools and universities could be used as breeding grounds to nurture democratic values. According to Steyn (2000), it is difficult to achieve democracy in a state that is characterised by gross violation of human rights, distinct inequalities and social injustices. In *Education for Democracy*, (Steyn et al., 1999) emphasises the following as democratic attributes that are important in the education of a democratic society: equality, freedom of speech and association, respect for diversity of opinion and culture, tolerance, empathy, respect for others, critical thinking, openness and recognition of human dignity. The authors went on to reiterate that the absence of these democratic values in a state can have

negative effects on social transformation and democratic education. The same sentiments are raised by Van Wyk (2003) who sees a connection between democracy and transformation. For him, there would be no transformation outside democracy because education is aided by democracy and educational transformation in turn provides the democratisation of the other spheres of society.

My argument is that conflicts and political violence in Zimbabwe negatively affected the attainment of DCE. I argue from theories of democracy presented in my literature review, with special emphasis on the notions advanced by Benhabib (1996), Thompson & Gutmann (2004) on legitimacy and democracy. Benhabib (1996) puts forward an argument for a discursive democracy model where she implores citizens to deliberate on problems that are of concern to them (Benhabib, 1996: 67). I argue that the situation that Zimbabwe is in right now (ie at the time of finalising this research in 2017) is characterised by poverty and sanction. The economic meltdown is a result of the state's failure to secure political legitimacy democratically. Legitimacy, for Benhabib needs to result from free and unconstrained deliberation in the political community. She further argues that when legitimacy is acquired, other public goods like economic welfare and collective identity will ideally co-exist in what she describes as some form of equilibrium when democracy functions well (Benhabib, 1996: 77). An attempt by a political party to enforce its legitimacy during elections on people can be explained in terms of failed democracy.

Gutmann's conceptions of democracy are that of a process of deliberation in which decisions and policies are justified in a process of discussion among equal citizens or their accountable representatives (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996: 92). On the one hand, Benhabib (1996) argues that deliberative democracy is a framework of social and institutional arrangements which:

“facilitate free reasoning among equal citizens by providing, for example favourable conditions for expression, association and participation, while ensuring that citizens are treated as free and equal in that discussion” (Benhabib, 2006: 388). Gutmann on the other hand concurs that if citizens are given the opportunity to deliberate on equal basis, they will be able to resolve their political conflicts in a reasonable way of moral respect, tolerance and reasonable disagreements (Gutmann, 2012: 237). This is what has been missing in Zimbabwe. The patterns and trends depicted in political power in Zimbabwe indicate that political positions have been used as positions of power to accumulate wealth, rather than for good governance. Some political positions in the country have become personalised. In the

case of some posts anybody who attempts to challenge a political position or contest is labelled a traitor. Politicians are no longer accountable to citizens as their representatives. They do not need any legitimacy or accountability, but will use violence and intimidation to acquire votes. Shizha and Kariwo (2012: 104) attribute this to passive citizenship that the nation has been socialised to for a long time. Passive citizenship is non-questioning and defers towards the status quo (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012). A good example is where the government of Zimbabwe has narrowed citizenship to partisan dictates (Mawere, 2012). The argument advanced here is for the socialisation of students into active citizens. Opportunities should be created for them to debate, and appreciate critically the institutions that exist and which affect them on a daily basis. This will help in developing rationality in students that would make them able to attain liberation through reasoning, purpose and self-direction (Waghid, 2001: 68). Students are manipulated by politicians because they lack positive liberty which drives their reason and self-direction; this explains why students have their actions directed by others and /or why they are coerced into accepting political views without engaging in rational debate (Waghid, 2001: 66).

The political instability and post-election violence could be argued to have rekindled the ethnic politics in the country as evidenced by the demand for a separate state of Matebeleland by a Ndebele ethnic group the Mtwakazi (Muchemwa, 2016). It is evident from the literature that Zimbabwe embraced democratic principles in governance when it attained independence in 1980, but failed to sustain democracy beyond 1995 (Mazrui, 2008). Commenting on political and ethnic violence, Shizha and Kariwo advocate the need to tolerate the diversity present in Zimbabwe by embracing the philosophical values of citizenship accepted universally, such as respect, justice, equality, human dignity, communicative action, deliberation and human rights (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 104). This is in line with the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of 1999 on education, which have not been implemented fully.

3.27 Summary

In this chapter, I reported on the analysis of education policies and reforms made in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2016. Changing from an oligarchic racial state to an inclusive political democracy in 1980 has been the key determinant in shaping the education system in Zimbabwe. Universities were increased from one in 1980 to fifteen in 2014. There was a phenomenal increase in education and access to university was widened by establishing a

state university in every province. The rationale was to determine the extent to which education in Zimbabwe is informed by DCE principles of equal access to education, equity, justice and communication. From 1980 to 1990, education policy was mainly focused on increasing the number of schools and tertiary colleges. This had a positive bearing on access to education while it negatively affected the quality of education (Kariwo, 2007). The studied policy texts and documents revealed that the economic situation in Zimbabwe had a bearing in the policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. As the economy deteriorated, quality, equity and access became compromised. The introduction of tuition fees to universities and the reduction in government funding for institutions of higher learning had negative effects on quality especially in newly established universities (Hwami, 2012: 73; Mlambo, 2008: 91). The unstable political and economic environment that the country has witnessed since 1999 has made it difficult for the quality assurance division to execute its mandate effectively thereby compromising quality.

It was further noted that although Zimbabwe preached about reconciliation and social transformation, there was little attempt to change the curriculum to accommodate new ideologies in the teaching methodologies. Teaching and learning continued to be informed by colonial philosophies. Another observation made in this chapter was concerned with how education has been prone to political manipulation during election times. Students have been socialised into a culture of violence, and have been used to terrorise people including their teachers and lecturers. Zimbabwe's political setting influences policies in higher education but neglects the cultural values that are supposed to determine the equality, interaction, public engagement and rationality needed for equal opportunities for citizens to engage in policy development and to participate in democratic citizenry on the basis of the relevant education (Shizha, 2006: 109). Despite recommendations by the Presidential Commission to reduce government interference in education, the education system in Zimbabwe continues to be under state control. Education in Zimbabwe lacks the necessary drive to foster sustainable development, active and effective global and local citizenship, as well as to contribute to the strengthening of democracy, dialogue, mutual understanding and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Higher education in Zimbabwe is still stratified according to social status. Students from poor parents continue to be marginalised. Social classes that characterised the colonial state are still inherent in the post-colonial education system, a testimony that DCE principles of equality, equity, justice and transformation are still lacking.

In the next chapter, I report on the analysis of the DCE in three institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER FOUR

A REVIEW OF INSTITUTIONAL COMMITMENT TO EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN ZIMBABWE

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I reported on the analysis of the policy frameworks that speak to higher education in Zimbabwe. From the analysis, I came to the broad conclusion that, in the higher education policy in Zimbabwe, little attention is paid to DCE since the focus in the frameworks is on economic development rather than on the promotion of social responsibility and community decision-making. I discovered that although the primary aim of the higher education policy outlined in the Transitional National Development Plan of 1983, is widening access to higher education for previously marginalised blacks and girls, girls continue to be marginalised due to social and cultural stereotyping. Other policy initiatives guiding higher education in Zimbabwe and discussed in chapter 3, were the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act 2005/6 (ZIMCHE) and the National Development Plan (2006–2010). In both of policies, there is support for the idea that education in the country should prepare students for cognitive development, democratisation, critical thinking and for making a meaningful contribution to poverty eradication in the country (Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, 2006). However, the same documents are not clear on how these goals are to be practically envisioned and how DCE will be fostered.

- In this chapter, the democratic function of two state universities in Zimbabwe is discussed. My presentation is based on the argument that the liberal DCE policy presented in Chapter 2 is thinly conceptualised in terms of responsibility, rights and belonging (Waghid, 2013: 9). In this chapter, it is argued that there is very little deliberation, discussion and participation in Zimbabwe's institutions of higher education. The subjects of discussion focused on intellectualism and quality to substantiate my argument on thin conceptualisation of DCE. By intellectualism, I mean the university's teaching and learning, research and communication. These themes were used to evaluate the operation of universities' services in relation to democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's two state institutions of higher learning. These broad areas were assessed to determine the extent to which university

education in Zimbabwe prepares students for democratic citizenship. The institutions studied are Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) and the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). A brief institutional background of each of the universities studied is given. The research question that I intend to answer in this chapter was: How committed are universities in Zimbabwe to educate for DCE?

The question was answered by showing how the performance of the institutions was largely influenced by the developed policies in terms of efficiency, access, quality and intellectualism. I argue that the two state universities are largely influenced in their operation by some local imperatives that give each institution a unique identity. I discussed the context of each university so that a vivid picture of the institution could be clearly painted. The uniqueness of the two institutions lies in the way they respond to the challenges confronting them and the way they strive to educate for democratic citizenship.

My research borrowed heavily from moderate communitarianism, especially their observation that every democratic society has the challenge of educating succeeding generations of young people for responsible citizenship since these democratic dispositions are not inherited (Giroux, 1995: 239) and that learners have to be prepared for their future responsibilities as citizens of a democratic society (Dewey, 1916: 115). In Dewey's opinion, schools must assist in the unending work of preparing citizens for self-governance and teach the values and skills necessary to administer, protect and perpetuate a free democratic society. The same sentiments are echoed by (Etzioni, 1995) who avers that an effective DCE programme should not only provide learners with the necessary knowledge. Rather, it should provide opportunities for the development of desirable traits of public and private character in students such as justice, respect for individual worth, fairness, co-operation, persistence, moral responsibility, empathy for others, caring, civility, respect for law, civic mindedness and honesty. As noted by the Presidential Commission (1999: 359), universities in Zimbabwe are churning out graduates with little or no exposure to democratic citizenship education so that at the end of four years, they graduate into useless citizens that neither respect authority nor are willing to work hard for the good of their communities (Presidential Commission, 1999: 359). This is caused by a university education system that does little to educate for democratic citizenship but which has become market-oriented instead, with functions of

industry than social institutions aimed at educating citizens for democratic engagement and participation (Etzioni, 1989).

4.2 The University as a democratising Institution

Universities have the capacity not only to provide societies with knowledge that aid these societies in their growth, but they are also able to create attitudes in individuals (Nyerere, 1967: 385). The attitudinal changes are necessary for the socialisation of individuals, the democratisation of political systems and the modernisation of and overall transformation of societies (Jandhala, 2012). Universities are higher centres of learning that help in the creation, absorption and dissemination of knowledge and the production of critical thinkers through teaching and research (Dewey, 1916: 115). This required me to revisit DCE as a concept. ‘Democratic education’ refers to an educational practice based on critical pedagogy, but translated more strongly to the organisation of education and to participation in society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004: 99). Students should learn about democracy both as a political system and as a way of life. Practising democracy leads to schools making education meaningful and students being taken seriously as active citizens (Goodman, Kuzmic & Wu, 1992; Veugelers, 2007). DCE should promote in students an attitude of mind which embraces a willingness to be critical and a capacity to question policies and views while at the same time being ready to advance reasons for one’s own views and to change them in the light of weighty contrary evidence (Heater, 2004: 338). Students must be taught to respond to a diversity of views in appropriate ways such as learning to disagree respectfully; respect for differences; learning appropriate debate and logic skills; the importance of diversity within unity; and the rights of the individual (Rawls, 1971).

Gutmann (1999) describes the purpose of university education as that of promoting social responsibility, community, democratic decision making, and modelling the democratic state. Universities are generators of new knowledge, as well as institutions for scholarly research. Although other social institutions responsible for democratic education are libraries, schools and churches, the university is considered one of the most significant social institutions designed for social reproduction, economic development, and the generation of new knowledge (Daxner, 2010: 14; Greene, Ayers and Miller, 1998). Therefore, it is particularly incumbent upon universities to shoulder their responsibility for the transmission of democratic values and the improvement of society. Nyerere, sums up the role of the university as a “fortress for freedom of speech and criticism of the established government;

thereby serving political democracy” Nyerere (1967: 353). He further elaborates on the democratic role of the university by defining it as a “place where people’s minds are trained for clear thinking, for independent thinking, for analysis, and for problem solving at the highest level (Nyerere, 1967). It is within this context of a university that the researcher evaluates the readiness of universities in Zimbabwe to educate for DCE.

It has been stated in chapter three (see 3.2.3) that Zimbabwe’s first major reform was that of allowing children of all races equal access to education (Kariwo, 2011: 26). The government was able to abolish the distinction between African and European education from primary level through to university level (Mumbengegwi, 2001: 14). More schools both primary and high schools were opened. Universities were increased from one in 1990 to fifteen, ten of which are state run institutions while five are private universities that are chartered by the state (Sigauke, 2012: 198). The newly established universities were confronted with a host of challenges. Firstly, they were established when Zimbabwe was experiencing an economic down turn (Kariwo, 2011; Maravanyika, 2005). Secondly, widespread political clashes characterised the already established universities and colleges. Students were complaining about the declining quality of learning as lecturers fled the country in search of greener pastures (Mlambo, 2008: 86). Educational gains that were achieved in the 1990s were eroded by both (ESAP) and the economic sanctions. Corruption and other social ills exacerbated by HIV/Aids set in. Despite all these challenges, university education has been growing fast compared to the other two levels namely primary and secondary education (GoZ, 2012).

However, the argument advanced in this chapter is that, expansion does not result in equal opportunities. Achieving equal access to education is a step towards achieving equity and democracy. Steyn et al (1999: 31) equates equity to fairness and justice. What this implies for universities in Zimbabwe this implies that there must be transformation of the existing structural inequalities in universities so that equality and equity can be realised. The fact that Zimbabwe has been successful in widening access to education does not necessarily mean that there is equitable distribution of university education.

In Chapter 3 and 4 it is revealed that some students are excluded from attaining university qualifications because their parents cannot afford the fees. Although the Zimbabwe constitution guarantees the right to education for all children as a fundamental human right, not all children have been able to access quality education in Zimbabwe. Despite this right spelt out in the constitution, to children of the poor the right remains a negative right (a right

guaranteed on paper but in reality there are barriers to accessing the right). New universities especially those established after year 2000 (Refer to diagram in chapter 3) operate without adequate resources and qualified personnel. This means that students attending those universities may not receive education of the same quality as that received in well-established universities. Waghid (2001: 32) associates equality of opportunity with equal access to quality education, equal career opportunities and advance in the social hierarchy. He further reiterates that equality of educational opportunities can only be realised if all learners receive an equal share of educational resources regardless of their geographical location. On the same note, Steyn et al. (1999: 37) avers that quality and access cannot be divorced from equitable distribution of both material and human resources as these are needed to achieve the removal of social disparities.

4.3 The economic background influencing university funding in Zimbabwe

At the beginning of 1996, the Zimbabwean economy was showing signs of cracking in both the education and the economic arena (Raftopoulos, 2006). Things were not going well both in the education and the economic arenas. The economy was spiralling downwards (Nyazema, 2010: 233). For the first time the country could not repay its debts. Life expectancy had fallen from 52 in 1990 to 41 in 1999 (Raftopoulos, 2004: 163). The country experienced an economic downturn. Furthermore, the decline in economic performance in Zimbabwe between 1997 and 2009 drove the country into poverty. Per capita income fell from about US \$ 644 in 1990 to US\$433 in 2006 (Raftopoulos 2006: 207). The poverty rate increased from 42% in 1995 to 63% in 2003 and to 70% in 2007 (Central Statistics Office). In 2008, the Gini coefficient estimated inequality in Zimbabwe to be the highest in the world and was estimated at 57% (Raftopoulos, 2010: 709). Unemployment is very high, at 95% in 2016 (UNDP, 2016). This was/is worsened by the fact that 1.2 million people live with HIV in a total population of 14 million (Central Statistics Office, 2010). From 2000 to 2008, many economic activities contributed to the economic decline of the gross domestic product GDP to below the poverty datum line in 2003 onwards (Raftopoulos, 2006). Factors such as the land reform, sanctions, economic mismanagement, low investment, poor governance and corruption contribute to the economic decline in the country (Nyazema, 2010: 243).

Several people, black and white, were made homeless after the Land Reform Programme (LRP) of 2000, especially the former workers of commercial white farmers who had lived on farms. Every sector was affected and education was not an exception. In 1999, the

Presidential Commission suggested the introduction of a cost recovery approach to education. Following these recommendations, in 2003 the budget for the Ministry of Education which used to be the biggest in the country was shot down (Kariwo, 2011; Nyazema, 2010: 246). Government could not sustain the payment of grants and allowances to university students. The burden of university fees fell on the parents. More and more parents found it difficult to pay for their children's education. Higher education again became a preserve of the rich as it had been in the days of colonialism (Nyazema, 2010: 243).

As the economy became more and more challenged, it became unsustainable for the government to continue with the funding of higher education. For instance, in 2007, the inflation rate moved to hyperinflation and peaked at 500 billion % at the end of 2008 (Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Annual Report, 2009). Faced with this crisis, the government drastically reduced its expenditure on all social services and institutions. In 2003, the state implemented the recommendations of the Presidential commission and introduced cost recovery approaches to university education. Education was largely placed in the hands of the private sector. Funding of higher education was stopped, grants were replaced by loans and state institutions were allowed to collect fees directly from students (Materike, 2012: 89). Prior to this cost-recovery mechanism, students did not pay any money over to the university, instead, students received study grants from the state and these were enough for their study and subsistence (ZINASU 2014). University accommodation and the cafeterias got privatised. This move meant that all the subsidies that the government paid on these privatised entities were removed (Hwami, 2012: 58). Rentals in university halls of residence skyrocketed and food was/is still unaffordable to many students (Hwami, 2012: 60). University grants were scrapped completely and education ceased to be a right but became a privilege as it was during the colonial era (Hwami, 2012: 57). The education system failed further and faced challenges due to the ever-diminishing economy. Shizha views the introduction of university fees as institutionalising a built-in persistence of inequalities and as counter democratic. According to him the deconstruction and reconstruction of education has to be undertaken (Shizha, 2006: 30). The Privatisation of higher education has made it difficult for the general populace to access quality education. The underfunding of higher education owing to the collapse of the economy due to failed economic policies like the land reform has created a society where some people can no longer afford to pay higher education fees (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 99). The learners are now responsible for their own education

since the government has reneged from its traditional obligations of funding higher education.

On the political arena, politics in Zimbabwe after 1991 was characterised by mixed fortunes. In 1999, the country was listed as part of a group of African states whose democracy was said to be in the “reverse wave of democratization” (Huntington, 1997). These are the countries which experienced economic and political liberalisation in the first decade of their independence but failed to sustain democratic principles of governance beyond that first decade of independence (Mazrui, 2008). The state’s decade-long (2000–2010) economic decline and socio-political crisis posed several challenges to the nation in general and to universities in particular. It is under these difficult economic and political circumstances that universities in Zimbabwe are expected, to perform their democratic purpose of educating citizens for democracy, while at the same time providing low-cost but high-quality education (NAP, 2005). These institutions are also expected to fulfil their mandates if they wish to remain relevant and should be completely committed in three directions, teaching, research, and service (Gutmann, 1991).

4.4 Zimbabwe’s universities and the concept of Democratic Citizenship

Education

In this chapter, DCE is used to imply teaching and university governance that attunes learners to the democratic processes of government (Strayhorn, 2005: 16). In Gutmann’s view (1991) democratic education is a political and educational ideal, chiefly concerned with how future citizens will be educated. It involves the learning processes and environments designed for the preservation of democracy, the promotion of a common culture, the development of civic responsibility, the obligation to ethical behaviour, and the enhancement of global perspectives (Gutmann, 1991). On the other hand, DCE is conceptualised as the dissemination of concepts that result in integrated democratic awareness essentially through public institutions (Abdulghani, 2010: 4). It concerns the articulation of specific content and knowledge on democratic awareness, enriching what people believe and have established with regard to democracy, improving people’s perception regarding democracy and their relationship to the political system and institutions of governance, for instance, with the legislature, executive and legal systems (Jandhala, 2012: 526). The knowledge of this concept enables citizens to know how they should relate with political objects, issues and events around them, in order to adjust their behaviour accordingly to realise democratic purposes

and good governance (Campbell, 2003: 30). If properly developed, DCE can be useful in laying the framework for shaping political cultures as a core basis and an integral part of the shared culture of society (Jandhala, 2012: 526). It is more of a critical rather than passive learning.

In Zimbabwe, DCE should focus on producing a democratic culture based on the principles that extol values such as public freedoms and social justice. Public freedom is concerned with human and civil rights and the right to political participation. I call for the strengthening of a deliberative democracy in universities that calls for institutional changes in the main stream structures of education. This includes the role of groups such as lecturers, students, parents and financiers as important players in the university education sector (Harber, 2006: 618). This calls for the application of democratic principles in the teaching and learning process which take into account the values and themes of tolerance and respect for basic freedoms and liberties (Harber, 2006: 619). Tolerance is considered an important attribute of an attitude for DCE (Print, 2007). Students need to learn to be tolerant of views and positions divergent from their own so that they can cooperate and live together with others in pluralised societies. The ruthless attacks on the minority Ndebele during the Gukurahundi era 1981–1987 and the harassment of white commercial farmers during the Land Reform Programme are an indication of a lack of democratic norms of tolerance and respect. Tolerance is crucial in the maintenance of social diversity, cooperation and fostering social cohesion (Harber, 2006: 619).

4.5 Conceptions of a university

In this section, I briefly explain the conceptualisations of university education and their purpose, as these vary from time to time. Two principal philosophies of liberal (epistemology) and political considerations have been influencing university policy and practice. According to Brubacher and Rudy (1997: 46), in the liberal philosophy of higher education knowledge as an end in itself was promoted, while in political philosophy higher education as a means of solving problems in society was emphasised. The purpose with the liberal curriculum is to train the mind and it is through university education that the critical mind is formed and shaped (Etzioni, 1989). The habits of a formed mind are permanently engraved into the educated person, and these habits include freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom. Etzioni (1989) has described these habits as philosophical habits.

However, there are philosophers who are opposed to research being the central activity of a university. One of these authors is Newman. In his book; *The Idea of a university* he calls for the elimination of research from university arguing that there is no link between research and teaching (Newman, 1965). Instead, Newman is in support of a 20th century conceptualisation of a university offering liberal arts (a trivium) of grammar, rhetoric and logic as well as (the quadrivium) of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music (Newman, 1965). The above liberal description of a university as a repository of reason and culture is undemocratic as it links university education with the upper class from which the poor, the disadvantaged and women are excluded (Noddings, 2012). This conceptualisation of a university contradicts the DCE, which calls for universities to focus on equality, quality, democratic participation of the masses and accountability. DCE favours practical (constructivist) orientation to learning which brings sustainable transformation than to perpetuate inequalities, as was the case in Zimbabwe before 1980.

Newman's (1965) conceptualisations of a university without research has been strongly criticised by Allen and Allen (1988: 19) who states that a university cannot fully educate students without them being engaged in research. He further highlights that a university is simultaneously a professional school, a cultural centre and a research institute. My view of a university is that it is a centre of learning with a wide range of missions that are arrived at through debate and consensus. Considering the deteriorating socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe, I propose a university education for Zimbabwe in which there is a balance between liberal ideas and political orientation. An ideal university education must address the social problems confronting the Zimbabwean society through research and teaching.

4.6 Establishment of the University of Zimbabwe

Negotiations to establish a university in Southern Rhodesia started as early as 1952 when the governor of Southern Rhodesia promulgated a University Charter and the Inaugural Board Act (UZ prospectus, 2014). The Act stated that the university was to “serve the two Rhodesia's and neighbouring territories in the future” (Cheater, 1991: 190). The granting of the Royal Charter on 11 February 1955 repealed the 1952 Act (Gelfand, 1978). In 1955 the University of Zimbabwe was established by the Royal Charter, first as the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland meant to serve the three British colonies of Northern Rhodesia now Zambia, Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe and Nyasaland which is now Malawi. The

Royal charter was unpopular with several academics that saw it as a colonial instrument to oppress the minorities and usurp their academic autonomy (Cheater, 1991: 196). Despite the unpopularity of the Charter, the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was governed by it from 1955 to 1965 (Cheater, 1991: 190). In 1971, the university's name was changed to the University of Rhodesia because Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had voted to quit the federation (Cheater, 1991: 194). It was later renamed the University of Zimbabwe in 1980 when the country attained independence. The UZ is the oldest and most prestigious university in Zimbabwe. It is situated in the country's capital of Harare. The University of Zimbabwe opened with an enrolment of 77 students. Student enrolment has been increasing every year and now stands at 12 000 (UZ Prospectus, 2014). It is recorded in the Journal of the University of Zimbabwe that UZ received generous funding from the state in the first decade of independence. This was meant to help the university maintain the colonial standards that it had inherited. Cheater (1991: 194) recalls the first decade of independence as the university's honey-moon which ended when more universities and poly-techniques were opened. These over-stretched the country's budget for higher education and the government realised how unsustainable it was to fund universities. Cheater (1991) refers to the first decade as the period of success for UZ teaching and learning. She recalls how the university attracted foreign students and lecturers. "...UZ was able to attract a high calibre of lecturers whose breadth and length of scholarship matched those of the first world universities" (Cheater, 1991: 189). Besides lecturers, UZ attracted students from all over the world. Research by Gatawa (1999) in 1985 indicate that the University of Zimbabwe had a record of 1 577 foreign students out of a total enrolment of 5000 undergraduate students (Gatawa, 1999). Although Raftopoulos (2004) and Cheater (1991) agree about the decrease in quality of university education provision after 1990, the two authors seem to differ on the reasons for the decline in the quality of higher learning. While Cheater (1991) talks of unlimited government interference in university governance, Raftopoulos (2004) attributes the decline to a poor economy that could not sustain the funding of higher education for a protracted duration. Furthermore, Raftopoulos (2004) cites the expansion in university education in Zimbabwe and the opening of more universities as another factor that compromised the quality of Zimbabwean universities (Mutumbuka, 1982: 10).

4.7 The purpose of Universities and Democratic Citizenship Education in Zimbabwe

During the colonial era, access to university was on racial grounds. On paper, the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was open to all races but the number of Africans who had the required qualification for acceptance was limited by the fact that there were only two high schools in the whole country that offered Advanced level classes for Africans (Chivore, 2010; Chung, 2008: 16; Mumbengegwi, 2001; Zvobgo, 1999). Entry into university by African students was also restricted by the existence of a dual system of education which allowed European students to enter South African Universities after 'M' Level but insisted on Africans doing so after Advanced level (Zvobgo, 1999: 103). The racialism at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland worked in favour of Europeans and it persisted until 1978 (Shamuyarira, 1997: 18). The amount of money spent on African bursaries and scholarships was comparatively smaller than that spent on the education of whites. The education system was undemocratic, access to university education was racially determined; it was undemocratic (Mumbengegwi, 2001; Zvobgo, 1999). This called for a complete revolutionary transformation of all educational systems in Zimbabwe. The University of Zimbabwe was expected upon attainment of independence to transform the society from a capitalist-oriented society into an African Socialist perspective borrowed from Marxism upon the attainment of independence (Challiss, 1983: 110). Higher education was further expected to engineer the transformation process of the education system from the colonial education system where the main objective was to produce adequate and cheap labour, power for the plantations, the mines and the growing manufacturing industries (Shamuyarira, 1997: 4).

Mosha (1986) has observed the research role of the university as more affluent in developed countries because they have the financial capacity to support meaningful research. In Africa and other developing countries, nations are beset with political, economic and ecological problems with the result that those universities are and cannot afford serious and meaningful research. In Zimbabwe, funding of research has been grossly reduced. This affects the quality of research output produced by academics. I now want to discuss three models of university governance. The rationale of this discussion on models of university governance systems is to highlight the importance of governance structures in DCE. It is through university governance structures that DCE principles manifest themselves.

4.7 Models of university governance

There are several models of university governance. I shall pick only three models which are of relevance to Zimbabwe. The first model is the *State Control Model*. In this model, university activities with regard to appointments of university administrators, professors and student selection are determined by the state (Saunders, 2005). The state also determines the limit universities can charge on tuition fees. The justification of state control model is premised on the understanding that higher education is created and completely funded by the state therefore it has to be controlled by the state for quality and accountability purposes. Due to a lot of state influence in the university operations, state control model can result in the state monitoring all university activities the university, like monitoring staff and students' political behaviour (Divala, 2007: 90). In such cases, state control is meant to safeguard the political survival of the people in power rather than knowledge advancement.

The second model is the state *supervision model* which is based on the assumption that the government and the university are equal partners that must agree on what is good for a future citizen (Saunders, 2005). Universities in this model are free to implement policies in the best way they feel necessary without government interference. The assumption is that universities are fully aware of their role in society and must be left to play that role. Although the government has the right to intervene when desired goals are not met, the intervention between the two is worked out rationally and deliberatively (Divala, 2007; Saunders, 2005). In other words, the supervision model promotes a deliberative culture in university governance and the nation.

The last model to be discussed here is the state intervention model of university governance. This model is characterised by a lot of interference by the state in university activities. In most cases the interference is not supported by any legislation. The state in this model intervene in university activities by sanctioning crucial functions of the university especially when the government feels the activities are not in line with their agenda. State interference can be manifest in university curriculum, who and what is to be taught in the universities and promotion of university staff to senior positions. Academic freedom and institutional autonomy is highly compromised in this model (Saunders, 2005: 1). Saunders defines institutional autonomy as the right of the institution to carry out its affairs with as little interference as possible from external influences.

I have explored the models of university governance so that I may be able to situate the model that universities in Zimbabwe are pursuing. As I stated before, DCE principles of access, quality, autonomy, freedom, justice manifests themselves through university governance structures. In other words, the possibility or impossibility of DCE is determined by the governance structure of the university. Constant reference to these models shall be made as I explore on institutional commitment to educate for DCE.

4.8 University governance and democracy: the 1982 Act

The term ‘governance’ in higher education is used here to denote the way university systems are managed and organised. This includes the way power and authority are structured and exercised within the university system (Divala, 2008). In the previous chapter it was stated that university governance in Zimbabwe is centralised in the same way the political power is centralised (Hwami, 2012: 43; Raftopoulos, 2004). The centrality character of the Zimbabwean government has left a mark on the universities that are bureaucratic and answerable to the President as the Chancellor of all state universities. The challenge to the hierarchical and bureaucratic system of governance lies in the relationship between the authority and the subjects. In 1982, a new University Act was passed to govern the University of Zimbabwe. The preamble of the Act stated that the institution would “further and better provision for the government of the University of Zimbabwe” (GoZ 1982).

The administration structure of the UZ is the same as that in other state institutions and is as follows:

- The Chancellor of the university (the head of state)
- The Vice-chancellors (appointed by the President, University Council and the Minister of Higher Education)
- The Pro-vice-chancellor
- The University Bursar
- The University Registrar
- The University librarian (University of Zimbabwe Act 1999).

As stated in the previous sections, the President, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, is the Chancellor of all state universities in Zimbabwe. His duties as a chancellor include the appointment of vice chancellors but the respective university councils do the nominations of their respective council members (Cheater, 1991: 194). The President’s influence is immense because

members of the opposition parties are not appointed into such key positions in higher education. In other words, I am saying, higher education in Zimbabwe is state controlled.

University Council

The University council is the supreme authority in the university. Each university has a council chaired by a chairperson and a vice chairperson whose appointment is influenced by the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, the chancellor and the vice chancellor. Since this is the highest authority in university business, the government has the greater interest in the appointment of the council and those who sit in the council. In most cases people are appointed along partisan lines (Kariwo, 2007: 28). The council employs everybody in the university including the vice chancellors.

University Senate

The senate is the supreme academic authority in the university. It is chaired by the vice-chancellor. The functions of the university senate include:

- promoting the advancement of knowledge through research;
- formulating and carrying out the academic policies of the university;
- regulating the programmes and examinations of the University (University Act 1999).

Universities in Zimbabwe are governed through a committee system, but the committee members are carefully selected (Cheater, 1991). This is a democratic way of governance and management that fosters citizen participation and the involvement of the university community in the governance of universities. This improves communication between the policy-makers and policy-users at the functional level (UZ Prospectus, 2014:1). Ever since the passing of the University of Zimbabwe Act in 1990 (see, 3.2.9), academic freedom has been deliberately overlooked. According to this new legislation, the government through the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education has increased control in the day to-day running of all state institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe. The MHTE fixes tuition fees for all tertiary institutions that are state run. Review committees of respective universities fix other fees such as catering and accommodation fees. At UZ and BUSE the Review committees are chaired by the respective vice chancellors, and committee members include two student representatives, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Dean of students, deans for all the faculties and the directors of accommodation and catering services. This arrangement is an attempt at

engaging students in matters that concern them and is in line with principles of deliberative engagement. It is a democratic arrangement in that students are at least consulted and engaged in the process of determining fees. However, in many instances students' representatives cannot influence outcomes because they are out-numbered by representatives of the institution's administration and a voting system is used to adopt decisions (Hwami, 2012). Another inhibiting factor to student engagement is that student representatives receive the agenda and other documents for meetings on the days of the meeting, which denies them time to study these and plan accordingly (ZINASU, 2010: 19).

The Minister of Higher Education also appoints 12 of the members of the respective University councils and has influence in the appointment of the remaining members. This arrangement implies that the majority of council members owe their appointment to the minister and that loyal party members are appointed. This stifles university autonomy and academic freedom. For any university to become a university of excellence, it must begin by recognising academic freedom and autonomy. Academic freedom is derived from Kwame Nkrumah's context as the recognition of the rights of all students', that academic and non-academic staff should be able associate freely, and to assemble and express themselves and to pursue research and study without undue interference (Nkrumah, 1988: 2). University governance in Zimbabwe is undemocratic since appointment to university posts especially non-academic posts is along political lines not on merit. The government in Zimbabwe plays a major role in influencing policy, establishing programmes, and determining curriculums especially in institutions of higher learning like vocational training centres. Universities are operated through a government appointed administrative structure and at times, the government determines who teaches in the universities (Mlambo, 2008: 67). Individual universities are not given an opportunity to appoint the officials who govern them. Since appointments are done by the President and the Minister of Higher Education, members of the opposition do not stand a chance of being appointed no matter how qualified they might be. This means that universities in Zimbabwe are operating as government-owned institutions instead of democratic institutions of higher learning. Observations by (Sigauke, 2012; Kariwo, 2012: 69) reveal that for the past two decades, it has not been easy to separate government affairs from party issues. ZANU PF as a party controls all government institutions. The President himself as the chancellor of all state universities appoints university vice chancellors (Kariwo, 2012). It has been seen to happen in Zimbabwe that universities are run by vice chancellors who are members of the President's secret security

organization, the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) (Human Rights Watch, 2009: 6). This has resulted in the manipulation of higher education for political gains like using universities as venues for ZANU PF campaigns and rallies. Academic freedom is limited; the autonomy of lecturers and students is also controlled (Cheater, 1991; Mlambo, 2008; ZINASU, 2014). For instance, university students at the UZ were only consulted after the UZ's 1989 bill had been passed into law in 1990. This is not in the interests of genuine participation where students' voices are solicited in matters that concern them (Trowler, 2010: 13). The benefits of students' involvement in university governance include openness, trust, justice and a peaceful academic environment that can contribute to better quality decisions (Jones & Oleksiyenko, 2011: 51). Despite academic freedom and university autonomy being seen as critical to the work of both students and staff and as leading to the achievement of a democratic citizenry, universities in Zimbabwe are guilty of curtailing this academic right. Since the President serves as the chancellor of all state-run universities, and the Ministry of Higher Education supervises education policy at universities, students and lecturers face the risk of harassment or arrest after protesting government policy. In 1989, Gutto Shadreck a law lecturer from Kenya working at the University of Zimbabwe was expelled and deposed for allegedly assisting students to draft an anti-corruption manifesto. Another Law lecturer at the UZ, Kempton Makamure was arrested for criticising the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1990 and attacking government economic policies on national radio (Human Rights Watch, 2009: 5). This justifies my earlier submission in this chapter that higher education in Zimbabwe falls short in terms of democratic citizenship education because it portrays distorted views of participation, deliberation and belonging.

4.9 The University of Zimbabwe

The University of Zimbabwe is the biggest and most prestigious institution in the country. It has 10 faculties: Arts, Education, Law, Commerce, Agriculture, Science, Veterinary Science, Medicine, Engineering and Social Studies. It also has a number of institutes such as the Institute of Environmental Science, the Confucius Institute, Institute for Developmental Studies, the Institute of Mining Research and the Centre for Defence Studies. All public teachers' colleges (10) and state vocational colleges (8) are affiliates of UZ. The University of Zimbabwe offers more than 100 undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, diplomas and certificate programmes (UZ prospectus 2016). It currently has an enrolment of 12 000 undergraduates and 500 postgraduate students. In terms of academic staff, the University of

Zimbabwe as of 2015 had 27 professors, 104 senior lecturers, 200 junior lecturers and tutors (UZ prospectus 2015). The University of Zimbabwe is severely under-staffed if one considers the student lecturer ratio. UZ is affected by the brain drain, which occurred between 1995 and 2008. The most affected faculties are Medicine, Engineering, Veterinary Sciences and the faculty of Commerce (Vice Chancellor's graduation report, 2015).

4.10 The mission of the University of Zimbabwe

The mission of the UZ is to:

enable clients and customers to make meaningful contributions to sustainable development in Zimbabwe;

provide high quality education, training and advisory services on the needs-oriented basis; to guarantee the above by maintaining excellence in Teaching, Learning, Research and Services the community (UZ Prospectus 2016: 2).

4.11 University funding in Zimbabwe

Higher education in Zimbabwe is not spared by the harsh socio-economic conditions that affected the country for over two decades. The passing of the University of Zimbabwe Act in 1991 was a response to a series of strikes at the first and most prestigious institution of higher learning in Zimbabwe. In the year 2000, Zimbabwe held parliamentary elections and in 2002, Presidential elections. These were characterised by political victimisation and the EU refused to legitimise the results. After this period when the ruling party nearly lost the elections, political interference in higher education increased, especially in the administration of universities. In 2003 the country was expelled from the Commonwealth. The expulsion had negative effects on the universities' funding and research (Majoni, 2014). By pulling out of the grouping, Zimbabwe lost the much-needed academic sponsorships that were undertaken by the Commonwealth. In response, the government withdrew its financial support to all students in institutions of higher learning. Cost-recovery mechanisms with regard to education were introduced. The government fixes tuition fees in Zimbabwe for all state tertiary institutions. Where accommodation and catering services are provided, the tertiary institutions fix the requisite prices through fees review committees (ZINASU, 2010: 19). In February 2006, the university fees were hiked by 100% at a week's notice (Hwami, 2012). This left the guardians struggling to pay higher fees for which they had not budgeted for. Furthermore, many of the subsidies for student accommodation, catering and transport were

scrapped (ZINASU, 2014). The cumulative effects of these measures on the well-being of ordinary families have been devastating particularly concerning higher education. Statistics of student dropout because of fees from 2006 to 2010 are alarming. Records indicate that between 2006 and 2010 at UZ alone, 202 students either deferred their studies or pulled out of the system due to problems with fees. Bindura University recorded 96 dropouts in the same period (Mawere, 2012: 446). In terms of transformation in higher education, Zimbabwe had made some inroads in widening access to university education but the decline in the economy exacerbated by antagonistic relations with the EU has made it difficult to reach its transformation target that is the equitable distribution of education opportunities. Some private and public universities, especially the newly established state institutions, have resorted to enrolling students based on their ability to pay rather than on prior education excellence (Chivore, 2010:15). This has an effect on the quality of graduates that are churned out by such institutions. It also impacts negatively on the equality, quality and standards of professionalism in teaching and learning as many opportunists are finding access to universities even if they do not qualify (Mapolisa and & Tshabalala, 2016).

The vice chancellor chairs the review committee at UZ and its members include one or two students' representatives, the pro-vice chancellor, the dean of students, dean of students' faculties and the director of accommodation and catering services (ZINASU, 2010: 19). It is however interesting to note that students are at least consulted and engaged in the process of determining fees. This issue of fees is pertinent to their welfare. Their representatives however also cannot influence outcomes because institutional representatives outnumber student representatives. (Chivore, 2010: 15).

4.12 Model for national development for the University of Zimbabwe

The replacement of the Royal Charter with an Act of Parliament in 1982 at the University of Zimbabwe sparked some irreconcilable differences on the future planning of education in general and university education in Zimbabwe in particular. There were former colonial administrators who had helped in the administration of the University of Rhodesia especially with regard to finances and scholarships who suggested minor modifications to the colonial education system at the time. They argued that complete transformation of the system would result in declining standards of university education and the politicisation of institutions of higher learning (Atkinson, 2006: 130). The conservative whites also pointed out that much in the education system was worth preserving because many revolutionaries had benefited

through it. (Atkinson, 2006: 132; Hwami, 2012: 59). They cited examples of political interference in universities in Tanzania and Zambia and how this had an effect on university autonomy as well as quality provision. On the other hand, the revolutionaries sought the creation of an entirely new system arguing that the inherited colonial system lacked merit of any kind (Atkinson, 2006: 132). With regard to university education, revolutionaries preferred a state- controlled system, arguing that the state would remove all colonial barriers that had hindered educational access to Africans at the university. They alleged that the University of Zimbabwe was “serving the colonial system by providing a pool of its servants and inculcating a value system of hierarchical control and exploitation implicit in colonialism” (Atkinson, 2006: 137). The revolutionary views advanced by Mutumbuka (1985) and Shamuyarira (1997) and Zvobgo 1999 cites the Keigwin Report of 1924 by the Native Department of Education (NDE) as the origin of apartheid in education in Zimbabwe. The NDE was convinced that any policy preferring the advancement of a small number of Africans was to be infinitely preferred to any scheme, which would opt for the educational advancement of the majority. This proposal was endorsed and adopted by the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 (See chapter three). The proposal was passed into policy later that same year. The Director for Native Education was tasked to disseminate the policy to all schools for Africans in tertiary education. The policy stunted the growth rate of African tertiary education from the early 1920s to the 1970s (Zvobgo, 1999: 45). European settlers ensured that their children received the best possible education in order to secure continued European domination. This is what those in favour of a complete restructuring of the education system wanted to eradicate in favour of the creation of a “non-racial, expanded and modified higher education system on the basis that all institutions eliminate racial discrimination and that high standards are maintained at the university” (Challiss, 1983: 121). They recommended a university model that would guarantee retention of the university autonomy and the co-ordination and expansion of state and voluntary training schemes (Atkinson, 2006; Zvobgo 1999: 45). The model was based on five principles, which have influenced higher education and university operations to date.

- The university (universities) must be guided by the principle of academic excellence in all its/their operations, and research must always be looked on as one of the most important contributions of a university to any educational system.

- Entry to university must remain as it is (meritocracy) that is after the completion of sixth form studies.
- Employment at the university must be on academic merit, and the university should maintain its detachment from political policy and from any form of sectional interest.
- The numbers of bursaries and scholarships for Africans to assist promising but disadvantaged students who might not be able to attend university.
- The creation of a non-racial meritocracy in the context of a free-enterprise system of government must be facilitated (Atkinson, 2006).

The model was adopted as the National Development Model for the Universities in Zimbabwe in 1984. However, the model was criticised by those who favoured gradual change on the pretext that rapid Africanisation of higher education would perpetuate inequalities and the creation of a black bourgeoisie filling the positions of those Europeans leaving the country, and leaving the majority of Zimbabweans no better off than before (Atkinson, 2006: 131). They went on to point out that, the model was not in any case advocating equality but for marginalisation of the previously advantaged whites (Atkinson, 2006: 133). According to Atkinson, (2006: 130) increasing in the number of bursaries for blacks at the expense of whites was in itself a perpetuation of inequalities. This means that, Atkinson like Waghid (2010b), is not in agreement with some forms of transformation especially transformation that aims to make “the least transformed becoming more transformed” citing that the removal of resources from advantaged students to promote the welfare of the disadvantaged does not amount to equality (Waghid, 2010b: 76). Waghid, on the other hand concurs with Atkinson when he avers that, for higher education to be equitable, it needs to be committed to advancing equal opportunities as far as access is concerned (Waghid, 2002b: 117). According to Waghid, (2002b: 117), equality is an “enabling good” which functions in developmental and educational ways and evokes potentialities in disadvantaged students.

The policy for an education system based on free enterprise principles is criticised for not being realistic. The fact that the people of Zimbabwe have never experienced the free enterprise system, except for a small sector of the populace, should in itself have suggested the need for a more widely-based educational policy (Atkinson, 2006: 132). The 1983 model has been undermined by the fact that it was drafted soon after independence when the

freedom euphoria was still high and this appear to have undermined the applicability of the model especially with regard to the preservation of the university's autonomy in order to maintain high standards of 'academic excellence' (Atkinson, 2006: 132).

The modification and expansion of higher education in the model mainly comprises the establishment of more teachers' colleges, polytechnics and universities in Zimbabwe. This was decided on in order to address the uneven access to higher education institutions which offered the white Rhodesians more access to university than blacks. During the colonial era, access to university was a preserve of the whites who had a wider menu of university programmes to choose from, whereas blacks who gained admission were limited to Arts and Humanities degrees. This was done to offer unequal employment opportunities for blacks so that they would not compete with their white counterparts for the high-paying jobs (Zvobgo, 1999: 45). Between 1980 and 1994, at least 79% of the University of Zimbabwe's senior administrators and senior lecturers were Whites (Nherera, 2000: 82). This entailed a skewed employment system in higher education, which favoured whites.

It is further stated in the model that English was to become the medium of instruction. At the same time, curriculum had to put more emphasis on African Studies while encouraging "understanding of and tolerance for different racial groups" (Atkinson, 2006: 133). This item in the model attempted to address the issue of the relevance of university education to a multi-cultural community. This is in line with communitarianism where the dignity of all persons is to be respected (Etzioni, 1989: 344). While the government attempted to eliminate discrimination through the abolishment of grouping schools into racial classes (see chapter two), in higher education there are private universities that are automatically excluding students from middle class parents through their fee structures which make these institutions inaccessible to the poor. The problems of the policies drafted during the first decade after independence in Zimbabwe was that politicians did not give citizens the opportunity and power to decide on policy proposals, but rather policies were decided by politicians and cascaded down to citizens for implementation. The early policies were drafted along partisan lines, with people selected from the ruling party to lead teams and commissions (Atkinson, 2006: 131). Although there was wider consultation specifically for the National Transitional Development Plan of 1983, the development model for universities of 1983 and the 1999 Presidential Commission, these consultations were led by representatives that had been appointed by the President as heard of State and Chancellor of all universities, and their

inclination to partisanship cannot be doubted. Due to the exclusion of professors and many other stakeholders in educational discourse on policy formulation, university governance, teaching and learning, as well as a democratic education, that which the government of Zimbabwe anticipated to achieve could not be realised.

4.13 University of Zimbabwe's Vision for the new millennium

The following is the vision for the University of Zimbabwe for the new millennium.

The University of Zimbabwe endeavours to be recognised by others as a leading University working for prosperity, peace and dignity in Zimbabwe and beyond.

The vision for the UZ is drawn from the Regional Development Priorities (RDP) that were derived from the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These goals have been shaping university policy and practice in Zimbabwe. Mission statements for all state universities in Zimbabwe were adopted from the broader objectives of the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, which also adopted its mission and vision from the Regional Development Priorities (RDP) (Hwami, 2012). The aim and vision for higher education is to enhance access to higher education by adopting a policy for the democratisation of higher and tertiary education and training for all communities in the country. The same document clearly states that universities in Zimbabwe were expected to remove gender disparities within institutions of higher learning (Ministry of Higher & Tertiary Education, 2006). The mission for the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education is to provide, regulate and facilitate tertiary education and training through the planning, development and implementation of effective policies, the provision of resources and the management of institutions in order to meet the human resources requirements of the economy and equip individuals to realise their full potential (UNESCO, 2015). In 2015, all state institutions were tasked with adopting and aligning their operations with the Sustainable Development Goals. These are internationally recognised standards aimed at poverty eradication (UN Report, 2015: 86). The development of human capital stems from the belief that higher education increases skill and knowledge which results in income. Unfortunately for Zimbabwe, the widening access to university education does not seem to have resulted in either higher income or poverty alleviation (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 4). The development in human capital failed to create a force that would drive economic development in Zimbabwe.

4.14 Establishment of Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE)

In 1995, the government set up a planning committee to investigate the possibility of establishing a college for training science teachers. The idea was mooted to circumvent the shortage of science teachers regionally and nationally (BUSE Prospectus, 2015). This line of thinking is attuned to the logic of globalisation that insists on investing in human capital (Waghid, 2001: 157). Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) is a state-registered university, established in 1996 by an Act of Parliament to promote science through training of science teachers and to disseminate and enhance scientific knowledge through teaching and research for human development. The Ministry of Higher Education and Technology's policy of devolution, which aimed at expanding access to higher education by converting teachers' colleges and technical colleges into degree-granting institutions, established BUSE because of the ministry's devolution initiatives. Its establishment in Mashonaland Central Province followed the transfer of the Zimbabwe-Cuba Teacher training programme which specialised in training secondary school science teachers. It started as a teacher training college and the subjects of specialty were Physics, Geography, Chemistry, Biology, Computer science and Mathematics. The government realised that the Zimbabwe-Cuba programme was becoming unsustainable as admitted students were sent to train in Cuba for four years at the state's expense. The university is in Bindura which falls under Mashonaland Central, one of the country's ten provinces, with a population of 1 152 520 (2012 census). The Government gazette the Bindura University of Science Education Act in February 2000, conferring University status to the College (BUSE Prospectus, 2015). It was the 3rd state university to be opened after the University of Zimbabwe 1957 and National University of Science and Technology 1991. The Bindura University's mission and vision were drawn from the National Development Policy and Practice for Higher Education document drafted first in 1991 and later revised in 2002, 2006 and 2012 (Nherera, 2014: 264). The university is a non-profit institution of higher learning with five faculties. These are the Faculty of Science Education, the Faculty of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences, the Faculty of Commerce and lastly the Faculty of Science.

4.15 Bindura University Vision

Bindura University's vision is to contribute to the advancement of knowledge and its practical application to the social, economic, technological, cultural and scientific challenges; and to produce innovative, highly acclaimed graduates equipped with research,

entrepreneurial, social and technical skills for the benefit of the national and the international community (BUSE prospectus, 2016).

The mandate of BUSE is contained in its broad objectives namely:

- the advancement of knowledge,
- the diffusion and extension of the arts, science education and learning,
- the preservation, dissemination and enhancement of knowledge that is relevant to the development of the people of Zimbabwe through teaching and research and,
- the nurturing of the intellectual, aesthetic, social and moral growth of the students at the university (BUSE Prospectus, 2016).

Bindura University's mandate is to promote science in Zimbabwe by training teachers to improve scientific knowledge through research for human development. The establishment of a science education university was widely accepted in the region, as it was the first of its kind (Nherera, 2014). Science subjects that had previously been the preserve of the minority whites were opened to all races, widening their access (Shizha & Kariwo, 2012: 67). However, research by Mawere (2012) on gender balance in university enrolment has shown that at Bindura University, females are concentrated in the non-science faculties of Commerce and Social Sciences. Bindura University of Science Education's mandate puts emphasis on science but an evaluation of its faculties does not reflect this emphasis. A study by Mawere (2012) reveals that about 32% of the total enrolment of students in 2010 were in the science faculties while 68% were pursuing degree programmes that were not specifically science-oriented. The emphasis on sciences is associated with the poverty eradication goal through higher education and technological and industrial development. More and more emphasis is placed on economic development at the expense of community development and growth.

As of March (2016), the total number of Science teachers who graduated at Bindura University of Science Education since its inception is 3 788 of which 1 023 were female (BUSE Prospectus, 2016). These figures indicate the university's successful implementation of its mandate with regard to teaching and learning. However, critics have expressed the sentiment that university education in Zimbabwe is more concerned with the transfer of information than with community service and engagement (Shizha, 2005: 89). Shizha is concerned about the low impact the universities in Zimbabwe have made on communities and how they have failed for the past 36 years to alleviate poverty (Shizha, 2005: 98). The author

attributes this failure to the inadequate funding of research as well as other factors such as corruption. Shizha (2006) notes that research as a major component of university business has not been spared by the harsh economic conditions the country is experiencing. In his opinion, poor research funding results in poor research output as well as forcing lecturers to engage in low impact research that does not add value to the communities (Shizha, 2006: 88). In addition, the status of universities in Zimbabwe has been affected as their quality plummeted and this is used by some researchers to explain the exodus of many students to South African universities (Garwe, 2015: 46).

4.16 Weaknesses in Democratic Citizenship in Zimbabwe's University Education

This section provides an evaluation of how successful universities in Zimbabwe are in implementing their mandates and achieving their strategic objectives in line with DCE principles. The evaluation was carried out on the basis of the three functions of a university, namely teaching and learning, research and extension services. This is done in the context of each university's specific mandate as pronounced by the University's Charter, as well as the university's external environment consisting of both controllable and uncontrollable factors such as the political, economic, social, technological, environmental and legal factors. The two universities will be evaluated simultaneously.

The identified mandates, visions and objectives of the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) and the Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) can be categorised into the three primary functions of a university, namely teaching and learning; research; and community service (Gutmann 1991: 46). Unfortunately, many problems have arisen since 2001. Zimbabwean universities have found it difficult to function properly and according to their mandates. On one hand, (Kariwo, 2011; Shizha, 2010: 65) attribute the challenges faced by universities to the political developments in Zimbabwe in 2000 when the country suffered as a result of international isolation and the imposition of sanctions by the United States of America. As a result, the Zimbabwe Democracy Recovery Act of 2001 was promulgated. Kariwo (2011: 19) and report that universities have been severely affected by the brain drain and stagnation in infrastructural development as a result of economic challenges. Peresuh (1998), Kariwo (2011), Nherera (2000) and Nyazema (2010: 233) concur that the scrapping of students' grants ushered in problems at UZ and BUSE. These problems are; the closure of the halls of residence in 2008 due to poor hygiene, high tuition fees, eating from the informal roadside

caterers, high accommodation fees when the halls of residence were re-opened in 2011 and a shortage of lecturers, computers and textbooks in the respective libraries.

Nherera (2000) further highlights the disastrous implications of sanctions on the quality and credibility of universities in Zimbabwe. The author cites the failure by universities in Zimbabwe to internationalise their institutions as an aspect that has reduced their credibility as well as driven out foreign and local students to neighbouring countries and abroad. A study by Nyazema (2010) reveal that universities in Zimbabwe as well as other developing countries present a renewed strength in the marketization and financialisation of higher education posing a challenge to the notion of a university as a mechanism for addressing social inequality and facilitating knowledge production (Nyazema, 2010).

On the other hand, Chung (2008), Hwami (2012) and Mlambo (2008) attribute the challenges faced by universities in Zimbabwe to state influence and interference. The UZ Amendment Act 1990/91 gave the chancellor (state President) new rights of ex officio membership of the council. The Act allowed the President 'to preside over any assembly or meeting held by or under the authority of the university'; and 'on the recommendation of the council and the senate . . . to withdraw or restore', in addition to conferring, degrees and awards" (Cheater, 1991; Hwami, 2012; Raftopoulos, 2009). However, state interference in the private and public domain is not only permissible in Gyekye's left-communitarianism but also justifiable from the point of capacity building (Gyekye, 1998: 69). According to Gyekye, governments are expected to create conditions that are conducive to both cultural and technological growth for the common good of the African communities. The vision of state universities in Zimbabwe is to widen access by expanding enrolment. This is similar to Gyekye's transformative and liberating agenda for the wider society. Gyekye calls it transformational quality. According to Gyekye's dimension, transformational quality can only become a reality if all distinctions and prejudices in society are abolished (Gyekye, 1998:69). This is only possible if state intervention and state control are promoted, assured and become a reality (Steyn, 2012: 45).

Education in Zimbabwe promotes both equality and inequality (Steyn, 2012: 45). The argument advanced here was that higher education in Zimbabwe promotes equality because it enables an individual to improve his or her skills, and aims at improving the economic wealth and state of the country (objectives for higher education 2016). On the other hand, it also promotes inequality as it cultivates hierarchies according to social class, status and power

(Hornsby & Arvanitakis, 2016: 818). A lack of critical skills in education cripples critical citizenship and marginalises those who are not able to acquire or access education. Education ought to open spaces where all citizens can claim the right to be different (Nussbaum, 1996: 102). Waghid (2002a: 87) rightly points out that, ‘if equality implies that education should be accessible to all, it also implies that each individual has the right to be educated according to the individual’s talents and ambitions’. Equal opportunity means an equal chance to display difference. Rancière (1991) and Waghid (2013: 63) brings in a different dimension of democratic equality in which he advances the assumption that all people are equal regardless of their qualifications because they are able to speak and act (communicate). Rancière (1991) further argues that if the purpose of DCE is to empower the weak (referring to students) then there must be no distance between the learner and the educator (strong). The danger posed by the distance between the learner and the educator is that learners who are incapable of deliberating and those who cannot deliberate remain apart, presenting a situation of distant inequality. This inequality defeats the purpose of inclusion of the outsider into the democratic sphere as a DCE principle by empowering the competent and the less competent in the same way.

“to empower those who are less qualified but who nevertheless intervene to install a momentary disruption and dissensus, that is, they are intellectually equal in the very act of intervention and that they are competent in view of the common democratic practice from which they are nevertheless excluded” Simons and Masschelein (2011).

For Rancière, DCE is sporadic in that it considers the inclusion of the less powerful and less democratic as people who can potentially disrupt the perceived democratic practices in the name of quality and equality (Waghid, 2013).

In Kariwo’s opinion, Zimbabwean universities require a transformational quality in order to execute their mandates effectively (Kariwo, 2011: 47). However, Zimbabwean universities have not been able to achieve quality education due to economic and political hardships (see chapter three). Observations by Nherera (2014) indicate that the provision of the necessary infrastructure for use in teaching and learning is inadequate. Nherera (2014) cites a glaring shortage of lecture rooms and suitable laboratories for science students at BUSE and UZ. This is also compounded by a severe shortage of halls of residences. In other words, the growth in student numbers has not been complimented by the necessary growth in infrastructure. The list of infrastructure challenges is endless and includes inadequate internet

facilities, insufficient desks, the lack of modern library, a lack of computers, a lack of lecture rooms etc. (Nyazema, 2010: 233). It is therefore difficult to foster quality education that brings with it meaningful transformation if standards in universities are deteriorating on a daily basis. These challenges are making it difficult for universities to fulfil their mandates and objectives for the millennium (UZ Prospectus, 2014). The argument put forward in this section is that quality as transformation is the only appropriate way to enhance educational transformation in Zimbabwe. This substantiates Waghid's assertion that quality through equal access and quality through transformation do not stand in opposition to each other, but rather constitute complementary processes in shaping higher education transformation (Waghid, 2002b:132).

The other factor inhibiting quality delivery is the issue of societal and institutional stratification which characterises universities in Zimbabwe. Universities in Zimbabwe are still stratified in terms of good, better, best while the society is highly stratified with the majority in the lower class of economic performance. What this entails is that there are many people that are still excluded from attaining quality education. This further indicates inadequacy in democratic citizenship as social democracy advocates equality for all while discouraging class distinctions (Birch, 1993). Social democracy is described by Gould (1998, in Waghid, 2002a: 85) as emphasizing participation on the grounds of equality and liberty, where all people have the right to control their own lives, and to become competent in terms of self-management and self-government. In this kind of democratic arrangement people are free to participate in economic, political and social life without class or gender inhibitions. Although Zimbabwe has a literacy rate of 92% (2013 census) its educated personnel has neither been able to transform the economy nor improve the living standards in the country. The country boasts 13 state universities and four privately-owned institutions of higher learning but the country continues to be ranked among the poorest countries in Africa (The Gini Coefficient). This brings me back to the discussion in chapter two about equity and quality. Steyn (2012: 53) reveals that education, which is not associated with standards, is not quality education, therefore it is not good at all. In Steyn's opinion, quality is not merely about achieving levels or standards, but a matter of empowering learners. Learners can only be empowered in a learning environment that that does not lack teaching and learning material, an environment that is conducive for learning. In this case, universities in Zimbabwe are encouraged to promote and accommodate both quality and equality as standards of DCE. In this regard, universities in Zimbabwe are implored to embrace the

quality that is associated with excellence, fitness for purpose, value for money and transformation (Steyn, 2012: 54). This however should not be taken to mean that university education should be priced lower for it to be accessible, the teaching, research and service. According to Nyerere (1967: ix) universities the world over have three major functions, namely –

“transmitting advanced knowledge from one generation to the next so that it can serve either as a basis of action, or as a springboard to further research; providing a centre for the attempt to advance the frontiers of knowledge.....by making available to students, administrators and professionals good library- and laboratory facilities which are necessary to support learning, and to provide through its teaching the high level manpower needs of society”

4.17 Policy development and deliberation

The analysis done so far and described in chapters 2, 3 and 4 has revealed that policy development in Zimbabwe has been delegated to a few privileged political elites. This is evidenced by the top-down approach to policy formulation and implementation that characterises policy and practice in Zimbabwe. Policy has been dictated by political elites to university administrators. For instance, the passing of the University of Zimbabwe Act in 1987, and amended in 1990 and 1991 was done without a wider and full consultation of university administrators (Hwami, 2012: 81; Mlambo, 2008). The state and politicians have the most power in the running of state universities in Zimbabwe because the President is the chancellor of all state universities. Universities lost their administrative and academic autonomy to the government and the party in 1987 when the president was made chancellor (Hwami, 2012: 81). Since then, interactive pathways and public deliberation has been limited (Hwami, 2012: 87). For this reason, university administrators are expected to implement policies without question and any form of resistance is punishable by dismissal or demotion (Nyazema, 2010: 236). This is a violation of the democratic principles postulated by the liberal communitarians discussed in chapter 2.

4.18 Equality and access in university education in Zimbabwe

Higher education more than doubled in the 1990s owing to the increase in universities from one in 1980 to fifteen in 2016 (refer to diagram in chapter 3). Student enrolment in universities shot up from 5000 to 120 000 in the same period (Nyazema, 2010: 237). The

explanation for this expansion is the growth of private universities which account for a third of the national enrolment in Zimbabwe (Chivore, 2010: 3). The question that I pursued in this section was: Does expansion in higher education make it more accessible?

According to Chivore (2010: 17), expansion in higher education in the 1990s did not directly translate on into significant increases and changes in the social hierarchy of the Zimbabwean society. Chivore posits that students from economically disadvantaged families continue to be excluded from attaining university degrees because they cannot afford the fees. So far, efforts to democratise access through public subsidies do not seem to have had any meaningful influence on the participation in higher education by students from the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Although the notion of equality has been overstated in the objectives for higher education in Zimbabwe, the number of students from low-income families in higher education continues to diminish (Materike, 2012; Nyazema, 2010; Raftopoulos, 2004). Prospective students from rural areas continue to be disadvantaged because state-run institutions of higher learning are situated in urban centres. Universities in Zimbabwe advertise their programmes in newspapers. This is unfair to those living in rural areas as they have no access to newspapers and the internet. This leaves people from rural areas short-changed. According to Waghid (2002a: 134), formal education involves selecting and sorting out the skills that every individual has to acquire by the end of every level of schooling. Educational reforms in Zimbabwe are championed by a declining economy and the increasing competition for scarce financial resources as well as the neo-liberal policies that dictate policy reforms for financing higher education (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 104). This has resulted in the rapid expansion of universities, leading to the massification and marketisation of universities as enterprises, which poses challenges and risks to students, academics and higher education institutions in the country making equality necessary and yet allowing it to become impossible (Materike, 2012: 86). Materike further claims that such policy shifts threaten equity, since universities face the risks of academic capitalism, which means that universities are run like businesses. Instead of focusing on how universities can best resolve the country's problems through research – for instance educating critical citizens who can become participants to counter poverty, corruption, intolerance, violence [war] and other ills that may hamper a peaceful society (Materike, 2012: 87). This brings me to Margison & Richardson's (2005) assertion that an education entirely focused on preparing human capital for existing or projected labour market conditions is undemocratic since it undermines student consideration of possibly transforming current conditions.

The withdrawal of government funding in Zimbabwe has forced some parents to pull their children out of universities or forced the children to defer their studies until such time they acquire the fees. A study conducted by Matereke on gender representation in universities reveals that at UZ, female students are still under-represented in faculties like Pharmacy, Medicine, Law and Veterinary Sciences (Matereke, 2012; Nherera, 2014; UZ, 2016). Fees for these faculties are comparatively higher. Matereke used the introduction of school fees in 1990 at primary and secondary level which were once tuition free, to explain the disparity in university enrolment (access) between men and women and why access was limited to children from middle class families (refer to chapter 3). The implication therefore is that universities in Zimbabwe enrol students from the same social pool rather than opening enrolment to already disadvantaged sections of the society. Since children from rural schools attend low-quality schools, only a few of them make it to university, and if they do, they enrol in most cases for general degrees because these are cheaper, and the students often do not meet the requirements for sciences. In Zimbabwe rural schools do not offer science subjects as these require specialised infrastructure like laboratories and computer labs. Although science teachers have been trained in large numbers many of them opt to teach in towns or in neighbouring countries where they are paid more (Nherera 2000: 90). Observations by Mosha (1986: 113) reveal that universities in sub-Saharan Africa have been conceptualised as serving the rich and the politically connected, and notes that this will result in ‘maldevelopment, social stratification and the centralization of knowledge’, which in Mosha’s opinion will undermine the concept of a university as engendering equality. Since 1980 when Zimbabwe attained independence, education policy-makers have strived to inculcate the idea of equality by instilling the notions of liberty of person; freedom of speech, right to own property; and the right to justice (Chung, 2008; Mandaza, 1999; Mumbengegwi, 2001; Mutumbuka, 1985). However, Kariwo and Shizha (2011: 109) in their assessment of the development of education in Zimbabwe concluded that education has failed to close the gap between classes as citizens are still stratified in terms of the rich and the poor. This shows that despite the efforts by the government to liberalise education policy in Zimbabwe, it has been difficult to achieve equality as poor citizens are excluded in a multitude of ways. Economic challenges in Zimbabwe have widened the gap between the rich and the poor so much that even institutions of higher learning have become stratified (Kapungu, 2007). There are expensive universities in Zimbabwe where students from poor families cannot afford the fees. Such universities’ admission policies are malleable. They can admit students on the

basis of their parents' ability to pay fees or their political connections (Nyazema, 2010: 239). This is why I argued in this chapter that although educational policy documents in Zimbabwe emphasise equality and equal opportunities in higher education, the opportunities are not equally distributed (Nyazema, 2010). This brings me to Prewitt's (1972: 7) conviction that, "if equality implies that education should be accessible to all, it also implies that each individual has the right to be educated according to his talents and ambitions". This therefore implies that policy-formulators in education should consider the equality of all human beings, irrespective of their political affiliation, social or geographical location.

4.19 Relevance

The general feeling among Zimbabweans is that the higher the education qualification one attains, the greater the chances of a good job and a correspondingly good life (Nherera, 2014). This explains how and why the Zimbabwean society values university education. However, there is a growing concern regarding the benefits of inadequately planned and uncontrolled massification of education in Zimbabwe (Kariwo, 2007, Mosha, 1986: 134).

This brings me to a discussion on the relevance of university education in Zimbabwe. Relevance in higher education is assessed in terms of adequacy of what society expects from its institutions (Ubillus & Diaz, 2015: 100). Raftopoulos (2009) and Mosha (1986: 132) point out that relevance in higher education in Zimbabwe should be seen against the context of the adequacy of intervention programmes with regard to socio-economic problems that the university intends to solve. Raftopoulos (2006) regards a university as relevant if its programmes are meeting the demands of the population to improve their living conditions. Similarly, Nyerere refers to relevant university knowledge as that which fulfils students' real social needs, the needs of the community and the needs of the state and the world (Nyerere, 1967: 382). In this regard higher education in Zimbabwe has been blamed by Raftopoulos (2004) Mlambo (2008), Maravanyika (2005) and Nyazema (2010: 236) for straying from its traditional purpose of problem-solving. According to Nyazema, universities in Zimbabwe have failed to produce skilful people with specialised knowledge of problem-solving and the promotion of economic development (Nyazema, 2010: 233). The nuances of equal access and development opportunities connect well with democratic practices such that for higher education policy to be accountable, it needs to be answerable to institutional communities and the broader society, and it needs to be of relevance to national goals and objectives (Waghid, 2002a: 132).

The analysis given so far reveals that all the stakeholders like academics, parents, captains of industries as well as politicians are needed to conceptualise education that can achieve social transformation through the resolution of the challenges confronting Zimbabwe at the moment. Examples of the problems in Zimbabwe include run-away inflation and economic meltdown that has thrown many people into poverty. These are some of the critical challenges that have made it impossible for parents to afford higher education in Zimbabwe. Deliberations on policy should take place so that there can be policy implementations that promote quality and relevant education in universities in Zimbabwe. These deliberations promote quality teaching and learning to all regardless of geographical location and social status.

4.20 Summary

I discussed in the chapter challenges that are encountered during the implementation of higher education policies in Zimbabwe and their links with the three liberal strands of democratic citizenship education discussed in chapter 2. The findings are that higher education in Zimbabwe is still stratified, as is society itself. Furthermore, universities in Zimbabwe have been unable to achieve their broad objectives due to the effects of globalization on higher education as well as the negative effects of economic and political crises in the country. Although the policies of the Transitional National Development Plan, and the ZIMCHE discussed in chapter 3, reiterate the commitment to achieve equality, equity and relevance in higher education in Zimbabwe, a reduction in inequalities has been difficult to achieve. It is worth noting that while reduction in inequalities is in tune with the achievement of global competitiveness (Waghid, 2001: 158) the education system in Zimbabwe has continued to be stratified. Consequently, higher education in Zimbabwe struggles to achieve the liberal virtues of equality, equity, human rights, relevance and justice. The realisation of these liberal virtues has been hampered by the unprecedented levels of poverty, corruption and social inequalities that have characterised Zimbabwe since the 1990s. Steyn (2001b: 69) speaking from the context of South African education, laments that the great inequalities and disparities that exist within states are damaging to democracy and to quality education. The dilemma for Zimbabwean universities is to bridge the gap between quality and access. In essence, universities in Zimbabwe have been able to increase the number of graduates but these graduates have not been able to serve society through improvement in the quality of life of citizens (Hwami, 2012). Higher education should

improve the lives of all citizens. Waghid regards the “citizens” who should benefit from higher education as those who attend as well as those who do not attend/or want to attend higher education (Waghid, 2002b: 144). Higher education in Zimbabwe has become unaffordable. This is due to the critical state of poverty in the country that makes it impossible for parents to afford higher education. There should be deliberations on how Zimbabwean universities could strive to offer quality and relevant teaching and learning to all regardless of social status.

In the next chapter, a reconceptualization of how democratic citizenship education can be achieved is discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

RECONCEPTUALISATION OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AGAINST SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss a reconceptualised idea of DCE and its tenets as an extension of the liberal idea. This is done to explain how reconceptualised notions of DCE could assist in helping us to think differently about higher education policy in Zimbabwe. The implications of the reconceptualised DCE for universities in Africa will be analysed. With regard to the African university, I refer to the writings of Nyerere (1967) and Gyekye (1997) on how a reconceptualised DCE could respond positively to the challenges confronting the continent. The pertinent challenges outlined by Nyerere (1967 in Wiredu, 2004) are poverty, underdevelopment, ethnic violence, environmental degradation, illegitimate governments, electoral and political violence and the HIV and Aids pandemic (Nyerere, 1967).

To elucidate on DCE, considerations of a DCE that extends the liberal conceptions are referred to. This enables me to deconstruct the parameters through which higher education policies in Zimbabwe are premised. Constant reference will be made to the two universities BUSE and UZ's mandates and visions of which have been discussed in chapter four. The question that will be answered in this chapter is: how does a reconceptualised notion of DCE assist Zimbabwe's higher education system to address problems associated with social inequalities in the country?

This chapter is an extension of the analysis in previous chapters, which tried to answer the question of how DCE could help in reshaping higher education in Zimbabwe? Therefore, constant reference will be made to the frameworks of the three liberal strands discussed in chapter 2, so that I can defend the parameters by which higher education in Zimbabwe were analysed. Besides discussing the three liberal strands (Benhabib, 2011a; Habermas, 1987a; Rawls, 1971) in chapter 2, African communitarianism and the views about personhood and education as the common good were interrogated in (Gyekye, 1998; Menkiti, 1984). In chapter 3 and 4, I analysed the challenges which confronted the education system in Zimbabwe before and after independence and concluded that the policy shifts in Zimbabwe

contradict the principles of DCE. My next analysis is of democratic citizenship education in becoming.

5.2 Interrogating the Liberal democratic citizenship education and the democratic citizenship education in becoming

It is my contention that both DCE in becoming and conceptions of liberal DCE could contribute towards initiating social transformation through the achievement of equality, equal access, accountability, relevance and equity in university education in Zimbabwe. While liberal democratic citizenship education is ideal for the intended transformation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe, it is my assumption that liberal DCE in Zimbabwean higher education should cultivate intellectual creativity, autonomy, critical thinking and comprehension and tolerance of diverse ideas and experiences. This is why liberal DCE lays the theoretical foundation on which my argument for a re-imagined university education in Zimbabwe builds. My argument for a DCE in becoming was informed by citizenship concepts borrowed from moderate African communitarianism as discussed in chapter two. Notions of compassionate imagining, critique, friendship, justice and Ubuntu/humanness will be referred to in an effort to display how the concept of 'in becoming' is heavily inclined to liberal communitarianism. I do this in order to come up with a rethinking/or a reimagined conception of a university in Zimbabwe that would help to bridge the social inequalities characteristic of Zimbabwean society as well as helping to curb the political and ethnic conflicts in the country.

Liberal DCE was used in the research to conceptualise Zimbabwean higher education so that it can transform the socio-economic and political situation that has triggered inequalities and conflicts in the country. The history of Zimbabwe is characterised by a series of challenges which at different turning points manifested themselves through violent conflicts (Mandaza, 1986; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). In this regard, the use of a liberal DCE is envisioned as crucial to the understanding of the social ills that have driven the society into conflicts and violence. I acknowledge the liberal concept of DCE propounded by Rawls (1971), Habermas (1987b) and Benhabib (2011a) which is said to encompass human rights and responsibilities in actuality. According to Dryzek (2008) individual rights are embedded in individual liberties such as the freedom of association, speech and conscience, and freedom of choice on how citizens live their lives. Liberal DCE is a regime where citizens make collective decisions on the basis of reasons they can all accept, not so as to further their own individual

preferences, but so as to promote the common good (Dryzek, 2008: 169; Rawls, 1971). Westheimer and Kahne (2004: 109) describe citizen responsibilities as duties that citizens need to carry out, such as joining the army, tolerating differences, voting and legitimising political authority, making decisions through public engagement and exercising individual power and making judgement as a way of life.

The other aspect of liberal DCE that was considered in the study was the way it is understood to contribute to a sense of belonging. Liberal Democratic Citizenship Education extends the nationalistic sense of belonging to include cosmopolitanism (Benhabib, 2011a: 75). In this instance, I consider liberal DCE as cosmopolitanism and educatedness. Cosmopolitanism is referred here as the moral obligation one owes to every other person in the world without national or ethnic differentiation (Waldron, 2000). This is the kind of moral obligation one has towards strangers and not only those with whom one shares associative relations. For Benhabib (2006: 13) cosmopolitanism is about norms which define and sustain people's lives together such as the principles that define human rights and crimes against humanity, the laws that govern the refugees, asylum, travel and migrations and the rules shared by people not just in any particular society but generally on the face of the earth. The implication this has on higher education is that university students should be guided to act, think and in a way that respects the other. They must govern their reasoning together (Waghid, 2013: 233). Waghid goes on to explain that cosmopolitanism is a component of education and that education cannot be cosmopolitan if one of its constituent ideas is not that relations among human beings transcend the local interests of national identity and democratic boundaries. For him, a cosmopolitan education demands that people engage with one another's commonalities and find ways in which they can collectively arrive at a decision – a situation which might possibly strengthen their relations despite their differences (Waghid, 2013: 234). Waghid (2002) further argues that to act as a cosmopolitan is to act as an educated person, one who reasons together with others. This connects cosmopolitanism (a liberal concept) to multiculturalism and belonging, considering specifically the way minority societies are sometimes mistreated. Universities as social institutions should educate for cosmopolitanism and accommodate students from different cultures and ethnic groups by introducing regulations to respect all cultures represented in the university system. An education system that is cosmopolitan respects minority rights and accepts the similarities and differences between and within different cultures (Kymlicka & Norman, 2002: 339).

Nussbaum (1997) refers to different cultures as “citizens of the world” first before they are grouped into ethnic or religious and cultural sub-sets. In this respect, she calls for the elimination of racial, class, and gender prejudices as well as discrimination against individuals based on their group membership (Nussbaum, 1997: 89). This is where people’s diverse ways of living are recognised. In a multicultural and diverse society such as Zimbabwe, cosmopolitanism recognises the existence of diverse ethnic, religious, and racial groups without the pressure to amalgamate them (Lemmer, 2011: 73). What this implies for DCE is that all citizens have the rights to belong and participate as equal citizens in their political communities. This has been the missing link in the higher education in Zimbabwe as the country encountered challenges emanating from ethnic and electoral violence. The education system failed to transform the deep-rooted racial and ethnic prejudices that were inherited from the colonial education system (Kariwo, 2011: 25). This means that the liberal conceptions propounded by (Rawls 1971), Habermas (1984), and Benhabib (2011a) are inadequate to counter ethnic and electoral violence. Although DCE respects equality, deliberations, human rights and freedoms, all these rights are already actualised in the Zimbabwe education system and have ceased to exist, they therefore cannot resist all forms of conflict and violence affecting Zimbabwe generally and the university specifically.

Since independence, the constitution of Zimbabwe which ushered the country into a democratic independent and sovereign state emphasised tenets of liberal DCE namely, justice, equality, respect for individual freedoms, and human rights, but since then, Zimbabwe has been engrossed into ethnically motivated conflicts and electoral violence (Mandaza, 1986; Muchemwa, 2016: 91; Ndhlela, 2008; Nyazema, 2010). On the other hand, ethnically motivated conflicts have been witnessed in teacher’s colleges, polytechnic colleges and universities across the country (Muchemwa, 2016: 91). This justifies my earlier submission that the liberal perspectives have failed to solve the problems confronting Zimbabwean citizens. My argument does not completely discredit the liberal perspectives as irrelevant but I am arguing that since these perspectives have already been actualised in the policies influencing university governance and programmes, they have failed to produce sustainable solutions to the challenges confronting higher education in Zimbabwe.

5.3 Democratic citizenship education in becoming-A potential remedy to the liberal flaws

5.3.1 The learning discourse

In this section, I employ DCE in becoming as a conception that can remedy the liberal flaws that I discussed in previous chapters (see 4.2.7). However, before the analysis of DCE in becoming, I am tempted firstly to interrogate various philosophical perceptions on learning. I do this through a cross section of theories about the learner and the logic of learning as the question of potentiality in relation to actuality. Critics of the learning discourse and the learning society include Bingham and Biesta (2010), Masschelein and Martens (2010), Scheffler (1985) and Agamben (1999; 2007). My argument in this section is therefore that DCE in becoming can provide us with nuances that could be used to make meaning of education to challenge the ever-growing crisis in the higher education system in Zimbabwe. Agamben's perspectives expressed in the *Coming community: Theory out of bounds* 1993, and *De Anima*, 1999.

To begin with, Agamben (1999) is at war with the way neo-liberalism views the child. For Agamben, the major problem with neoliberalism is that although it views the child as a lack (not-yet-citizen) it makes another dangerous assumption, namely that the child has infinite potential that can and must be actualised through constant performance testing (Lewis, 2011: 586). Agamben blames neoliberal democratic learning for sacrificing both the equality and the potential of the child as well as “our ability not to be-our impotentiality” (Agamben, 1999: 179).

Alternatively, Agamben (1999) mentions in his writing in *De Anima* about the two kinds of potential he borrows from Aristotle. These are the generic and the effective. In terms of generic potential, a child is able to grow up to be a particular type of person with a particular occupation such as a statesman or musician without the intervention of education. Whereas, through the child suffers an “alteration (a becoming other) through learning” (Agamben, 1999: 179). Agamben further argues that it is the education that a state pursues that brings about exhaustion and destruction of potential (Lewis, 2011: 586). The student/child is exposed to suffering an alteration through learning that destroys the not-yet in order to fully actualise a latent potentiality for adulthood, citizenship or productivity (Lewis, 2011: 587). Potentiality in learning is fully actualised by destroying it, because potential is subordinated to actuality. Potentiality is sacrificed in order for the child to learn certain skills for certain

purposes predetermined in advance by experts. It is precisely this model of potentiality that informs discourses of higher education in Zimbabwe with its emphasis on economic development (consumerist type of education). The education policy in Zimbabwe places more emphasis on investment in potentiality in order to fully actualise the potential in the form of constant measurement of performance outcomes. Ontologically, the student is described according to the logic of a not-yet citizen, a not-yet a productive member of society (Lewis, 2011: 136). From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the logic of higher education in Zimbabwe is not to invest in the student potentialities; policy and practice is rather shaped and dictated by social, economic and political forces.

University programmes in Zimbabwe are designed by administrators, and students are admitted into already tailored programmes. From 2014 onwards, there has been a campaign for students to study sciences at Advanced Level (STEM). Humanities are not similarly promoted. Rather there was a proposal (by the Minister of Education) in 2016 to ban Humanities and Social Sciences from schools so that all students can focus on science subjects. Although this has not yet been passed into policy, it reveals the kind of thinking that influences policy in Zimbabwe. Firstly, that Sciences are superior to Humanities and Social Sciences and secondly that the problems confronting Zimbabwe can be mitigated if all students become scientists (own analysis).

Agamben (1999) introduces another aspect of potentiality namely the notion of effective potentiality. In this notion of potentiality, Agamben (1999) talks of people as active human beings with the capacity to act or not to act. Students can decide not to do drama or recite a poem because they are in conservation of their potential. By conservation of potential, potential becomes (im) potential, where impotential refers to an active capacity for not – doing or not being (Agamben, 2011: 44). Agamben’s (2007) argument is that impotentiality allows human beings to master their own capacities and to transform these capacities into faculties. According to Agamben (2007), this implies that he sees neoliberal education policies as incapacitating students as they direct and channel them towards achieving already set goals for a certain economic or political purpose. Contrary to this, Agamben supports the kind of education that promotes “the being that is properly whatever is able to not be; the being that is capable of its own impotence” (Agamben, 2007: 32). Agamben further criticises neoliberal education citing that any education that directs its learners towards an entrepreneurial capacity is as empowering in as much as it disempowers for it denies real

freedom in students to impotentiality (Agamben, 2007: 32). He is against the learning society that subjects the learner to actualisation according to the needs of the market or the state. For instance, higher education in Zimbabwe is envisioned to steer the country into an economically developed nation. The establishment of a university in each of the country's ten provinces testifies that Zimbabwe's education is expected to transform the country economically, socially and politically. Unfortunately for Zimbabwe, it is this faulty assumption which anchors higher education policy in the country. I regard it as faulty because it views education as a means to attain a goal. It is faulty because education cannot resolve economic and societal problems like poverty, violence and inequalities confronting the country if the education system itself is still characterised by such inequalities. According to Waghid (2001: 48), inequality hampers proper and effective functioning of the political system and violates the liberty of those who are at the lower layer of the social pyramid. Wider inequality hampers possibilities for the deprived to assert their voices.

5.3.2 Education in becoming

Critics of the liberal perspectives of learning abound in educational philosophy. Amongst prominent critics are Masschelein and Martens (2010), Biesta (2009; 2011) and Davids (2015) whose works will be reviewed in this section. According to Biesta (2009), education in becoming exposes learners to a particular type of teaching that will ensure a particular type of learning so that all learners dominate the educational discourse. This happens at the expense of offering learners the opportunity and space of "coming into presence" so that they can enact their humanity towards themselves by recognising difference in others Davids (2015: 318). In education in becoming, learning is not only dependent on teaching but through the teacher's engagement with learners (Davids, 2017: 427). This kind of engagement creates the potential for a sense of belonging determined by whatever results from such an engagement. For Waghid, DCE in becoming breaks away from predetermined outcomes in education and brings people together as a matter of engaging –not to determine the actuality of ideas but to find potentialities of meaning for human experience (Waghid, 2014: 41).

According to Simons and Masschelein (2011: 36), education has no end. It is to be understood as a process happening everywhere all the time. This means that education is therefore in becoming; it is not fixed in time or space or limited to a particular understanding. Education in becoming recognises learners as human beings, which are constituted by the

‘who’, meaning that their humanity, their curiosities and their desires cannot be discounted from the educative process (Davids, 2015: 317). This entails that, an education in becoming must be facilitated through a particular understanding of democracy, one that focuses on being open to the views of others, for instance the teacher being open to the views of the learners. In this case, education ceases to be only about the ‘what’ but extends its boundaries to include the ‘who’ and the ‘how’. The ‘who’ represents the teachers and the learners, whereas the ‘how’ is about how teachers engage with learners and how teachers and learners engage with others (Davids, 2015: 321). This means that education is more than a process of encounters, it is about that which is about to happen and yet to be known and seen (Davids, 2015: 317). This takes me back to Masschelein opinion that education has no end. It is, as such in becoming since teachers and learners have no real way of knowing how the educative process will unfold and what will be revealed (Simons and Masschelein, 2011: 76).

Similarly, Biesta (2009) calls for the reconsideration of the idea of socialisation of students in order to come to terms with the question of educating for democratic citizenship. Biesta suggests an education that liberates the young arguing that it transcends social, geographical and psychological boundaries that are hard to overcome in citizenship education in Zimbabwe. According to Biesta (2010), pedagogical encounters should strive to train and educate for emancipation, train for life and culture by engaging students in democratic processes and educational practices that are meant to create a democratic person, not that which aims to create a person who is compatible with an already established life forms (Biesta, 2009: 147). Biesta rejects an education that socialises students into already established national and cultural customs because it is already actualised therefore may not be free from political, economic and social aspects but is rather part of them.

An education in becoming acknowledges the space necessary for encounters with the unknown in terms of subject content and in terms of encountering the other (Davids, 2015: 321). This brings me to a discussion of various instances of DCE in becoming.

5.4 Democratic citizenship education in-becoming

Following my analysis above of education in becoming, the discussion in this section about what a reimagined notion of DCE involves. According to Agamben (1999), DCE in becoming as a deconstruction bears potentialities that can disrupt the current state of education in Zimbabwe and how these potentialities address problems confronting Zimbabwe’s universities to create a hopeful future. For instance, higher education in

Zimbabwe faces the challenges of inequalities, ethnic and electoral violence, an indication that liberal DCE in Zimbabwe is still in becoming. This means that education in Zimbabwe is still in becoming as well and not yet, actualised, i. e. it is in the process of potentiality. My reference to Agamben's (1993) potentiality in (see 5.2) paves the way for my argument that, the potentiality of liberal DCE to redress social inequalities and curb violence in Zimbabwe lies in the possibility of in becoming. In other words, the possibility of DCE to curb the problems confronting the nation is still in potentiality (in becoming). For Agamben, potentiality survives actuality in the way it gives itself to itself (Agamben, 1999: 189). Agamben further reiterates that potentiality ceases to exist when it passes into actuality. In other words, liberal DCE becomes actualised then potentiality would cease to exist (Agamben, 1999: 190).

5.5 Belonging and Identity as Instances of Democratic Citizenship

Education in Becoming

5.5.1 Ontologies of belonging and identity

In this section a reflection of the concepts of belonging and identity will be analysed as these concepts reflect on DCE. In doing so, I attempt to provide ways of thinking that avoid the problems associated with ethnicity and electoral violence. This section is important to my research as ethnicity; identity and belonging have profound influence on university governance as well as university teaching and learning. This is why I want to frame these concepts to address some of the difficulties found within the theories of identity and belonging. Identity is a key concept that has become problematic to the contemporary world. The problem comes from the categorisation of people into desirable and undesirable persons and groupings (Jenkins & Jenkins, 2010). An assessment of the world's major conflicts and crisis since 1914 points to issues of identification and belonging as causes of conflicts. The main contentions found within the context of identity and belonging are issues to do with exclusion, inclusion, access and participation (Kymlicka, 1996: 51). In this case, belonging is not only an issue of membership, rights and duties. It is also about social places constructed by such membership and the ways in which social place has resonances on the stability of the self, on feelings of being part of a larger whole and the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places (Anthias, 2009: 8). To belong is to be accepted as part of the community of membership and to share values, networks, practices, and not just a question of identification (Yuval-Davis, 2011). It is about the experience of being part of the social

fabric. According to Yuval-Davis, belonging is about rights and obligations related to citizenship. To enjoy such rights is to meet the criterion of inclusion where there is differential inclusion and exclusion of so called citizens along the lines of gender, ethnicity, class, age and religion (Yuval Davis, 2006). There are boundaries in belonging that are ever changing, they are not static. It is these boundaries that are constructs of political practice, constructions that are used to bracket people into people “within” the bracket and those “outside” the bracket. In the end, people are categorised as either inside or outside (Davies, 2001: 60). The boundaries are used as markers, for example black and white, Christian and Muslim or in terms of political affiliations. An analysis of these permanent boundaries has prompted the Liberal theorists to argue that the crisis emanating from identity and difference is permanent because the act of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ throws citizens into crisis (Butler, 1997). They further claim that only the realisation of values of DCE can enable citizens to imagine the life worlds of others in such a way that they temporarily forget their own perception/culture in order to understand those of others, who may be different from them (Butler, 1997). Civil education therefore encourages integration and fraternising with members of different groups, and this makes the breakdown of cultural barriers more likely (Kymlicka, 2003: 148). Liberal DCE sees university education as a place where students can temporarily shelve their self-identification so that they do not discriminate against others. In reference to Agamben’s (1993) theory of Biopower outlined in his *Homo Sacer* (1998) it is reiterated that the categories that society bestows on people, regarding people as ‘them’ and ‘us’ have resulted in the creation of binaries of exclusion and inclusion (Agamben, 2007). Although Agamben’s *Homo Sacer* is concerned about the social exclusion of refugees, immigrants and asylum seekers, I see a corresponding relevance to Zimbabwe and citizenship rights. Agamben (1999) extends Foucault’s (1995) concept of power when he reiterates that states uses preventive acts in order to protect the population’s biological well-being by ‘killing the other’ (Foucault, 1995: 255). The killing according to Foucault (1987) and (Agamben, 2007) emanates from fear, mistrust and suspicion. This theory is relevant to the situation in Zimbabwe after 2000 when the country embarked on the Land Reform Programme (LRP). The white minority and immigrants from Malawi and Zambia became targets of political violence before and after elections in 2000; 2002; 2005; and 2008 because they were blamed for supporting the former white commercial farmers and voting for the opposition party (Raftopoulos, 2009: 497).

5.6. The University - Agamben's Coming Community

Agamben's (1993) constant reference to Aristotle is viewed by Lewis as a gesture to redeem that which remains unthought of within his thought (Lewis, 2011: 587). For Lewis, Agamben's impotentiality is relevant for critical thinking against the dominant neoliberal discourse on learning and is opening up a new understanding of freedom in educational discourse on education practice (Lewis, 2011: 587). Agamben (2009) posits an account of community that is not conditional upon the notion of belonging. Implying that people are not obliged to form some kind of bond through which they belong and through which they seek recognition as individuals or groups. In other words, students engaged in learning do not have to belong together in order to think and act in relation to their learning activities because students exist in their singularities- in 'whatever singularity' where they reject all identity and every condition of belonging (Agamben, 2007: 31). The coming community in whatever singularity means that it has no identity, it is not determined with respect to a concept, neither is it simply indeterminate, rather, it is determined only in relation to an idea, that is to the totality of its possibilities Agamben (1993: 34). Agamben (2007) imagines a community that is not tied to any common property or by any identity. Such an understanding of a community is realistic because students enrol at universities where they engage in learning not on condition of some established bond, but they engage in learning activities like projects, group work on the grounds of doing things together without prior social connection or consideration (Agamben, 1999). The singularities form a community without affirming an identity, such that humans co-belong without any representable condition of belonging (Agamben, 1993). In this respect the university as a community demands and considers participation of students in the learning process as the only priority without being concerned with their social groups. According to Agamben (1999: 87), the community is not constrained by any social allegiances and this results in the students exercising their autonomy freely without being hindered by constraints of belonging. These students (community) have the potential to disrupt the pedagogic encounters on the pretext that they cannot be curbed in the actions. In this case, Agamben's coming community encourages autonomous and open participation of students and teachers/lecturers where there is much to learn and not to learn, and where the unimagined, unexpected break through is always in becoming (Waghid, 2015: 6). By implication and referring to Agamben's caption of the events at Tiananmen Square, one would argue that education can become other than it is in focusing attention on the human

struggle, identity and dignity. This points to the shift that the coming community (university) will be more focused on becoming human rather than on belonging to a particular nationality? This may also mean that the purpose of education may shift to become central to students' critical participation rather than them being recipients of knowledge in whatever singularity.

5.7 Ubuntu as an Instance of DCE in Becoming

Following my discussion on Ubuntu in chapter 3 (item 3.5.7) as a recommended philosophy to guide higher education in Zimbabwe, in this section, I want to synthesise this philosophy with the emerging conceptualisation of DCE in becoming that has the potentialities that are required for Africa and Zimbabwe in particular. I advance a conviction that Ubuntu as a philosophy can have an influence on higher education policy formulation and implementation in Africa. Ubuntu is an African philosophy of life serving as the spiritual foundation of nearly all African societies (Kamwangamulu, 1999: 7). For Zimbabwe, the Presidential Commission made recommendations for the adoption of Ubuntu as a philosophy of education for the 21st century Zimbabwean education system, which must spell out the type of person that the education system should produce in order to promote a successful nation (Presidential Commission, 1999: 33).

I concur with Benhabib (1996) that Ubuntu as a concept depicts the value of people and their heritage. It also highlights how members of a society relate to one another in the midst of global trends. A description of Ubuntu by Waghid (2010a) relates Ubuntu to "human interdependence through deliberative inquiry...that exists in most of the African languages, although not necessarily under the same name" (Waghid, 2009: 76). This means to say the concept of Ubuntu is as old as human existence and that it is a widespread philosophy guiding human behaviour and human interaction in the continent and in regions where there is conflict. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda, Ubuntu has been used as a reconciliatory tool for the shared commonality of being human in relation to the other (Makgoba, 1996: 21). With regard to the debates on the African context of Ubuntu and Ubuntu-ness in chapter 2 by Mbiti (1970) and Menkiti (2004), Mbiti's description of these two concepts appears more appealing especially when he relates a person's identity and existence in relation to another. This is a community of belonging and cooperative living that characterises the true African spirit (Mbiti 1970). By implication, Mbiti's description of an individual reveals that an individual's source of humanity comes from his connection/links

with the community of others. This means that the self is framed in relation to others within a milieu (Menkiti, 2004: 327). On the same note, Menkiti refutes the limitation of personhood to superficial biological explanations but advances personhood in a community as a normative stance (Menkiti, 2004: 327). By implication, the philosophy of Ubuntu lays emphasis on sharing and helping others. One is educated to help others and for the common good of the community (Waghid, 2008b: 59). Letseka (2011: 60) sums it up by stating that “life in Africa is not about individuals. It is about everyone, you, me, and them”. Ubuntu is an African world view enshrined in the maxim ‘umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu’ meaning ‘I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am’ (Mbiti, 1970: 106). This maxim expresses the fundamental principle of mutuality and interdependence.

The relevance of this philosophy to African universities and the education discourse is that universities should endeavour to foster humane people endowed with Ubuntu norms and values like respect, generosity, accountability, benevolence, compassion and concern for others (Higgs, 2003: 69). For the Presidential Commission of 1999, the absence of a philosophy of education manifests itself in the products of its education system, which demonstrates a lack of “moral focus, and respect for other people”. According to the commission, people in Zimbabwe are intolerant and corrupt” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 350). Luthuli (1982) further qualifies Ubuntu by stating that it cherishes tolerance and that dialogue among people is encouraged. Zimbabwe as a multicultural society requires Ubuntu to help the country to tolerate and accommodate other cultures and people who are different. Then the racial and ethnic conflicts that characterised the country after independence could not have taken place. Ubuntu as a democratic philosophy appears to be weakened in Zimbabwe by alarming incidences of electoral and ethnic violence, corruption, dehumanisation, harassment and environmental degradation. Makgoba (1996) argues that there are fundamental values and goals and citizenry must be committed to promoting in order to be called ‘democratic’. These values include equality in participation and of opportunity, transparency, electoral choice, freedom of association and opinion, accountability and autonomy (Makgoba, 1996). The fact that people cannot appreciate diversity of thinking and opinion demonstrates that in Zimbabwe values of Ubuntu like respect, dialogue and tolerance are still in becoming and are not yet actualised. The underlying causes of the tribal, ethnic and racial conflicts that Zimbabwe experienced such as the Gukurahundi 1980 -1987 and the violence after the Land Reform Programme (LRP) can be attributed to lack of respect for others and a failure to tolerate other cultures and people

who are different. In the light of the above, I argue that Ubuntu and DCE share similar features in that the two concepts argue for hospitality, compassion and respect for others (Waghid, 2009:79). I advance an argument that for Zimbabwe, Ubuntu as a philosophy is relevant to solve ethnic problems and foster co-existence in institutions of higher learning, attributes that are in tune with DCE.

As a philosophical perspective, Ubuntu promotes the co-existence of people along the lines of respect for people as well as recognising the peoples' vulnerabilities and doing something to change people's situations. Respect as mentioned earlier, is another attribute of Ubuntu which if observed, allows other people to live their lives according to what might be good for them, rather than imposing one's own understanding of the world on others (Waghid, 2010b: 110). The tribal and racial clashes that have been going on in countries like Rwanda 1994, the DRC since 1960, Kenya 2008 and in Zimbabwe since 2000, are an indication of a lack of respect for one another and demonstrates that in Africa Ubuntu is not always practised (Waghid, 2010b :110). The prevalence of social ills in the continent such as exploitation, racism, and political intolerance indicates that Ubuntu is still in becoming. Moreover, Ubuntu calls for a constructive approach to teaching and learning in Zimbabwe's universities where students respect difference and embrace team spirit. The way African communities value togetherness/Ujamaa/community calls for cooperative learning and group dynamics in education.

5.8 Democratic citizenship education in becoming and the African university

My argument in this section is that an extended view of liberal DCE is ideal to close the gaps within the liberal tradition discussed earlier in this chapter (see 5.2). I therefore proffer an argument in defence of DCE in becoming and its link with African thought and practice in the form of Ubuntu. Reference to the philosophy will be made in terms of the writings of Gyekye (1997), Mbiti (1970) and Waghid (2015) among others. In my presentation on African communitarianism in chapter 2 (see 2.8), I stated there that in African culture, the community always comes first and the individual is born out of and into the community (Mbiti, 1970). Members of this community depend on each other and individuals are sensitive to the needs of others. They co-exist as a community, and respect for the community is also vital. These communitarians advance the African philosophy of Ubuntu (humanness) where belonging to a community is not by choice but part of the traditional African life

(Higgs, 2003: 63). Drawing from the above tenets of Ubuntu as an African philosophy, I contend that higher education in Zimbabwe and Africa could respond to ethnic and electoral violence in a positive and tolerant way only if Ubuntu guides it. Universities in Africa are multicultural centres that should be guided by humanness/Ubuntu philosophy. Ubuntu as a philosophy could provide in students' needs for them to function as free human beings in becoming who co-belong (Higgs, 2003: 62). Students are a community and they must be taught to co-belong to the university community without insisting on their sense of belonging. The relationship between the teacher and the student should be that of cooperation and harmony because the framework promotes education for community life (Luthuli, 1982: 5). According to Agamben (1999) communality does not have a shared or intersubjective identity. What Agamben (1999) accentuates is that Ubuntu can be possible (potentiality) but does not yet exist (actuality). On the same note, Foucault (1987: 128) submits that students who are taught to tolerate others are freed from a sense of shared belonging. This implies that students have the opportunity to think critically and independently as well as to belong without coercion or being prescribed to.

The relevance of Ubuntu to higher education is the philosophy's understanding that is rooted in community and belonging to a community as a way of life (Mbiti, 1970: 108). Borrowing from Agamben's (1993; 2007) *coming community*, Ubuntu could be regarded as a concept in becoming, not yet an actualised idea but with the potential to be actualised. In this regard, it is not yet in existence and therefore may not be able to resolve issues of violence and inequalities in Africa. What this means is that Ubuntu exists in fluidity in forms of our everyday life experiences. This further means that how people live their everyday lives (co-belong) could have the capacity to resolve social inequalities and violence for a violent-free society but this is still in becoming. Zimbabwe is still characterised by social inequalities and which results in limited possibilities for meaningful participation of the deprived sections in political processes.

It is through DCE in becoming that the gap between different social classes can be bridged; DCE introduces students to practices of dialogue in which they can talk back, think and speak independently (Davids & Waghid, 2016: 423).

5.9 Potentialities of Democratic Citizenship Education in Becoming

I have explained the position of a person in the community in relation to Ubuntu as an instance of DCE. The emphasis is on how humans consider themselves as social rather than individualistic beings (Taylor, 1994: 35). The view considers the relationship of an individual to the community but the individual puts primacy on the other rather than on the self. I now want to use concepts that stretch and advance DCE in becoming so that it presents potentiality that could be used in the encountering and resolution of ethnic-related conflicts and inequalities in Zimbabwe. Salient concepts discussed are justice, friendship, dialogue, scepticism as well as compassionate and narrative imagination to stretch the liberal idea of DCE to potentially describe how a multicultural society like Zimbabwe could actively be engaged dialogically with the other. Inclining my argument heavily on Agamben (1993), Nussbaum (1997) and Taylor (1994), I contend that compassionate imagining and narration could be potentials for possible deliberative futures. In this case, Agamben's potentiality is used in reconstructing responsibility and critique that can be used as potential moral accounts for withholding judgement for a later time in education as opposed to the liberal actualised perspectives –a demand for a response that arises through our relationality and being addressed by the other in whatever singularity (Agamben, 1993).

5.10 Compassion and Narrative Imagination as Potentialities of democratic citizenship education

Narrative imagination is concerned with the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, that is, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions, wishes and desires that someone so placed might have (Nussbaum, 2006: 390). In addition, Burke and Mackenzie (2012) posit that narratives are social products created within specific social, cultural and historical locations. Furthermore, a narrative can be part of a discourse if it describes a specific 'story' about what is possible or desirable to achieve through education policy (Ball, 1998: 119). Compassion, on the other hand is described by Nussbaum (1996) as involving the recognition that another person, in some ways similar to oneself, has suffered some significant pain or misfortune for which that person is not, or not fully, to blame (Nussbaum, 1997: 67). Narratives (speech) can be used to educate students by exposing them to literature (texts and concepts), not as an actualisation, but as a sensation that could expose them to imagining (thinking about) others' worlds in

whatever singularity. Nussbaum suggests that such imagination is capable of enhancing the capability of students to have compassion for the other. In the same vein, Waghid (2005a: 320) adds that compassionate imaginative action has the potential to extend fundamental dimensions of DCE such as deliberative argumentation and the recognition of others. As such, students should be taught what it means to be compassionate towards others.

In line with Agamben's (1999) potentiality, narrative imagination in whatever singularity is never actualised, but is always in becoming. It is not identified by passion or compassion, but in whatever singularity. However, passion is what Greene (2012: 105) uses to describe the affinity one needs in a pluralistic society. According to Greene (1995: 76) narrative imagination opens our eyes to worlds beyond our existence, and creates care for others as well so as to envision social change. From this analysis of narrative imagination, I envision a re-imagined and a conceptualised curriculum as the medium through which imagined knowing can be cultivated in teachers and students to enrich reflective pedagogic engagement.

On the same note, Nussbaum (2006: 388) summarises the cultivation of humanity and the aim of liberal education into the development of three capabilities that are required for DCE in plural societies. The first is the capability to reason logically (critical thinking), to test what one reads or says for consistency of reasoning, correctness of fact, and accuracy of judgement. This relates to Socratic idea of appealing to reason and deliberation as opposed to propaganda and manipulation. This capability calls for the critical examination of oneself and one's own tradition which Nussbaum calls 'examined life' (Nussbaum, 1997: 45). In this capability, a fact is not accepted as it is communicated by authority or tradition.

The second capability is the cosmopolitan capability which according to Nussbaum (1996: 43) "focuses on understanding differences that make understanding difficult between groups and nations and shared human needs and interests that make understanding essential, if common problems are to be solved, which includes the related task of understanding differences internal to one's own nation".

This capability calls for humans to see themselves as human beings linked to other human beings by ties of mutual recognition and concern, not only as belonging to a group or religion (Nussbaum, 1997: 45). Nussbaum goes further to introduce what she calls 'narrative imagination'. This implies that human beings have to think what it would be like to be in the place of another person; to be an intelligent reader of the history of that person, and to

understand the desires and wishes that someone like that could experience. I find Nussbaum's expositions of a pluralistic community similar to whatever is already obtainable in the Zimbabwean community in that it bears similarities in its humanistic essence of humanity and is already actualised. Nussbaum's capabilities are relevant to the multicultural Zimbabwe especially where she considers capabilities as being able to 'think critically' and narrative imagining to comprehend 'multiple others' and form impartial judgement or being able to show empathy, compassion, fairness and generosity, dialogue, listening to and considering the other person's point of view (Walker, 2006: 128). The cultivation of Nussbaum's capabilities is the key to the possibility of democracy. Nussbaum understands the capabilities as inculcating in students democracy that truly takes into account the common good, a democracy in which people talk to each other. A lack of this results in people not being able to hold genuine dialogue (Nussbaum, 1996: 42). For Nussbaum (1997: 85) narrative imagination as a process enhances speech (dialogue) among various ethnic groups as a means to eradicate conflicts emanating from inequalities. In this regard, Nussbaum proposes the inculcation and cultivation of sympathetic imagination in students which bestows on students (citizens) the capacity to 'comprehend (the) motives and choices of people different from ourselves, not seeing them as forbiddingly alien and other but as sharing many problems and possibilities with us' (Nussbaum, 1997: 85).

In a multicultural society like Zimbabwe, student contact with people from different ethnic beliefs makes students understand and respect other people's views and beliefs. According to Walker (2006), contact with people who are different from oneself from the point of view of language, religion, and diversity broadens your personal view and justice, and at the same time expands one's compassion and generosity. Similarly, students are able to abandon some assumptions they had previously taken for granted about contributions made by people from other ethnic groups. Such imagination is therefore capable of enhancing the capability of students to have compassion for the other. In other words, compassion enables us to be aware of our common ability to suffer. In this sense we will be able, in turn, to imagine the suffering of others as though we are the one suffering (empathy), and hence to show compassion with them and suspend rash judgement. Nussbaum's view of imagination is criticised for not considering individual variations such as private life. This further means that narrative imagination is actualised. This means that individuals will be autonomous in their imagination, and that compassion does not become a means to an end but a living process in whatever issues are faced by society. Imagination in whatever singularity has the potential of

triggering speech without actualising it, for if imagination and speech are realised then deliberation will cease and the education process will come to a halt (Walker, 2006: 89).

The relevance of Nussbaum's three capabilities to higher education is seen when she raises the idea of what emotions such as compassionate imagining could do in guiding deliberation amongst teachers and students. Nussbaum's (1997) argument is that DCE should cultivate compassionate imagining when people embark upon democratic action in public life. Students in a deliberative engagement must be guided by the impulse to treat others as equals and justly. According to Nussbaum (1997) and Greene (2012), education first needs to consider the humanity of everyone and anyone, in which case others' speech and thought could be regarded as a way in which students participate constantly in learning as a way of becoming. Education needs to be concerned with new ways of knowing, that is thinking differently. In this way, education can be said to be in the making and never attained, something we keep working toward. We cannot assume that we know when we have not explored or exhausted different ways of knowing, as knowing is always in becoming and is never to be actualised, lest it terminates (Waghid, 2003b: 322). In this sense, our passions and imagination can drive our learning to unimagined boundaries (beyond borders). Accordingly, entering into dialogue about histories, and the differences present in humanity, could enable students and learners alike to enter into the realm of knowing the unknown, for instance ways in which a society can live together by appreciating humanity through speech and imagination that transcend our differences, and by acknowledging the uniqueness of others. Furthermore, Nussbaum (2006: 326) views compassionate imagining as involving the cultivation of the ability to imagine the experiences of others and to participate in their sufferings to extend their suffering to more people and more types of people. This can be possible if students are exposed to stories that display the effects of war, death, rape, deceit and violence on humanity. Learning about these tragedies may, according to Nussbaum (1996), acquaint learners with bad things that may happen in human life, thus inculcating in students a concern for others.

In Zimbabwe, there is plurality that is actualised. However, Agamben (2004) describes a classless community in *the coming community*. For Agamben (2004) the existence of classes has resulted in evils like the rise of Fascism, Nazism and the Holocaust, as well as violence. In Zimbabwe, the existence of classes, inequalities, poverty, political violence and ethnicity is for Agamben in whatever singularity- compassionate imagining without borders. According

to Nussbaum (1997), it is only through compassionate imagining that people are aware of the misfortunes or suffering of others which might not have come about not as a result of their own wrongdoing. For instance, poverty in Zimbabwe may not mean that people are not working hard, and again inability of students to pay university fees by students may be the result of decades of economic mismanagement by politicians and require the compassion of others. In this case, university lecturers and administrators should devise creative means of assisting disadvantaged students emotionally so that they do not blame themselves for the misfortunes they experience as the result of the unjust system of education. For universities in Zimbabwe, this implies that there is exclusion of and discrimination against students on the unjust grounds of their parents' inability to pay fees, and this must be collectively condemned.

5.11 Freedom and justice as potentialities of DCE

I will consider how ideas surrounding a reconceptualised notion of DCE in becoming could assist Zimbabwe higher education in imagining and thinking differently about higher education in Zimbabwe. I advance two arguments in this section. Firstly, that higher education in Zimbabwe should be conceptualised to make students cherish justice (Rawls, 1971). Secondly, that justice as a potentiality for democratic citizenship can only prevail if there is democratic governance. Gould (1990: 35) refers to freedom as a scenario where social order is ensured by mutual consent. This freedom, according to Gould, is at its utmost where there are regulations that safeguard against interference from others. Drawing on the works of Rawls (1971), I employ democratic justice as a principle that provides a platform for both democracy and citizenship. For Rawls, social justice does not only include the distribution of benefits but also the burdens of society. Distributions of resources like wealth, skills, and education are impacted heavily by social recognition. The way a group of people are recognised determines the level of their benefits and access to social wealth. Gyekye (1998) points out that in the Akan culture ethnic groups, to which the Member of Parliament belongs, benefit more than others in terms of employment, scholarships and bursaries as well as empowerment projects. In Zimbabwe also, distribution of resources is done along political lines (Mawondo, 2009: 15). People who are considered to be 'politically correct' benefit in terms of resource distribution. The 2013 census revealed that in Zimbabwe there are more schools and universities in Mashonaland and Manicaland provinces than in in Matebeleland provinces. The disparity results in unjustifiable exclusion of students from higher education.

The explanation of this anomaly may be a history of the dominance of opposition political parties in the two Matebeleland provinces.

The issue I am raising is that, it is difficult to create a just system in which every member is considered and respected regardless of colour and political affiliation. It is difficult to achieve justice in a multicultural Zimbabwe because issues of culture, tribe, colour, and political diversity have become obstacles to justice and the equal distribution of public goods (Mawondo, 2009: 15). As a result, the majority of students (citizens) survive under negative freedom. This means prospective students have all the university entry requirements but may fail to access quality education if they do not have the financial resources to pay for the education. In terms of this background, Gould (1990: 36) asserts that the student who lacks the necessary conditions to exercise his freedom, or choice is excluded from doing so by the system. For democracy to prevail, Gould calls for the removal of external constraints by making available the 'enabling conditions'. These conditions are listed by Gould (1990: 36) as "access to training, access to quality education that is complemented by quality teaching and learning, recognition of each other's free space (agency) and the eradication of poverty". What this means is that poverty may render democratic citizenship useless. Adding weight to Gould's work is Steyn (2001a: 18) who contends that justice and freedom are inseparable. Steyn added that in a state where democracy is compromised, equal outcomes are also not possible because a lot of people will be excluded in the education system. I therefore submit that the conflicts that have characterised Zimbabwe as a nation and education in particular can also be attributed to the failure to achieve justice. Justice cannot be achieved if there is no guarantee of public spaces for the multiplicity of voices and experiences of justice and injustice. This public space must be guaranteed without exclusion or discrimination. The implication this has for higher education is that social justice as an attribute of DCE demands an education for students that opens ways for their participation first as political subjects and secondly as citizens who must play their roles to shape their immediate circumstances as well as to participate in the wider encounters. These students come from vastly diverse economic, political and cultural backgrounds. I also draw on Steyn's (2001a) observation that it is through citizenship education that access to public goods; public sphere and justice are made available to those beyond the empowered elite. In conclusion, to think of higher education as a community in becoming leads to a different way of thinking about higher education.

5.1 2Citizenship education-A pedagogical encounter for a plural Zimbabwe

5.12.1 Skepticism as a potential for DCE in Becoming

In this section, a philosophical position, which reconsiders the place of the self in relation to others, is discussed. In this regard, I find Cavell's (1979) idea of acknowledging the humanity in the other and oneself as more appropriate to extend the nuances of DCE. It is unfortunate that these ideas are already actualised. I further want to disrupt and explain how potentialities of violence could possibly be resolved in Zimbabwe. Reference will be made to the work of Cavell's (1979) and the seminal works of Waghid and Smeyers (2010) and Waghid (2014) in relation to pedagogy. I argue in this section that scepticism and responsibility are moral virtues in philosophy that can contribute to nuances in DCE in becoming and that could address issues of ethnic violence through subject formation. But before that analysis, let me draw on Volf's 2002 conceptualisation of the *other*. Volf (2002) gives a brilliant illustration of the *Other*. He describes the other as 'the people of different races, religion, and cultures who live in our proximity and with whom we are often in tension' (Volf, 2002: 13). He further expands that the other who may have been considered in the past as somebody who lives in a different country may now be living next door to you because of globalisation. Volf calls this *other* the "neighbourly other". Because of our proximity with the other, we are implored to shed off our ethnocentric prejudices and beliefs that one's own culture, race and religion is superior to that of others as this may only precipitate conflict, violence and power struggles. In this case, DCE should educate students in multicultural universities to embrace the other, and accept them as they are.

Cavell (1979) shows that when I am able to recognise human nature in others, I also will be able to know the human nature in myself. On the same note, Volf (2002: 14) concurs that we cannot speak of the other without speaking of the self or speak of otherness without speaking of identity. In other words Volf is arguing that we cannot form our own identity without taking the other into consideration. "We cannot be who we are without taking into consideration who we are not" (Volf, 2002: 14). This is similar to what Cavell considers as taking responsibility for the other. Conversely, in Agamben's (1993) sense, responsibility does not begin with the caring for the other, but a consideration of being responsible begins with self for itself as an act of co-belonging. This process requires one to suspend the knowledge of self and consider self as a stranger until we discover self in others, and then we come back to self and verify the human nature in oneself. Accordingly, DCE in becoming can

be a process of encountering others, of being caring in committed ways to discover their humanity, which is richly present in the self. In addition, doing this will delay acts of violence, because no one likes to be violent to self.

According to Cavell (1979: 213) the discussions that we have with the other determines the positions for which we are willing to take responsibility. Cavell elaborates further that responsibility takes place in the dialogical discussions we have with others as an extension of the self- an indication that we care about others. For Cavell responsibility includes what we are committed to do for others, what we care for, and this affects how we conduct ourselves in relation to the other. Cavell elaborates this notion by pointing out that there is some interconnectedness between the *other* and myself, therefore by being answerable to them I am being answerable to my mirror image that is enacting my responsibility towards them (Cavell, 1979). Referring back to my illustration in chapter two of the Gukurahundi violence in Zimbabwe in the 1980s between the Shona and the Ndebele, the Shona soldiers who were sent to Matebeleland failed to see in the Ndebele mirror images of themselves as human beings. That is why the genocide was perpetrated in that province. Seeing the other as one's mirror image thwarts the possibility of murder, rape and intolerance and violence. Central to this connection between the self and the other is the issue of 'acknowledging humanity in the other, and the basis of this lies in me (Cavell, 1979). Agamben, (1993) provides a vision of a new kind of commonality: the 'coming community', in which human beings will relate to one another without erecting a potentially divisive criterion of group identity; in short, commonality without an 'inside' or 'us' as opposed to an 'outside' or 'them' (Agamben, 1993; 1999). This is also supported by (Volf, 2002) who reiterates that we must step out of our preconceived notions by having an inclusive identity. This means that one is able to let oneself be changed by others in a rational argument. This is only possible if social boundaries are permeable and flexible enough to engender "belonging and commonality" (Agamben, 1999: 20). Agamben's logic of the exception maintains the specific identity of a citizen or a nation, locating it within an 'inside', while simultaneously distinguishing it absolutely from that of a citizen of a different nation, whose identity it presents as standing 'outside'. For Agamben (1999: 21, 28) 'sovereign exception' does not only set up and enshrine an 'us versus them' framework for identity and power, but also maintains a bifurcated structure that buttresses existing hierarchies of sexuality, ethical thinking and culture, even as it maintains tightly defined identities within them.

According to Cavell's (1979) perspectives on responsibility, scepticism, and the other, education has the potential to solve problems in society. Cavell implores us to suspend what we think we know until we encounter others, when we can make better judgement of ourselves; that is, when we can claim with reasons that we know or that we are knowing beings. Education in this sense will recognise humanity wherever it occurs. DCE in becoming therefore will imagine the potentials and future impacts of responsible acts on humanity against ethnic violence by being constantly sceptical, since responsibilities lie in the feasible future. In DCE in becoming, being sceptical has the potential to enable and not to enable social divisions that cause violence in Zimbabwe. Moreover, living in scepticism and being responsible have the potential for DCE in becoming to resolve violence in whatever singularity. This means that, in DCE in becoming, the potential to resolve violence depends on the relentless form of life of being sceptical and being responsible in whatever singularity (Waghid, 2010b: 139).

5.13 Friendship and mutuality as potentialities for DCE in becoming

Friendship and mutuality connect very well with teaching and learning; therefore, educators become very effective if they use approaches that invoke these two democratic tendencies. I base my argument on the account of friendship and mutuality proffered by Sherman (1997). On the same note, I want to pursue Waghid's notion that friendship and mutuality connect well with DCE and that speech and thought are possibilities that could advance education in becoming (Waghid, 2010a: 358). Sherman (1997) explains how friendship can take the form of mutual attachment, where teachers and students do things together when they are willing to give priority to one another in terms of time and resources. For Waghid (2010a: 358), the relationships in whatever singularity become a potential for DCE in becoming. Furthermore, Sherman (1997) advances another argument namely that friendship entails that people become mutually attuned to one another. When students and teachers attend to one another with interest and appreciation in an atmosphere of non-dismissiveness, they care for one another in such a way that their potentialities are developed. This makes it instructive for me to mention Derrida's (1988) deconstruction outlined in his seminal work on the politics of friendship- a potential for speech and thought in education.

For Derrida (1988: 632), friendship is possible based on the possibility and potentiality that human beings can participate actively with the other through speech and thought. Derrida borrowed his arguments from Montaigne, who attributed it to Aristotle's quote, 'O my

friends, there is no friend' (Aristotle, in Derrida, 1988: 632). The quotation from Aristotle indicates both the possibility and the impossibility of friendship. While the first part shows the existence of friends, the second part shows that there are no friends. This further indicates that, although some may be friends, there are instances when these friends do not wish you good and therefore are not permanent friends. In this regard friends do not actually exist.

Derrida (1988) goes on to raise the positive contribution friendship could make in a dialogue with others. For instance, this Aristotelian thinking implies that human beings become human beings through constant engagement [speech and thought] with the other. It is in this constant interaction in decision-making that Waghid and Davids (2013) applaud for making interaction and decision-making possible although they warn that the decisions should not be made rashly so that DCE in becoming is possible. Derrida further points out that "the friend is the person who loves and declares his or her love before being the person who is loved". He describes genuine friends and friendship by saying; *there is always someone, something, more fraternal than the brother* (Derrida, 1988: 632). He goes on to explain that a person in friendship is disposed to liking the other intentionally, rather than spontaneously such as obtained in feelings and sensation, geared towards satisfying the appetite (Derrida, 1988: 633). Waghid (2010a: 59) likens the Aristotelian conception of friendship to a contemporary understanding of democratic practice. Therefore, when teachers teach they should create an environment in which friendship and love (which does not imply being affectionate with students) could develop between them and their students. This is an indication that the teacher cares for his or her students in a way that evokes their potentialities in order that students may come up with possibilities that the teacher might not even have thought of (Waghid, 2010a: 53). In this regard, Waghid implores teachers to democratise their interaction with students so that students can take the initiative to imagine situations beyond the parameters of their research interests. This means that a teacher becomes a 'friend who loves 'and not one who expects to be loved in return. For Derrida (1988), friendship is something everyone desires since it exists to fulfil the human quest and to avoid living in a solitary state. This means that human beings have the potential for affective relationships in which they can speak and think. He further adds that the possibility of friendship is encountered through conversations and dialogue but the formation process of friendship is always in becoming. It is in the making.

Contrary to Derrida's (1988) idea of friendship, Agamben (2004: 1) views friendship as a form of life that is closely linked to the definition of philosophy because without friendship, philosophy will not be possible. In Agamben's (2004) explanation, to recognise someone as a friend means not to be able to recognise him as 'something' because friendship is not a property or quality of a subject. Friendship is the greatest external good and the essential constituent of a flourishing life and a happy life (Waghid, 2010a: 59). Teachers who engage with students in a friendly way are therefore not only doing well to the students but recognising students' worth. In response, students will work hard to come up with unimagined possibilities because they know that they are being respected.

5.14 Implications of Democratic Citizenship Education in Becoming for the University in Africa

In this section, I report on the implications of DCE in becoming for university education in Africa. My argument is that since some gaps have been identified in the liberal democratic tradition, an extended view of DCE can be summoned to close the liberal gaps. Referring to Agamben's (1993) coming community and the implications thereof for DCE in becoming; I advance an argument in defence of DCE in becoming and its link with the African philosophy of Ubuntu. My argument is that higher education in Zimbabwe and Africa can be rightly positioned to respond to ethnic, religious and electoral violence, especially if it is fashioned along the dictates of Ubuntu and DCE in becoming. In section 5.2, I argued for a reconceptualised view of DCE along the lines of potentiality in becoming. This is in line with students' belonging as members of a university community who co-belong as humans in whatever singularity. In this respect, students are left to think independently how to co-belong without being coerced or being prescribed to. DCE in becoming introduces students to practices of dialogue where they can think and speak independently. Speaking and thinking though not actualised, become forms of life in which the fluidity of education is in becoming. DCE in becoming has the potentiality of educating students to internalise learning from the in-becoming community. This is a community that is potentially possible and yet to be, that can potentially confront the societal challenges that universities face, including those challenges that come as a result of speech as an actualised idea.

The illustration of Ubuntu in section 5.7 indicates that this African philosophy emphasises on sharing and helping others. This is a potential aspect of Ubuntu considered by Mbiti 1970 and Menkiti (2004) as a possible way of closing the social gaps that come about as a result of the

social binaries of exclusion and inclusion. Ubuntu emphasises that an individual's source of humanity comes from his connection with the community of others. This implies that higher education conceptualised by Ubuntu as a philosophy could potentially configure students and lecturers as human beings in becoming and their education as always in the making. Framing an education in such a way calls for a constant unfolding of an individual's potential to become human with other human beings to whom they co-belong. In Agamben's perspective, Ubuntu is not an actualised idea of community, but one that is in becoming. Educationally, Ubuntu could fulfil students' needs to function as free human beings in becoming who co-belong. According to Agamben (1993) communality does not have a shared or intersubjective identity, that is, a community that could free itself from any description or difference. The argument derived from this is that such a community can be possible but is still in-becoming. This is why it is difficult to deal with conflict and violence. The implication is that the way people live with one another in a community (where they co-belong) has the capacity to resolve violence and create the potentiality for a non-violent society, but this is still in becoming.

From what has been discussed so far, it can be concluded that a becoming African university could teach students to become human with others, where students are taught to respect and value human dignity as dictated by Ubuntu. This is possible if universities in Africa are modelled in such a way that their potentials are always in becoming so that students can be taught to speak, think and make decisions regarding their becoming without making any rash judgements (Waghid, 2010a: 59). This entails the reimagining of the university in Africa so that it is in becoming. Universities should abdicate from being limited in operations by fixed or predetermined visions and missions. In any case, universities in Africa should seek to counter societal complexities and at the same time maintain their academic standards and competencies not in actuality but in potentiality.

Pedagogically universities should strive to imagine teaching and learning as relational encounters. This is so because universities the world over are envisioned as social institutions consisting of a becoming community comprising responsible citizens who, through rational encounters, seek to think, speak and carefully make judgement on the potentialities of the African university. Universities in Africa are confronted with a host of problems ranging from poverty eradication, diseases, social inequalities, injustices, crime, violence and conflicts. The challenges exemplified in the case of Zimbabwe are corruption, political

violence, ethnic violence, political intolerance, diseases, poverty and social inequalities. It is possible for African universities to tackle these problems if university education is commensurate with an extended view of DCE in becoming. This means that even though global pressures predetermine what African education should look like; the university in Africa can be reimagined in whatever singularity, in its own autonomy. African universities are in becoming, that is, universities in Africa are a developmental stage and are always in the making. This means that the public roles of universities in Africa are constantly evolving and require constant so that they can tackle the crises and challenges of African people on the African continent. However, African universities contain great potentialities and possibilities for a democratic African society. For instance, Ubuntu could potentially engender a humanistic education that is commensurate with the coming community; that is, an education that could educate students on their becoming human.

5.15 Summary

This chapter demonstrated that a reconceptualised idea of DCE in becoming extends the liberal conception of DCE and has the potential to counter challenges associated with social inequalities and injustice. It was revealed that a reconceptualised notion of DCE is one in becoming. Liberal DCE and its imaginings could make it possible for universities in Zimbabwe to curb corruption, intolerance and ethnic violence. The chapter disclosed that current policy and practice in the Zimbabwe's higher education system could not resolve the problems the country is experiencing because the system is not responsive to the societal ills overwhelming the country. This is so because liberal DCE is already actualised in the policy and regulations of university education in the country, yet ethnic violence and other societal ills are on the increase. I have given an illustration of DCE in becoming as one that could enable students to speak and think differently and suspend rash judgments. Such an education could potentially be relational in whatever singularity. This relation is possible in friendship as a potential projection of co-belonging. Its potentialities are being loving, being caring, trusting/mistrusting and respecting the humanity of the other in whatever singularity. Universities as constituted by the coming community have to be spaces where the cultivation of responsibility and humanity is fundamental.

CHAPTER SIX

A RECONCEPTUALISED VIEW OF AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON TEACHING AND LEARNING IN ZIMBABWE'S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I want to explain the implications of a reconceptualised African university on university teaching, learning and governance in Zimbabwe. This chapter is a follow up to the findings reflected so far in my chapters 3, 4 and 5. I am arguing in this chapter that higher education in Zimbabwe has the potential to respond to the socio-economic, political and environmental problems currently confronting the country and those problems faced by Africa as a continent. I say so drawing on Dewey's (1916; 1976: 123) explanation that education has the potentiality to develop the critical faculty of an individual to understand the complexities of the social, economic and political environment. Dewey further reiterates that the development of critical faculty does not simultaneously happen because students have attended a school, church or university. The kind of citizenship, as well as the type of university pedagogy to which we expose students could either help them (students) to think critically, create relational encounters of responsibility, and friendship, and to think radically to emancipate themselves and value the humanity of the other, or it could disempower students through an oppressing pedagogy that does not promote critical thinking in students.

In this regard, I consider how university classroom encounters could be transformed in line with DCE perspectives where students, administrators and lecturers could constantly learn to think and speak differently about the challenges confronting the country and the continent in terms of higher education. Similarly, Foucault (1995) reiterates that, universities be viewed as sites where different social forces and ideologies struggle for domination and hegemony. This is possible for Zimbabwe as a multicultural society if democratic checks and balances are allowed to participate through the civic society in the political and education system of a country like Zimbabwe. The argument is further extended to portray that DCE in becoming could hold potentialities that could enable students to determine their own choices on how they co-belong. This is so because like I reiterated earlier on, the kind of socialisation to which students are exposed either at home, school or church has the potential to determine

who they are becoming. This therefore calls for a reconceptualised view of a university that is commensurate with DCE in becoming in whatever singularity- so that students are able to integrate their cultural experiences into what they learn in the classroom with those with whom they co-belong.

I set off my argument by drawing on Waghid's (2010a: 56) view that university education can be a place for pedagogic transformation towards a democratic society in becoming. While I would want to concur with Waghid's view, I also want to argue that pedagogic transformation could only be realised if the environment in which education is encountered is potentially viewed as in becoming process. In this way, universities can become potential locations where students are educated about their potential to co-belong in order to transform the society and universities against inequalities and violence in whatever singularity. In this regard, I advance democratic encounters in the teaching and learning as these could potentially allow students to think differently (thinking anew) in their own privations (Osler & Starkey, 2004). It is the submission of this research that education and democracy are intertwined, and that democracy as a universal standard implores pedagogical encounters to strive to create in students the potentiality to think, speak, in order to set themselves free (Osler & Starkey, 2004). This means that, in the university teaching and learning process, students' independent ability to think and speak is a potential aspect in their learning that potentially can deal with new problems or conflicting situations that students encounter—without rash judgement (Waghid, 2010a: 50). Derrida's (1997) politics of friendship affirms that pedagogy ought to allow students to be different, because no two persons are the same. The implication this has for teaching and learning is that students' understandings might be teachers' misunderstandings, and teachers' understandings and students' misunderstandings. In other words, education ought to open windows or spaces for the other— who co-belongs, and for the new – fresh ways of thinking about particular problems that affect humanity (Waghid, 2015: 104).

In chapter 4, the research identified a number of challenges faced by universities in Zimbabwe and the general citizenry. One of the challenges identified had to do with access to quality institutions of higher learning. I also identified unequal distribution of education resources and infrastructure. I noted that the distribution of resources is fraught with corruption, favouritism and nepotism (see 4.2.7). On the same note the distribution of resources is biased as this is done along partisan and ethnic lines (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011). I

further noted violence as one of the challenges confronting higher education and society. The (violence) disrupts the smooth running of institutions of higher learning. I concluded in chapter five that universities in Zimbabwe and Africa are fraught with pedagogical challenges. This is possible especially for Zimbabwe because the liberal policies speaking to higher education are actualised. This explains why higher education has failed to contain violence and social inequalities in the country. This also means that higher education in Zimbabwe requires innovative pedagogy that can disrupt violence and social imbalances that characterise the Zimbabwean society. I would want to suggest that all these challenges arise as a result of an actualised sense of belonging and actualised speech and thought which hinder the enactment of potential responsible human action (Waghid & Davids, 2014: 339). This is in agreement with my argument in chapter 4 that the liberal DCE in Zimbabwe's universities is already actualised and contains impotentiality of violence, social inequalities, and unequal distribution of opportunities and resources, injustice as well as corruption. In the light of this background, this chapter reflects a reconceptualised view of the African university in becoming and as a framework for a becoming pedagogy in higher education in Zimbabwe-specifically teaching and learning in whatever singularity (Waghid & Davids, 2014: 345).

6.2 Pedagogy for a reconceptualised African university in becoming and the coming community

Pedagogy is described by Lawy and Biesta (2006) as what happens in the classroom. It is a set of interactions that occur in the classroom between the instructor and his/her students between and among students, between the instructor and the subject matter, and between the students and the subject matter (Osberg & Biesta, 2010). Pedagogy has been illustrated differently by various educationists, such as inclusive pedagogy by Danowitz and Tuit (2011), Lawy and Biesta (2006) Osberg and Biesta (2010), public pedagogy (Biesta, 2012), critical pedagogy (Biesta, 1998) pedagogy of change and innovation pedagogy by (Kettunen, 2011). Jenkins and Jenkins (2010) describe pedagogy in terms of teaching and learning, as well as friendship and responsible teaching and still others see it as the cooperative and dialogic learning (Jenkins & Jenkins, 2010) drawing on Freire and Habermas, Giroux (1995) considers how pedagogy could foster a critical sensibility and options for social change. This kind of pedagogy is critical pedagogy that aims to bring transformation of values, beliefs and

cultural prejudices. Just like Freire (1996) and Habermas (1987b), Giroux concurs that pedagogy fosters public engagement in a dialogue about the experiences of daily life.

In this chapter, I considered pedagogy in the light of the reconceptualised view of an African university that is commensurate with DCE in becoming. It is my argument in this chapter that a reconceptualised view of an African university in becoming is specifically concerned with classroom encounters (teaching and learning) in whatever singularity for the purposes of inclusivity, transformation, critical thinking and dialogic encounters. I am motivated in this discussion by Biesta's (2011: 358) idea of 'transcendence' in education with an emphasis on "the other" and "the otherness of the other," which according to Biesta can specifically manifests through notions such as hospitality, friendship and love. In agreement with Biesta, Lewis (2011: 373) introduces the university as a community of infancy where students would participate dialogically, and discover that they can profit from learning experiences of others more than on their own. This idea calls for the suspension of the traditional role of a teacher in whatever singularity. A community of infancy is an educational equivalent of Agamben's coming community. According to Agamben (1999: 184) this means that the university educator has to lose his voice or speech of reasonableness and truth and therefore fall silent. The argument advanced here Agamben (1999: 184); Lewis (2011) is that as long as the teacher's voice is present, the students would continue to look up to him or her for confirmation and validation. Lewis (2011: 375) notes that:

Once the voice of the teacher is removed, the students are left to their devices, thrown back upon themselves (abandoned, as it were) in their search for truth, without a frame of reference that would permit them to compare or evaluate their individual contributions in relation to some higher authority.

In this regard, Lewis proposes an adaptation of the constructivist thrust on teaching and learning which emphasises more on student activity, and is based on the assumption that students have to create their own knowledge and that teachers cannot do it for them (Lewis, 2011: 373). The teaching and learning is characterised by student participation in their learning. Constructivists are not in support of passive citizenship where students as citizens may not be obligated to exercise their rights as these are provided by the governing state. It is however prudent to mention that this kind of citizenship does not allow creativity in students and therefore their potentialities remain actualised. For Agamben (1999) "potentiality" always preserves its impotentiality. What determines the degree to which a community

manifests itself as a coming community is the degree to which the members of the community experience their potentiality, and furthermore, it is only in a coming community that, according to Agamben, we can be fully human (Agamben 1999: 182). In this case, Agamben indirectly proposes pedagogy in becoming that potentially values humanity not in an actualised sense, but in relation to what the students can become in being human – co-belonging. For Agamben (1993), impotentiality must be sacrificed first for potentiality to actualize, where as if impotentiality is not sacrificed, im-potentiality is made manifest. Impotentiality is therefore a state wherein impotentiality and potentiality remain immanent to one another without sacrifice (Agamben 1993; 1999: 184).

A reconceptualised view of an African university presupposes that through experiences in the classroom, students could be alienated and their sense to belonging disrupted. Biesta (2006) made an observation that students are exposed to negative experiences that propagate and contribute to violence, hatred, prejudice and injustice through experiences in the education system. This therefore calls for a pedagogy in becoming that is concerned with how equality and rights and instructors (lecturers) are evolving within classroom practices in whatever singularity in tandem with their independent thinking, speech and decision making without rash judgement (Waghid, 2010a: 50). Such pedagogy (in becoming) potentially can encourage students to participate and be responsible in the teaching and learning process in whatever singularity with respect to their own individuation (Waghid, 2010a).

6.3 On the potentiality of cultivating responsible pedagogy in Zimbabwe

While a university is an academic institution, and students attend university with the main objective of obtaining university qualifications, this research contends that there is more a university can offer to its students than just academic qualifications. In this section, I constantly refer to my discussion in chapter 4 where I considered institutional commitments to educate for DCE. I discussed pedagogy at each institution in terms of its capacity to educate for responsible citizenship in university education in becoming.

To start with, democracy and education are related concepts. Since the beginning of my discussion in chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5 I have argued that education has the potentiality to develop critical thinking necessary for DCE. In chapter 4, I highlighted that the policy on education for all, which resulted in the massification of higher education, had detrimental results on the quality of higher education especially in new universities that had been established after

1990. For instance, the massification of higher education has resulted in the dominance of lecture methods and a neglect of small-group teaching which is ideal for dialogue and interaction. Inadequate teaching and learning facilities in Zimbabwe's universities ushered in poor teaching and learning conditions such as, alarmingly large classes, increased teaching and marking loads as well as problems of internship attachment and assessment (Nyazema, 2010). A large number of students got excluded from availing quality education and opportunities to improve their participation in political and civic life. On the same note, education in Zimbabwe has failed to eradicate ethnic prejudices and election violence leading to the creation of incompatibilities and a confused sense of belonging for students and lecturers in universities. What this entails is, an actualised higher education system which has impotentialities to contain conflicts and violence.

In this section I argue through the eyes of students and teachers [university lecturers] that the achievements of any education system depend on ideals that animate the teachers and the student, and as such opportunities should be provided in university classrooms for students and lecturers alike to systematically voice their thinking in a way that makes students and lecturers instruments of change (Subba, 2014: 37). Similarly, higher education in Zimbabwe should provide students and lecturers spaces to engage meaningfully (democratically and deliberatively) to deal with instances of intolerance, corruption, injustice and inequality in the university education system in Zimbabwe. This provides spaces for pedagogy with nuances of DCE in becoming for sustainable university education (Biesta & Stam, 2001: 67).

6.3.1 Critical pedagogy

Biesta & Stam (2001) espouse the central task of critical pedagogy as to understand the oppressive aspects of university life and society in order to generate pedagogical, individual and societal transformation. At the same time, pedagogical strategies that work towards the elimination of various forms of subordination based on class, gender and race should be developed. These would strengthen students' possibilities for genuine learning and powers to fight against inequalities of the world. Echoing similar sentiments about critical pedagogy is Brookfield (2003). He avers that critical pedagogy's aim springs from the conviction that society is unfairly organised in favour of the dominant capitalist system. Brookfield further contends that critical pedagogy is therefore ideal to make people realise and oppose the deep seated exploitative, racist, classist system that the capitalist society protects. In this dimension, critical pedagogy has a transformative purpose in education. In higher education,

critical pedagogy promotes the intellectual development of the learner by expanding learner's knowledge and skills base (Biesta & Stam, 2001). Accordingly, critical pedagogy offers students and lecturers the potentiality to become critical citizens. This is achievable if higher education environment is conducive enough to promote democratic engagement and interaction between educators and students. According to Joubert and Bray (2007: 47) critical pedagogy can provide a chance for students and lecturers to study think and talk about the social-political transformation in university education for justice. I contend that the education policy frameworks in Zimbabwe encourage the democratisation of teaching and learning that involves uninhibited participation in the learning activity but the scope of students' participation remains unclear. In critical pedagogy, students become active and not passive.

In addition, critical pedagogy could encourage university students to act against inequality and undemocratic changes in universities, in which case lecturers could provide students with information as a starting point for conversations on what kind of university they want and how they aspire to create such a university (Joubert & Bray, 2007: 57). This implies that students are placed at the centre of decision-making through democratic participation and deliberation. Similarly, university classrooms are expected to offer pedagogical encounters that might cultivate compassionate imagining by way of deliberative encounters (Davids & Waghid, 2016: 34). This means that students could potentially contribute to criticality in meaning making when they can transcend the given. Being critical potentially could enable students and teachers to find their own voice and privations in whatever singularity. The learning environment in which the student is granted the opportunity to explore and manipulate the learning environment has the effect of empowerment on the students while at the same time promoting the inclusion rather than internal exclusion of students. As McLaren (1995: 37) puts it, critical pedagogy has the potential to "make the story of liberation pressingly real for students, as it provides them with the ability to re-tell and re-present stories of human dignity and class struggle in ways that canalize the desire to speak with the oppressed and not for the oppressed and to work cooperatively without monopolising the conversation or the resources available".

Critical pedagogy allows students to think of how to alleviate the vulnerability of others in a conflict or violent situation if they are given the opportunity to imagine the consequences of violence such as post conflict trauma. In the long run, students are able to think and imagine ways to respond or react to similar circumstances. By so doing, students demonstrate a

critical attitude by looking for meaning beyond their current situation and finding solutions for future problems in case they reoccur. In this way, students find the motivation to act differently should they face a similar situation of suffering. Let me refer again to the situation in Zimbabwe between 1990-2003 when the country experienced riots by university students, violence caused by the falling economy, land reform and electoral violence (see chapter 2). Violence in Zimbabwe posed challenges to the democratic vision the country so desire to achieve. Different authors have discussed how higher education should be influenced by principles of DCE. According to Arthur et al. (2008: 336), how and what teachers do during classroom encounters influences directly the kind of citizens the students will become, albeit, not to suggest that how teachers teach is more important than what they teach. In the words of Antonio Gramsci (in McLaren, 1995) critical pedagogy should make lecturers ‘tear down the walls for new ideas, lifestyles, thoughts and actions to appear democratic. On issues of hegemony, Gramsci (in McLaren, 1995) avers that critical pedagogy helps students to contest aspects of hegemony that makes students/citizens ‘to accept as natural and in their best interest an unjust social order’ (McLaren, 1995).

Similarly, Waghid (2014: 24) concurs, ‘many students do not consider it their right to question what they are being taught, since teachers often treat academic texts as encyclopaedic as authorities that cannot be questioned’, I argue that critical pedagogy should empower students to tear down hegemonic walls that protect unjust and undemocratic systems politically and economically. DCE requires the teachers and students to engage in critical and creative thinking skills as this contributes to students becoming free, value equality and mutuality. This entails that students should find their voices in relation to their contexts and everyday experience. Moreover, classroom encounters should not simply focus on direct transmission of knowledge and skills but should drive students to embrace the qualities of cooperation, kindness and independence that will help them to participate in political and social life (Arthur et al., 2008: 337). A critical pedagogy helps students overcome alienation and creates the context for the struggle for human freedom, which can only exist in a non-alienated world (Brookfield, 2003: 148).

6.4 Teaching and learning that disrupts violence

There are different perspectives and roles a university ought to conform to. However, for Smeyers and Burbules (2011: 5), universities are underpinned by main facets namely; teaching, research, development and nation building and raising individual capacities beyond

economics and politics. While it is constitutive that each university maintains the universal conceptualisation of a university, Makgoba (1999: 7) is of the view that each system of higher education ought to adapt to the needs and values of its environment. This places the university in Africa in a complex situation as the continent is confronted by a variety of challenges. The continent requires concerted social, economic and political efforts in terms of poverty, injustice, diseases, social inequalities, political and domestic violence, ethnic conflicts, genital mutilation of girls and women, resistance to democratic practices and so forth Waghid (2002b: 458). All the challenges stated above require a reconceptualised African university that is responsive to the challenges faced by the African continent. On that note, higher education in Africa should focus on individual development as well as the social, economic and political development of the peoples of Africa in an endeavour to disrupt violence. This is only possible if educators create new pedagogical encounters for students that make the students value and respect the humanness in others. Failure to acknowledge each other as equal human beings, and failure to recognise the vulnerabilities inherent in each other impairs the potentialities of both the students and their educators to disrupt violence.

Waghid (2010a: 49) posits that if educators do not acknowledge their students as fellow beings, and if students on the other hand fail to acknowledge their educators as fellow beings, their engagement becomes merely that of talking to the other, at times past the other, and at other times down to the other. This kind of pedagogical encounter does not promote meaningful communication that results in the connectedness of students and staff by way of deliberation, compassion and cosmopolitanism. A university in becoming is that which acknowledges that all people are always in becoming, their being human and that everyone has the potential for something worthwhile as well as the impotential for something not worthwhile (Waghid, 2010a: 54). Such a university community in becoming is potentially in the making, one that is yet to be realised – that is, it is not yet, but potentially can be. If a university community is not yet actualised but in becoming, then there is hope that as a becoming university will be able to deal with the violence with which it might be confronted because it is a community in becoming that can deal with violence. This is because a university community in becoming lacks a shared intersubjective identity, it is a community without reference to either identity or difference. In a community like this, the affiliate individuals do not make reference to their differences. In a university environment, students are affiliated on the grounds of being persons not because they share identity with other students that are outside scholarship. Since all students are members of a university

community in becoming, they honour the sacredness of life and desist from using violent ways to cause bodily and death to others. In such a community where every member co-belong, all individuals endeavour to disrupt violence for the sake of being human and living their humanity, even if it means engaging with those who are seemingly at the lowest point of humanity, those who perpetrate violence (Waghid, 2002b: 455). Such a university community in becoming does not make the end of violence its aim, but rather the struggle against violence becomes a continuous human experience. The university classroom that promotes active citizenship and acknowledges the humanity of others, and the sacredness of life, is one that promotes active citizenship in becoming. The classroom environment promotes knowledge transfer and students have the rights to perform tasks so that ultimately as educated citizens they are not excluded from holding certain positions (Fish, 2008).

In the civic liberalism, democratic citizenship education is conceptualised as a legal status, as opposed to the activity of citizenship. In this citizenship (liberal) citizens (students) have certain 'rights' that they could exercise in their own interest if they choose to, in other words, they are not in any way obligated to exercise those rights as they are provided by the state (Lewis, 2011: 233). Educationally, the university in the liberal idea is a centre of learning where students have the right to attend sessions and be 'educated' Campbell (2003, in Lewis, 2011: 236). This is not active learning or participation. An active citizenship education in becoming comprises 'whatever being[s]' in its singularity (Agamben, 1993: 20). Here, citizens are not members because they belong to a particular university community or particular nation-state, but rather for 'it's being-such, for belonging itself' (Agamben, 1993: 2). Active citizenship in becoming considers citizens in their singularities and as such, they are beings capable to disrupt violence. In this respect, violence is not lovable. What makes an act lovable according to Waghid (2010b: 49) is that someone else finds the act of violence congenial or that others are captivated by their offences like inflicting pain on others. On the one hand, victims of violence are neither captivated nor find violence lovable. To victims, violence is unpleasant while on the other hand perpetrators might find it endearing to inflict pain on others. Cavell (1979: 440) sums it up when he asserts that our practices should be about what is desirable for the society because the other is the mirror image of myself. An active citizenship education in becoming is that which can orientate its citizens towards what is lovable and in this case violence is not lovable. For Mills (2011: 19) active citizenship education in becoming requires the 'suspension of the transition from potential to act, and the maintenance of impotentiality' Considering the Land issue in Zimbabwe that has brewed

conditions that perpetuate racial and electoral violence in the country, eliminating such kind of violence might not be simple. This makes the desire to eliminate such violence a potentiality or a possibility. What this entails is that an active citizenship may have or may not have the potentiality to counter violence. However, an active citizenship education in becoming has the potentiality to counter violence makes it possible for citizens of such an education to exercise their freedom in their own singularity (Agamben 1993: 67). The university community in becoming is considered by Agamben as being –*within* an *outside* or a passage that gives access to the event. This implies that an active citizenship education in becoming views itself as a community that sees violence from ‘within an outside’ Being in such a singularity places the community in becoming in a position to think of the possibilities and impossibilities on how violence can be disrupted. Volf (2002) provides a new way of thinking about the other which takes into consideration one’s identity as a way of disrupting violence. Volf (2002) avers that, although we may be individuals, we are also a part of a greater whole and that despite our differences; we still form a unity in the end.

6.5 On the potentialities of cultivating a culture of mutuality and friendship pedagogy in Zimbabwe’s universities

In chapter 5, I reflected on the concepts of friendship, mutuality and love as they are used by Derrida (1988; 1997). I used Derrida (1997) to deconstruct friendship, and noted that friendship is an on-going process of loving. To arrive at the importance of friendship as a democratic encounter in university teaching and learning, I read the works of Derrida (1988, 1997), Waghid (2007, 2010b) and Davids and Waghid, (2016) widely. From my reading, I noted that friendship is a mutually beneficial social relationship based on faith, honesty, respect, kindness and shared interests (Castrodale, 2015: 1). To add on, Castrodale contends that friendship appreciates both sameness and difference and thus entails the sharing of desires and goals, which sometimes may be held in common and at the other times, diverge (Castrodale, 2015: 2). Tillmann-Healy (2002: 733) explains friendship in terms of research methodology. Friendship is used in higher education as a research methodology that is engaged with a multiplicity of nuanced perspectives such as thinking critically; researching in places and contexts, that matter to the people and populations involved is driven by goals and desires that are forged through friendship (Tillmann-Healy, 2002: 733). Since it draws from interpretivist approaches like the critical inquiry, phenomenology and hermeneutics, friendship rejects scientific neutrality and universal truths but works toward relational truths

and social justice (Tillmann-Healy, 2002: 735). Educationally, friendship encourages reciprocity in terms of effort in the teaching and learning. Students and lectures must agree on the work plan that they all intend to adhere to when it comes to working together democratically. When supervising research, students and lecturers must engage in an encounter of friendship and offer one another their love without conditions. Waghid (2007: 183) reiterates that when supervisors love their students, they initiate them into analytical inquiry that enables students to understand the concepts, which guide their educational research better. The reciprocal process of friendship and love illuminates when students appreciate the supervisor's initiation, but it is also possible as Waghid (2007) narrates that students are not expected to reciprocate the initiation by the supervisor/lecturer therefore they may choose not to reciprocate and might consider the supervisor's act of friendship dissatisfying. Tillmann-Healy (2002); Elton and Johnston (2002: 113). Moreover, Waghid highlights that in the event that the supervisors are not recipients of love (there is no reciprocity by students) they supervisors/ lecturers remain mutually attached to their students as friends because supervisors do not have an expectation to be loved in return (Davids & Waghid, 2016: 103). Lecturers are not held back or demotivated in their teaching process by the students who cannot reciprocate their love because they have love for their discipline (Elton & Johnston, 2002: 113). This means that in teaching and learning there are two kinds of pedagogical love. There is love for the students and the love for the academic discipline. This means that pedagogical friendship as potential for love can spur the love for academic discipline and for students. Such a provocation could provide university curricula with the language for teaching and learning that influences not only how students learn but also what they learn to overcome violence in whatever singularity.

For Derrida (1997), friendship is not passive, but takes an active role of loving rather than being loved. Furthermore, friendship can signify 'mutual attachment as a matter of doing things together' Waghid (2007: 190). This explanation by Derrida (1997) and Waghid (2007) reflects an environment in education in which students and lecturers can demonstrate their mutuality without being dismissive. Students and lecturers lean to listen to one another with respect and trust. This has a profound educational and democratic implication in that when students and lecturers participate freely in teaching and learning activities, they do it with flexibility and willingness to be corrected or critiqued, since they are bound together by mutuality as a commonality. On the same note, Waghid (2010a) points out that mutuality

encourages students and teachers to appreciate one another in their efforts of teaching and learning for DCE.

In Derrida's (1988) explanation, friendship does not just happen simultaneously but it is nurtured over time as friends learn to experience one another in mutuality and as they endeavour to take risks (Waghid, 2010b: 61). Accordingly, the kind of friendship and mutuality that Derrida explicates can provide teachers and students with the potential responsibility of being loving; meaning to say students or teachers will not wait for teachers or students to show them love but will love as an act of being a friend, since friendship is always in the making (Waghid, 2010a: 361). In this case, students and teachers become active participants in the teaching and learning that is informed by a pedagogy of mutuality and friendship because they are both able to take up the active role of loving. For Waghid (2010b: 50) such loving may invoke potentialities of students in a way that provokes them to come up with possibilities that teachers do not even think of. Sherman (1997) in Waghid (2010b: 51) argues that friendship does not have to be conditional, and that it is friendship that does not expect anything in return. According to Sherman (1997: 208) friendship entails the relaxing of boundaries between people especially if people become mutually attuned to one another so that they become stimulated by one another through argument. According to Waghid (2007), friendship that is understood in terms of mutuality and love could be used normatively in pedagogy to nurture friendship, in which case mutuality and love could encourage both students and teachers to take risks in inculcating justice. Meaning to say, friendship professes possibilities for the educator to nurture students to become human with others. Waghid (2007: 189) notes that mutuality has the potential to enable teachers to introduce students to new ways of thinking for instance, being able to see things differently. In this manner, students, in turn, will learn in such a way that they are able to make sense of new ways of knowing and being able to think differently. This points to the fact that, in a mutual sense, friendship can enable both students and teachers to engage in new ways of knowing that can sustain constant ways of learning. Therefore, friendship as mutuality points to the fact that DCE in becoming can enable students and teachers to nurture their sense of belonging to a community of learning/teaching (university) to deal with new ways of knowing. This kind of thinking about education reshapes the sense of duty and responsibility that is possible during teaching and learning processes in higher education. However, according to Derrida (1997) these ways of teaching have not yet been achieved and only are possible when educators and

students engage in critical questioning, constant learning and association in becoming humans who are capable of democratic citizenry.

In summation, friendship that is understood in terms of mutuality and love provides pedagogical encounters that potentially can be non-violent for DCE in becoming. Unfortunately, the potentialities indicated by mutuality, love and friendship make friendship possible in teaching and learning, but higher education in the country is still in constant search for nuances that can deal with the challenges of violence, injustice and ethnicity so that the education system in Zimbabwe is motivated by justice.

I now turn to a discussion of the main ideas espoused by Rancière on intellectual agency.

6.6 On the potentialities of emancipating equal intellectual agency; a radical pedagogy for the university in Zimbabwe

I open my discussion on the potentialities of emancipating intellectual agency with an elusive description of radical pedagogy. Elusive, because radical pedagogy has traditionally been seen as an umbrella term for a wider range of feminist and critical pedagogies committed to social justice, social transformation and democracy (Bell, 1997). Radical pedagogies give primacy to the promotion of social transformation through education. However, Rancière, through his theory of politics has opened up new ways of imagining the radical project through a discussion of what is possible via education. Rancière's discussion helps us to envision the consequences of attempting to achieve transformative and social justice goals through education. According to Rancière (1991; 1999; 2006), the efforts of radical pedagogy to promote social justice should begin with the exposure of the dominant ideological and cultural relationships because it is these relationships that precipitate injustices and inequalities.

Rancière (1991: 73) begins his argument on equality by introducing the concept of equal intelligence as the 'common bond of humankind'. Rancière begins his discussion by first detaching himself from Althusser, his teacher in the 1960s specifically on the concept of equality (Simons & Masschelein, 2011: 3). Althusser views equality as a distant reward in the distant future or a mere promise of reward that people have to aspire to attain through democratic citizenship education practices. This conception of equality is however criticised by Rancière as conceiving equality as in becoming and Rancière suggests that the on-going inequalities have to be eradicated through DCE practices rather than education (Simons &

Masschelein, 2011: 5). According to Rancière (2006) understanding democracy in Althusser's viewpoint restricts than it frees. Rancière (1999; 2006) noted the danger in this conceptualisation of equality as tearing apart learners who are incapable of deliberating and those who can deliberate since the task of DCE in this case would be to ensure that deliberation is attained in future (Simons & Masschelein, 2011: 7). What Rancière is putting across is that human beings bear potential equal intelligence and have the capacity to exercise their potential intellectual agency in a democratic manner because these beings understand one another and for Rancière, only an equal understands an equal (Rancière, 1991: 73). Equality in Rancière's notion is the fundamental assumption upon which society functions and not a given feature or goal of politics.

Human beings understand one another through speech, because we share the performance of language that we understand when we are told where we do belong and where we do not belong (Rancière, 1999). In view of this, equality finds its meaning in expression. Meaning to say, university pedagogy should be engendered through the in becoming thought.

Pedagogically, the implication of Rancière's notion of equal intelligence is that every learner and the educator bears potential intelligence that can enable them to participate in the teaching and learning environment to determine whatever they may become through democratic classroom encounters. This notion of equality accords equal opportunities to the voices of the learner and the educator basing on the assumption that everyone is equal regardless of their qualifications because they are able to speak and act. The place of radical pedagogy in university teaching and learning is that of emancipation of both the learner and the educator. This, according to Rancière is potentially possible if classroom spaces in universities are organised in a way that potentially enable students and educators to have spaces in which they encounter the intellectual agency of everyone in a teaching and learning environment (Rancière, 2006). University teaching and learning must reflect pedagogy as disruptive encounters for just practices. This means that radical pedagogy calls for classroom encounters to be disruptive as they strive to contribute to meaning making. Such pedagogical encounters are not only emancipatory in themselves, but signify equality of intelligence in all humans. In this regard, every learner is able to participate in deliberative engagements and has the ability to disrupt such conversations through his or her ability to speak and understand (Waghid & Davids, 2013: 63).

Another implication of Rancière's views is that they provide the nuances necessary for DCE in becoming that open pedagogical spaces to reimagine policies in university education to counter social inequalities. In Rancière's terms, hatred for democracy refers to those who would want to dominate and control a democratic practice. In summation, an education drawn on Rancière's assumptions on equality and democracy will consider the capacity of all people to think, speak and act as equals.

6.7 Teaching and learning for the cultivation of Ubuntu: A pedagogical encounter with 'The Other'

In the Zimbabwean sense, unhu/Ubuntu is what characterises a virtuous human being (Presidential Commission, 1999). Makuvaza (1996); Samkange and Samkange (1980: 86) concur that Ubuntu means more than the biological being but connotes the 'attention one human being gives to another, the kindness, courtesy, consideration and friendliness in the relationship between people, a code of behaviour, an attitude to others and to life.' In this section, I refer to the writings of Waghid and Smeyers (2012a) who considers Ubuntu as a philosophy that can transform university education for a just course. Reference shall be made to Letseka's (2011) who views Ubuntu as ideal for educating future democratic citizens who are prepared to participate actively in fighting against social injustices. To Waghid and Smeyers (2012a), Ubuntu demonstrates a universalist ethics that considers the condition of oneself in relation to the other. According to Waghid and Smeyers (2012a: 13) 'Ubuntu relies on human moral enactment such as forgiveness, hospitality and nonviolence to remedy some portraits of violence and hatred on the African continent...' Drawing on this concept of Ubuntu, I intend to interrogate Ubuntu to understand how it can potentially interrupt violence and injustice that affects citizens in Zimbabwe, and how it can be undertaken as a pedagogical encounter in university education to disrupt violence. This implies that, I argue for Ubuntu-informed pedagogical potentialities that can do justice to the situations within which one finds oneself in as well as acknowledging the concerns of others.

This brings me to a discussion of Cavell's (1979) moral sense of being human which entails being sceptical. Ubuntu, in the Cavellian notion of the other entails one's potential to consider the other as a stranger first as one establishes oneself in the other. In this way, Cavell (1979) depicts one's relationship with the other through an emphasis that one has to acknowledge one's humanity in the other. Cavell (1979: 433) summarises it thus; I have to acknowledge humanity in the other and the basis of it lies in me'' This means that Ubuntu, as

a democratic encounter with the other is that students and lecturers should consider one another as fellow human beings' worthy of respect. However, this can potentially happen if one acknowledges oneself as an individual who should exercise respect as an enactment of one's humanity (Waghid, 2015: 126). I argue that the occurrence of pre and post-election violence in Zimbabwe resulting in the death of many people in 2002, 2005, and 2008 elections is an indication of lack of respect for the moral human life and the otherness of the other. Ubuntu in the Cavellian sense is critical to blind collectivities that are detrimental to humanity especially if these collectivities fail to respect the other. Instances of such collectivities in Zimbabwe are the Gukurahundi conflicts in Matebeleland where close to 20 000 Ndebeles were massacred between 1980 and 1987 by the Shona dominated Zimbabwean army (Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Muzondidya, 2007). Again conflicts and violence which broke out as a result of the Land Reform 2000-2005 where the white commercial farmers and their farm workers most of whom were from Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique were actually planned and predetermined. In this case, the people of Zimbabwe portrayed an actualised Ubuntu that venerated collective harm on whites and their farm workers. The Gukurahundi and the pre and post-election violence as well as the resultant violence on land reform have been consciously planned and this violates other people's democratic rights to co-belong. The rights of the whites to co-belong as equal citizens were actualised as most of them lost their citizenship rights. This is doing injustice to the other.

Educationally, there is a need for students and lecturers to think differently about collective acts of violence that are actualised in order to reimagine citizenship education within the Zimbabwean higher education. This entails that universities in Zimbabwe could reimagine their pedagogy within classroom encounters so that any collective violence that is pre-planned could be dealt with pedagogically. Pedagogical encounters within university classrooms ought to provide avenues for deliberation, respect and non-violent encounters to potentially enable teachers and students to think differently about mechanisms that are necessary to resolve problems in non-violent ways and mechanisms that can enhance care for the other. I therefore advocate for pedagogical potentialities that would do justice to the concerns of others.

Noddings (2003: 241) highlights the importance of caring as an ethical philosophy in education because encounter and interaction are inevitable. According to Noddings, teaching is one such profession in which care is greatly required. Noddings describes care as a

reciprocal process between the one who is cared for and the one caring, and says that people can learn to both give and receive care (Noddings, 2006: 339). In education, the teacher is the one who gives care. However, Noddings contends that in the caring process, the relationship between the one caring and the cared –for should be established while at the same time the carer makes efforts to discover the needs of the cared-for so that the carer responds to them in an appropriate way. This kind of caring, according to Noddings, is not a romantic caring, but rather entails being receptive to the *Other*. For Noddings (2006: 339) care is only received when the other accepts the act. This somewhat caring commences with ideals of respect and regard for the *other*. Educators and students have the responsibility to form caring relationships so that they are able to react in accordance with the ethic of care. While teachers have the responsibility to organise pedagogical encounters through instruction, interpretation clarification of concepts during classroom experiences encounters, students can reciprocate the care by responding positively to the teacher’s care in whatever singularity. Caring potentially requires the intrinsic interests of trust and inclusion between the carer and the cared-for. This means that caring encounters need the participation of both students and teachers. Pedagogically, the teacher should encourage interactive and deliberative methods of instruction (dialogue) so as to mirror the moral ethical ideal. In this sense, teachers potentially can acknowledge the intelligence of students as a starting point from which student learning objectives begin. Caring that is commensurate with DCE provides potential pedagogical concepts of being hospitable, imagining the state of others being other than they are. As a result, such understandings could continually become part of a university curriculum, vision, and policy in becoming.

Referring back to my earlier discussion of Ubuntu, in this section I would like to refer to Waghid and Smeyers’ (2012a: 13) as they touched on the collective act of genocide in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis. These authors submit that collective violence in Rwanda is a manifestation of a lack of considering the plight of others. Similarly, violence between the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe in which 20 000 Ndebeles are said to have been massacred is also a clear indication of a lack in the caring spirit of Ubuntu and failure to consider the interests of others adequately. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Muzondidya, 2007). This kind of Ubuntu portrayed by the Hutus and the Shona arouses scepticism about what Ubuntu really ought to be, and triggers a re-imagining of Ubuntu (Waghid 2010a: 365). These occurrences of violence in Rwanda and Zimbabwe point out that some collective acts of solidarity could impose negative care (immoral behaviour towards the other, impotentialities)

by inflicting harm or terminating the life of others. Pedagogically, students must be nurtured to bring out the partial concerns for particular others as moral components of life. By so doing, we promote in students the ethics of care and a moral philosophy which can necessitate responsibility by acknowledging oneself in the other (Cavell, 1979 in Waghid and Smeyers 2012b: 443). This challenges university lecturers to create spaces in university classrooms and university spaces that can potentially evoke critique, respect, care and compassion, so that the encounters can enable us to mirror others in ourselves, so that students can potentially co-belong in whatever singularity.

The argument that I draw from the above discussion is that higher education in Zimbabwe has failed in its role as a democratic space for propagating citizenship because it is undermined by violence. Situating my arguments in Derrida's friendship, forgiveness and hospitality, I further argue that forgiveness and hospitality could potentially enable students and lecturers to think differently about their relational encounters with the other as a reflection of self. This enables them to forgive one another even in instances that seem impossible to forgive. According to Waghid & Smeyers (2012a), it is possible within classroom encounters for students and teachers to cross each other's paths and that such acts can create uncomfortable encounters and hinder learning and deliberation. This calls for the Derrida's (1988) proposition of teaching students to live a life of friendship and hospitality. According to Derrida, all human beings have a right to universal hospitality without limits. Universal hospitality presupposes that every stranger is potentially a host and that the stranger has commensurable and reciprocal position vis-à-vis the master in his home homeland. However, Derrida explicates that unconditional hospitality is hard to accept since accepting it is tantamount to accepting the risk and danger (i.e. vulnerability) in the other. This means that unconditional hospitality is being in relationship with the other even if the relationship is risky and seems impossible. Derrida explains "for unconditional hospitality to take place, you have to accept the risk of the other coming and destroying the place" (Derrida, 1999: 92). Despite the risk in unconditional hospitality, Derrida implores us to embrace an open and unconditional hospitality towards the other, "a lawless welcoming of the guest" (Derrida, 1997: 30).

Drawing on Derrida's arguments on hospitality and friendship, I argue that unconditional hospitality can provide spaces for Ubuntu to improve the encounter with the other. This proposition by Derrida is necessary to avoid conflict and violence as hospitality is potentially

an act of compassion toward the other and could therefore potentially improve the encounter with the other. This suggests that those who face violence or discrimination need to be taken care of by the government and by all who understand universal hospitality. In the same way, university education potentially can be a space for cultivating notions of universal hospitality. According to Waghid (2014: 93) unconditional hospitality provides grounds for democratic education that can avoid provocative and disruptive pedagogical encounters, especially those that exclude others and hinder engagement within such encounters. In line with Waghid, I argue for deliberative pedagogical encounters which will result in reasonableness and moral acceptance of the other. A university education that is conceptualised along hospitality, care, compassion and friendship can transform pedagogical encounters in African universities to pedagogy of care and compassion that characterise and mirror the African society and humanity. Ethnic and electoral violence in characterising Zimbabwe could be contained if universities and their communities stimulate pedagogical encounters that are hospitable and that can cultivate the African spirit of Ubuntu.

On friendship and forgiveness, Derrida (1997: 33) believes in the kind of forgiveness that builds on the premise of 'Doing the impossible' which according to Derrida implies forgiving the 'unforgivable'. This entails that the violent conflicts between the Shona and the Ndebele in Zimbabwe as well as the atrocities that were committed in Zimbabwe against Commercial farmers that might be regarded as impossible to forgive are forgivable. In Derrida's view, terrorism, genocide and crimes against humanity such as the Hutu against the Tutsi in Rwanda can be forgiven unconditionally if forgiveness is rendered as a 'gracious gift' Derrida (1997: 32). In Derrida's opinion, forgiveness is unending / not final because acts of violence or other evils perpetrated against humanity are capable of being repeated by those who perpetrate the evils especially if they willingly refuse to change. It is the consideration of the likelihood of the recurrence of the crime that Derrida coins the phrase 'forgiving the unforgivable' (Derrida, 1997: 32).

The implication forgiveness has on Ubuntu is that communities that have been in conflict before should attempt to forgive the unforgivable as they have live to in harmony with one another. At Independence in 1980, Mugabe pardoned the 'unpardonable' colonial government that had committed the racially motivated atrocities in Rhodesia. Unfortunately for Zimbabwe, the acts of violence and crimes against humanity occurred again after between 1999 and 2013. Failure to forgive the unforgivable has resulted in perpetual hostilities, which

always manifests at university functions like sports and national functions such as rallies. This is detrimental to DCE as hostilities within Zimbabwean communities are making it difficult for transformation to take place.

6.8 Summary

The chapter has recommended to universities in Zimbabwe to organise their pedagogical encounters in a way that could potentially address the challenges (violence) confronting the country. This will be possible if universities in Zimbabwe can organise classroom pedagogies to offer spaces where deliberative and compassionate encounters are cultivated. Further, in the chapter, I recommend critical pedagogies as pedagogies that are emancipatory would promote classroom encounters that bear respect, mutuality and friendship. Universities in Africa/and specifically Zimbabwe could teach students to become human with others, to respect and value human dignity. I have further also highlighted in the chapter that potentialities of care, Ubuntu and friendship can drive universities in Zimbabwe toward DCE especially if pedagogical encounters become friendly ones to allow students and their teachers to create relational spaces for mutuality and trust in which students are free to take risks and become free.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A RECONCEPTUALISED VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE AND ITS POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the research process. In this chapter, I provide the research findings I also highlight on the contributions this research makes to higher education in Zimbabwe and finally advance my recommendations. Throughout this study, I immersed myself in theoretical ideas about DCE practices such that I have developed professionally as a university educator recommends new patterns and concepts to work in universities. While this chapter is a summary, it also presents an evaluation and offers recommendations for restructuring university education in Zimbabwe to promote access to quality university education. This chapter asserts that higher education policy in Zimbabwe is thinly contextualised in DCE and therefore is inadequate for engendering quality higher education. The chapter therefore provides an extended view of DCE and a possibility of what it could offer to higher education in Zimbabwe. This means that this chapter elucidates how the university policy speaking to teaching and learning can be aligned to address issues of an extended conception of DCE and a view of a reimagined Zimbabwean university.

7.2 Synopsis of the research process

The research examined how and why the notion of liberal democratic citizenship is central to university education in Zimbabwe as a tool to fight the social imbalances emanating from ethnic and electoral politics. Theories of liberal DCE and Communitarianism have been crucial in clarifying the bond between ethnic politics in Zimbabwe and how these influence and affect the education system in the country. Wider consultation was made on communitarian theorists, namely Benhabib (1996), Young (2000), Gyekye (1997; 1998), Gutmann (1999), Biesta (1999) Waghid (2000; 2002; 2009; 2010; 2013) Waghid and Davids (2016) Mbiti (1970) and Waghid and Smeyers (2012a).

Building on the implications of the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe on university education after the land reform, which consequently resulted in the imposition of

economic sanctions, I explored the extent to which DCE as a concept can assist policy makers in Zimbabwe to reimagine counteracting the manipulation of ethnicity for private political and socio-economic ends. This research was driving at a reconceptualisation of university education in Zimbabwe so that it could potentially deal with social inequalities holistically.

The main research question the study sought to address was: Does Zimbabwe's higher education system contain a justifiable form of DCE? I investigated this question with the support of the following sub questions: what is democratic citizenship education within the liberal framework? How committed are universities in Zimbabwe to educate for DCE? To what extent is higher education in Zimbabwe informed by DCE? How does the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe from 1999-2016 determine the form of democratic citizenship in Zimbabwe's institutions of higher learning? How does a reconceptualised notion of DCE assist Zimbabwe's higher education to address problems associated with social inequalities? Finally, what are the implications of educating for democratic citizenship to Zimbabwe's universities?

The above research questions shaped the study and directed the focus of my research to higher education in Zimbabwe as I examined its contribution to the cultivation of DCE. This approach has helped me to identify the discord in the conceptual framings of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's universities and to rethink the liberal conceptions of DCE to those of DCE in becoming which potentially can address social inequalities in Zimbabwe.

I used social Reconstructionism as a guiding theoretical framework and philosophy of education as the design to analyse the conceptions of DCE in relation to the conceptualisation of higher education in Zimbabwe. I chose philosophy of education because of the way it links curriculum, pedagogy, theories of learning and the purpose of education with the axiological, epistemological and metaphysical assumptions. Since the research is on the struggles between classes on the distribution of economic, political and social opportunities, I am tempted to invite Reconstructionism as a progressive theory as it also relates to democracy and education.

The study also used the liberal DCE as the foundational philosophy anchoring the study. Liberal DCE has been chosen because of its emphasis on the notion of community, responsibility, humanity and interrelationships amongst people in the public sphere. The

liberal ideas listed above (see chapter 5) subscribe to the DCE principles of equality, respect, dialogue, reasonableness and the concern for co-existence in the public sphere (Benhabib, 1996). I have also chosen the liberal DCE since I consider it relevant in endangering collective dialogue and reasonableness in a consensus to ensure and improve on equality and equal opportunity in the distribution of public goods in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it was hoped that such a notion of democratic citizenship education could stimulate the university education system in Zimbabwe to produce critical thinkers and pragmatic citizens who would be able to tolerate and appreciate the otherness in others.

In this research, I made reference to a number of theorists on DCE, namely Dewey (1916), Rawls (1971), Habermas (1987), Benhabib (1996; 2011) and Waghid (2010a; 2011; 2014). These authors relate to each other in terms of DCE and I used them in this study to establish a measure (yardstick) against which to compare education policy and practice in Zimbabwe's universities to examine whether they adhere to the democratic principles of education. Suffice it to say, the theories augmented my view of DCE to enable a reconceptualisation of higher education in Zimbabwe.

The research used an interpretive paradigm and conceptual analysis in the understanding of policy documents, which are the main sources of democratic programmes in Zimbabwe. I located the research within Cavell's interpretive inquiry to investigate the relationship between democracy and social injustices that result in ethnic violence in Zimbabwe. Cavell (1979) avers that knowledge and meaning are acts of interpretation, and these are not independent of human thinking. According to Cavell (1979), a word gets its meaning in different contexts and within a particular interpretive community (Socially constructed meaning) Cavell (1979, in Waghid, 2010a: 40). This calls for what Cavell refers to as reasonable doubt 'scepticism' in investigating the meaning of concepts.

The research also used methods that are prescribed by interpretive inquiry namely; content analysis (see 1.1.3) and policy text study (1.1.2). These methodologies aided me to review literature that augmented my analysis on the possibility and impossibility of DCE in Zimbabwe's universities. The documents analysed include the TNDP (1983), the Presidential Commission (1999), The University of Zimbabwe Act 1990/91, the National Action Plan (2004) and Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act 2006.

Another method used in the research was deconstruction as portrayed by Derrida (1988; 1999). Deconstruction according to Derrida can be used to fight inequality through language.

Derrida's deconstruction assumes that meanings of words cannot be understood except in relation to what they are not. This assumption helped me to search for meanings that are hidden, and meanings that are interpreted differently from the way they are portrayed. In this research, Deconstruction of such concepts as equality, transformation, access, justice and relevance helped me to think differently. According to Biesta (2009), Derrida's deconstruction is necessary to rethink educational issues through the unravelling of the inadequacies, contradictions and ambiguities in our education policies and practices. I used Derrida's assumptions on deconstruction to expose the inadequacies in the current conceptualisation of higher education in Zimbabwe as far as DCE is concerned. Consequently, deconstruction helped to examine the state of education in Zimbabwe's universities and concluded that liberal DCE is already actualised. I now offer a synopsis of the research findings.

7.3 Synopsis of the findings

In chapter 2, I engaged the liberal democratic thought and the African communitarianism. This helped me to gather a collection of diverse democratic visions and to include perspectives of the possibilities of democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe. Liberal DCE was further analysed in relation to some concepts such as a sense of belonging, human interaction and public reasoning. In the liberal communitarianism, DCE is understood to contain human rights and responsibilities in actuality. These rights are deeply enshrined in individual liberties such as the freedom of worship, association, and speech and the freedom to own property and live their lives the way they like (Dryzek, 2000).

Responsibilities, in liberal DCE are obligations that citizens need to carry out. These include the duty to contribute to rational political debates and make decisions through public engagement, the duty to tolerate difference and the use of public reasoning as a way of making judgements and as a way of public life (Benhabib, 1996; Dryzek, 2000; Habermas, 1987b; Osler & Starkey, 2000: 435). Liberal DCE is understood to contribute to a sense of belonging where citizens are protected and bound together by their shared commonalities and responsibilities enshrined in the legal constitutions that protect and unite the members. In such a community, opportunities and good of the society are equally shared as these members' value equality and autonomy (Dewey, 1916). On the same note, liberal DCE encourages the association of and integration between members of different groups. Basing on this assumption, liberal DCE views university education as a place where students are

exposed through pedagogical encounters to alternative ways of living with others. Students (citizens) are also encouraged to imagine the life worlds of others in such a way that they temporarily suspend/forget their own perceptions in order to understand others who may be different from them. The liberal DCE extends the political /nationalistic belonging to encompass cosmopolitanism (Benhabib, 2011a).

In chapter 3, I traced the development of higher education in Zimbabwe and established that the political and economic environment in the country has had a significant effect on higher education policy formulation, implementation and DCE. Another revelation that came out in chapter 3 is that much of the influences that speak to policy formulation in Zimbabwe have come from outside higher education, from the macroeconomic arena, global and market forces, and broader ideological and discursive contestations (Kariwo, 2011; Maravanyika, 2005: 13; Sigauke; 2012). Research on education policy in Zimbabwe shows how policies have influenced the democratic process and the state of university education in Zimbabwe. Higher education in Zimbabwe has been going through a crisis since 1995 when economic policies like the ESAP and ZIMPREST failed. For instance, Gatawa (1999), Nherera (2000), Raftopoulos (2006), Kariwo (2007; 2011) and Mlambo (2008) concur that the expulsion of Zimbabwe from the Common Wealth, the withdrawal of World Bank funding on higher education as well as the imposition of economic sanctions have had a profound negative impact on university access and quality. Scholarships and grants from government were scrapped and replaced with loans. Universities responded to this critical situation by partnering with private players who sometimes dictate policy on universities because they fund them.

I argued for quality, access, justice and relevance to be the benchmark of a defensible higher education policy framework in Zimbabwe. Policy documents guiding higher education in Zimbabwe and individual state universities need to delineate quality parameters as well as promote an increase in access and justice especially by promoting the values of DCE. My conclusion to the analysis in chapter 3 is that education in the first decade of independence in Zimbabwe transformed the society through increased access to education and partly eradicated the inequalities which had existed in the education system but quality remained compromised.

Referring to my narrative in chapter 3, the research found that the situation in Zimbabwe was far from being democratic as public goods such as quality education, health and land among

other goods could not be accessed by citizens on an equal basis. This is in line with the observations made by Waghid (2002a) that education policy and practice in the contemporary world is influenced and driven by capitalism and economics in a society. In Zimbabwe, higher education is heavily impacted upon by socio-economic and the political environment. The state has been experiencing economic challenges spurning from the western imposed sanctions which further weakened efforts by the state to provide quality education as stated in the policy documents. Again the chapter discovered that efforts at transformation and reconciliation were not complemented by the change in educational policies as these continue to be entrenched in colonial education policies.

In chapter 4, I discussed university mandates, visions and programmes for two selected universities in Zimbabwe. Although I do not intend to repeat in this chapter a discussion of these programmes, I argue that the programmes offered in universities in Zimbabwe could potentially be conceptualised to reflect the principles of DCE in becoming. I draw my argument from Waghid (2010a: 49) who posits that if universities engage students in deliberations, students as human beings will be capable of becoming inquirers. In any case, policy documents in Zimbabwe submit that there is engagement in universities but my submission is that this engagement is not enough as acts of violence, corruption, favouritism, intolerance, and nepotism continue to exist in Zimbabwe. This is actually contrary to what university education should be, but indicates inadequacies in the way university curriculum in Zimbabwe are prepared to educate for DCE.

In chapters 5, and 6, I referred a great deal on DCE in becoming, I noted that policy in Zimbabwe does not offer any specifics of what university education should look like, but rather provides potential principles, knowledge and philosophical ideologies that could guide higher education in Zimbabwe as universities plan their programmes of study. This research suggests a university curricular that captures student imagination to provoke students to think critically and engage in knowing, acting and becoming (being) while at the same time recognising the humanity of the other (Waghid 2010a: 54). In that respect, I concur in this chapter that university programmes in Zimbabwe should be informed by the broader aims of education. The broader aims of education in Zimbabwe are to widen access to university education, promote science and technology, to promote equal opportunity in attaining quality higher education and to educate for Ubuntu. As has been discussed in previous chapters,

framing education in such context has had no effects in curbing gender inequality, nepotism, corruption, intolerance, poverty and electoral violence because it lacks criticality.

I have noted in this study that electoral and post-electoral violence negates the principles of deliberative democracy and that threat, coercion and lies prevalent in Zimbabwe's policy implementation are contrary to the values of deliberative democracy.

My arguments in chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5 have shown that DCE is linked with encouraging learners to engage in dialogical engagements aimed at endangering social justice and elimination of inequalities, exclusion and marginalisation of learners.

7.3.1 Access to university education

One of the major policy decisions adopted after independence in 1980 was to increase access in education. Before 1980, only 10% of students who completed secondary education could proceed to university. The government was concerned about widening access by establishing a university and a Polytechnic college in every province. This was a positive move on the part of the government as enrolments to university continued to soar. The literacy rate, as recorded by (UNESCO, 2009; 2013) was high (92%) in Zimbabwe as a result of government emphasis and financial support to education (Hwami, 2012; Kariwo, 2007; Raftopoulos, 2004).

A review of the TNDP 1983 revealed government's commitment to accelerate human capital development. Revelations made by the World Bank (2000a; 2009) are that between 1985 and 2003, Zimbabwe's public expenditure on higher education was more than other developing countries in Africa. This indicates how committed the government was in developing human resource. It was assumed education would improve the socio-economic environment in the country. The thrust was on the promotion of science and technology in the country because science was expected to steer economic development. This saw a number of institutions with a focus on science opening between 1991 and 2010. The main Science and Technology institutions are the National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE), Chinhoyi University of Technology (CUT), Harare Institute of Technology (HIT) and the Scientific Industrial Research Development Centre (SIRDC).

According to the World Bank (2009) 24% of all higher education students in Zimbabwe are in the Science and Technology. The percentage compares very well with the average of 25% in the high-income countries (Kariwo, 2007: 45).

This study obtained that, as enrolments increased in these newly established institutions of higher learning, quality continued to suffer. For instance, the increase in enrolments has not been complemented by increases in the number of lecturers and other support staff. This means that lecturers have to grapple with teaching large classes of between 500 and 800 per course in the Arts and Humanities. In 2010, a faculty-wide course at (BUSE) was conducted in the university stadium because there was no venue to accommodate the large class. As more and more programmes were introduced both at UZ and BUSE the universities faced challenges of teaching venues and some classes were conducted under trees and in foyers. Large offices were converted into classrooms, forcing academic staff to share the room with 8-10 lecturers.

The argument I am advancing here is on quality. Studies by Gatawa (1999), Kariwo (2007), Hwami (2012) and Matereke (2012) on higher education in Zimbabwe found that widening the access to university was a success but it resulted in increased enrolments in universities to unmanageable numbers resulting in quality being compromised. The problem, as worked out by Gatawa (1999) is thus the higher the quantity the lower the quality.

7.3.2 *University governance in Zimbabwe*

In chapter 4, it was reported that the President is the chancellor of all state universities in Zimbabwe, and makes major decisions in university governance. The presentation in chapter 3 and 4 revealed that, although the role of the President as Chancellor of all universities is meant to be ceremonial as indicated in the policy documents (The University of Zimbabwe Act 1990/1) the President holds a considerable influence on university issues like appointment and dismissal of vice chancellors. This research gathered that the President also recommends and influences the appointment of individual university councils and in some instances the university deans (Cheater, 1991). As a result of the influence the President has on university governance and administration, universities in Zimbabwe are often used as venues for political rallies especially during election campaigns. In most cases universities are coerced to contribute financially to political functions consequently, the usage of such political power on universities makes universities in Zimbabwe sites of political battles (Sigauke, 2012). The state President dominates university policy making and only policies

that are favourable (partisan) to the President and the party are passed. The other effect is on university autonomy and academic freedom. As long as the affairs of universities are controlled by political heavy weights, democratic citizenship would be highly impeded as the university curriculum is secretly censored.

On the contrary, this study noted that the involvement of the state President in higher education has its positive points as well. Government institutions of higher learning have been receiving more funding from the state as compared to private institutions. State institutions in Zimbabwe are better resourced as compared to private universities. State universities in Zimbabwe are also comparatively cheaper when one compares them with private universities or regional universities. Hwami (2012) notes that due to government control of higher education fees, it has become difficult for universities to hike their fees without government approval.

Another issue discussed in chapter 4 was on that of functions of universities. Universities in Zimbabwe are obligated to teaching and learning, research and community service. Nherera (2014: 16) gives a rundown of the effects of brain drain on university mandates and concludes that the brain drain had disastrous effects on teaching, research and community service. Nherera pointed out that the credibility of universities in Zimbabwe was heavily affected in three dimensions, in terms of quality of human material resources (inputs), quality of management of learning (process) and quality of results obtained (output). This has resulted in universities lagging behind in terms of internationalisation of their programmes as compared to neighbouring South African universities.

Nherera reports a decline in the number of foreign students seeking enrolment at UZ and BUSE, which significantly went down by 27% and 38% respectively between 2006 and 2010. He attributes this decline to failure by universities to tailor their programmes in a way that attracts foreign students, a decline in quality in the teaching and learning and a decline in credibility of the universities due to political interference and poor funding (Nherera, 2010: 16).

While this research would subscribe to a certain extent to the findings put forward by Nherera (2010), this study noted significant improvements in the quality of higher education since the inception of ZIMCHE in 2006 and the introduction of the multi-currency in 2009 in Zimbabwe. Recent studies by Hove (2012), Chikerema (2013) and Garwe (2015) points at some improvements that have been made in Zimbabwe's higher education since the

establishment of ZIMCHE. The establishment of institutional audits by ZIMCHE has had a positive effect of ameliorating quality challenges in that universities are now accountable for their levels of qualifications of their staff, facilities available for use by lecturers in teaching and learning, and student enrolment per programme (Garwe, 2015: 47). The frequent quality audits by ZIMCHE for quality purposes have also resulted in universities improving their standards. ZIMCHE has even suspended programmes at some universities in Zimbabwe that have failed to meet the minimum expected standards (Chikerema, 2013; Garwe, 2015: 43; Hove, 2013). University audits report by ZIMCHE in 2015 has revealed an increase in lecturers with doctorates degrees. UZ had 109 professors and 145 lecturers with Ph.Ds. 107 lecturers who were registered PhD students while BUSE had 12 professors, 57 lecturers with PhDs and 41 lecturers who were registered Ph.D. students (ZMCHE, 2015 Report). The audit by ZIMCHE attributed the decrease in university lecturers with Ph.Ds. to lack of capacity in universities in Zimbabwe to supervise research at PhD level. According to ZIMCHE audit report, 15 only 4 universities out of 15 are offering PhD studies, and this explains why many lecturers have crossed to neighbouring countries for studies.

7.3.3 *University Council as policy making body*

University councils run universities in Zimbabwe. The university council is the highest university policy making body for state institutions. In Zimbabwe, the President who receives nominees and recommendations from the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education appoints council chairpersons. This means that vice chancellors, deans and other influential posts owe their allegiance and loyalty to their appointees. The effect on DCE is that university governance is less democratic as appointment to non-academic posts is along political affiliation. This arrangement does not afford equal opportunities for all members of the society to compete and to be appointed on rational grounds. Consequently, there is too much interference from the government in university policymaking, making it nearly impossible for participative policymaking process to be realised.

7.3.4 *Student Representative Councils*

Each university in Zimbabwe has a Student Representative Council (SRC) voted into office by the students. This is an attempt at student participation in the affairs that affect them. However, the research found that in many instances student representatives are only consulted after decisions had been made. This is not in the interests of genuine participation where students' voices are solicited in matters that concern them (Trowler, 2010: 8). As a

result, students in Zimbabwe's universities are not enjoying the benefits of their involvement in university governance. The students' councils have been rendered powerless and ineffective because they are also aligned to political parties.

Referring back to philosophical theories discussed in chapter 2, I can claim that DCE is insufficient in universities in Zimbabwe as the findings of this research contradicted the DCE principles. The values of communicative, deliberative and discursive democracy put forward by Thompson & Gutmann (2004), Habermas (1987a), and Seyla Benhabib (2011a) are not visible in Zimbabwe's higher education system. Gutmann and Thompson's (1996) deliberative model of DCE avers that deliberations on issues affecting society should be done in public spaces where all participate equally and freely without any oppression from those in power and that decisions arrived at should be legitimised afterwards.

Similarly, Habermas (1987a) enforces the idea of communicative rationality in which a speaker ought to convince only by using good reasons through argumentation. Deliberation has four major purposes: legitimising ideas arrived at through consensus, encouraging interest in public issues that require rectifying, encouraging respect for one another and correcting mistakes that may stem from people's misunderstanding of issue (Thompson & Gutmann, 2004). The argument advanced here is that policy formulation on education in Zimbabwe lacked communicative rationality as it was passed without the involvement of students and academics. The passing of the Education Act 1990 and the University of Zimbabwe 1991 faced resistance from both students and academics because they were not consulted when the policies were deliberated.

Since independence, the main thrust of the policy on education in Zimbabwe was to widen access on education (Kariwo, 2007). University access was realised by the establishment of 14 more universities between 1991 and 2014 to make a total of 15 universities all together. This is indicative of an overwhelming demand for higher education but to the detriment of quality and resource related challenges. This research therefore argues that access to university has not been fully realised as this is not complemented by equity and quality. The TNDP (1983; 1995; 2005) laid emphasis on education which drive the country towards the achievement of socio-economic development, equitable distribution of resources to all provinces, human dignity, inclusiveness, affording equality of opportunities to marginalised groups, freedom of conscience and relevance in higher education but how such ideas become real in university education in Zimbabwe is still blurred. These other DCE principles have not

been realised as more emphasis was focused on quantity. This means that the principles of DCE which speak to higher education in Zimbabwe have only been observed on paper, which suggests an actualisation of the liberal principles.

The higher education policy framework outlined in the National Action Plan 2005 and the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education Act 2006 together with individual university Acts support for the idea that education in the country should prepare students for cognitive development, democratisation, critical thinking and for making a meaningful contribution to poverty eradication in the country (MHTE, 2006: 1). However, the same documents are not clear on how these goals are to be envisioned practically and how DCE will be fostered.

I advanced an argument that higher education is thinly conceptualised to educate for DCE. The emphasis on national development in the education policies has been blamed by Sigauke (2012) as focussing university education to narrow nationalistic inclinations that neglect citizenship participation. My argument further asserts that although higher education in Zimbabwe bears the liberal ideas in its policy framework, anti-DCE practices continue to persist such as internal and external exclusion, regionalism, corruption, political intolerance, electoral violence, conflict and violence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Raftopoulos, 2009; Sigauke, 2012). In the light of this revelation, I further submit an argument that the liberal perspectives put forward by Rawls (1971), Habermas (1987b) and those of Benhabib (2011a) lack the power to transform the education system in Zimbabwe because they are already actualised. The policies are pronounced in the TNDP (1983; 2005), the National Action Plan, (2004) and the individual university policies. The University of Zimbabwe Act 1991 and the Bindura University of Science Education Act 1996 assert their commitment to educate students for the promotion of human rights, equality, equity, deliberation, observation of the rule of law, patriotism and freedom of speech but these have already been actualised in Zimbabwe's education system. To be actualised, is tantamount to non-existence and as a result cannot resist violence and other social inequalities.

The establishment of a public university in each of the country's ten provinces testifies that Zimbabwean education is expected to transform the country socially and economically. This is evidenced by the mandates of various universities that are obligated to satisfy the socio-economic demands of the country (refer to BUSE and UZ mandates in chapter 4). Similarly, the Transitional National Development Plan 2005 and the recommendations of the Presidential Commission (1999), repeatedly highlight in their preambles that education in

Zimbabwe was to be of relevance to the needs of the country, that of educating for socio-economic development (GoZ, 2012). The Presidential Commission (1999) and the Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) frame the role of higher education in Zimbabwe as to ensure democracy by means of training people appropriately for a life in a Zimbabwean culture (Presidential Commission, 1999: 349). Framing education in a nationalistic setting is a violation of the values of cosmopolitanism. The danger, as cited by Sigauke is that the education policy in Zimbabwe is embedded in nation bound references where children (students) are framed as disciples of a specific national settings that do not aim to achieve democratic attitudes towards life of the students (Sigauke, 2012: 118). Furthermore, Sigauke reiterates that this framing is problematic as it fails to be democratic itself.

In the same chapter, I remarked that DCE in Zimbabwe is far from being realised as the education is market-oriented. This kind of thrust is criticised by Agamben (1993) as disempowering to students because it stifles their freedom to impotentiality. Contrary to this, Agamben supports the kind of education that promotes “the being that is properly whatever is able to not be; the being that is capable of its own impotence” (Agamben, 2007: 32). The emphasis on Science and Technology in the universities in Zimbabwe is an indication of a neoliberal thrust toward entrepreneurial capacity building which Agamben criticises (Agamben, 1993; 2007). Agamben is against the learning society that subjects the learner to actualisation according to the needs of the market or the state. This happens at the expense of offering learners the opportunity and space of “coming into presence” so that they can enact their humanity towards themselves by recognising difference in others (Davids, 2017: 427). In Education in becoming, learning is not only dependent on teaching, but through the teacher’s engagement with learners (Davids, 2017: 427). According to Simons and Masschelein (2013), education is in becoming if it is not fixed in time and space or limited to a particular understanding. This means is that education is more than a process of encounters, it is about that which is about to happen and yet to be known and seen (Davids, 2017: 429). What this entails is that an education in becoming must be facilitated through a particular understanding of democracy, one that focuses on being open to the views of others, for instance the teacher being open to the views of the learners. For the university in Zimbabwe, this is the education that transcends social, geographical and psychological boundaries that are hard to overcome in citizenship education in Zimbabwe.

Following my analysis of education in becoming, I discussed in chapter 6 what a reimagined notion of DCE involves. I engaged the work of Agamben and concluded that the potentiality of liberal DCE to redress social inequalities and curb violence in Zimbabwe lies in the possibility of in becoming. In other words, the possibility of DCE to curb the problems confronting the nation is still in potentiality (in becoming). This notion fits in with a DCE in becoming as an extension of the liberal idea. As a reconceptualised view of the liberal DCE, DCE in becoming could potentially help address the issues of social inequalities, violence and the impotentialities of an actualised education. As it is, the possibility of DCE to curb the problems confronting the nation is still in potentiality (in becoming). For Agamben, potentiality survives actuality in the way it gives itself to itself (Agamben 1999: 189). A reconceptualised view of DCE entails the following:

- University education in Zimbabwe needs to help students to think, speak and act.
- allowing students to voice things differently, and to suspend judgment on the way knowledge is presented so that students can learn something new by acknowledging that learning is always in potential and never comes to actuality because the becoming is always in the making (Waghid & Davids, 2013).
- Education in becoming has the potential to make students see things differently (not as they always appear) which will prevent them from making rush judgement (Waghid, 2014).
- A reconceptualised view of DCE provides a place where students are in becoming and the becoming state provokes them to think critically, radically and innovatively to allow new ways of knowing and seeing things.

Such an education is still in becoming in Zimbabwe, it is not yet arrived at, but a process of becoming could be achieved if teaching and learning enable students to enter into speech and thought without judgement. The in becoming process must be guided by values of respect and valuing human dignity.

In chapter 6, I further argued that higher education has the potential to make students understand and respond to the socio-economic, political and environmental problems currently confronting the country and Africa as a continent. This is potentially possible if classroom encounters are transformed into spaces for democratic teaching and learning processes. In this case, universities in Zimbabwe could potentially become locations where

students are educated about their potential to co-belong in order to transform the society at large and universities against inequalities and violence in whatever singularity. This is possible when classroom encounters are critical, when they bear mutuality, care, love and friendship, when they become radical and emancipative. Only then can the universities in Zimbabwe address the societal and educational challenges facing the country. This argument is further extended to portray that DCE in becoming can hold potentialities that can enable students to determine their own choices on how they co-belong. I believe potentialities in criticality, care and Ubuntu could steer higher education in Zimbabwe toward a democratic citizenry in whatever singularity and at the same time giving room for advancement since education is in becoming (Waghid, 2015: 104). Ubuntu as a concept of DCE can provide an institutional culture of caring that is commensurate with DCE in becoming that could respond to problems of violence, intolerance, corruption and social inequalities in whatever singularity. This is potentially possible if a reconceptualised African university structures its pedagogical encounters to allow students to engage democratically, and make students appreciate the ‘otherness of the other’ (Biesta, 2011: 358).

7.4 Contribution of this research Study

Chapter 1 highlighted the concerns of this study and framed these concerns into the main research question supported by the sub-research questions. The research examined why and how the notion of liberal democratic citizenship is central to university education as a tool to fight the social imbalances with which the country has been grappling since the attainment of independence in 1980. This indicates that liberal DCE is conceptualised in actuality in Zimbabwe since conflicts, violence and other social inequalities are so prominent despite the country being democratic, hence the call to reconceptualise what DCE is in the anticipation that students potentially will be able to understand, speak and act in a way that will better their performance in nation building.

The findings and the recommendations of the Presidential Commission of 1999 motivated the study. The commission identified a gap between the school and the reality emanating from what the commission referred to as “a lack in citizenship education” (Presidential Commission, 1999: 69). The commission identified problems of varying magnitudes prevalent in Zimbabwe such as violence, political intolerance, anti-social behaviour, corruption, lack of respect, lawlessness, hooliganism in universities, drug abuse, ethnic and electoral-motivated conflicts as an indication of a mismatch between education and the reality

and an indication of a lack of proper education. The question which came up from these findings is: What is a proper education and how can universities in Zimbabwe potentially offer this kind of education? This motivated me to carry out an investigation into the policy guiding higher education in Zimbabwe.

In the light of the above, the following conclusions are drawn:

- The whole system of education in Zimbabwe and Africa requires a structural transformation and a change in educational methods of inquiry to contend with social inequalities.
- That university teaching and learning must reflect pedagogy as disruptive encounters for just practices, and in the way they contribute to meaning making.
- Teaching and learning in universities must be emancipatory, emancipation is possible if classroom encounters are organised in a way that would potentially enable students and educators to have spaces in which they encounter the intellectual agency of everyone in a teaching and learning environment.
- Education in Zimbabwe must be informed by DCE in becoming that open pedagogical spaces to reimagine policies in university education to counter violence, corruption and social inequalities.
- A reconceptualised university must provide the place where students are in becoming because the becoming state enables innovative thinking and new ways of knowing and seeing things differently which will prevent students from making rush judgement.
- Universities in Zimbabwe should be reconceptualised to an institutional culture of caring, friendship, compassionate and love that is commensurate to DCE in becoming that could respond to challenges confronting the country in whatever singularity without actualising it.
- In order for the university in Zimbabwe to abdicate from the notion of a preconceived curriculum and university to a curriculum and a university that is reconsidered and which is in becoming.

Referring to the issue of moral degradation noted by the Presidential Commission 1999 as signifying a lack in citizenship, I invite Cavell's concept of responsibility. Responsibility is

the ability to act about and amend a situation (Cavell, 1979: 9). It entails negotiations that acknowledge one another's opinion even though one might not be in agreement with the other (communicative rationality), responsibility shows concern for the other but a lack in responsible action may result in the collapse of the society (Cavell, 1979: 9). According to Cavell, responsibility is concerned with making moral judgement on what is right and what is good for the self and the other and considering living together without actualising belongingness. The responsibility of DCE in becoming is the potential for critical citizenship that can expand opportunities for justice for all people without making a rash judgement. The implication to pedagogy in Zimbabwe is that universities in the country need to reshape their educational encounters to adopt an education that enables students to undertake the task of learning to live together with others without interfering with their individuation (Theim, 2008 in Waghid, 2015: 117). This also implores universities in Zimbabwe to potentially be responsible to shape them towards becoming academic communities, with integral scholarship that can imagine and become innovative in building a coming community of or responsible, caring, friendly citizens who can think, speak and act without rash judgement. Conclusively, a university as a becoming community should be reconceptualised in terms of advancing speech and thought that commensurate with DCE.

7.5 Recommendations for further study concerning university education in Zimbabwe

Having identified with the liberal DCE in Zimbabwean higher education policy formulation and practice, the study suggests further areas of research that arose from gaps in knowledge identified in this study that need addressing.

- Ways in which the reconceptualised view of DCE could help inform and disrupt universities to potentially address electoral violence.
- Equity and differentiated participation in university education in Zimbabwe.
- An analysis of the interaction between the global and the local forces in the development of education policies in Africa and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is on record for its higher literacy rate in Africa but is also on record for gross violations of human rights and electoral violence specifically recorded in 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2013. As such, educators in Zimbabwe should search for educational solutions to these recurring problems.

7.6 Summary

In this chapter, I presented a synopsis of the research process and the research findings on the democratic citizenship education in Zimbabwe's institutions of higher learning and its implications on teaching and learning. Recommendations and areas of study from the gaps identified in the research have been suggested in this concluding chapter.

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