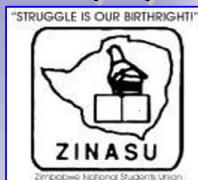




“All we need is a decent education”

Understanding the effects of high educational costs and incidence of student victimization at Zimbabwe’s tertiary learning institutions

Study by Zimbabwe National students' Union (ZINASU)



Struggle is our birth right

Researcher and Author - Climber's Research & Training Consultancy

The only place where creative community development service found a permanent home!

January 2007

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Report prepared for Zimbabwe National Students’ Union (ZINASU)

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January 2007

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Thank you!

ZINASU Secretariat

List of acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIPPA	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DAAC	District AIDS Action Committee
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HIV	Human Immune Virus
MASU	Masvingo State University
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIC	Media and Information Commission
MSU	Midlands State University
NAC	National AIDS Council
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
SEC	Students' Executive Committee
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
SRC	Students' Representative Council
SST	Students' Solidarity Trust
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
WVZ	World Vision-Zimbabwe
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe National People's Union (Patriotic Front)
ZFTU	Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions
ZICOSU	Zimbabwe Council of Students' Unions
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Students' Union
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZTV	Zimbabwe Television

Executive summary

- 1.0. Zimbabwe National Students' Union (ZINASU) commissioned this research to assess how the fees charged at Zimbabwe's tertiary institutions of Harare, Mashonaland, Manicaland, Masvingo, Midlands and Bulawayo have impacted on the welfare of students and to establish the patterns and effects of student victimization. The research follows years of the Zimbabwe government's systematic withdrawal of its educational assistance to tertiary students that have culminated in the commercialization of most aspects of student welfare. Reports that ZINASU constantly receives about students or their leaders being victimized by staff of their institutions or officials of specific government arms prompted the second component of the research.
- 2.0. The study was predominantly participatory, but combining interactively qualitative and conventional quantitative techniques to gather primary data. In this respect a structured questionnaire was administered on 202 respondents from 11 institutions in all ZINASU regions but Manicaland. Open interviews of key informants and focus group discussions complemented the questionnaire while field visits were exploited to observe what students exactly experienced. The Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) was employed to analyze quantitative data gathered with the aid of the structured questionnaire while qualitative information was analyzed manually in line with the broad research themes around which chapters 3 to 5 of this report and their constituent sections are structured. Manicaland could not be covered because the study coincided with the closure of institutions in that region. Budget limitations did not permit the study to explore other information sources suggested in the initial proposal, such as civic institutions concerned with student welfare. It remains encouraging, though, that students, the primary beneficiaries of the research, provided the information in this report.
- 3.0. The major expenses of tertiary education include but are not limited to tuition fees, accommodation, transport, food, academic obligations and miscellaneous requirements such as clothing, cosmetics, hair do and so forth. In the face of these costs amid limited or no government financial assistance, the study revealed that tertiary education was extremely expensive and very few could afford it. The list and amount of educational expenses vary from one institution to another subject to the sophistication of learning systems at each. According to this study, education is most expensive and its requirements most diverse at universities and least in these respects at teacher training colleges. Scientific and technological studies cost more than arts and commercial subjects. In line with this, university students recorded overall expenditures ranging from \$50,000 to more than \$3,000,000 per semester as at December 2006. Technical colleges recorded between \$50,000 and \$1,000,000 while teacher-training college students generally spent between \$100,000 and \$500,000. Only 3% of this study's informants received government support while 70% to 79% depended on relatives for educational finance. Fifty-four percent of these parents were sacrificially capable of supporting their dependents, having to forego certain basic requirements to do so. Social costs that came with the privatization of tertiary education included limited or no entertainment facilities or programmes and squalid living conditions, making the overall educational costs unbearable. To cope with this reality some predominantly male students sold various merchandise to fellow students to generate additional pocket money while negatively enterprising female students resorted to prostitution for similar reasons. Sharing food

among friends and foregoing some meals to save money emerged additional survival strategies. Others went too far enough to break the law by stealing and dealing in forbidden drugs, notably *mbanje*, just to make ends meet. This has made tertiary learning institutions high risk spots as far as the spread of HIV and AIDS is concerned. Indeed 95% of blood collected from female students at Midlands State University MSU by the Blood Transfusion services was reportedly contaminated with HIV. Reports of unwanted pregnancies and subsequent abortions in Gweru-based institutions were worrying especially because they signify rampant unprotected sexual encounters between partners of loose relationships that characterize these places.

- 4.0. The study used personal and witnessed experiences of students to define victimization and established that it is the infringement of one's rights to prevent him/her from or in retaliation to his/her utterances, beliefs, attitudes or actions. Victimization is not used to protect legitimate acts but corrupt, wrong or controversial practices, which if discovered, are punishable. The following are types of victimization that exist at tertiary institutions of learning in Zimbabwe according to this study:
 - a. **Punitive victimization** – the infliction of pain through acts like expulsion or suspension from college, fining, arrests and/or physical assault, usually executed in retaliation to specific behaviors such as student activism
 - b. **Manipulative victimization** – the manipulation of systems to force the victim to think in certain ways or concede to a given line of thinking (e.g., marking a student's exam unjustly to force him/her to give in to the victimizer's sexual demands)
 - c. **Legislative victimization** – the introduction of repressive laws to justify or legalize other forms of victimization (e.g., the Public Order and Security Act is being used to justify the denial of citizens' freedoms of association and expression)
 - d. **Victimization by deprivation** – the withdrawal of some basic rights from the victim to weaken him/her in an attempt to prevent future confrontation (e.g., the government's withdrawal of educational assistance and closure of social facilities such as beer outlets at which they could meet to organize themselves)
 - e. **Victimization by intimidation** – the use of threats of death, torture, arrests and expulsion to silence the victim who otherwise can be vocal.
- 4.1. The study revealed that manipulative victimization was commonest at teacher-training colleges and MSU while punitive victimization and intimidation happened at universities more than at other institutions. All types of institutions suffered the consequences of deprivation and legislative victimization while politics emerged the commonest cause of victimization.
- 4.2. In all its forms victimization had increased fear, fury and hopelessness among students, who also reported losing their self esteem and pride in being called Zimbabweans. Many respondents were considering joining tertiary institutions outside Zimbabwe. HIV and AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and abortions resulted from manipulative victimization of female students.
- 5.0. As the way forward this research advises the government, ZINASU, civil society and students as follows:
 - 5.1. The government should change its attitude towards students and put politics aside to rehabilitate tertiary institutions and save them from further collapse by reintroducing generous financial assistance and providing catering and housekeeping personnel. When it revises fees it should inform guardians on

sufficient notice to allow them sufficient room for requisite preparations. Through the National AIDS Council (NAC), tertiary students should be more actively engaged in programmes to arrest the further spread of the HIV and AIDS at their institutions.

- 5.2. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as World Vision-Zimbabwe, Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), Capernaum Foundation, Streets Ahead, Practical Action and Students Solidarity Trust are commended for their support to some students and invited to increase such support. ZINASU should invite additional relief agencies to complement these, especially by providing affordable food that students so desperately need.
- 5.3. Tertiary students in general and university students in particular should focus on repairing their public image through responsible activism, which may involve but not limited to the following steps:
 - a. refraining from ranting their anger on innocent civilians each time they demonstrate
 - b. discouraging drunkenly misjudged behaviors such as publicly shouting obscenities against innocent passersby and violence against each other (e.g., boyfriends assaulting their spouses)
 - c. refraining from crime such as shoplifting, trading in or consuming drugs

Finally, ZINASU should focus on alleviating student poverty, advancing their civil and political rights and arresting HIV and AIDS among students through efficient programme coordination, lobbying and advocacy as well as research and documentation efforts, according to the framework in the table below.

	Coordinating functions	Lobbying and advocacy	Research and documentation
Poverty alleviation	Monitoring and evaluation of efforts	Networking with and mobilizing relief agencies to extend their support to tertiary students	Documenting the experiences of students with poverty to inform the outside world
Civil and political rights	Capacity development of student union leaders and members and development of strategic plans	Lobbying government to respects the rights of students and grant them academic freedoms	Investigating case studies involving the infringement of students' rights and documenting them
HIV and AIDS	Establishing structures and developing the capacity of students to manage, monitor and evaluate HIV/AIDS programmes	Joining the structures of NAC at district, provincial and national levels and implement HIV/AIDS programmes within that arrangement	Continuously investigating and documenting the trends and circumstances at tertiary institutions that exacerbate the further spread of HIV/AIDS as well as best responsive practices.

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Chapter One

Introductory background: *Why a study like this?*

The secretariat of the Zimbabwe National Students' Union (ZINASU) commissioned this research to assess the effects of increases in tertiary educational fees on students and to investigate the incidence, nature and effects of student victimization in Zimbabwe. Undoubtedly the welfare of students at Zimbabwe's tertiary learning institutions has for a long time been as much a cause of concern as it has been ignored. Quite commendably, development agents have invested heavily into alleviating poverty, fighting against HIV and AIDS and protecting the rights of such vulnerable groups as children (in particular orphaned ones), women, girls and disabled persons. Indeed these priorities stand out among the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which were reached at after thorough assessments of global human development needs. However the massive resources invested into these efforts have benefited adults, out-of-school youths and children in primary and secondary schools at the expense of those at tertiary learning institutions despite clear revelations that poverty, HIV/AIDS and human rights violations are alarmingly rife at these.

Several explanations are possible for this. First, tertiary learning institutions are closed and busy communities that afford neither the time nor the resources to enlighten the outside world about student welfare matters. With the primary businesses of these institutions being teaching and learning, adverts for new study courses and dates for symposia or public lectures, graduation ceremonies, opening and closing dates, announcements of reviewed fees and vacancies take precedence over the plight of students in newspapers, on national radio and television. This leaves the public assuming that all is alright within walls of campuses, especially when, year after year, they see on national television thousands of college and university graduates obtaining their degrees, diplomas or certificates in smart suits and broad smiles.

Second, mass media in Zimbabwe is not strategically placed to articulate student welfare matters because while the independent media enjoys limited freedoms on one hand, state-controlled media, which has the widest reach, is obsessed with giving the impression that the country is a stable economy and polity in which everyone is happy. There can be no sense, therefore, in hoping to get the true picture of what students are going through from such media, is there?

Third, students at tertiary institutions come and go. With unemployment in Zimbabwe soaring by the day, graduates from universities, technical, teacher-training and vocational training colleges prefer searching for jobs to championing interests of current students. ZINASU's existence offers some hope of embracing student welfare issues in mainstream community development if, unlike in previous years, it continues to receive support for its activities such as this and other researches, outreach work, awareness campaigns, advocacy and information dissemination.

This research is one of ZINASU's steps to raise public awareness of the plight of tertiary college and university students in Zimbabwe and to draw the attention of development agents to needs of these. Although the study sought to establish fresh and specific facts, it was premised on an existing concern about the falling standards of tertiary education in Zimbabwe. An exploration, in the next section, of historical developments leading to this research demonstrates the basis of this concern.

1.1. HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE'S TERTIARY STUDENTS' WELFARE

History shows that the quality of education, learning facilities, teaching and learning conditions as well as students' power to exercise their rights at tertiary colleges and universities have always been deteriorating over the years. It is well documented that student activism is age old in Zimbabwe, dating as far back as during colonial days when some prominent politicians such as Dr. Simba Makoni and others spearheaded campaigns against oppression. Although Zimbabwe subsequently gained political independence in 1980, victimization of students has continued in various forms unabated. Victimization for political reasons involving the arresting and assaulting of student activists is the commonest, but this study was commissioned to identify additional forms, if they exist, and to explore suitable responses.

On attaining political independence the government of Zimbabwe took over the running of tertiary learning institutions from the Rhodesian government, the President becoming the Chancellor of those affiliated to the government. This rendered student activism against colonialism unnecessary. The government of Zimbabwe retained most policies that favored students including subsidizing their fees. With students receiving generous allowances in grants and loans (with friendly terms of repaying the latter), their activism revolved around national development, regional and international politics and human rights affairs. For instance, University of Zimbabwe (UZ) students and their union leaders demonstrated several times during the 1980's against apartheid colonialism, especially pushing for the release of Nelson Mandela and protesting over the murder of Samora Machel. In 1993 students from various quarters protested against the segregation of black customers in food outlets and social clubs owned by white racists.

The thrust of student activism changed on the turn of the 1990s with the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) when, in a bid to recover government costs of its earlier socialist policies, some educational subsidies were removed. Students responded by criticizing ESAP for its imminent threat to their welfare. With inflation beginning to soar and costs of basic commodities overtaking the value of their educational loans and grants, students took to defending their rights to 'bread and butter' – a development that brewed animosity between them and the government. While students demonstrated annually to push for the review of their allowances, the government became all the more brutal but without improving learning conditions.

Riot police introduced the use of tear smoke to quell demonstrators and to restrict them within the walls of their campuses, denying them any chance to petition successive ministers of higher and tertiary education as desired. In 1993 a cafeteria system was introduced at most government tertiary learning institutions, putting an end to subsidized food and introducing an additional reason for student unrest. The loan-grant ratio of the

allowances changed, with the share of loans increasing from 30% of the allowances in 1993 to 100% by around 2000. Today it is no longer about loans and grants, but rather about accessibility to limited loan facilities and whether students can afford the fees.

Staff members of tertiary colleges and universities have been sucked into the equation because of poor remuneration. *The Standard* newspaper of 21st January 2007 reports of “Varsity lecturers say(ing) no to 300% pay hike,” having “given the government a two-week ultimatum to review their salaries and working conditions or brace for industrial action.” After several vain attempts to demonstrate for more competitive perks, many technical workers have abandoned local tertiary institutions for greener pastures in other countries and been very difficult to replace, thereby compromising the quality of tertiary education and adding to the list on the agenda for student activism.

The years 1992 and 1995 saw riot and military police having to attack UZ students from the air in helicopters during some of the most angrily staged demonstrations. By 1993 fences surrounding campuses of such ‘hot institutions’ as the UZ were replaced with taller, stronger and more expensive metal durawalls in readiness for war against students. Soon, state security agents were to break into residences of successive student leaders in the early hours of morning to arrest them for questioning and threatening. On Wednesday 27 June 1995, for the first time, riot police entered the UZ campus to beat up demonstrating students. The following day, now dubbed the ‘black Thursday’, the riot police continued on their rampage and committed serious atrocities including the shooting in the arm of Garudzo Masenga – a final-year UZ Politics and Administration student. They went on to assault lecturers, private security guards and anyone caught on sight. One girl jumped from the second floor of a hostel while fleeing from hotly pursuing policemen and collapsed on landing, breaking her leg. Similar atrocities happened in 2002, when again, riot police were ordered into the UZ campus to assault demonstrating students.

As these events unfolded, the national television and state-controlled newspapers with the largest readership, *The Herald* and *The Sunday Mail*, fed their consumers with biased reports of student affairs, always portraying them as the wrong party and selecting embarrassing events such as the 1996 incident in which a group of “hooligans (allegedly) urinated in the cold rooms” where their food was stored. Where thousands of students demonstrated, *The Herald* and Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) reported ‘less than fifty drunken or bribed students’. This left students with no choice but to align with anything that rivaled the government and state-controlled media, including ranting their frustrations on the latter by smashing windows of Herald House during several of their demonstrations.

It was not surprising when in 1999 a vibrant opposition political party with a manifesto in favor of students, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), was born along with an independent newspaper – *The Daily News* – that tertiary students pinned their hopes on these and cooperated with them. Nelson Chamisa, the late Learnmore Jongwe, Job Sikhala and Tafadzwa Musekiwa, all former student union leaders, became MDC members of parliament in their early twenties, opening the way for subsequent student leaders to join structures of that political party. In 1999 students partook actively in efforts of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) to successfully campaign against the

government-led constitutional reform process and outputs. The government embarrassingly lost the subsequent constitutional referendum as a result.

Albeit in vain, the government responded by attacking independent media houses, especially The Daily News, through state-controlled media reports and the courts. Veterans of Zimbabwe's war of liberation and youths aligned to the ruling party attacked rural readers and vendors of The Daily News and burnt the papers. When the newspaper's headquarters were torched by fire but continued to operate, it took the elevation of Professor Jonathan Moyo to the post of Information and Publicity Minister and the installation of a Media and Information Commission (MIC) to forcibly close The Daily News, and Joy TV down. Several state-aligned unions and bodies mushroomed parallel to those critical to the government's policies as a counter measure. These include The Daily Mirror – an 'independent newspaper' apologetic to government positions, war veterans-led Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU) and a Zimbabwe Council of Students' Unions (ZICOSU). These receive maximum publicity and government's blessings in all their dealings.

This research comes at a time when students are enduring the worst living and learning conditions as well as facing the threat of the worst victimization if they try to challenge the status quo. With inflation skyrocketing at the fastest pace ever, the cost of education is set to go beyond the reach of many. This study therefore comes in handy to respond by pursuing the following specific objectives:

- a. To assess the relationship between the new fee structure at tertiary colleges/universities and the rate at which students are dropping out of these.
- b. To establish students' strategies of coping with costs of education in the current and previous macroeconomic environments.
- c. To explore the policy frameworks of the new fees structure to come up with an accurate and objective analysis of the situation facing students.
- d. To identify and explain other factors apart from fees, which account for students' dropping out.
- e. To investigate the incidence of student victimization to understand the following:
 - Definition and nature of various forms of victimization
 - Reasons and methods of victimization
 - Nature of the victimizers
 - Consequences of the victimization on affected students, eye witnesses and immediate community
- f. To recommend programming options that ZINASU should pursue to address the situations that students are enduring as a result of heavy educational costs and victimization

Chapter TWO

Methodology for data gathering and analysis

Qualitative and quantitative techniques were employed to collect the primary data contained in this report. A structured questionnaire (see Annex 1) was used to collect quantitative information while open discussions and interviews guided by a semi-structured interview checklist (Annex 2) generated qualitative data. The former informed descriptions of the situation (i.e., what is happening at tertiary learning institutions?) and the latter provided the explanations (why is the situation like that?). Documents with information on, and policies governing, student welfare were reviewed to obtain secondary information while participant observation of life at the tertiary institutions was employed to verify data collected through other methods.

In spite of heavily employing quantitative techniques to collect information, this research was highly participatory and interactive in the following ways:

- a. Students at each college or university that was visited administered the questionnaire at their institutions, thereby actively partaking in an exercise meant to benefit them. This made it easy for their fellow students to appreciate the seriousness of the exercise. Senior research assistants who took to the field were instructed to each recruit research assistants of their opposite sex from each institution to ensure gender equity within the field team.
- b. Questionnaires were not administered in isolation, but as a follow up to the more interactive and participatory individual interviews and group discussions.

2.1. RESEARCH TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

2.1.1. The structured questionnaire (Annex 1)

The questionnaire used for gathering quantitative data included predominantly closed questions with coded response options and room for 'other' responses to accommodate unique realities. Responses were coded to ease the quantification of opinions and experiences. The questionnaire included four sections for administrative information (e.g., dates of administering the tool, geographical areas involved, etc), demographic data (respondents' ages, sexes, marital status, etc) and a technical section comprising educational expenses and victimization-specific data. Considering that victimization is a highly subjective matter, the section of the questionnaire that covered it consisted of open ended questions and responses so generated were analyzed manually. All closed and coded questions were analyzed statistically via the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

2.1.2. The semi-structured interview guide (Annex 2)

The semi-structured interview checklist guided the interviewers with a menu of issues around which the researchers structured their questions for interviews and generated issues for focus group discussions (FGD).

2.1.3. Individual interviews

Students and their union leaders were interviewed one-on-one at their institutions to deepen the understanding of their individual opinions and experiences with regards fees and victimization. The same respondents went on to complete the questionnaire, although not all the people who completed the questionnaire were individually interviewed. Specifically targeted for this method were students known to have been victimized (e.g., students expelled for complaining against certain policies), current and former student leaders and other students. It was impossible to track college drop outs.

2.1.4. Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions (FGD) were employed to gather more widely shared views about the situation and to facilitate debate for exchange learning between the participants. Although just four FGDs were conducted, highly participatory techniques were applied in facilitating them to guarantee the desired quality of information. For example, students were asked to describe their situations, especially regarding victimization, using such creative forms of speech as poetry, idioms and so forth instead of sticking to the conventional ways of expressing themselves.

2.1.5. Participant observation

Field visits were exploited to observe the state of student welfare at tertiary learning institutions (e.g., quality of food, state of residential quarters and social facilities, etc).

2.1.6. Desk study

Various policy documents and publications on matters of student welfare were reviewed to place the study in the appropriate context. Much of such data informed the previous chapter of this report.

2.2. STUDY SAMPLE

The sample for this research is the outcome of consultations between the research team and ZINASU Secretariat. It was based on the following principles:

- Equitable participation of all the six ZINASU regions, namely Harare, Bulawayo, Mashonaland, Manicaland, Midlands and Masvingo. The research indeed visited all the six ZINASU regions with the target to complete 300 questionnaires, but

- ended up collecting just 202 because of limitations described in the next section of this chapter.
- Gender equity in participation, whereby male researchers were instructed to recruit female research assistants from each visited college and asked to encourage male and female students to actively participate. The distribution of the sample signifies the male-to-female ratio at most institutions.
 - Proportionate representation of institutions. More respondents had to come from the universities because student activism is stronger and subsequent victimizations commoner there than at other institutions. The table below profiles the research's eventual sample.

Table 1.1: Distribution of respondents by institution type, by gender

Institution type	Number of males	Number of females	Total
Universities	91	40	131
Technical colleges	27	17	44
Teacher-training colleges	16	11	27
Totals	134	68	202

2.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- This research coincided with the closing of most tertiary institutions for holidays, which forced it to miss its targeted sample of 300 and delayed the distribution and relaying of questionnaires from Mutare where all sampled colleges had been closed.
- Zimbabwe's hyper inflation eroded the value of the research budget and dictated the abandonment of some strategies contained in the original research proposal for being too expensive (e.g., the visiting of some prominent former student leaders and civic organizations that work with students for interviews). The study is now based exclusively on information gathered from students, which however does not take away its usefulness because students are the primary beneficiaries and most important stakeholders of the research. At least they are the group that could by no means be excluded.
- The existing tension between students and organs of the ruling government deprived the study of data on the government's position regarding fees and student victimization. Researchers in fact faced serious resistance from students aligned to the ruling party and ZICOSU at Bindura University and Bondolfi Teachers' College, illustrating the gravity of the existing political tension. Therefore, as a compromise, the research used ZINASU structures to access students and other stakeholders, applied an apolitical approach to the exercise and respected the rights of students to choose not to cooperate.

Findings of this research in the next two chapters and recommendations in the final chapter should be used on the understanding that facts contained therein reflect opinions and experiences of students and staff of tertiary institutions to whom ZINASU is a

legitimate representative of students' interests. The research's observational data however cuts across political interests and affiliations because it simply reflects the state of things as they stood at the time of visiting the tertiary institutions. Nothing, too, can be taken away from the accuracy of fees charged at various tertiary institutions and effects on students thereof because nothing of that is related to political affiliation. This means in general that this study is useful to anyone seriously interested in understanding what tertiary students are going through as a result of the fees they pay and responses they get from authorities for expressing their opinions on matters affecting them. Findings in the next chapter and recommendations in the last thus stand to be challenged or, better still, used to upgrade the living and learning conditions of Zimbabwe's dear tertiary students and indeed the future of the country's development.

Chapter Three

Findings on fees and educational expenses

The government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, fixes tuition fees for all tertiary institutions that partook in this survey. Where accommodation and catering services are provided, the tertiary institutions fix requisite prices through Fees Review Committees. The research team managed to access just one member of such committees representing UZ, so this chapter will use the UZ example in assessing the operations of these committees. The UZ Fee Review Committee is chaired by the Vice Chancellor and its members include one or two students' representatives, the Pro-Vice Chancellor, the Dean of students, Deans for all faculties and the Director of accommodation and catering services. The main advantage of this arrangement is that students are at least engaged in the process of determining fees – a pertinent matter of their welfare – although they cannot influence outcomes thereof because they are outnumbered by representatives of the institution's administration and a voting system is used to adopt decisions. In addition they receive the agenda and other documents for meetings on the days of holding them, which denies them ample time to study these and plan accordingly.

The general cost of tertiary education varies across different institutions subject to the sophistication of the studies they offer. In respect of this, university students bear the heaviest cost burden, more so if pursuing scientific and technological subjects than if studying the arts. Technical colleges are slightly more expensive than teacher-training ones.

3.1. PROFILE OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENSES

The major costs of tertiary education are tuition and other fees, accommodation, food, transport, stationery and books, assignment preparation and other personal requirements.

3.1.1. Tuition and other fees

The fees that were charged as at December 2006 ranged from \$30,000 to \$48,000 per semester, including tuition and campus accommodation. Before February 2006 these fees ranged between \$2,500 and \$3,000 and the government loaned some students between \$5,700 and \$6,000 depending on the nature of their studies. At the time of conducting this study the loan amount had not been increased to match the raise in fees, which meant that guardians had to pay the difference. There will obviously be an astronomical rise in the fees in 2007 following the announcement of that year's national budget, but it is not clear whether or not government loans will be similarly reviewed.

As a common policy, students who fail to pay their fees on time or at all are not denied access to lectures, but their results are withheld until they meet their obligations. It was

therefore not surprising to find 68% of students who informed this study not being up to date with paying their fees but were still allowed to learn.

3.1.2. Accommodation

Accommodation is a stand alone cost only at institutions that are not yet well established, notably NUST and MSU, because students have to find their own rented accommodation in suburbs neighboring their institutions. MSU students rent rooms in privately-owned houses in Senga while those at NUST do the same in Selbourne Park. Landlords who provide such accommodation seemingly take advantage of the desperate students to overcharge them. To underline their lack of care for their tenants they admit too many students into their boarding houses. NUST and MSU students enduring this living arrangement complained about overcrowding, the former reporting that seven students shared a room with five beds. MSU students residing in boarding houses experienced a worse predicament in which 30 students shared a five-roomed house with one toilet and bathroom, paying \$6,000 each in rentals. They incurred additional costs in electricity and water charges, which were billed separately.

Established institutions that have residential quarters on campus charge accommodation as part of the main fees. These charges ranged between \$20,000 and \$24,000 as at December 2006, but, according to a member of the UZ Fee Review Committee, they are set to increase 1,300% in the first semester of 2007 to more than \$300,000. Additional expenses come in the form of bed sets that students have to bring because the government withdrew the bedding that it used to provide, which included blankets, bed sheets, pillows and towels.

3.1.3. Food

Students across all institutions were expected to buy their own food, which is served in canteens based at their campuses, at prices cheaper than in towns. Those residing on campus pay for their food as part accommodation fees. The government however no longer employs catering staff to serve in the canteens and private caterers provide the service. Although students at all institutions concurred that the quality of food that private caterers served was deplorably poor, *"a plate of sadza is gold"*, according to group discussants at Mkoba Teachers' College.

3.1.3. Transport

All students who do not stay on campus have to commute to and from their institutions daily. The affordability of transport thus becomes one of the key determinants of a student's ability to sustain his/her studies. In Zimbabwe's unstable economy, transport is the most unpredictable cost item because of the dire shortage and erratic supply of fuel. At the time of the study transport cost between \$500 and \$700 per trip. It shot up in January 2007 to \$1,000.

3.1.4. Assignment preparation costs

It has become an absolute requirement at all universities for students to submit their academic assignments typed. However these institutions are not sufficiently equipped with requisite computers for students to use for free. This forces them to outsource secretarial services, which in December 2006 cost \$300 per page for typing and printing, according to one MSU student. *"The cheapest Internet Café in Gweru costs \$350 per minute"*, she added. Architectural students at NUST reported that they required delicate equipment such as plotting pens and expensive special paper. Subsequently they spent about \$21,000 each time they completed an assignment – a cost that has already been overtaken by inflation.

3.1.5. Books and stationery

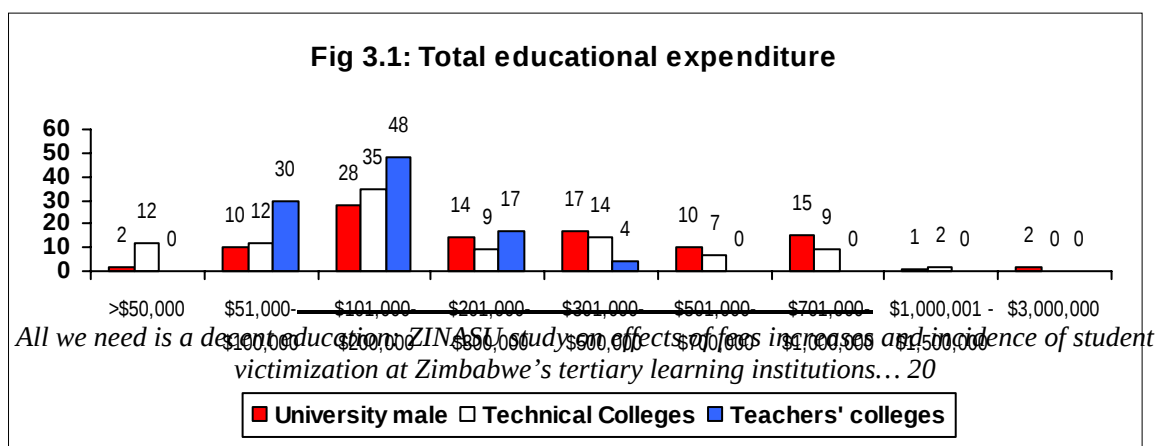
Students have always been required to procure their own books, but the difference now is that tertiary institutions have failed to finance the updating of their stocks of textbook, which has created a serious shortage of these. Students therefore have to do with the few available textbooks, let alone the inescapable need to buy exercise books.

3.1.6. Other costs

Students at tertiary colleges and universities spend additional income on such luxuries as clothes, cosmetics and entertainment. These may appear to be luxuries but any adult, especially the crop at most tertiary institutions, can hardly do without them. While entertainment refreshes the mind, clothes and cosmetics help students, particularly female ones, to sustain good looks. For example, a female student cannot do without doing her hair, nails and face. It was difficult to approximate the amounts spent on these costs, but the study established that they were pertinent enough to deserve mention here.

3.2. AFFORDABILITY OF EDUCATIONAL COSTS

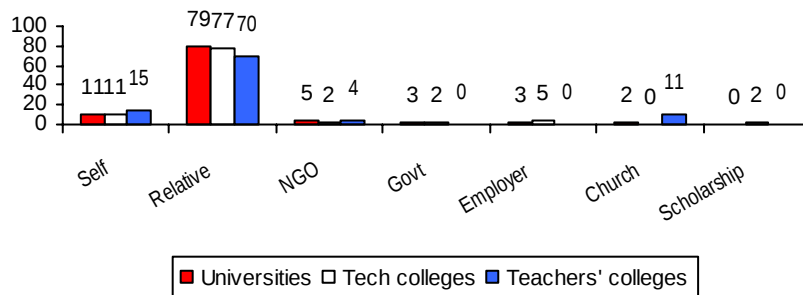
The expenses outlined in section 3.1 above show that the general cost of education has increased phenomenally. As fees increased sharply, the government scrapped off or trimmed its financial support to students and social facilities that they could otherwise have used for free have either deteriorated or been totally removed. As Fig 3.1 below shows, the largest chunk of students spent between \$101,000 and \$200,000 per semester on basic costs of their education as at December 2006, which then was a



considerable amount for someone unemployed.

Teacher-training colleges recorded the least overall student expenditure because less sophisticated resources for learning are required there than at technical colleges and, in particular, universities.

Fig 3.2: Distribution of students by income sources

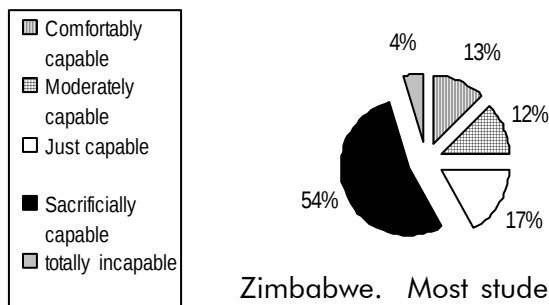


Despite the high costs of education in the above figure, however, the government financially supported a negligible number of students. As Fig 3.2 on the left demonstrates, government assisted 3% and 2% of university and technical college students in the study sample respectively.

NGOs provided greater support, catering for 5% university respondents, 2% at technical colleges and 4% of respondents at teacher-training colleges. These NGOs are World Vision-Zimbabwe (WVZ), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Streets Ahead, Practical Action, Students' Solidarity Trust (SST), African Economic Research consortium (AERC) and Capernaum Foundation. ZINASU may need to invite more NGOs to fill the void created by the government's reduction of educational assistance to tertiary students. The Catholic Church assisted an impressive 11% of trainee teachers and 2% of university-based respondents, all of them celibate members of its faith.

Most appallingly, according to Fig 3.2, the largest proportion of the respondents depended on their relatives or met their own educational costs. Sixty-one percent of these

Fig 3.3: Affordability of tertiary education



relatives relied on their salaries, which predominantly have been overtaken by inflation. It is not surprising that the largest proportion of students across all institutions (54%) reported that they were sacrificially capable¹ of meeting their educational costs, as illustrated in Figure 3.3 on the left. Twenty percent of the relatives used business profits and 13% transfers from acquaintances outside

Zimbabwe. Most students relying on such relatives were comfortably or moderately capable of paying their dues. Interestingly, female students, more than half of them single, who constituted 7% of those relying on relatives, were receiving support from their 'spouses' or 'lovers', illustrating the existence of loose intimate relationships as a way of coping with high educational costs. How desperate! The remaining group of relatives obtained income from vending (2%), other informal trade (1%), pensions (1%) and miscellaneous activities (3%) and all of them were sacrificially capable of supporting students under their guardianship.

¹ Sacrificial capability to meet educational expenses applied to situations where relatives had to forego certain important things of their lives to raise the funds for supporting their dependents.

Ninety-six of the 202 respondents of this study had at one time considered abandoning their education because of inhibitive costs only to resume after:

- i. a relative offered to help them – 37,5% of the cases
- ii. an NGO pledged to assist them – 6,3%
- iii. the employer offered advance salary – 1%
- iv. the tertiary institution agreed to receive a down payment in the interim – 5,2%
- v. they just reconsidered the decision and decided to struggle on – 45,8%
- vi. they failed to secure a travel visa to go outside Zimbabwe – 1%
- vii. they got employed and could meet the costs – 2,1% and;
- viii. ZINASU intervened – 1%

Accordingly, therefore, most students (45.8%) are at tertiary learning institutions not because they can bear the costs but because they are simply determined to soldier on, enduring the hardships, especially granted that no institution expels students for not paying their fees on time. One student at NUST enduring a similar struggle reported that he usually walked from Nkulumane, his home area, to the university in Selbourne Park.

This study further established that educational costs at tertiary learning institutions were not just financial, but social as well. Previously, for example, the former Students' Union building at UZ was equipped with thriving beer outlets that offered very competitive prices, a dance floor and pool of various gaming machines to entertain students. At the time of this study the building no longer belonged to students, alcohol was neither sold nor its consumption allowed on campus and all the gaming machines had been removed. This means that students at this university have to share social facilities with the outside world at prices they do not afford. Indeed students at all other learning institutions complained of being starved of entertainment – a social cost that makes tertiary education all the more burdensome.

This situation raises the question: how are students surviving under these harsh circumstances?

3.3. STUDENTS' STRATEGIES OF COPING WITH HIGH COSTS

3.3.1. Business ventures ('kujingirisa')

Some enterprising and predominantly male students survive on selling small items such as cell phones and allied accessories (e.g., recharge cards, pouches, etc), food items on high demand (e.g., bread, buns, sugar, etc) and provide common secretarial services including typing, photocopying and writing musical CDs. Others cross the border to South Africa or Botswana during vacation breaks and weekends to buy goods for sale at their institutions. Many students have immensely benefited from this, taking advantage of limited competition amid high demand for their goods and services at all tertiary institutions. Some even take advantage of the absence of entertainment programmes and infrastructure to host small shows where they play music and sell beverages and snacks to patrons. However, while these practices enable students involved to generate extra

income for their educational requirements, it has cost some of them study time and seen a decline in their academic performance.

3.3.2. Foregoing some meals

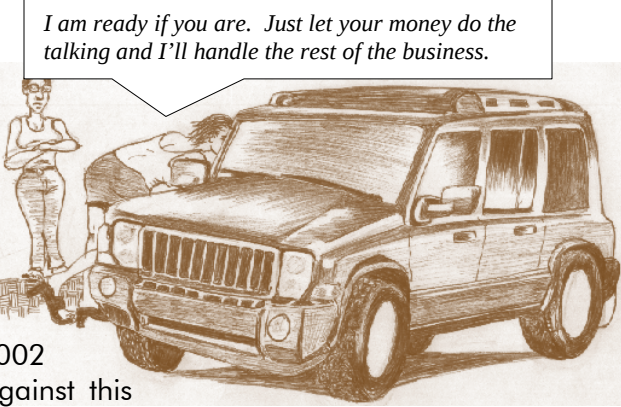
Skipping meals to save money dates back to 1993 when the cafeteria system was introduced. The difference between the way this practice was used then and now is that today it is no longer a matter of choice. Previously when students received generous government loans and grants they skipped meals voluntarily in order to save money for buying such big assets as radios and television sets. Today they do so to save money for tomorrow's meal. Number combinations such as 1-0-1, 0-1-1, 0-1-0, 0-0-1 and, in the most extreme cases, 0-0-0 are commonly used by students at most government-affiliated tertiary institutions to signify the meals that one takes and foregoes in a day, with each number representing breakfast, lunch and supper respectively ('1' represents meals taken and 0'' meals not taken). In these number combinations, zeros have rapidly gained ground over the ones through the years as a function of government's systematic withdrawal of loans, grants and subsidies. As a result, the quality of food served at tertiary institutions, while without doubt deplorable, has become far more trivial than concerns about accessing it in the first place.

3.3.3. Sharing food

Deepening poverty at tertiary learning institutions has taught students to be generous. The study observed during a visit to UZ's Manfred Hodson Dining Hall that several students were pairing to buy a plate of food (sadza and beef stew) for sharing. Others who did not have money at all had the nerve to beg from others in which case student leaders, who get free food, offered portions of what they had. In the same spirit of sharing, others in their friendship clubs bring one or two-plate stoves and utensils to cook their own food, buying cheap items such as vegetables. In so doing they however defy regulations governing their stay in campus residence, risking fatal electrical faults that can affect entire hostels. This socialist spirit is quite welcome and commendable, but not worth the dignity of Zimbabwe's tertiary educational institutions.

3.3.4. Prostitution and promiscuity

All informants of this research concurred that the female students' way of generating additional income for their education was to become professional prostitutes or to have multiple boyfriends with sufficient income to meet their needs. Elder men, most of them married, now treat tertiary colleges and universities as hunting grounds for ready partners each time they crave for loose sexual gratification. In 2002 male UZ students violently demonstrated against this practice, damaging vehicles of men who had visited their girlfriends at the institution.



I am ready if you are. Just let your money do the talking and I'll handle the rest of the business.

Girls involved in these acts no longer attach emotions to their relationships with men, so they do not even mind dating married men. Many of them get carried so far away that they cease to do it just for the money but as a means to any end they may think of, including when they want the help of their male classmates to complete their academic assignments. Some even seduce lecturers to get good pass marks for poor work.

3.4. EFFECTS OF HIGH EDUCATIONAL COSTS

3.4.1. Abandonment of education

Although it was difficult to obtain enrollment records and accurate statistics of the rate at which students abandoned their studies for failing to meet the high cost of education, the study established that many students dropped out soon after the shock increase of their fees in February 2006. The government had raised tertiary education fees tenfold on a week's notice without correspondingly reviewing the loans that it gave to students. That left guardians having to pay a larger fraction of the fees for which they had never budgeted in a long time. A student leader at UZ reported that 10% of his fellow students dropped out of college when the fees were raised. Elsewhere the study could only establish the number of drop outs that respondents had witnessed. Of the study's 202 informants, 93 knew of 900 other students who had abandoned their studies when the fees were raised.

However, the situation was different by November 2006 when the study commenced, as inflation had eroded the value of the Zimbabwean currency sufficiently to make the new fees affordable. Most students who had dropped out of college in February 2006 had resumed their studies by April. The danger of another sharp fee increase that will be announced on a short notice is looming, but students may wait for inflation to erode the value of the local currency again and pay the fees when they can afford.

3.4.2. Influx of incompetent opportunists and fall of standards

As the government continues to privatize tertiary education, money rather than prior educational excellence is fast becoming a natural selection criterion to determine who obtains places to study at most institutions. Deserving applicants who are neither ready to offer bribes nor acquainted to certain officials at teacher-training colleges or MSU normally find it hard to get places. This has seen undeserving opportunists taking advantage and using money or their relationships with some staff of tertiary institutions to secure places. In addition the study established that accommodation places were so limited at all tertiary learning institutions that only students with money could secure campus accommodation. The impact of these developments on standards of professionalism and student performance needs no emphasis.

3.4.4. HIV and AIDS

Tertiary colleges and universities have become risky spots for the spread of HIV and AIDS because of the adoption by female students of prostitution and promiscuity to cope with inhibitive costs of education. Indeed the Blood Transfusion Services allegedly reported that 95% of the blood donated by female students at MSU in 2006 was contaminated with HIV. The study also established that unwanted pregnancies and abortions were on the increase at tertiary colleges, signifying rampant unprotected sex within these. Female students engaged in prostitution usually lack negotiating power to influence their partners to use condoms considering that money is the driving force behind the practice.

3.4.5. Poor academic and sporting performance

The commercialization of food at tertiary institutions has seen students attending lectures on empty stomachs and failing to concentrate. Although no tangible evidence was obtained to prove the fact, some students inferred that sporting performance standards had fallen too because students are poorly nourished.

3.4.6. Crime

High educational costs are making some students desperate enough to break the law in their attempts to make ends meet. Two male students were reportedly arrested at MSU for attempting to steal a computer – something they claimed was their way of raising income to pay fees and meet other costs. Female students at tertiary institutions in Midlands reported that most students involved in multiple sexual relationships aborted the pregnancies they accidentally conceived in the fear of being ignored by possible sex hunters. They accordingly consulted traditional healers and medical doctors for relevant advice and herbal or medical therapy. Zimbabwean law forbids abortion. Meanwhile some of the business-minded male students break the law by selling forbidden drugs such as ‘mbanje’. Selfish students break library regulations in holding on to library textbooks for too long or even removing pages with the information they require, making life at tertiary learning institutions a ‘dog-eat-dog’ affair.

3.4.7. Development of a class system

Previously when all students enjoyed equal government support it was very difficult, if possible, to distinguish students along lines of social class. Today, because students have to feed themselves, pay fees, meet their academic obligations, travel and do virtually everything else on the strength of the money they have, class differences are more defined now than ever before. In bringing their own bed sets it is easier now than before to distinguish the rich from the poor by merely inspecting their rooms. It is actually quite possible that student activism is not as vibrant as required because students are divided according to their social classes.

Without doubt, therefore, tertiary educational costs – social or financial – have become sufficiently unbearable to push students so firmly against the wall that counter rebellious action is inevitable. However, the government and its various security arms are clearly

aware of this and adequately prepared to ruthlessly deal with student activists, making student victimization inevitable as well. The next chapter discusses this scenario in detail.

Chapter Four

Findings on Student victimization

4.1. What is victimization?

This research defined victimization on the basis of a survey of experiences of students who witnessed or were exposed to it. While those who completed the questionnaire stressed how they understood the term in view of their experiences of being or seeing someone else victimized, participants of focus group discussions and interviews defined victimization by likening it to an animal and explaining why, using practical examples.

Information so gathered revealed that victimization in all cases is the act of infringing someone's rights in a physically and/or emotionally harmful way in order to:

- a) prevent that person from acting, speaking and/or thinking in certain ways – a practice here termed *preventive victimization*
- b) retaliate to that person's actions, statements, beliefs and/or attitudes so that he/she will hopefully not repeat them (*reactive victimization*)

In almost all cases people are not victimized for doing wrong things, but for threatening the usually wrong or controversial selfish interests of their victimizers. Victimizers are always the minority and victims the majority. Unlike legitimate punishment, victimization is always done off the official record and kept secret because it is worth the dismissal of offenders from their jobs if discovered. In this respect, victimization and corruption go hand in hand, whereby corrupt officials victimize others with the potential to expose them. For example, some male lecturers at Mkoba Teachers' College took no action when alerted of a group of female students found in possession of an exam paper well before the exam date most likely because they were behind the paper's leakage.

4.2. Types of victimization

According to a group of discussants at Masvingo State University (MASU), victimization is like a chameleon because it has many forms just as a chameleon comes in many colors. This research identified five types of preventive and reactive victimization namely legislative, manipulative and punitive victimization, deprivation and intimidation. These were inferred from 142 definitions that respondents gave for victimization according to their experiences.

a. Legislative victimization

Eight respondents (5%) paid attention to legislative mechanisms used to victimize students, whereby authorities impose and enforce oppressive laws that deprive students of their academic freedoms such as freedom of expression and association. Obvious examples are the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), which, inter alia, incriminate people for

holding public meetings not sanctioned by the police force and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA), which restricts media space to players deemed suitable by a government-appointed Media and Information Commission (MIC). Ordinance 30 was introduced to reduce the power of students to organize themselves against policies that threaten their interests. It includes stern punishments such as expulsion for vague crimes like “inciting” other students to hold “illegal” demonstrations on the basis of definitions developed by those in authority. In 1995 Ordinance 30 was used to justify the expulsion of the President of the UZ Students Representative Council (SRC), Obey Mudzingwa and his deputy, Brian Kagoro. Although a court appeal saw the two being reinstated, oppressive sections of Ordinance 30 have been more effectively used against student activists courtesy of legislative adjustments that closed room for them to appeal and shake ups of the judiciary in which several judges were replaced with government-appointed ones. It was also through legislative bungling that the powers of security guards at campuses of tertiary learning institutions were increased from simply guarding the premises to include arresting and assaulting students as they please.

b. Manipulative victimization

Fifteen of the 142 suggested definitions of victimization (9.5%) described the manipulative kind, which occurs when those in authority use favors or disfavours to influence students to accept their terms. Manipulative victimization emerged commonest at teacher-training colleges where male lecturers or other officials take advantage of the stiff competition for limited vacant places at these to demand sexual favors from desperate female applicants or bribes from male students in return of their support to earn a place. Midlands State University (MSU) is the only university where this practice was reported. Administrative and technical personnel also take advantage of limited accommodation places at most campuses to manipulate the allocation process in favor of students who concede to their demands. Students usually suffer the consequences of this type of victimization without taking counter action because it is difficult to prove, especially between students considering that intimate relationships and staff members at tertiary learning institutions is permitted.



over unless they give in. Male students who happen to win the affection of female students in whom lecturers have an interest run the risk of similar victimization if discovered. Some male lecturers assigned to supervise the performance of female

students on attachments or teaching practice award them pass marks only if they agree to a sexual relationship. One male lecturer at Mkoba Teachers' College reportedly declares to each stream of new students:

"None of you will get a distinction in my subject. Those who will pass will be very lucky."

Obviously a statement like this forces students to seek ways of being the "lucky" few only to find that giving this lecturer sexual favors will be their only means. Appallingly, as the story in Box 1 below testifies, most of the lecturers who demand sexual favors from female students are married, which means they are interested in casual relationships.

Box 1: The case of 'Mimi from the North' – *"I regret the day I met him"*

Mimi (pseudo name) is a citizen of a country north of Zimbabwe who obtained a place to study towards a diploma in Education at Mkoba Teachers' College with the help of Gaga, a male lecturer who she knew through her aunt who had graduated from this college. This lecturer, she recalls, *"seemed so friendly and innocently helpful when he told me about the college, the advantages of becoming a teacher and offered to help me secure a place for a diploma in Education."* Having even met his wife and family, Mimi never suspected any foul play when Gaga went out of his way and sacrificed a lot of his time in using all the influence he had to secure a place for her to study at Mkoba Teachers' College as a resident. *"He often visited me to check if I was alright and comfortable with my stay in Zimbabwe and when I told him that I was, he would remind me of his words of encouragement"*, Mimi adds. *"I told you never to even think about returning to your country"*, she quotes Gaga as saying.

Things changed when Gaga visited Mimi to find her in the company of male students – something for which he clearly showed discomfort. *"What do these guys want in your room?"* he would ask. *"Are you here for boys or education?"* While these remarks were out of place, Mimi innocently thought that Gaga was simply concerned about her welfare and would always reassure him that nothing was worrisome about her male friends' visits but he would still threaten her. *"I can make you lose your place at this college in the same way you got it if you mess with me."* He started to demand monetary bribes in return for protection from eviction from the college or deportation, and Mimi would comply in desperation. Soon Gaga had started to demand sexual favors, which naturally surprised Mimi considering that she knew his wife. *"Are you not ashamed?"* she would ask. *"Are you forgetting that you are married?"* Nothing deterred the monstrous Gaga, as he became all the more aggressive in his pursuits. His wife quit their marriage because of his infidelity and left for the United Kingdom (UK) in search of fortune. *"I knew from this moment that all hell was to break loose, but had no other alternative than to wait and see"*, Mimi says.

Gaga obtained duplicate copies of Mimi's room keys from a locksmith and would visit her late at night and force himself into her bed, demanding to have sex with her. She successfully resisted these forays several times until one day Gaga came drunk at midnight, tore her night dress and raped her. Mimi says she did not scream in fear of suffering more serious harm from Gaga, who claimed to be connected to "political heavy weights" that could "physically eliminate her" or deport her from Zimbabwe. A month later Mimi took a pregnancy test and it was positive. She shared the news with Gaga who said he never wanted to see her again, threatening to have her deported if she reported the rape or looked for him in connection with the pregnancy again. *"I decided to abort the baby and almost died in hospital where Gaga never bothered to visit me,"* Mimi recalls in tears. *"I regret the day I met him and wish I never knew a monster like him."*

c. Punitive victimization

Punitive victimization emerged the commonest type among the suggested definitions of victimization, with 75 of them (32%) denoting this kind, which is commonly experienced in the following ways:

- i. Expelling, fining or suspending of students (13.8% of definitions)
- ii. Arresting and torturing students physically and emotionally (8.8%)

- iii. *Forcing students, through the two methods above, to subscribe to the ways of the victimizers (5%), notably the government and ruling political party*

While administrative authorities at tertiary learning institutions expel, fine or suspend students, the riot police, state security agents and campus security guards spearhead the physical and emotional torture of students. State security agents reportedly break into rooms of student activists or union leaders at late night or early morning hours to kidnap them for questioning or torture in order to silence them. The brutal attacks by riot police and campus security guards on students who attempt to peacefully demonstrate against any form of injustice or malpractice and the use of tear smoke to disperse them needs no further emphasis. The May 2007 flip of Amnesty International's 2007 calendar displays a photograph of Maureen Kademaunga, one of the many student activists to have been punitively victimized, and the following message accompanies her picture:

Maureen is the Secretary General of the Students Executive Council at the University of Zimbabwe, a General Councilor of ZINASU and Chairperson of the Women Students Network. Maureen has been arrested on more than four occasions for leading demonstrations against exorbitant education fees, mass forced evictions and poor social services delivery. She has suffered physical assault while in police custody. Maureen was suspended from the university in April and October 2006 for her activism.

Maureen's experience, while typifying punitive victimization in all respects, is obviously not the only case of such treatment, as almost all student activists have gone through it. As recently prior to the study as Wednesday, 22nd November 2006, several NUST students and their union leaders had been arrested for attempting to demonstrate against poor living conditions. The UZ SEC President was expelled for leading a demonstration and had not been readmitted at the time of conducting the research. A Mutare-based female student leader was arrested while attending a ZINASU General Council meeting at Wise Owl Motel in Mutare for unclear reasons and denied medical attention or proper sanitary wares while in police custody.

d. Victimization by deprivation

Deprivation is commonly applied in retaliation to specific actions of students. According to 30.1% of definitions offered for victimization, students been deprived of their rights to the following:

- i. *financial assistance (e.g., grants, loans and subsidies)*
- ii. *decent shelter, hygienic and nutritious food*
- iii. *socio economic and political liberties*
- iv. *decent learning conditions*

o Deprivation of financial assistance for educational costs

Since the introduction of the cafeteria system at tertiary colleges and universities in 1993 as part of a plan to reduce public spending, government's financial support to students has been shrinking rapidly. The government used to pay all fees and subsistence costs for students in addition to generous out-of-pocket allowances, the larger proportion of them

being grants. Between 1994 and 1999 the loan share of the financial assistance expanded at the expense of the grant share and by 2000 the allowances had become 100% loans and all government subsidies had been removed. At the time of conducting this study, few students were receiving government loans because the process of approving beneficiaries had become very stringent. In any case the loans had become meager because of inflation. Students' guardians had to pay the larger chunk of the fees because the government did not review their loans upwards when it raised their fees tenfold at almost all government-affiliated institutions by February 2006. Said one MSU student:

"When our fees were \$3,000,000 (old currency), the government loaned me \$5,700,000, allowing me to retain \$2,700,000 and I afforded my own transport to and from college, to rent a room in Gweru and to buy some groceries and clothes – at least two outfits per semester. Today I still receive \$5,700 (new currency) from the government even as the fees are now about \$22,500, which means that my mother has to pay \$16,800."

The experience of the MSU student above illustrates how students have been made victims of the government's lack of foresight in overlooking Zimbabwe's hyper inflation when formulating its education budget. Apart from inflation, the possibility of government intent to retaliate to student activism in depriving them of financial support is compelling considering that its total removal of subsidies and other financial support to students in 2000 coincided with the formation and early triumphs of the opposition MDC party behind which most had students had rallied. In response to angry demonstrations that students staged each year, government used successive years between 1993 and 2000, taking advantage of students' vacation breaks, to tighten security measures and impose defensive legislations to protect its reduction and subsequent removal of financial support. To date students are not only deprived of financial aid, but they also face the risk of punitive victimization if they complain.

o Deprivation of decent living conditions

The government previously employed staff to maintain campus grounds and residential quarters, which saw students living in decent accommodation. Housekeeping personnel employed by the government cleaned their residences each day except on Sundays and periodically replaced their bed sheets, pillow cases and towels with clean sets. With all such work being done for them, students could concentrate on their studies and produce impressive academic results. Catering services were in the hands of government personnel and, according to one student, *"we ate hotel food in a cozy environment, in earthenware utensils and used stainless steel cutlery."*

This study was conducted when all catering personnel and most general hands at all sampled tertiary institutions had been retrenched to pave way for private operators. Students at Mkoba Teachers' College complained of being engaged in garden work, in maintaining the grounds and cleaning toilets as part of their National Strategic Studies – a practice one respondent called *"a scapegoat to justify government's inability to employ general staff."* Students now have to bring their own bedding (blankets, bed sheets and pillows) and clean their rooms, which increase their work load before and after classes. This has accelerated the deterioration of residential facilities at most institutions because

not all students can practice good hygiene. Some simply do not bother about cleaning their rooms or making their beds. With no procedure for toilet cleaning, toilets in residential quarters at some institutions, especially the University of Zimbabwe's New Complex 5, have become an eye sore and a definite source of communicable pandemics such as cholera. It is fast becoming difficult to distinguish accommodation facilities of tertiary institutions from those at boarding mission schools.

The private caterers now manning campus canteens have turned them from hotel-like to prison-like dinning halls, providing substandard quality food, unhygienic serving practices (e.g., they do not wear appropriate clothing when cooking and service) and monotonous dishes (e.g., students at MSU were served with sadza and half-cooked beans almost daily). The research team that visited UZ bought and ate supper at Manfred Hodson Dinning Hall as part of its observational process. Sadza and beef stew were being served, the stew having been merely boiled and its soup lacking tomatoes or onions. Of course it is not the fault of private caterers. They are selected through a competitive tendering process in which their pricing is a key consideration, so their only way to secure business is to make up for low prices by compromising the quality of their meals. Indeed food prices at tertiary learning institutions were half the charges of outlets elsewhere in respective towns. Would it then be surprising if the quality of their food and service was twice as poor?

o Deprivation of sociopolitical liberties

As government tightens its grip on students to avoid their possible activism, students have lost several of their liberties, especially the freedoms of association, assembly and expression because of POSA and AIPPA. For example, campus security guards at NUST reportedly harass any student they see associating with Mr. Bere, the Students Representative Council President, because of his activism. The powers that campus security guards have assumed to discretionally assault the very students they previously guarded has left students appearing like high school students. State security agents and Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) have almost succeeded in discouraging students from paying subscription fees to their representative unions. As a result, the more students' learning and living conditions are worsening is the more silent and docile they are becoming. One student union leader said:

"Our silence does not reflect happiness on our part. On the contrary it shows how bad things are. And why? Because I know I cannot mobilize more than ten people to demonstrate before campus security guards arrest me and I lose my place. Surely, what sense is there in sacrificing my promising career for leading ten students to throw one stone?"

o Deprivation of proper learning conditions

Government's inability to improve lecturers' remuneration packages and working conditions have accelerated their mass exodus beyond Zimbabwe's borders for greener pastures, depriving students of good quality education. At Harare Polytechnic College, first-year night students of Mass Communications studies spent 2006 without lecturers for four subjects and they wrote only two instead of eleven examinations in December that year. At MSU students complained about receiving course schedules that include tutorials

and yet never attend any because of staff incapacity. Recent years have seen tertiary students skipping lectures for weeks while their lecturers were on strike for better remuneration and working conditions. UZ was in this situation during the final two weeks of 2006. The year 2007 opened with another stalemate in which lecturers at tertiary institutions were rejecting a 300% salary hike that government had proposed, threatening industrial action if their demands were not met, according to *The Standard* newspaper of 21st January 2007. This means that students may soon go for days without lectures and that more of Zimbabwe's brains will be drained into more stable economies, leaving students in the hands of less experienced and less qualified mentors. MSU students reported that effects of this brain drain were already being felt, as their lecturers taught less and referred them to the university's website for more information despite the high cost and limited accessibility of Internet services. Those affected complained thus:

"We get surprised when we see the President, who is our Chancellor, splashing computers to rural secondary schools where teachers lack the skills of operating them when university students over whom he presides have to pay through their noses to access the Internet at Internet cafes."

e. Victimization by intimidation

Students have been victimized through explicit and implicit intimidation. Explicit intimidation is the direct threatening of students with death, torture or expulsion from college for exercising their rights in specific ways. The police and state security agents have been widely associated with this kind of intimidation. Implicit intimidation refers to actions that silently send a bold message to students that bad things can happen to them if they attempt to rise against those in authority. For instance, the evidence of other student activists who have been arrested, tortured, expelled or suspended sufficiently threatens others wishing to be activists. The sight of heavily armed riot police officers around campuses whenever students hold general meetings to discuss their problems is also intimidating while the fencing of campuses with high security material shows government's seriousness to ruthlessly deal with student activists.

4.3. Incidence and patterns of student victimization

Victimization is generally rife at all institutions that informed this study. Of the 202 respondents who participated, 74.8% considered it a major problem at their institutions while 9.4% thought it was not a problem and 15.8% did not know. The table below shows how students at various institutions perceived the seriousness of victimization.

Table 4.1: Perceived seriousness of victimization

	Universities	Technical colleges	Teachers' colleges	Average %
Extremely serious	27%	22%	13%	24%
Very serious	29%	18%	13%	24%
Serious	34%	30%	22%	32%
Mildly serious	10%	30%	52%	20%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

According to the above table, 80% perceived victimization to be between serious and extremely serious, which justifies urgent action against the practice. The proportion that perceived victimization to be mildly serious was highest at teacher-training colleges and lowest at universities, implying that universities should be prioritized in addressing victimization ahead of technical and teacher-training colleges respectively. Interestingly the proportion of students at teacher-training colleges who perceived victimization to be mild was greater than for those who rated it between 'serious' and 'extremely serious'. This tallies with the patterns of activism within these institutions where universities are the most vocal and teacher-training colleges the least. Technical colleges rank in between the two. In this respect student political activism and victimization are positively correlated.

The study further showed that administrators of institutions were the commonest victimizers, accounting for 38% of the opinion poll. State security agents follow closely, being mentioned 30% of the time. A combination of administrators and the police emerged third (20%). These top three victimizers typically victimize students for their activities that threaten authorities politically, illustrating that politics is the main cause of student victimization. Again universities mentioned these three most frequently and

teachers' colleges the least. However, lecturers were mentioned 35% of the time at teacher-training colleges, signifying that at these colleges lust, greed and corruption were the major drivers of victimization, especially the manipulative kind. Lecturers were not mentioned at all at technical colleges. The table below illustrates the pattern just described.

Table 4.2: Distribution of student victimizers by tertiary learning institutions

	Universities	Technical colleges	Teachers' colleges	Average %
Administrators	42%	42%	18%	38%
The government	6%	0%	4%	5%
State security agents	25%	46%	30%	30%
Lecturers	4%	0%	35%	8%
Administrators and police	21%	12%	9%	17%
Male students	2%	0%	4%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Political reasons dominated the list of causes of student victimization, with "complaining against specific policies" ranking first across all institutions. The table below shows institution-specific ranks of identified causes of student victimization.

Table 4.3: Distribution of causes of victimization by institution-specific rank

Rank	Universities	Technical colleges	Teachers' colleges
1	Complaining against specific policies	Complaining against specific policies	Complaining against specific policies
2	Organizing student meetings or demonstrations	Supporting opposition political parties	Not giving in to sexual advances of lecturers or male students
3	Supporting opposition political parties	Organizing student meetings and demonstrations	Supporting opposition political parties
4	Not giving in to sexual advances of lecturers or male students	Saying "no" to ZICOSU	Saying "no" to ZICOSU
5	Opposing beliefs of government or ruling political party	-	Organizing student meetings or demonstrations
6	Saying "no" to ZICOSU	-	-

It is indeed not surprising, as the table below shows, that 451 students were arrested, detained, suspended and/or expelled from their institutions, predominantly universities and technical colleges throughout Zimbabwe, in 2006 alone for demonstrating in protest of poor learning conditions.

Table 4.4: Chronicle of politically-inspired victimization incidents in 2006

<i>Month/ year</i>	<i>Victimization incident</i>
January 2006	4 UZ student activists arrested/detained for addressing students. These include the UZ SEC Secretary General, <i>Promise Mkwanzani</i> , <i>Last Madzivanyika</i> and <i>Washington Katema</i> (then ZINASU President)

February 2006	6 students, one of them <i>Tineyi Mukewa</i> , arrested/detained for their activism
	23 students from the NUST and Bulawayo Polytechnic College arrested for demonstrating. Some of them are <i>Benjamin Nyandoro, Isaac Chimutashu, Beloved Chiweshe, Mziwandile Ndlovu, Gladys Mukubvu and several other male students</i>

Month/ year	Victimization incident
February 2006	150 students get arrested and one is expelled for demonstrating in Bulawayo City center 34 MASU student activists get arrested. Four of them, <i>July Oneck (President), Dhliwayo Oscar, Turikai Onward and Mtodi Trymore</i> are made to fail their exams. Other prominent students arrested are <i>Hebert Mawodya, Muginji, ZINASU Vice President, Gideon Chitanga, Edisson Zhou, Wiflom Mgwigi, George Makamure, Nicholas Govo, Wilfred Manyekure, Oggylive Makova, Chatambudza Charlot and Solala Moyo.</i>
March 2006	<i>Mfundo Mlilo, Collin Chibango and Wellington Mahohoma</i> get expelled from the UZ for their activism <i>Milward Makwenjere and Blessing Vava</i> of Bulawayo Polytechnic College get arrested <i>Mziwandile Ndlovu, Lawrence Mashungu, Beloved Chiweshe and Isaac Chimutashu (NUST)</i> get arrested for challenging the status quo 5 UZ students including <i>Maureen Maunga, Abisha Dube, Zwelithini Viki, Trevor Murai and Garikai Kajau</i> get expelled from the institution for leading demonstrations against poor learning conditions.
April 2006	34 NUST students get arrested and 29 suspended, including leaders <i>Benjamin Nyandoro, Lawrence Mashungu and Beloved Chiweshe</i>
May 2006	68 students were arrested while holding a meeting at Management Training Bureau (MTB). These include <i>Washington Katema, Marvelous Khumalo, Milward Makwenjere, Blessing Vava</i> and others 26 Bindura University students are arrested and one expelled. The arrested ones include activists <i>Givemore Chari, ZINASU Secretary General, Beloved Chiweshe and Marvellous Kumalo.</i> 6 students from Chinhoyi University of Technology, including <i>Diana Tasiyana</i> the SEC Vice President, get arrested for their activism.
August 2006	39 students, among them <i>Clever Bere and Milward Makwenjere</i> get arrested for shooting photos of demonstrating students in Bulawayo city center
September 2006	<i>Promise Mkwanzani</i> , the ZINASU President is arrested and subsequently suspended from UZ 8 students are arrested for drafting a petition to the President of Zimbabwe, R. G. Mugabe at Palm Lodge, Harare. These are <i>Beloved Chiweshe, Milward Makwenjere, George Makoni, Terrible Chimbavi, Farai Mageza and Cleto Manjova.</i> 7 ZINASU National Executive Council members get arrested while holding a meeting at Wise Owl motel in Mutare. These include <i>Promise Mkwanzani, Makomborero Phebeni, Samuel Mangoma, Melisa Ndlovu and Lynette Mudehwe</i>
November 2006	30 students at Kaguvi Technical College are sentenced to several hours of community service for airing their views that contradict the status quo.

4.4. Effects of victimization

“Victimization is like a leopard. A leopard just kills its prey, sucks its blood and, instead of eating it, leaves it for other predators to feast on. In the same way victimization does not utterly destroy students, but leaves them sufficiently destitute for other social ills such as poverty, HIV and AIDS to finish them up.”

The above statement sums up the aftermaths of student victimization, according to discussants at MASU. Specifically, the study identified psycho-emotional and other effects of victimization as described below.

4.4.1. Psycho-emotional effects

1. Fear

All informants of this study reported that they were living in perpetual fear because of intimidating tactics of their authorities, especially the planting of state security agents and spies among them. *"It is now very difficult for us to organize anything because there are too many informers among us,"* one student leader complained. *"We find ourselves surrounded by armed riot police and our leaders get arrested even before the opening address at our general meetings."* The knowledge that Mashonaland Central is considered a ZANU (PF) stronghold scares students at institutions in the province, especially Bindura University of Science Education, which is located in the capital of that province. The roaming around of youth trained at the Border Gezi Youth Camp worsens matters.

2. Loss of self esteem and national pride

The deprivation of educational support has deepened poverty among students and turned many girls and women into prostitutes, leaving very little prestige in being a tertiary college or university student and, above all, Zimbabwean. This obviously reverses the government's efforts to cultivate national pride among Zimbabwe's young people, especially as all forms of victimization are driving students to other countries.

3. Fury

Nothing brews anger as does hunger, hence the English saying, "a hungry man is an angry man." Echoing this observation, Psychologists established a strong link between frustration and aggression, theorizing that people become aggressive if frustrated. Students at tertiary universities and colleges endure both hunger in being deprived of affordable food and frustration in being arrested, assaulted, sexually harassed and negatively portrayed by the state-controlled media. This study could not establish what the fury that is brewing as a result can turn into, but can comfortably conclude that it is certainly a dangerous time bomb that better be neutralized before it explodes!

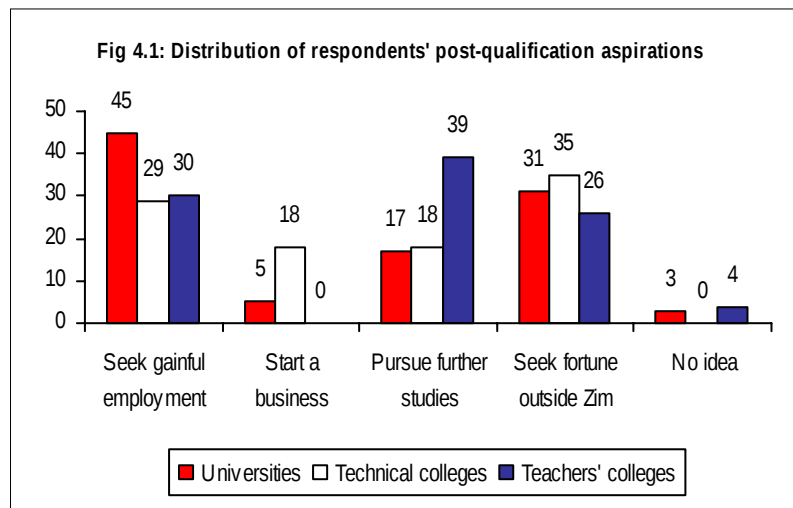
4. Hopelessness

The intimidating environment within which tertiary students are living and learning, the worsening economic climate of Zimbabwe and increase in legislations that close space for free expression all spell gloom for the future of Zimbabwe's tertiary education. Lecturers who could at least feed the students with information to make up for their lack of decent food face the reality of being more in the streets than in lecture theaters because of poor remuneration, if brave enough to stay longer in Zimbabwe. As the Zimbabwe dollar tumbles on and foreign currency remains elusive, hope for any meaningful financial support from the government is growing fainter by the day. This is happening when the best of military intelligence and tactics have been unleashed to silence students even from discussing their plight among themselves.

Indeed 30% of respondents had lost hope in their future potential to realize their aspirations or dream careers, 93% of them attributing that to harsh economic conditions in Zimbabwe. Many students have further lost confidence in the value of their studies because manipulative victimization denied them opportunities to study courses of their choice. Figure 4.1 on the next page shows that teacher-training colleges recorded the highest proportion of students who had lost hope in having decent careers from their studies alone, thereby wishing to pursue further studies probably in order to:

- a. Become marketable in other more financially rewarding non-teaching professions considering that teachers are among the least paid professionals in Zimbabwe
- b. Acquire complementary qualifications that are related to their fields of interest, which they may have failed to enter because of manipulatively corrupt practices of some college officials (e.g., demanding bribes or sexual favors in return for a place in any of the most hotly contested vacancies).

Fig 4.1 further shows that universities, technical and teacher-training colleges all recorded high numbers of students aspiring to seek fortune outside Zimbabwe, 27% wishing to go to South Africa, 7% to Botswana, 42% to Europe, 12% to America and another 12% to Asian countries. This underlines the



country's worsening economic environment and growing hopelessness about the potential of Zimbabwe's tertiary education to nurture successful professionals.

4.4.2. Other effects

1. Poor quality education and graduates

Educational quality cannot improve if lecturers are poorly motivated and frequently on strike. MSU students complained of not holding tutorials and being starved of lectures by being constantly referred to the Internet for more information. On the other hand many deserving students have lost places for their favorite study courses because of corrupt practices in the candidate placement processes, especially at teacher-training colleges. For example, those who do not have acquaintances or relatives at tertiary institutions and are too principled to bribe officials sexually or monetarily usually do not get places at institutions of their choice. Many of them have ended up joining any other college that accepts them and taking up any of the remaining study programmes on offer irrespective of their preferences. This has always seen incompetent graduates coming out of tertiary colleges and universities.

2. HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies and abortions

Manipulative victimization in which male lecturers demand sexual favors from female students in return of favorable study conditions such as generous pass marks for examinations can accelerate the spread of HIV and AIDS, especially at teacher training colleges. The story of Mimi in Box 1 represents the likelihood of manipulative student victimization to result in many unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

In general, victimization in all its forms has taken away the dignity of students and made them more desperate and vulnerable to other social ills. Reversing the trend should be among the most urgent priorities of any agent of development concerned with the welfare of students in Zimbabwe. The next chapter discusses possible strategies for achieving this.

Chapter Five

Recommendations and conclusions: *Where to now?*

Recommendations in this chapter relate to and seek to address the challenges facing students at tertiary learning institutions, which are discussed in the chapters 3 and 4. Granted that this research belongs to ZINASU, this chapter will inform programming priorities and strategies that the union will need to pursue in response to findings in the previous two chapters. The table below shows the priority activity areas and programming themes that should shape ZINASU's responsive activities.

Table 5.1: Recommended programme priorities and thematic areas

	Coordinating functions	Lobbying and advocacy	Research and documentation
Poverty alleviation	Monitoring and evaluation of efforts	Networking with and mobilizing relief agencies to extend their support to tertiary students	Documenting the experiences of students with poverty to inform the outside world
Civil and political rights	Capacity development of student union leaders and members and development of strategic plans	Lobbying government to respects the rights of students and grant them academic freedoms	Investigating case studies involving the infringement of students' rights and documenting them
HIV and AIDS	Establishing structures and developing the capacity of students to manage, monitor and evaluate HIV/AIDS programmes	Joining the structures of NAC at district, provincial and national levels and implement HIV/AIDS programmes within that arrangement	Continuously investigating and documenting the trends and circumstances at tertiary institutions that exacerbate the further spread of HIV/AIDS as well as best responsive practices.

According to the table above ZINASU will need to structure its responses to this research into three strategic programme areas of Coordination, Lobbying and advocacy and Research, focusing on three major themes of poverty alleviation, civil and political rights and HIV and AIDS.

5.1. Recommendations for programme coordination

ZINASU should continue to serve as the national coordinating unit of the student movement in Zimbabwe, providing administrative support to its members, mobilizing technical partners to develop the capacity of its members and to advise the monitoring

and evaluation of member activities. Pursuant with this broad function, the following specific activities are recommended for ZINASU to take up:

- i. Securing technical services to facilitate processes of:
 - a. Developing strategic plans and frameworks for implementing, monitoring and evaluating adopted poverty alleviation, HIV/AIDS and civil/political rights initiatives
 - b. Developing the technical capacities of students and their union leaders to sustain their programmes of alleviating poverty, advancing civil and political rights and arresting HIV and AIDS within their institutions. Such capacity development work may need to focus on strategic skills outlined in the table below.

Strategic skill for which training is required	Recommended contents of the training	Relevance of the training
Human rights programming skills	Broad framework of human rights programmes, human rights programme priorities for tertiary students	o To help students organize their work into strategic priorities in line with the national and global programming frameworks
HIV and AIDS programming skills	National strategy and legislative frameworks for HIV and AIDS programming, thematic areas in addressing HIV and AIDS, stakeholder analysis, priorities of HIV and AIDS programmes at tertiary institutions	o To enable students to fit into the national strategic framework of addressing HIV and AIDS, thereby perfectly fitting into the NAC structures and systems
Conflict resolution and negotiating skills	Communication skills, understanding conflict, theories of negotiation and conflict resolution, introducing responsible activism (see Box 2 on the next page), developing a code of conduct for demonstration	o To improve the relationship between the government and tertiary students o To guide the students in a process of repairing their public reputation
Leadership skills	Qualities of a good leader in the context of tertiary institutions, roles of a leader and the led in leading, priorities for unionism and student leadership in the face of today's challenges, gender awareness, team building, responsible activism	o To develop a new crop of student leaders that can earn their status not by populism but sensitivity to pertinent issues o To develop gender sensitive leaders, encourage female leaders to rise and train students to support female leaders o To enlighten students of key qualities to use in determining the right leaders

- ii. Providing administrative support to all ZINASU members within Zimbabwe including organizing major calendar activities, managing resources thereof and communicating with members to ensure that planned activities get executed.
- iii. Liaising with funding partners and other stakeholders by preparing narrative and financial reports and developing proposals for all priority programmes adopted through processes in the above table.

ZINASU staff will need to apply high-level corporate governance standards in coordinating its programmes, which may require the training of requisite officers in such strategic skills as programme planning and management, skills of managing the consulting process, basic financial management skills, records management, communication skills and related subjects.

Box 2: A guide to responsible activism

Students should generally shift towards more responsible activism to repair their public image that has been badly damaged by negative reports, especially from the state controlled media, so as to add credibility to ZINASU's lobbying and advocacy efforts. This process should be based on, but not be limited to, the following advices:

- a. Students should separate matters of their welfare from national politics by, for example, not wearing MDC, ZANU (PF) or NCA T-shirts when staging demonstrations for apolitical ends like better learning and living conditions. Resources permitting, they should print their own T-shirts with messages relating to their affairs. While individual students' memberships to specific political parties is appreciated, wearing clothes with political party messages takes away public attention from their primary cause and the state-controlled media institutions easily take advantage to denounce their actions and justify police brutality that usually follows. The public, which does not have the energy or resources to verify the media reports, simply agrees with what they hear and/or watch. The result: students remain downtrodden.
- b. Students should always behave responsibly whenever they stage demonstrations in order to underline their seriousness and restore the legitimacy of their actions in public eyes. Student representative bodies need to consider introducing to their annual programmes for student orientation training in 'responsible activism'. This may be based on a comprehensive code of conduct specific to demonstrations. Student leaders should also reemphasize this component during their addresses at general meetings, especially whenever they resolve to demonstrate. Some of the irresponsible behaviors from demonstrating students that have dearly cost them in lost credibility are:
 - i. *Ranting anger on innocent civilians and motorists who have absolutely nothing to do with their plight.* In 2004 a group of UZ students went on a rampage of stoning vehicles that passed through their campus following a black out, claiming that they were simply illustrating their anger with learning conditions at the university. Worse still, they did this on their own accord without the guidance of their leaders.
 - ii. *Destroying properties and facilities that are meant to benefit other students (e.g., residential hostels).* At New Complex 5, which houses male students at UZ, many window panes had been smashed by students other students demonstrating for better living conditions. Certainly this practice worsened living conditions of the residents of affected rooms.
 - iii. *Acts of drunkenness such as shouting and singing obscenities in public.* Male students at tertiary learning institutions, especially universities and more so UZ, are widely known for shouting obscenities whenever they travel in their buses to sporting events. This strains their relations with other citizens with whom they can join hands in challenging the status quo.
 - iv. *Crime.* This research was informed of some prominent student activists who during their tenures were arrested for such petty crimes as shoplifting. Some MSU male students claimed when caught by campus security guards attempting to steal a computer: "*we had to steal this computer and sell it in order to pay our fees.*" Nothing however justifies breaking the law.

5.2. Recommendations for lobbying and advocacy

The main targets for ZINASU's lobbying and advocacy efforts will be the government of Zimbabwe and the local and international civil society. ZINASU will need to add value to these efforts by showing no 'political biases' to any of the

existing rival political interests (e.g., ZANU (PF), MDC and NCA) so that stakeholders, especially the government does not treat its messages with suspicion. At present, according to several student union leaders, ZINASU is widely associated with the MDC and ZICOSU with ZANU PF. The result: government listens more to ZICOSU than to ZINASU.

5.2.1. Lobbying and advocacy for poverty alleviation

- i. ZINASU should start by convincing the government of Zimbabwe on the basis of findings in chapters 3 and 4 of this report that tertiary education is a sacrifice-worthy government investment because:
 - a. Only by adequately supporting students and sustaining the decency of their living and learning conditions can the government justify its aggressive drive to multiply tertiary learning institutions, especially universities, which saw the rapid erections of MSU, Chinhoyi State University, Bindura University of Science Education, MASU and now the ongoing work for a possible university in Lupane district of Matabeleland North. It is obviously embarrassing to boast of having many universities when their students live under deplorable conditions, when there are insufficient lecturers to serve the institutions and when less than half the original enrollment gets to completing their studies because of inhibitive educational costs.
 - b. Rewarding students with good living and learning conditions is a sure way of halting the rapid exodus of Zimbabwe's brains to Europe, the Americas and neighboring African countries that have better economies and politics. Zimbabwe's government has repeatedly lamented effects of the so-called brain drain on its industry, attempting to increase employment incentives as if the problem affects the labor force alone. It is time now to realize that students are also seeing foreign universities and colleges as greener pastures for their learning and stepping stones towards better paying jobs, thereby abandoning the country for these. This trend will similarly cripple the country's industry.
- ii. ZINASU should join hands with other civil society organizations that participate in the pre-budget consultative processes on behalf of students at tertiary institutions and lobby the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development to factor in Zimbabwe's hyper inflation in formulating future budgets for financial assistance to students. If adopted this can enable the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education to swiftly review students' educational allowances upwards whenever it raises their tuition and other fees. To this end ZINASU should formulate its own mechanisms of consulting widely with tertiary students in advance to obtain the most suitable input.
- iii. Efforts should be intensified to push for the incorporation of the cost of food into the mainstream fees due to students while the government is convinced to reconsider subsidizing food. This will eliminate starvation of students at tertiary learning institutions and contribute to the improvement of their

academic and non-academic performance. Hunger has cost many a student concentration in academic and sporting activities.

- iv. Administrators of tertiary learning institutions should be encouraged to announce their reviews of fees on sufficient notice to give guardians adequate time to mobilize requisite funds and avoid such shock effects as abandonment of studies.
- v. ZINASU should seriously consider, and conclude modalities of, lobbying NGOs, bi and multilateral institutions such as World Vision, Care International, Christian care, World Food Programme, Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and other related ones to extend their food aid programmes to universities and tertiary colleges to alleviate starvation at these. The programme may entail supplying private caterers with raw (nutritious) food packs that they can prepare and sell cheaply to students, charging them for just their labor. No doubt, making food more widely affordable will be a giant step towards restoring students' dignity. Relief agencies can also consider distributing catering regalia and protective clothing (e.g., hats, aprons, etc) to private caterers for hygienic purposes. Cheap food procured this way should be accessible to non-resident students as well. Alternatively, if resources do not permit universal assistance, relief agencies may consider distributing the food they afford to Deans of students or to Student Executive Committees (SEC) for onward distribution to the neediest cases. The bottom line in implementing this recommendation, though, comprises the following guidelines:
 - a. *Students should be consulted in identifying the neediest cases or determining the modalities of distributing relief food*
 - b. *Students should be represented in the committees tasked with food distribution*
 - c. *An audit, monitoring and evaluation system should be in place to track the distribution process and results to avoid the exclusion of deserving students through corruption and nepotism.*

5.2.2. Lobbying and advocacy for the advancement of civil and political rights

- i. ZINASU should pursue students' rights to decent accommodation by increasing pressure on the government to allocate resources for the urgent completion of hostel construction at institutions where these are inadequate, such as at NUST and MSU, to save students from exploitative landlords. On the same token, government will need to be reminded that more hostels are required even at established institutions such as the UZ where 4,000 accommodation places are available to 13,000 students.
- ii. In view of the growing relevance of Internet learning at tertiary institutions, especially universities, his Excellence, the President, should be as much commended for distributing computers to primary and secondary schools as he should be reminded that tertiary learning institutions deserve them more and that he should not attach political strings to this. Other avenues for

procuring computing equipment for tertiary institutions such as appealing to the corporate world should be alternatively considered. This will contribute to the advancement of tertiary students' right to good quality education.

- iii. ZINASU may need to add weight to the struggle of lecturers of various tertiary learning institutions for better remuneration and working conditions to help reduce their trek in search of greener pastures across national borders. This will help students to enjoy their rights to decent education.
- iv. ZINASU should work closely with the police and other law enforcement agents to deal with lecturers and officials who sexually abuse students or corruptly manipulate procedures to earn bribes from applicants desperately seeking places at tertiary institutions, especially teacher-training ones. It should further promote the reporting of these practices and secure legal expertise to assist in developing strategies for successful lawsuits considering that corruption is difficult to prove.

5.2.3. Lobbying and advocacy for poverty alleviation

- i. ZINASU should respond to the alarming prostitution at tertiary institutions of learning by convincing the National AIDS Council (NAC) and its district structures (e.g., District AIDS Action Committees – DAACs) to treat universities and tertiary colleges as high risk spots in the same way it considers some growth points, border towns and so forth. This justifies more serious efforts to prevent the further spread of HIV and AIDS among students, to mitigate the effects already incurred, to care for and support those affected and conduct research and advocacy for better responses. Preventive initiatives, especially peer educational campaigns, Voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) for HIV, should be prioritized to halt the further spread of the epidemic. Tertiary student representatives should become part of DAAC structures within their districts to share their experiences and mobilize relevant support from other stakeholders. It may, too, be necessary to introduce a portfolio for HIV/AIDS within the Students Executive Committees (SEC) as part of this drive.

5.2. Recommendations for research and documentation

ZINASU's research and documentation should focus on the following:

- o Needs assessment surveys to shape specific programmes in the areas of poverty alleviation, civil and political rights and HIV/AIDS, especially when specific funding partners pledge an interest in supporting them.
- o Evaluating the impact of specific programmes
- o Continuously documenting worst cases of student victimization and best practices of programme implementation, using progress updates from participating students.

Annexes

Annex 1: STUDENT STATUS AND OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

ZINASU Survey on Effects of New Fee-Payment Structure and Incidence of Student Victimization at Zimbabwe's Tertiary Institutions

Zimbabwe National Students' Union (ZINASU) is the national body that defends and represents the interests of Zimbabwe's tertiary students. With a secretariat in Harare and working through individual students' unions and related bodies, ZINASU lobbies relevant stakeholders and advocates for pro-student national policies. As part of this drive, this research is ZINASU's response to the raising of tuition and other fees by tertiary institutions and government's removal of such educational support as loans, grants and subsidies, which have left students and their guardians shouldering a heavy burden under harsh economic conditions. In our hope that you appreciate the importance of this exercise to the welfare of current and future students, you are required to kindly complete this questionnaire as honestly as possible to enable ZINASU to dispatch a well-informed and effective lobbying and advocacy strategy. We guarantee the strictest possible confidentiality in handling the information that you will provide.

Thank you in anticipation of your cooperation!

Administrative Information

1. Questionnaire Number _____
2. Date ____/____/2006
3. ZINASU Region _____
4. District _____
5. Name of tertiary institution _____
6. Type of institution (1) University (2) Technical college (3) Teacher Training College (4) Vocational Training college (5) Other (specify) _____

Respondent's Demographic Information

7. Sex of respondent (1) Male (2) Female
8. Age of respondent _____ years
9. Marital status of respondent: (1) Married (2) Single (3) Widowed (4) Divorced/Separated (5) Celibate (6) Other (specify) _____
10. Nationality of respondent _____
11. Are you resident at this institution? (1) Yes (2) No
12. Have you been or are you gainfully employed? (1) Yes (2) No

13. What study course are you undertaking at this institution? _____
14. What type of qualification are you pursuing? (1) Degree (2) Higher National Diploma (3) Diploma (4) Certificate (5) Certificate of attendance (6) Other (specify) _____
15. If studying towards a degree, what type is it? (1) General degree (2) Honors degree (3) Masters degree (4) Doctoral degree (PHd) (5) Other (specify) _____
16. In which year did you start your study programme? _____ (year)
17. In which year should you finish your study programme? _____ (year)

Educational expenses-related information

18. Who meets your educational expenses (please complete the table below)

Expense	Cost per year (approximate)	Guardian (please tick the box corresponding to each expense)					
		Self	Relative	NGO	Government	Employer	Other (tick& specify)
Fees/tuition							
Food							
Stationery							
Textbooks							
Accommodation							
Transport							
Other							
Total cost							

19. If a relative meets your educational expenses, please specify how s/he is related to you
(1) Father (2) Mother (3) Aunt/Uncle (4) Spouse/Lover (5) Grand parent (6) Other (specify) _____
20. What is the main source of your (relative) guardian's income? (1) Salary from formal employment (2) Business profits (3) Transfers (e.g., money sent from the Diaspora) (4) Other (specify) _____
21. How do you rate your (relative) guardian's capacity to meet your educational expenses
(1) Comfortably capable (2) Moderately capable (3) Just capable (4) Sacrificially capable (5) Totally incapable
22. If an NGO meets your educational expenses, please state its name _____
23. Are you up to date with paying your tuition and other fees? (1) Yes (2) No

24. If your answer above is 'No', how far have you gone in paying the fees/tuition?
 (1) Have not paid anything at all (2) Have paid one quarter of fees (3) Have paid half the fees (4) Have paid three quarters (5) Other (describe) _____
25. Have you ever considered abandoning your studies because of high fees (1) Yes (2) No
26. If your answer above is 'Yes', what made you change your mind? _____
27. Do you know of people who should still be learning at this institution, but have abandoned their studies for any reason? (1) Yes (2) No
28. If you know of them, please specify the reasons in the table below.

Reason	Was unable to pay fees or meet costs		Transferred to another institution		Disciplinary reasons (was expelled)		Other (specify below)	
Number	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females

29. What does your college/university administration do to a student who does not pay his/her fees/tuition on time or at all? _____
30. What do you aspire to do after graduating from your studies? (1) Seek gainful employment (2) Start a business (3) Pursue a higher qualification (4) Join the family business (5) Seek fortune outside Zimbabwe (6) No idea (7) Other (specify) _____
31. If you intend to seek fortune outside Zimbabwe, please specify country _____
32. If you intend to further your studies, please specify the type of course and qualification that you want to pursue _____
33. Do you think you will be able realize your aspirations/dreams? (1) Yes (2) No
34. If your answer above is 'No', please state why you feel so _____

Victimization-related Information

35. In your understanding and personal experience, what is student victimization?

36. Do you think student victimization is a problem at your institution? (1) Yes (2) No
37. If you feel student victimization is a problem, how serious is it? (1) Extremely serious (2) Very serious (3) Serious (4) Mildly serious (5) Not serious
38. If students at your institution are victimized at all, who victimizes them? _____
39. Why are students at your institution victimized? (State your reasons below, beginning with the most common cause and ending with least common cause)
- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

Thank you for your kind responses! Sufficient justice will be done to the information that you have provided and it will be treated in strict confidence.

Annex 2: Semi-structured Interview (SSI) and Group discussion Guide

Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU)

Survey on the effects of the new fees-payment structure and on the incidence of student victimization at Zimbabwe's tertiary educational institutions

This SSI Guide contains the themes, subject areas, probing questions and specifies the people who will be expected to provide answers. Unlike the questionnaire, this instrument does not have an absolute line of questioning or sequence thereof. Instead, the researchers will use it as a guide for a natural conversation-like interview, with respondents dictating the flow and direction of the dialogue.

Subject area	Probing questions	Sources of data
1. Situational scan		
Institutional and/or educational policy history	Explore with participants the past, present and projected future with regards the following aspects: - o Cost of education - o Social and educational facilities available to students - o Relationship shared by the students and their unions with administrations of their institutions and government - o Causes, nature, extent and effects of student victimization on student activism - o Scope, value and activism of student activism	- Former and current students - Former and current student leaders - ZINASU officials - Staff at institutions - Civic organizations involved in student affairs
Current situation	Explore what is happening, what is causing it and what are possible effects of the state of affairs in relation to the following: - o Explore the aspirations of current students and whether the teaching and learning environment favors their dreams - o Current cost of education – what costs are involved, how bearable are the costs under current economic conditions, etc - o Quality of education and the learning environment – are competent lecturers being retained, do available ones have sufficient resources for teaching, etc - o How good are current teaching and learning facilities as well as social services available to students	- Lecturers and other staff - Current students

Subject area	Probing questions	Sources of data
Victimization	- o Ask participants to identify an object or animal that they can liken to victimization and explain why they did so. Ask them to use rich language, e.g., tsumo, poetry or song to express their feeling - o towards victimization. - o Explore how participant understand victimization and how they perceive its incidence - o Explore the causes and forms in which students are victimized - o What are the effects of student victimization on their welfare	- Current students - Staff at tertiary institutions - Relevant ZINASU personnel - Student leaders - Student associations - Partner civic organizations - Victimized students
Coping strategies	Explore with participants the following: - o The problems that come with the new fee structure and victimization - o How they are coping with the problems (be alert to establish if the coping strategies are socially sound. If not, establish what affected students feel about it)	- Victimized students - Drop outs - Students and their leaders - Student representative associations and civic organizations
2. Stakeholder analysis and SWOT		
Awareness of safety nets	Explore with participants the following: - o Where they think they think their problems can be can be addressed and how. This process should lead to the production of a Venn diagram showing linkages between different stakeholders - o What are the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of available student representative bodies - o What environment is conducive for the vibrancy of stakeholders concerned with students' welfare?	- Current students and student leaders - Victimized students - Civic groups concerned with students welfare
3. Way forward		
Recommendations	Explore with participants their ideas on the following: - o Solutions to identified problems facing students - o Recommendations for ZINASU's lobbying and advocacy - o Recommendations for institutional administrations and government - o Recommendations for all ZINASU collaborating partners - o Strategies for more effective student activism - o Other recommendations	- All informants and participants

Procedural and facilitation guidelines

- i. Begin with self-introductions and a creative ice-breaker, one that makes participants to feel at home and confident enough to participate enthusiastically
- ii. Explain the objectives of the research and procedure
- iii. Give participants (if it is a group discussion) different roles of steering the process – keeping time, moderating sessions, managing entertainment, taking minutes, etc, so that they own the process
- iv. Explore issues in the SSI guide, which apply to informants in question, through a general discussion, with the principal researcher facilitating, one participant moderating and others taking minutes and keeping time respectively. This activity should take at least 1½ hours.
- v. Break participants into groups and assign them different questions to explore in relation to themes in the SSI
- vi. Group discussants can reconvene for the plenary session after exploring issues at hand. The plenary discussions should focus on:
 - Issues arising from the presentations
 - Way forward
- vii. Round off and close
- viii. NB: A register of participants should circulate to all discussants for them to fill in their ages, sexes, groups represented, geographical area and so on.