



Graduate School of Development Studies

**ONE CRISIS MANY RESPONSES:
Faculty in the University of Zimbabwe 2000-2010**

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List of Acronyms

AIPPA	Access to Information and Privacy Act
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/Human Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NELM	New Economic Labour Migration Theory
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
U.Z	University of Zimbabwe
WFP	World Food Programme
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe Statistical Office
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Students Union
ZNPAWG	Zimbabwe National Plan of Action on Women and Girls and HIV and AIDS

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Abstract

The life worlds of non migrant professionals are complex and need to be understood beyond the narrow propositions of economicistic theories that emphasise economic factors alone. Using the case study of University of Zimbabwe [U.Z], it is demonstrated that political considerations, cultural loyalty, family related, demographic, and professional factors play a significant role in the decisions of non migrant lecturers. Most U.Z lecturers do not view themselves as just professional teachers and researchers but active political agents with a role to play in nation building. Political allegiances then pattern economic means of survival and are reinforced by other social, demographic and cultural factors.

Relevance to Development Studies

Migration has become a topical issue in the field of development studies. There is a growing conviction that international migration cannot be seen in isolation from development, and that, with the right policies, an important contribution can be made to development (Zoomers *et al.*, 2007: 10). Labour in particular skilled labour is considered a crucial asset to the development of a country. A country that loses a significant portion of its human capital to migration risks failure to meet its development targets (Skeldon, 2005: 2). Over the years, Zimbabwe has seen a continued movement of professionals and skilled workers migrating to neighbouring countries and overseas. This brain drain¹ has adversely affected service delivery in all sectors and creates challenges for the attainment of development goals (International Organisation for Migration [IOM], 2009: 1). Using the case study of U.Z the study will explore the personal experiences of the lecturers who remained with the institution. It is hoped that findings of this study will help to understand some of the factors behind both the migration and non migration of highly skilled professionals in Zimbabwe.

¹ Denotes the phenomenon whereby a country suffers an outflow of its educated elite, on a scale threatening the needs of national development in the long term (Jalowiecki *et al.*, 2004: 299)

Keywords and Concepts

Decision making, highly skilled professional, Lecturers, Life world, Non migrant, University of Zimbabwe

Chapter 1

1.0 Introduction

U.Z like many other institutions in the country lost a larger part of its academic staff (highly skilled professionals)² to migration over the past decade. The massive staff exodus has been largely attributed to the severe socio-economic and political challenges the country has experienced over the same period. Interestingly there is a smaller but not insignificant portion of staff that has remained attached to the institution despite the prevailing negative environment alluded to above. This research attempts to explore the personal experiences of the remaining lecturers. This involves primarily interviewing university lecturers as well as analysing policy documents and background papers.

1.1 Brief general background

Since the late 1990s the Zimbabwean economy has performed poorly. Recurrent droughts, shortage of foreign currency, limited donor funding and the increasing burden of HIV and AIDS have perpetuated the downturn (Zimbabwe National Plan of Action on Women and Girls and HIV and AIDS [ZNPAWG], 2006: 3). At the dawn of the new millennium, six out of every ten Zimbabweans live in poverty and almost every second household is unable to feed itself properly (SAFAIDS/PANOS, 2001: 4). Over the past decade the country has continued to face an acute and deepening socio-economic and political crisis. A contracting economy characterised by hyperinflation, shortage of foreign currency, diminished capacity in the public sector to deliver basic social services and limited donor support for development projects. This has seen the value of the local currency plummeting, purchasing power of the average Zimbabwean severely dwindled, prices of goods and commodities skyrocketing and an acute shortage of basic commodities. Public social service sectors which heavily rely on government funding like education and health have been rendered ineffective and at worst non functional. The economic decline can be attributed to a sharp drop in output from the key economic sectors; agriculture, manufacturing and tourism (ZNPAWG, 2006: 3). The economic recession has resulted in over 80% of the country's population living in poverty (World Bank Institute [WBI], 2007: 132).

Furthermore, the current decade has been marked by political instability. Tensions between the ruling party; Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front [ZANU PF] and the opposition party; Movement for Democratic Change [MDC] first became pronounced during the 2000 parliamentary elections. The political tensions intensified during the 2002 presidential election. The pre- and post election periods were characterised by violence and intimi-

² Highly Skilled Workers are those who posses tertiary qualifications or equivalent level of experience in relation to Science and Technology and professionals (OECD Canberra Manual, 1995).

dation. This led to a significant number of Zimbabweans seeking political asylum in neighbouring countries and abroad (IOM, 2009: 1). Since then, the political climate has remained tense and polarised with violence and intimidation characterising each successive election. Incidences of politically motivated violence have been on the increase, pieces of legislation viewed as anti democratic and restricting people's liberties and freedoms were enacted. More recently, during the period leading up to the June 27, 2008, run off in the presidential election violence intensified causing further reason for Zimbabweans to want to leave the country (*ibid*).

Overall, Zimbabwe has therefore seen a continued movement of professionals and skilled workers migrating to neighbouring countries and overseas due to the deteriorating economic, social and political conditions.

The Higher and Tertiary Education sector has been on the receiving end of the macro socio-economic and political challenges facing the country. According to a 2009 report by the country's Portfolio Committee on Higher Education, Science and Technology; universities countrywide are suffering a severe shortage of both academic and non academic staff as a result of the brain drain. U.Z is no exception with its science departments hardest hit by the brain drain. The department of medicine for instance, has 8 lecturers but needs 26 while the anaesthetic, statistics, anatomy and haematology departments each have 2 lecturers instead of 16, 11, 10 and 8 respectively (Zimbabwe Portfolio Committee on Higher Education, Science and Technology, 2009: 2 & 3).

In addition, U.Z was reported to have been closed for almost a year because of a long lecturer strike and infrastructural problems (Zimbabwe Portfolio Committee on Higher Education, Science and Technology, 2009: 1). This provided a shock that allows this research to explore why and how lecturers could survive in Zimbabwe as professionals under such difficult circumstances.

1.2 Statement of research problem

“...why do some knowledge workers...emigrate from their home country while others stay at home...why they may stay put when economic incentives to move appear high” (Hall, 2005: 939).

Research into migration of professionals usually described as brain drain predominantly focuses on emigrants that is professionals on the move as opposed to non migrants that is professionals who stay put. Consequently, literature on migration of highly skilled professionals is filled with causes, patterns, destinations and contributions of migrants to the relative exclusion of non migrants (Massey *et al.*, 1994: 700-715); Knight, 2002: 6-24; Jalowieck *et al.*, 2004: 299-306).

However, Hall (2005: 940) argues that, “To understand the international migration patterns of highly skilled workers it is as useful, logically, to ask why many do not move as it is to investigate why some do”. This is because when skilled workers leave their home country the natural focus is on the attractions of the destination country and the perceived deficiencies of the source nation.

An uninformed comment then tend to focus only on outward migration leaving out the decisions of workers (usually the bulk) who choose to stay which ultimately may give a very distorted picture of the magnitude of brain drain and the causes of it (Hall, 2005: 940).

In addition, the focus of most of the theories on migration is on financial and economic factors, for example, the neo classical theory (Massey *et al.*, 2006: 17; Stalker, 2000: 131) emphasise expected income differentials as the main driver of migration. Ellis (2003: 5) using a livelihood approach further argues that, people who live so close to livelihood failure in their source embark on migration not as optional but rather lack of choice in order to prevent such failure.

However, it has been argued that migration decisions cannot only be explained in terms of economic factors (Ammassari & Black, 2001; Hall, 2005; Skeldon, 2008). Ammassari and Black (2001: 16) note in relation to return migration that “return motives include a variety of economic, social, and family-related, as well as political reasons”. They cited strong family ties; desire to rejoin family and friends, problems of adjustment in host country, racial harassment, improved social status in home country, age resulting in changing needs and preferences as significant factors that could explain return migration. Similarly, these factors may also be relevant in explaining the decisions not to migrate in the first place. Hall, (2005: 942) conclude that, “Economic incentives only ever tell part of the story in understanding migration decisions...” Likewise Skeldon, (2008: 3-4) bemoans the central role given to economic growth in the migration and development debate. In particular, he advocates for the inclusion of the political dimension, and several other social and demographic factors as fundamental to any analysis of development and migration (*ibid*).

1.3 Justification, Objectives and Research Questions

1.3.1 Justification:

Out migration of highly skilled professionals from Zimbabwe’s higher education sector among other sectors has received considerable attention, whereas retention has not. This study explores the later and hopes to add to the existing body of knowledge on the topic.

Rutten (2007: 4) argues in relation to medical professionals that, “outflows of personnel to developed countries constitute a human capital loss of educated and experienced personnel with negative spill-over effects on those who remain.” Zimbabwe has witnessed an accelerated loss of skilled workers from its education sector to migration. It has been observed that, as the economic situation continues to deteriorate, migration will continue to be a common coping strategy for many Zimbabweans (IOM, 2009: 2). By exploring the motivations of the remaining U.Z lecturers; how they managed to survive the difficult circumstances in the country and fared as professionals, this study may provide additional tools to the coping mechanisms in a migration prone sector such as Zimbabwe’s higher education sector. This may also inform relevant

authorities on how to cater for the interests of highly skilled professionals, especially the non migrants.

1.3.2 Objectives:

It is proposed that an in-depth study be carried out on the personal experiences of U.Z lecturers as a category of highly skilled professionals. The purpose of the study would be to produce a thick description³ of the lecturers' subjective experiences and life worlds. The emphasis of this research is on interests, motivations, expectations, opinions, values and coping mechanisms. I wish to gain insight into the expectations, opinions and values of U.Z lecturers who remained with the institution when most of their colleagues left. Furthermore I seek to understand how these remaining lecturers cope with the demanding socio-economic and political environment prevailing in the country while maintaining their professional status if they did.

1.3.3 Research Questions:

Main Research Question:

Why and how did some U.Z lecturers stay in their jobs when most of their colleagues where leaving the institution and the country?

Research sub-questions:

- What were the interests and expectations of the U.Z lecturers who remained in their positions?
- How have the remaining lecturers managed to cope with the demanding circumstances prevailing in the country for the past decade?
- What are the lecturers' perceptions of their future with the institution?

³ Geertz (1983) explains that a 'thick description' involves doing in-depth interviews, reading and researching primary source material and observing lives of people under study, then compile all this data and analyse it in a manner that create a full picture of whatever group is under study.

Chapter 2

Epistemology, Methodology and Methods

2.1 Epistemology:

The current research subscribes to the constructivist epistemological principles. As expressed by Molterberg and Bergstrom, (2002a: 21) “Academic research should strive towards ever more sophisticated, informed and inclusive constructions of the world through the interaction of the researcher and the researched”. Thus, the research is influenced by the belief of the existence of multiple realities that are local and specific in nature (Sumner & Tribe, 2004: 5) as opposed to the notions of ‘single truth’ and ‘closure’. More specifically, the present study fits well into Molterberg and Bergstrom (2002a: 21) ‘s middle ground of realism proposition that perceives knowledge as a social construct but one that aims to explain an existing reality. Similarly, this research endeavour to understand the existing phenomenon under study from the subjective perspective of the actors in their local context.

2.2 Methodology:

This study has no specific hypothesis, nor is it theory driven. Rather, it is an exploratory research with emphasis on accessing meaning more than the distributional features of the population. It is against this background that I opted to conduct the current study within the qualitative paradigm. This would enable the researcher to try to understand people in terms of their own definition of their world. The emphasis is on the insider perspective rather than on an outsider perspective. Thus the qualitative approach will help to understand the lecturers’ personal experiences from the subjective perspective of the individuals involved, as the richness and diversity of the lecturers’ experiences can only be captured by describing what goes on in their lives incorporating the context in which they operate and their frame of reference.

2.2.1 *Choice of case study*

U.Z was used as an instrumental case study. That is, it was examined mainly to provide insight into the phenomenon under study. Stake (2000: 437) notes that, “The case plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else.” In particular, U.Z was chosen for its logistical convenience. Secondly, U.Z is the largest tertiary institution in the country with the highest number of different faculties and departments as well as staff complement. For this reason, U.Z would likely offer greater diversity and broader scope of the phenomenon under study. The sample was thirty university lecturers who were willing to respond and the sample size was governed by data saturation.

2.3 Methods:

2.3.1 Primary data

Primary data was obtained from individual testimonies/personal accounts of the experiences of U.Z lecturers who remained with the institution. The methods used in gathering data were in depth qualitative interviews which were conversational in nature as well as direct observation. A total of thirty interviews were carried out. The lecturers interviewed were of varying ages, different socio-economic background, and different gender, and from different faculties and departments. The idea behind having a wide range of lecturers was to gain an understanding of how different lecturers perceive their situation and make decisions- seeking many ‘truths’. All the interviews were carried out in a space of approximately four weeks spanning from the last week of July to the third week of August. The timing turned out to be inconvenient as the institution was conducting exams during this period. The lecturers were too busy putting up some final touches to exam question papers, organising logistics and invigilating the exams. Therefore getting appointments with the lecturers was difficult with some set appointments having to be cancelled at the lecturers’ initiative. This problem was unforeseen as I had anticipated that the institution will be closed for vacation during the last part of July and re-opening in mid August (that is according to the normal university calendar). However, this was not to be as the institution is operating behind schedule due to disturbances experienced in the last two years.

2.3.2 Data collection

Semi-structured interview schedule

In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with the aid of a semi structured interview schedule. Semi-structured interviews were preferred in this study because they are flexible and provide room for the respondents to freely express their feelings, views and opinions. The schedule was basically a checklist of topics that were to be addressed in the interviews meant to provide a guide to the general line of inquiry not restrict the discussions. This was deliberately designed to allow the researcher to engage in open, broad and flexible discussions with interviewees. The topics included in the schedule were neither strictly followed in chronological order nor were they meant to exhaustively cover the scope of the discussion. This is unlike a more structured or standard questionnaire with a pre determined order and set of questions which tend to be rigid and narrow in scope. There was minimum interruption by the interviewer when the participant was discussing a subject at length. Some items were omitted from the schedule as in discussing a topic participants would cover other topics that were intended for the discussion subsequently. In addition, the questions changed progressively. As I held more interviews, new questions and areas of interest emerged that added value to my research. A sample of the final outlook of the schedule is contained in the appendix.

Observation

Visits were paid to some of the lecturers' residential places. The researcher spent a considerable amount of time engaging in informal discussions and observing what was going on in the lecturers' homes before settling down for the interviews. This was meant to gain an impression of the lecturers' lifestyles. Some challenges were again faced in this regard. I had anticipated catching the lecturers on vacation during the first half of my field work, thereby making it easier to set appointments with lecturers in their homes. Nevertheless, I struggled to find ways of conducting some interviews in the lecturers' homes. One way was to fix some appointments over weekend. Another was to pay them what seemed like an ordinary visit with someone known to them, then request for an interview later if they were free and comfortable.

2.3.3 Selection of respondents

Combined purposive and snow balling techniques were employed in selecting respondents in this study. Originally I had planned to employ the snow balling technique alone in getting my respondents. That is, an initial contact would lead me to the next respondent. The motivation behind choosing this method being that, it's still not very clear at the moment which staff is still in place and who have left? For this reason I found internal staff in a better position to lead me to their fellow staff members who they knew were still around. However I employed this technique for my initial respondents before I realised I was only capturing information from one category of staff. This was because the study population (U.Z lecturers) was not a homogeneous population but rather organised into some distinct groups, which I had not foreseen. These included a wide gap between the junior and senior lecturers that were of varying ages and working experience. There was also another category of part time lecturers who spent minimum time at the University and their employment conditions were unique. Again, staff in different departments was affected by the situation differently. So the snow balling technique was misleading me in that it was biased towards the inclusion of individuals with inter-relationships and common characteristics (in this case junior, inexperienced lecturers) whom I had first contacted while missing out on those who were not connected to this network. For this reason I had to mix snow balling and purposive selection of respondents in order to capture the complexity and diversity of the situation. This was done by deliberately targeting different faculties/departments; different categories of staff in terms of age, working experience and engagement terms. Purposive sampling entails identifying cases for certain characteristics in order to maximise variation (Gobo, 2004: 448).

2.3.4 Secondary data

Secondary data was obtained from relevant documents on U.Z. These included; previous researches carried out about U.Z; U.Z annual reports; portfo-

lio committee on higher education, science and technology report; online resources including the University's website. Reflection on this literature revealed a deficit of information on non migrant U.Z lecturers.

Chapter 3

Theoretical and Conceptual framework

This chapter explores the concept of decision making in the context of migration. A theory “is a perspective on events and always exists in the context of competing or rival theories”, while a conceptual framework is “a less well-developed explanation for events” (Vithal & Jansen 2004: 19) in which key concepts or principles are linked. Firstly, theories are discussed in search of answers for the reasons of non migration. Secondly, some individual factors that derive mainly from the literature on sociology of migration are also discussed. However, the focus of these theories and some of the individual factors is on emigrants. Thus, the assumption in this study is that, if literature on emigration is turned on its head, it could help to explain non migration. Thirdly, the useful concept of ‘life worlds’ which will help in analysing findings of this study will be explored.

3.1 Theoretical framework

Standard economic theories assume rational choice. The neoclassical theory centres on utility maximisation and wage differentials (Massey *et al.*, 2006: 17). At micro level, migration is a result of the individual decision to better their well being while at macro level it is mainly based on inequalities including; living/working conditions and employment opportunities between countries (Stalker, 2000: 131). Turned on its head, the theory implies that people do not migrate because they are living in a country where there are better living/working conditions and higher salaries than other countries. However, the first source of criticism for this theory derives from the very subject of the current research. That is, the theory does not explain why in some countries some people (in some cases many of them) do not move even though there are evident disparities in wages and levels of welfare. Also its apparent neglect of political and socio-cultural determinants creates a yawning gap in the theory. The New Economic Labour Migration (NELM) complements the neo-classical theory by shifting the decision making focus from individuals to include larger social units; in particular the whole family. Thus, migration decision becomes family not individual decisions. The household unit is not largely motivated by income maximisation but risk minimisation (Stark, 1991 in Goss & Lindquist, 1995: 326). That is, decision makers allocate labour in various activities and locations in order to diversify income sources and spread the risk associated with investment in a single activity and/or location (*ibid*). In relation to non migration this implies that some people may not migrate because other members of the family have already migrated. Nevertheless, the thrust of the theory like other standard economic theories remains economic in nature to the exclusion of non economic factors. Considerable work has also been done in the social network perspective for the study of international migration (Tilly 1990; Portes 1995; Massey *et al.*, 1999; Stalker, 2000). In his historical overview of immigration into United States Tilly (1990: 84) says “the effective units of mi-

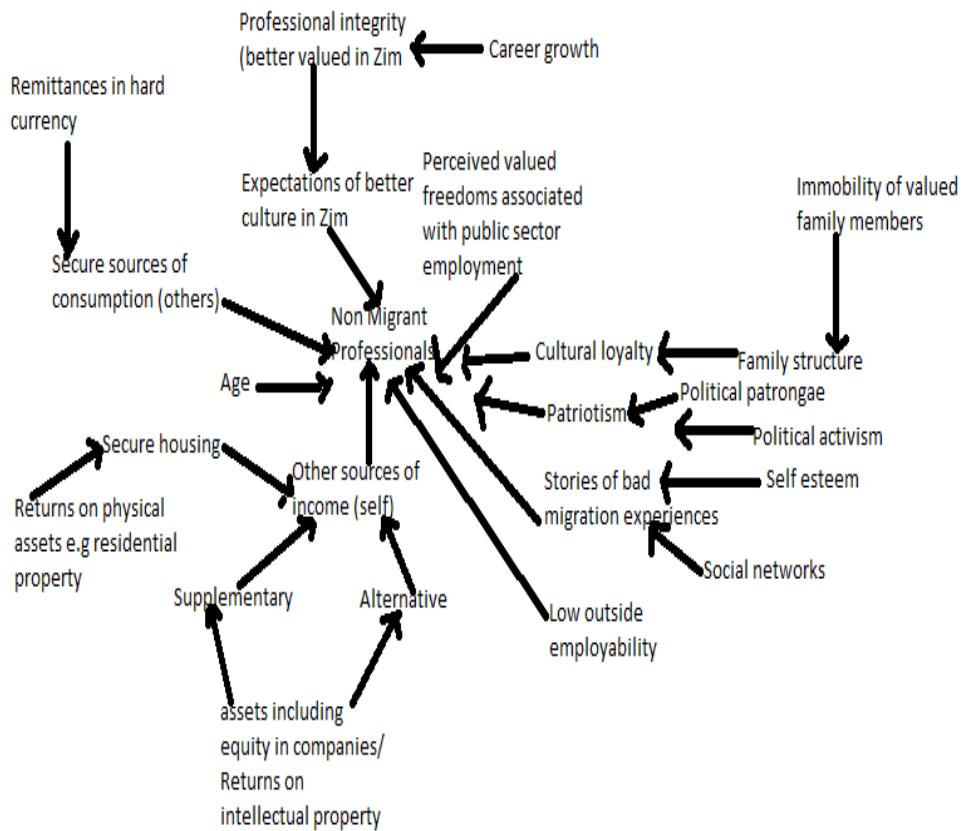
gration were (and are) neither individuals nor households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship and work experience". Networks connect migrants across time and space, reflecting establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending areas. Thus migration may fail to occur because there are no networks in the destination area to facilitate the movement and resettlement. Another theory is the push-pull. Rutten (2007: 21) argues that incentives to migrate typically involves a combination of push factors (unsatisfactory working or living conditions in the country of origin) and pull factors (attractive working or living conditions, availability of positions and active recruitment in the country of destination). This would explain non migration in terms of absence of push factors in the source country as well as absence of pull factors in the destination country.

A quick evaluation of the theories presented above, perhaps save for the social network theory indicate that economic factors whether at macro level (structural inequalities) or at micro level (individual optimizing behaviour) are largely viewed as the ones that influence the decision to migrate. Thus the theories offer general propositions on migration using a single strand of factors. Indeed the theories miss other equally important dimension like the political, cultural and demographic that may also influence migration decisions. To this end, Goss and Lindquist (1995: 325-326) advocate for an integrated approach that links different levels, processes and factors to produce a unified conceptual framework that provides a comprehensive view of the migration process. Likewise, this study proposes that a comprehensive explanation of migration issues need to adopt an eclectic approach.

3.2 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework in the current research is constituted by a number of topics identified by the researcher representing alternative variables that can explain migration decisions including; alternative sources of income; career growth; recognition and perceived freedoms; age and family ties; patriotism and political affiliation; as well as a proposed literature review of these topics. It is important to note that these topics have been derived from propositions in the theories of migration and the extensive literature on sociology of migration. This is meant to provide a comprehensive framework that could help to explain the situation of individual non migrant lecturers in a holistic manner. Such topics are represented in the mind map below. It is also important to note that the mind map is a mere random theorisation of possible factors that might help explain migration decisions. Therefore it is neither exhaustive nor does it show clear linkages/relationships between the different factors. Such more complete information can only come out in the analysis after field work. Rather the mind map is a mere guideline which helps to form the analytical framework for this study.

Map 1: Mind map of possible variables.



Source: Own construction (2010)

3.2.1 Alternative sources of income

The neoclassical assumption of profit maximisation views poor salary/wages as a strong push factor from the source country. However, it ought to be recognised that wage/salary earnings may only form part of the total financial income. “Researchers or scientists (highly skilled professionals) may attract income from a number of other sources: returns on financial assets, including equity-in companies for which they work and for which they do not; returns on physical assets, including residential property; and returns on intellectual property, including patents” (Hall, 2005: 941). Therefore, if these alternative sources of income constitute the better part of the total income, poor salaries alone may not be enough to motivate emigration.

3.2.2 Career growth

Career growth basically pertains to advancement of one’s skills and competencies thereby improving performance as well as current and future career positions. Career growth is closely related with features of the job, that is, if the

work environment enhances career growth then depending on an individual's career values they may be satisfied and decide to stay in their current position. Igbania (1991) noted that career orientation of employees can have important implications for their job satisfaction, commitment and retention within the organisation. This is particularly true if emigration may translate into a less career focused job or lower position than currently held.

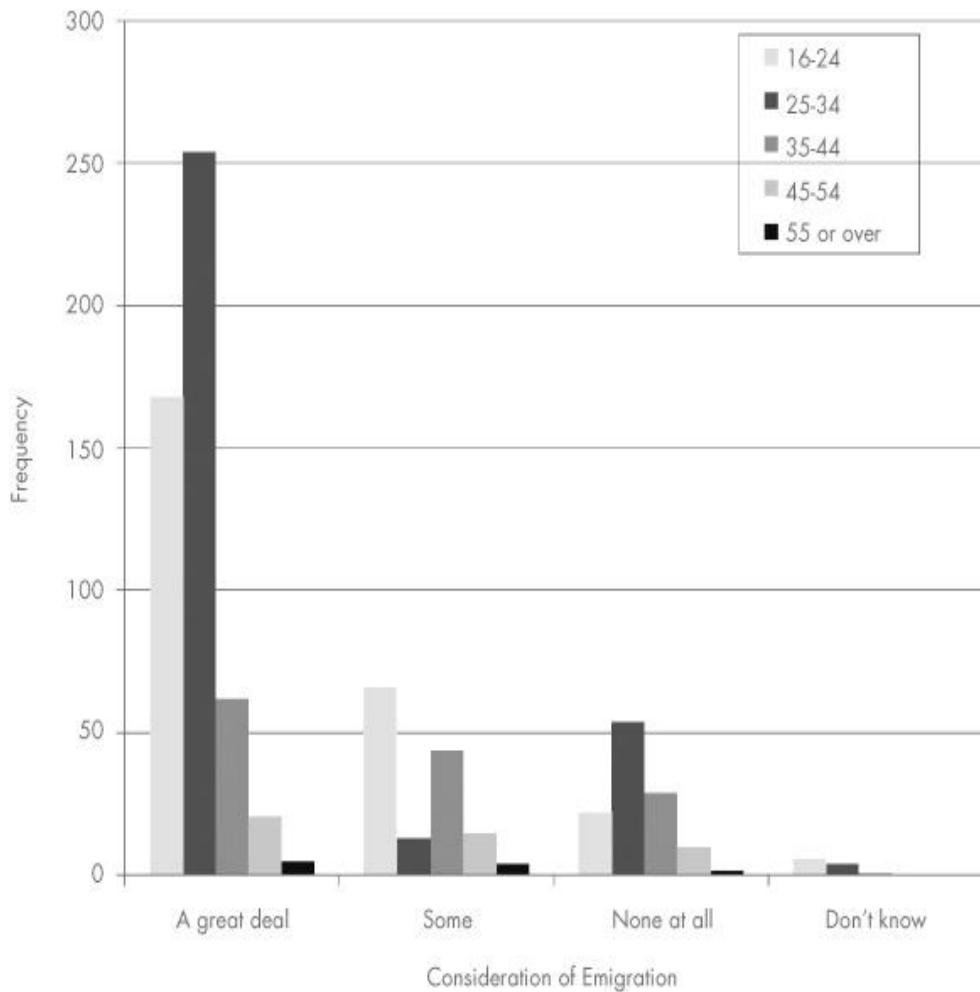
3.2.3 Recognition and perceived freedoms

Hall (2005: 940) observes that highly skilled professionals may still stay at home even though salaries are higher abroad if they feel they are more highly valued, relative to other professions, than they would be overseas. However, as their earnings fall towards the national average, the relativity argument becomes increasingly ineffective in preventing emigration-unless a similar trend is also observable overseas (*ibid*). Closely related to the above factor is the issue of perceived freedoms. Hall (2005: 941) point out that, 'Others would be discouraged from migrating if they perceived valued freedoms to be associated with public sector employment in S which they believed would be denied them by corporate employers in D'. Indeed this argument may hold water in the case of U.Z lecturers who are employed in the public sector and their migration abroad may not necessarily guarantee them of employment in the same sector.

3.2.4 Age and family ties

Age can also be used to explain migration or non migration. Younger age tend to be highly motivated and experience less complications in terms of choosing a trade off between benefits of migrating and the cost of leaving family and loved ones. Goss and Lindquist (1995: 328) note that "...prospects of adventure are particularly important to younger migrants... and that individual perception of relative deprivation rather than household consumption may motivate migration". Older adults usually apart from being responsible for overseeing extended family members also have their own families tend to be tied down by such responsibilities and discouraged from migrating. This is despite the economic benefits that come with migrating. Advancing age may also have an influence on changing preferences and needs. Tevera and Crush (2001: 7) in their survey also found out that, interest in emigration declines with age. This is well captured in the graph below.

Figure 1: Correlation between age and migration propensity.



Source: adopted from Tevera and Crush (2001).

Although the influence of age is very visible, the high level of dissatisfaction in Zimbabwe is depicted by the fact that the majority had given a serious thought on leaving in each age group. “In comparison with Zimbabwe’s 57 percent, only 33 percent of skilled people in Lesotho had given emigration a great deal of consideration, 31 percent had done so in South Africa and only 13 percent in Botswana” (Tevera & Crush, 2001: 7).

3.2.5 Patriotism and political affiliation

Schatz (1999) define patriotism as a “sense of positive identification with feelings of affective attachment to one’s country”. Patriotism is closely connected to nationalism which Colleman & Facer, (2002: 254) describe as meaning duty first before oneself. The two concepts are thus associated with the normative values of desire to serve public interest, loyalty to duty and commitment to the good welfare of the nation. Therefore although migration might bring with it immediate benefit to the individual, this might be outweighed by the overwhelming desire to serve the public interest, loyalty to duty, government and one’s country. Indeed these concepts could be applied

to U.Z lecturers who are public servants; implying their motive may be deriving more from desire to service the society than profit making.

In a related development, the Zimbabwean climate has become highly politicised over the past decade. Consequently, there have been accusations of elitist politics, rent seeking behaviour and patronage on the part of the state. Similarly, high profile members in the society who are aligned to political party or state functionaries have been purported to immensely benefit from patronage dividends. These include awarding of government tenders; getting employed in the parastatals; benefiting from government programs like the land reform and farming input scheme. Thus, the people who are aligned to the ruling elite and have been privileged to have access to these fringe benefits are likely to be less motivated to migrate. An attitudinal survey conducted in Zimbabwe in 2001 pursuant to the exodus of professionals, revealed enormous dissatisfaction with government among skilled Zimbabweans. Out of a sample of 738 professionals from various sectors only 11 percent of the respondents approved of the way government had conducted its business in the previous year while over 80 percent of skilled Zimbabweans felt they were being unfairly treated by the government (Tevera and Crush, 2001: 13).

On the other hand, political instability or violence has been perceived to correlate with out-migration of professionals. Getahun (2006: 261) explain in relation to Ethiopia during the 1970s that; traditionally Ethiopians had sought higher and tertiary education from United States and upon completion they were very keen to voluntarily return to their country and take up jobs in the public and private sectors. However, the ‘red’ and ‘white’ terrors in Ethiopia that claimed the lives of thousands of political activists and civilians saw an increasing number of Ethiopians opting to retain in the United States most of them as political refugees. “By 1990 the number of Ethiopians residing in the U.S grew to more than 33,000. Of these, some 28,000 were political refugees...they ranged from politically conscious yet illiterate peasants to high school students and university professors” (*ibid*).

A review of literature on migration reveals that although most theories address the economic, political factors seem to get the least consideration of all the other factors. Therefore it would be interesting to find out in this study if the political factors have played any role in the minds of the lecturers’ decisions to remain in the country. Indeed this is against a background where the context of the research (Zimbabwe) has been highly politicised over the period under review.

3.3 Life worlds

The concept of “life worlds” which is the world as given in immediate experience is central to the data collection, processing and analysis in this study. Schutz (1962: 248) observes that, subjective interpretation requires that social scientific accounts treat social actors as conscious beings whose activities have meaning for them and others. The life world concept is very much associated with the works of Norman Long who argues a case for an actor oriented analysis (Leeuwis *et al.*, 1990: 19-27). Long’s actor oriented perspective stresses on

human agency and the concept of multiple knowledge networks. Therefore, the central purpose of actor oriented methodologies are to clarify how actors attempt to create space for their own 'projects' and to determine which elements contribute to or impede the successful creation of such space for manoeuvre (*ibid*). Habermas (1984, 1987) defines 'life world' as a system of values and experiences that defines choices and ways of acting (Kozoll *et al.*, 2004: 258).

In this study, the subjective personal experiences and perceptions of the non migrant U.Z lecturers were sought. The lecturers, stories focused on their thoughts, feelings and perceptions about the subject of the study within their given circumstances. The study attempted to capture the values, interests, motivations and aspirations of the studied population. The ultimate idea was to capture the lives of the lecturers in totality bringing together all the factors whether economic, social, demographic, political, or professional that holds the lecturers in their position and understanding why they find themselves in this situation. Thus some multiple labels describing individuals or groups of individuals were established.

Chapter 4

Contextual background

4.0 Zimbabwe: macro socio-economic and political situation

This chapter provides a more detailed account of the macro socio-economic and political situation prevailing in Zimbabwe and at the U.Z, over the past decade as briefly alluded to in chapter one. This will help to situate the current study. The table below provides an overview of the performance of some key socio-economic and political indicators of the country over the past decade. Generally all the indicators in the table show a downward trend signalling a deteriorating situation. Some of the factors are discussed at length subsequently.

Table 1: Zimbabwe's economic performance (1999 – 2008)

Year	GDP		GDP per capita	Annual Inflation	CPI	Political environment	envi-
	US\$ billions	% Growth		%		Political Rights (PR) ⁴	Civil Liberties
1980-1998	7.0	3.9	740.4	20.5		4.7	5
1999	6.0	-3.6	508	56.9		5	5
2000	5.7	-7.3	489	55.2		6	5
2001	5.7	-2.7	490	112.1		6	5
2002	5.6	-4.4	478	198.9	2.7	6	6
2003	5.1	-10.4	433	598.7	2.3	6	6
2004	5.0	-3.6	430	132.7	2.3	6	6
2005	5.0	-4.0	427	585.8	2.6	7	6
2006	4.9	-5.4	417	1,281.1	2.4	7	6
2007	4.7	-6.1	403	108,844.1	2.1	7	6
2008	3.2	-14.1	< 402	489,000,000,000	1.8	7	6

Source: IMF, World Economic Outlook database and IMF (2009) for 2008 figures

⁴ Political Rights (PL) and Civil Liberties (CL) are measured on a one- to- seven scale, with one representing the highest degree of Freedom and seven the lowest.

4.1 Socio- economic environment

The socio-economic environment has been characterised by ills like: economic recession; hyperinflation; rising poverty; lack of maintenance and investment in physical infrastructure; diminishing government capacity to offer public services like health, education, water and sanitation; and exodus of skilled labour into the region and wider international community among others.

4.1.1 *Economic growth performance*

Zimbabwe has faced an economic decline that became pronounced in the late 1990s, and accelerated after 2000 reaching rock bottom around 2008 when the economy was faced with total collapse. The country's gross domestic product [GDP] has been contracting over the same period. Zimbabwe's per capita income in 2006 was US\$2, 437 signifying a drop of more than 23% since 1998 (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 2007: 5). However, the GDP per capita remains above the median for low- income sub-Saharan African countries which stands at US\$1, 172 and the income level in Zambia (US\$1, 083), but far below the level in South Africa which is US\$12, 796 (*ibid*). USAID (2007: 5) attributes the economic crisis to economic mismanagement, poor governance, and loss of support from the international community, all compounded by periods of drought. Other sources attribute the economic decline to a sharp drop in output from the key economic sectors; agriculture, manufacturing and tourism (ZNPAWG, 2006: 3).

It is important to note that the adoption of a multi- currency regime among other stop gap economic measures has contributed to improved performance in the economy. "As a result real GDP is estimated to have expanded by 4 percent in 2009, for the first time after 10years of consecutive negative growth, succeeding a 14 percent contraction in the previous year." (Food and Agriculture Organisation [FAO]/World Food Programme [WFP], 2010: 7). However, liquidity crisis in the economy, low capital inflows among other challenges still affect the country's competitiveness and international investment position thereby hampering further economic improvement.

4.1.2 *Hyper-inflation*

Hyper-inflation has wrecked havoc in the Zimbabwean economy for the past decade. Inflation rose from a double digit figure in 2001 to reach a peak of 623 percent by January 2004 on official figures (Andrews & Morgan, 2005: 21) with unofficial estimates way higher than the official figures. The ripple effects were felt in form of skyrocketing prices of food and other basic commodities. Coupled with this was the erosion of real wages of workers. For the period July 2006 to July 2007 the official foreign exchange rate was Z\$250 to one US\$, but over the same period the black market rate rose from Z\$650 per U.S. dollar to a range of Z\$150,000 to Z\$300,000 (USAID, 2007: 27). The hyperinflation coupled with artificial foreign exchange rates led to rampant parallel market activities. All the foreign exchange transactions were being carried out on the parallel market; including remittances from migrants in the diaspora were being channelled through the parallel market. As the local currency continued

to lose its value due to inflation, the population lost confidence in the currency and all transactions were being unofficially carried out in foreign currency which was largely sought from the parallel market. The hyperinflation was officially set at 231 million percent in January 2009 (UZ-IUC, 2009: 20). This was the peak, after which the local currency was abandoned opting for the use of multiple foreign currencies in the official system.

Although the adoption of foreign currencies as legal tender has significantly reduced inflation, the shortage of foreign currency and the use of the little available foreign currency to import goods could re ignite inflation.

4.2.3 Poverty

The declining per capita income, hyperinflation, and high unemployment among other economic ills resulted in poverty becoming widespread in the country. However, poor quality of data and the fast deepening crisis makes it difficult to accurately measure the poverty levels. The 2003 Poverty Assessment in the country estimated that 72 percent of the population fell below the poverty line defined in terms of total consumption. The proportion below the poverty line had roughly trebled in 12 years. An urban vulnerability assessment in September 2003 found that in the high-density areas where the majority of Zimbabwe's urban people live, 77 percent of households were poor (UNDP, 2007). "This figure included 57 percent deemed to be "very poor", meaning that they could not afford to buy enough food, much less anything else" (*ibid*).

Food shortages also became rampant in the country. The crisis was worsened by price controls instituted in June 2007 which forced food suppliers and processors to sell their commodities at unviable prices (USAID, 2007: 8). This forced many players to reduce production and many others out of business, thereby exacerbating the food crisis.

4.2.4 Economic infrastructure

Zimbabwe once had some of the best physical infrastructure in the Southern Africa region but the standard of the infrastructure has been going down due to poor maintenance and lack of investment. The current state of the infrastructure has become an impediment to investment and reduced the country's competitiveness. The World Economic Forum downgraded Zimbabwe's railroad rating from 3.4 in 2002 to 2.7 in 2006 (USAID, 2007: 320) signifying a deterioration in the state of the infrastructure. The electricity infrastructure has also rapidly declined in quality. Some of the power generating turbines in the country's main source of supply and some transmission gadgets in the distribution system have since become obsolete. Lack of foreign currency to purchase new modern equipment and spares has hampered efforts to resuscitate the power supply system and make it operate at full capacity. Consequently, the country has experienced an acute power shortage and has resorted to power cuts/load shedding. This has negatively impacted on industrial, commercial and domestic users.

4.2.5 Health

The recent 2008 cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe that claimed numerous victims could be testimony to the country's poor state of the health system. At the height of the crisis in early 2009, a significant number of the health facilities had closed down while other existing facilities were non-functioning, which caused deterioration in health care. Life expectancy was reported to have dropped from 62 years in 1990 to 37 years for men and 34 for women as a result of a weak health system, poor nutrition, and HIV and AIDS (UZ-IUC, 2009: 22). While access to improved water and sanitation are crucial determinants of health outcomes, the Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey [ZDHS], (2005-6: 20) revealed that only 42 percent of Zimbabwe's population had access to improved sanitation. 75.8 percent of Zimbabweans had access to an improved water source over the same period (*ibid*). It is important to note that, the 2005 estimates signify a decline from 2002 when 57 percent of the population had access to improved sanitation and 83 percent had access to clean water.

4.2.6 Education

Investment in human capital through education is a pre-requisite for development. Zimbabwe has always boasted of one of the best education systems on the continent. The country still records some impressive statistics on most of the indicators in this regard like literacy levels, and school enrolment rates despite the prevailing political and economic climate. However, currently the education system has suffered some serious setbacks as summed up in the UZ-IUC (2009: 21) partner program report that: "many rural and urban schools are currently closed, while those that are open are under resourced, with many buildings irreparable; records are not digitised and available records are unusable, which makes reconstruction and development challenging; it is not clear how many schools are open or closed, and how many teachers are still in the system". The new minister of education projected that a budget of US\$1 billion per year is required for the next couple of years to get the education system back on track (*ibid*). However, the government's budget of US\$73 million in the 2009 budget reflects the extent of the government's constraint in funding the education sector.

4.2.7 Population

United Nations Development Program [UNDP] estimates the total number of Zimbabweans in the diaspora at over 3 million, while Zimbabwe Statistical Office [ZIMSTAT] accepts a low figure of 350 000 as out-migrants since 2002 (FAO/WFP, 2010: 6). "It is, therefore conceivable that since 2002 the total number of emigrants has been significant; however, there are no reliable statistics available to accurately estimate this figure, with several different sources providing a wide range of estimates and no official census to verify the figures" (*ibid*). USAID (2007: 12) postulate that, Zimbabwe's low population growth rate reflects among other things high mortality rates from HIV/AIDS,

as well as an exodus to neighbouring South Africa, Botswana and other countries to flee the oppressive political regime and economic collapse.

4.3 Political environment

Zimbabwe's political environment over the past decade has been tense, characterised by growing intolerance; rising incidence of politically motivated violence and intimidation around election periods; restrictions on people's freedoms and liberties; restrictions on press freedom among others.

4.3.1 Opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

Since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's political landscape had been dominated by a single political party (ZANU PF). The MDC emerged a strong contending opposition party in 1999. During the land mark 2000 parliamentary elections the MDC claimed a significant share of the territory previously controlled by the ruling ZANU PF. The MDC garnered 57 seats of the contested 120 seats in the House of Assembly while the ruling party won 62. This was historic and changed the complexion of the political scene by introducing fierce competition between the two major political parties namely; ZANU PF and MDC.

4.3.2 Electoral environment

The parliamentary election of 2000 and the presidential election in 2002 were highly contested. There were accusations and counter-accusations mainly between ZANU PF and MDC political parties. The opposition MDC claimed that the whole process was flawed and marred by violence and intimidation against their party and its supporters. The pre and post election violence resulted in a number of Zimbabweans seeking political asylum in neighbouring countries and abroad (IOM, 2009: 2). The following general elections held in 2005 can be described as having been relatively peaceful. Indeed Andrews and Morgan (2005: 26) noted that, "Commentators agree that there was much less evidence of violence during the 2005 election campaign than in the run-up to the June 2000 parliamentary election and the presidential election in March 2002". However, some activists in the opposition and human rights groups claimed that the level of intimidation was still high. The political climate has remained tense and polarised with violence and intimidation inherently characteristic of election periods. More recently, during the period leading up to the June 27, 2008, run off in the presidential election violence intensified causing a further significant number of Zimbabweans to want to leave the country (IOM, 2009: 2). The elections were widely condemned by the international community including regional bodies resulting in a negotiated settlement that saw the formation of the government of national unity in 2009.

4.3.3 Political patronage

The ruling ZANU PF party and some self interest groups aligned to it were accused of practising elitist and patronage politics (Makochekanwa, 2009;

Zimbabwe National Students Union [ZINASU], 2008). For instance, Makochekanwa, (2009: 14) claims that the country's land reform program benefited war veterans, ZANU PF politicians and their relatives. The same author claims that even the agriculture enhancement schemes: farm mechanisation and input schemes were also exclusively for ZANU PF politicians and their relatives. The same was reported to apply to mining rights. Makochekanwa (2009: 14) concluded that, "Both fiscal and monetary policies have been designed and implemented to buttress the then elite politicians who were in government and other public officials, and not for the good of majority citizens".

4.3.4 Freedom of speech, association and assembly

The government enacted the Public Order and Security Act [POSA] before the June 2002 presidential elections which criminalised for example; criticism of the person or office of the president; publication of a false statement that prejudice or intends to prejudice the country's defence or economic interests; and the holding of public gathering without giving the police four days' notice (Andrews & Morgan, 2005: 14). The Act also gave the police extensive powers to regulate and control any public gatherings, including banning or breaking up meetings that are deemed to endanger public order (Human Rights Watch, 2005: 26). ZINASU (2008: 4) reported that state had intensified its repression on students after labelling students as supporters of the opposition political party and enemies of the state seeking to depose the government and effecting regime change. ZINASU noted that the state had become ruthless in thwarting student's dissent; using teargas and water canons to quash demonstrations; arresting and brutally torturing students in police and army holding cells; suspending and unlawfully expelling student activists. "In 2006 alone 1 340 students were subjected to unlawful arrest and detention, 402 students were severely tortured, 29 students were suspended without a disciplinary hearing, 11 were subjected to death threats. It is also noted that all these students were also discriminated against on political grounds" (ZINASU, 2008: 5). Similarly, the Human Rights Watch (2005: 26) commented:

"Since 2002, laws such as POSA and the Miscellaneous Offences Act (MOA) have been consistently used by the Mugabe government to deny access to the opposition and civil society activists to freely assemble, and associate, and express political opinions (or even apolitical statements and activities). For instance, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights reported that, in 2004, 950 human rights defenders were arrested under POSA and MOA."

4.3.5 Freedom of media

The government again before the 2002 presidential election promulgated the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act [AIPPA] which required all news organisations (both new and existing) to apply to the government appointed Media and Information Commission (MIC) for licenses to operate. Consequently, Andrews and Morgan (2005: 15) note that a large number of Zimbabwean journalists were denied registration and thus could not work

legally, while many others lost their jobs due to enforced newspaper closures. An amendment to AIPPA passed through parliament in 2005 which provided for a maximum two year prison sentence for practising without accreditation from MIC; maintaining the commission's power over journalists and media houses. A typical example is that of Zimbabwe's the then only independent daily newspaper, the 'Daily News' which was closed down by MIC in 2003 after publishing without accreditation from the commission despite several court rulings ordering the paper to be published.

4.4 Status of the University of Zimbabwe

The University traditionally got the bulk of its funding for both recurrent and capital budgets from government. Therefore, the institution was able to focus on its core business of teaching, research and service (Jongwe, 2007: 2). However, owing to the diminished government capacity to fund among other factors, the situation obtaining at the institution has changed.

4.4.1 Political profile

The university students and academic staff were instrumental in opposing the one- party state project of the ruling party, ZANU PF, in the mid-1980s. Gaidzanwa (2007: 68) note that the project was shelved "but the rift created by the issue grew in response to growing authoritarianism by government". The government enacted two pieces of legislation; U.Z Amendment Act and the National Council for Higher Education Act in 1991 which increased state authority over the university. For instance, the chancellor (president of Zimbabwe) acquired new powers to appoint the vice chancellor after consulting relevant stakeholders. In 1991, the then vice chancellor professor Kamba announced his intention to retire citing what he termed "...unprofessional fingers interfering in the affairs of the university" (Gaidzanwa, 2007: 69). This announcement signalled open conflict between the state and the university with the new vice chancellor later appointed viewed as a party functionary with no higher education interest or experience (*ibid*).

4.4.2 Exodus of workers and economic crisis

As the country's economic woes accelerated in the post 2000 era, the conditions of employment continued to deteriorate at U.Z. Salaries which were being paid in local currency were fast eroded by hyperinflation. Gaidzanwa (2007: 71) noted that, "Academic work is poorly remunerated at U.Z. The wages are very low, currently at approximately US\$50 per month at the professorial levels..." The situation was being compounded by the artificial foreign exchange rate fixed by the government. These and other previously highlighted factors resulted in the demoralisation and consequent exodus of academic staff. A significant number of staff left for the region and beyond in search of better conditions and living standards. Most staff leaving on

sabbatical leave went for good. Seminar activity dropped while staff loyalty waned (Gaidzanwa, 2007: 69).

“This resulted in U.Z’s transformation from being an institution with a strong intellectual culture to the present situation of an institution dominated by junior, often inexperienced academic staff” (*ibid*).

The university had a total vacancy rate of 31 percent by mid 2006. During the same year academic staff went on strike demanding higher wages and better working conditions. The university also advertised for 120 vacant posts in the Sunday Mail in February 2008. The worst affected faculty was Medicine requiring 18 lecturers (UZ-IUC, 2009: 25). The university once again closed for lectures in February 2009 owing to multiple factors, among them failure by students to pay tuition fees which was now being charged in foreign currency. According to a 2009 report by the country’s Portfolio Committee on Higher Education, Science and Technology; the university is suffering a severe shortage of academic staff as a result of the brain drain, with science departments the worst affected. The table below gives a full outline of the statistics of the science departments at U.Z.

Table 2: Statistics of staff compliment in U.Z science departments

Faculty	Establishment	Lecturers on duty
Engineering	18	4
Metallurgy	13	0
Mining Engineering	8	1
Geo-informatics	10	1
Anatomy	10	2
Anaesthetic	16	2
Clinical pharmacology	11	0
Community medicines	18	5
Haematology	8	2
Medicine	26	8
Psychiatry	16	3
Computer science	13	3
Statistics	11	1
Vet Science	13	1

Source: Adopted from the Portfolio Committee on Higher Education, Science and Technology Report, 2010: 2-3

4.4.3 The physical environment

Authorities have struggled with maintaining the surroundings up to standard. At the height of the crisis, the U.Z physical environment was characterised by litter all over the place with grass growing everywhere including in paths.

Shortage of teaching accessories, degradation of buildings and lecture rooms became part of normal life. There were no normal cleaning services owing to lack of funds such that staff sometimes resorted to cleaning their offices personally if they consider them too dirty. All this, "...undermines the pleasure derived from the research, teaching and learning experiences" (Gaidzanwa, 2007: 70). Power cuts resulted in staff members knocking off early even if they had wanted to stay longer in their offices.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Analysis of Findings

Based on empirical data collected from the field, this chapter explores the personal experiences of U.Z lecturers. A brief profile of the biographical information of participants who took part in the study will be provided initially followed by an analysis of testimonies reported by the participants. Relevant conclusions are made thereafter.

5.0 Biographical information of participants

The study consisted of 30 participants. These participants were drawn from different levels and departments within U.Z. Table below highlight the participant composition of the sample which took part in the study.

Table 3: Participant composition of the sample

Category	Terms of Engagement	Years of experience with U.Z	Sex	Number of Participants
Senior Lecturer	Full-time	≤17years	Male	6
Senior Lecturer	Full-time	≤17years	Female	2
Junior Lecturer	Full-time	≥10years	Male	12
Junior Lecturer	Full-time	≥10years	Female	6
	Part-time	≥10years	Male	2
	Part-time	≥10years	Female	2

Source: Own construction (2010)

It emerged from the findings that a combination of political, economic, social, professional and demographic factors played a role in the minds of U.Z faculty to stay in the country. However political allegiances seem to have played a pivotal role particularly for the senior lecturers. Therefore, other factors particularly economic factors and to some extend cultural factors became subordinated or patterned along political lines. This produced three fundamental categories of staff: 1) Loyalists- who can easily be described as pro government and thrived on the current administration (ZANU PF)

particularly before the formation of the unity government; 2) Protestors- basically anti government and in most cases pro opposition (MDC) who were engaged in activism and 3) Neutrals- those who were not aligned to political parties but simply endeavour to earn a living as well as sustain their professional careers. The ensuing discussion will consider these categories.

5.1 'Loyal' lecturers

Basically thrived by riding on the ruling party/government system including; getting government consultancies; parastatal jobs and benefiting from other government programs like the land reform and indigenisation. They spoke positively about the government and believed as patriotic citizens, they had a duty to prop up government policies and programs for the good of the nation.

5.1.1 Patriotism

The rallying point for this category of staff emerged as patriotism. Patriotism may be taken to mean love and devotion to the welfare of one's country. However, it is important to note that the term patriotism may carry different meanings overtime and across philosophies. Summed up, the definition of patriotism given by staff members in this category entails the following key concepts: unconditional pride and love for the country; national loyalty; support of the government's endeavours; and defence of the country's heritage. Therefore, these lecturers explained their remaining in the country and at the institution in terms of patriotism. For instance one senior lecturer had to give an example;

“My friend, can you imagine feeding the kids on next door when your own kids are starving? That is an untenable situation, I cannot imagine that. Right now, as we speak we still have some courses that have been dispensed in the institution because there is no qualified staff to deliver the courses but to my surprise we have the same courses being taught by qualified Zimbabweans in universities outside the country” (Respondent 18, 2010).

By this example, the lecturer was implying that he remained at U.Z to provide an essential service which was required in their own country. By opting to 'feed own kids' as opposed to 'kids on the next door', the lecturer implies that they had the capacity to work in foreign countries, but they simply could not do so as his own country was in desperate need of his services. Further probed about the possibility of a higher income outside Zimbabwe, the lecturer maintained that it was too selfish to be entirely driven by this fact. He went on to describe his fellow colleagues who had left the country as not having failed to survive in Zimbabwe, but as motivated by greed, that is, insatiable desire to accumulate more. Therefore, despite the fact that a move outside the country would most likely have been associated with better income, the lecturer in this case was sacrificing personal benefit for the sake of public good. If this is anything to go by, it demonstrates a patriotic feeling and love for the welfare of one's country.

Another senior lecturer with the School of Medicine reported that their motive was to impart the specialised skills they had to others and contribute to the reproduction of labour so that the country does not collapse.

“...with the health delivery system in this ailing state, as if that’s not enough we kill the medical profession. My friend what kind of a generation are you going to have?” (Respondent 20, 2010).

Indeed, many of the responses given by particularly senior lecturers in this category as shall be discussed subsequently under this section had their roots in patriotism, at least according to the impression painted by the lecturers themselves. Three junior lecturers spoke so passionately about their patriotic duty. Two of them had been promoted to positions of chairmen in their respective departments.

5.1.2 Multiple occupations

It clearly emerged that lecturers in this category were extensively engaged in other occupations and activities apart from their usual teaching and research routines. Some senior lecturers reported that they were regularly involved in consultancy work for government ministries and departments ranging from agriculture, labour, and justice to health departments. The researcher also learnt that some two senior lecturers happen to sit on boards of government parastatals namely; Zimpapers and Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe. These lecturers reported that their involvement with government institutions was motivated by their desire to serve the nation. They further indicated that this was particularly against a background where massive exodus of skills had created labour shortage in the government. However, this reported value by the senior lecturers was difficult to ascertain. This is because their engagement with various government institutions was associated with significant material benefits raising questions as to what their real interests were. Four senior lecturers reported that they were also into commercial farming after benefiting from the government’s land reform program. These lecturers hailed the government for the noble program of empowering indigenous people. The lecturers testified that they were allocated medium scale commercial farms, and received government support in form of farming equipment and inputs. This they said, left them with no excuse for championing the national cause of boosting agriculture productivity on farms and revive the national economy. The acquisition of pieces of commercial land as well as huge moveable farm equipment added to the asset base of these lecturers making them better off on the economic front. Thus, the concern about patronage dividends (Makochekanwa, 2009) raised in the literature can be reflected here. In a related development (Respondent 21, 2010) who is in the Agricultural Engineering-Soil Science department reported that he is doing well as he is taking advantage of the land reform program to innovate some intermediate technology which is suitable for the newly created category of medium scale farmers. He is doing consultancies for government departments like Agriculture; Irrigation and farm mechanisation; as well as NGOs that are into agro-business. He said he was enjoying free labour in form of final year students doing their research and free expensive equipment found in the U.Z workshops which he otherwise would not afford as an individual.

Reinforcing the above factors were the flexible labour regulations in Zimbabwe which enables one to practice in multiple occupations or pursue different interests. One lecturer though engaged on a part time with U.Z hold three portfolios: senior civil servant with a government's ministry of labour; teaching a course in industrial relations at U.Z; and reported that they are also into serious farming after benefiting from the government's land reform program. Most senior lecturers who are in similar situations agreed that this was impossible in foreign countries where one is restricted to practice in a single profession that they initially registered for when they applied for the work permit. "...in USA and Canada where I trained if you are registered as a lecturer, make sure you stick to that and nothing else" (Respondent 21, 2010). The lecturer further argues that this limits one's horizon as you are denied the opportunity to explore your full potential.

However, the situation was slightly different for the junior lecturers as they reported having less alternative occupations to engage in apart from their teaching and U.Z research related duties. The three junior lecturers in this category reported that they were occasionally called in by senior lecturers that get tenders to occupy assistant roles. Duties included administering of questionnaires and data transcription among others. Further probing revealed that these junior lecturers held similar ideological positions to the seniors who invite them.

5.1.3 Job features

Senior lecturers said they cherished the autonomy they enjoy in their work and also the flexibility of the working schedule. This they argued makes their planning easier and also gives them room to juggle multiple tasks including non U.Z business. In relation to this (Respondent 23, 2010) had this to say,

"Oh yes you are able to accomplish your teaching, research, publication, consultancy and other tasks if you plan and schedule your work well...You do not expect anyone to police you day in and day out. What they just want at the end of the day is to see the set targets achieved."

Indeed most of the lecturers reported that apart from delivering lectures most of their work was very flexible and could be tailor made to suite an individual 's needs. As such the lecturers could find time to attend board meetings, carry out consultancies or visit their farms.

Interestingly, the junior lecturers in this category valued more the opportunities for career growth offered by their university job than the flexibility of the job. This was particularly true of two junior lecturers who were so upbeat about their recent promotions. The two had risen to positions of chairmen in their respective departments and they claimed that, "...for dedicated nationals committed to their profession, the sky is the limit" (Respondent 6, 2010). However, some protesting senior lecturers complained that political interference with the university administration had resulted in promotion of junior or at least lower ranking lecturers on non meritocratic basis. They claimed some junior lecturers with little academic accomplishments and teaching experience was simply preferred ahead of the seniors on promotion because of their loy-

alty to the government bureaucracy. The lecturers emphasised that although they were not jealous, this scenario was frustrating to them as they have had to be led by inexperienced people who often make glaring mistakes and are least prepared to listen to advice.

5.1.4 Culture

Loyalty to the Zimbabwean culture was one prominent issue linked to patriotism raised by all the senior and junior lecturers in this category. There was a general understanding that culture describes the very fabric of the Zimbabwean society and a common agreement on the components of the entire socio-cultural system. Three senior lecturers stated that they had had their professional training in Europe and America while one came through the local ranks. All had visited abroad during contact or sabbatical leave. As a result the lecturers claimed to have knowledge of both worlds and reported having a preference for the Zimbabwean culture and social life. One of the senior lecturers lamenting the social conditions associated with foreign life said;

“...there is more to it than just the economic gain. Some of these guys will pay in future as a result of the social stress they undergo in these foreign communities” (Respondent 18, 2010).

The lecturer was emphasising the fact that life abroad was socially stressful, yet many still migrate for purely economic reasons. Even the junior lecturers reported that they were at home with the Zimbabwean way of life although they did not have much experience about the foreign versions save for reports they get through various channels. One junior lecturer quickly pointed out that, it does not imply that those who migrated out of the country felt any less about the local culture, but could simply mean that they had some overriding needs, like fending for the family.

5.1.5 Family ties

The general feeling among lecturers in this category was that a patriotic citizen should be seen respecting the cultural institutions and values of the society. One such respected institution was the extended family. One senior lecturer in the department of sociology described the Zimbabwean society as known to be down to earth and family oriented. All the senior lecturers in this category reported that they had some family obligations in Zimbabwe which discouraged them from moving out of the country, hence their remaining with the institution. In particular they mentioned that they were either figure heads or some pillar of strength to their extended families. So they would rather be around to provide on top of economic; social, emotional, and morale support to their families than simply migrate for some economic gain while abandoning these responsibilities. A senior lecturer describing herself as the pillar of strength to her family summed it all by saying;

“...Well I suppose it all varies with an individual’s values and specific cases. In my case notwithstanding the economic difficulties I find the need to keep the family together and provide support to each other overriding...” (Respondent 22, 2010).

She went on to describe her social roles as an aunt in the extended family. Another senior lecturer mentioned that migrating out of the country would have disturbed his children’s educational career because they are used to the Zimbabwean education system as well as his wife’s professional career who is a lecturer in a technical college. Similarly, the junior lecturers also raised some family ties issues as creating social obligations on their part. Although the family obligations of junior lecturers were lesser than those of senior lecturers the former reported that family obligations were still considered in making migration decisions. In particular, two of the three junior lecturers highlighted their recent marriages as good enough a reason for them to stick around as they consider it too early to leave their spouses alone. This showed the significance of affection or emotional bonding which has to be protected which in turn could symbolise some held cultural values.

5.1.6 Age

Age was also given as a reason for remaining settled in the country as opposed to migrating. Most of the senior lecturers reported they were at an advanced adult age and they did not consider the hassle of relocating wise and worth while as they were already preparing for their retirement. This was contrary to junior lecturers who reported that age was still on their side, therefore the decision not to move out of the current job and country was a function of other factors not age. It came out that advancing age intersected with family ties. A senior who flirted with the idea of migrating at the height of the crisis had this to say:

“Sometime in 2007-8 yes I contemplated moving out, but I had my own serious reservations. You know, my mother is here and I’m the eldest daughter, so I have to be around and look after her. Considering my age also I said to myself; who would want to employ someone over 60years?” (Respondent 27, 2010).

In addition, it emerged that age had a direct correlation with asset base. By virtue of older age, senior lecturers were privileged to have worked for the university whilst the profession was still highly rewarding in a stable economy. As such they had managed to make investments particularly in physical properties, whose returns were now cushioning them during the current difficult times. For instance, all the senior lecturers interviewed own at least a residential property in some medium-low density suburbs of the country with some owning more than one property. Extra properties then serve as sources of income.

However, this situation was different for the junior lecturers who all reported that they did not own any meaningful/big assets. This was largely because they have few years of working. Above that they were also unfortunate

to have entered the employment sector when the profession was getting less and less rewarding financially due to the economic decline facing the country.

5.1.7 Recognition of status

Recognition of status in the local society also came out as factor for the retention of some senior lecturers. This was particularly true of those whose names had become household brands on the local scene. They reported that the respect they receive from the Zimbabwean society was a source of satisfaction and oblige them to continue serving their society. However, the lecturers were quick to say that the respect was mutual as they also respect the community they work with. There was fear that this respect and fame could be lost by moving into new and foreign territory. One senior lecturer who was due for his sabbatical had received offers both locally and abroad. He turned down all the foreign offers and opted for the local offers.

“Actually I have offers to go and teach in USA, Swaziland, Namibia and South Africa during my next sabbatical leave which is due in two months time but I’m not taking any I will be here” (Respondent 15, 2010).

Asked why he wouldn’t take the offers abroad he cited that he was “...happy to be around” (Respondent 15, 2010). One famous professor who is a gynaecologist with the medical school and also practice in the private and public sectors said, “...it feels good giving back to society, and it feels great working amongst your own people” (Respondent 20, 2010). The professor was literally alluding to the recognition and respect they command in their society of which a move into foreign society could easily lead to some loss of fame.

5.2 ‘Protesting’ lecturers

This is a group that stayed because they want to effect democratisation in Zimbabwe. They complained bitterly about the way ZANU PF has purportedly run down the institution and the country while limiting people’s freedoms. They therefore viewed U.Z as a suitable workplace that permit them to pursue their interest without curtailing their freedom of expression and association and defined themselves as people engaged in building a better future for their country.

5.2.1 Patriotism

Interestingly this category of lecturers though definitely coming from a rather different angle from the former also purported to be largely driven by patriotic feelings. Hence, the logic of their situation and the activities they engage are justified in the name of patriotism. What sets them apart from the loyal lectur-

ers is their definition and understanding of patriotism. Whilst loyalists would view patriotism as unconditional love for the country and loyalty to government programs; this category of lecturers appeared more critical of the government programs and the way business is conducted. For instance, two senior lecturers submitted that while they were proud to be Zimbabwean and prepared to work for the good of the institution, they had serious reservations with the way the institution is administered. One cited that the institution had become "...an extension of bureaucracy in town" (Respondent 14, 2010). By this they meant that the government which has become subservient to politicians was interfering too much in the administrative affairs of the university. This they claim had resulted in patronage whereby inappropriate candidates were rewarded with posts at the university on political grounds at the expense of the academic performance of the institution. Therefore as academics at heart they took it upon themselves to fight against such malpractices and preserve the image of the institution. Indeed, other lecturers in this category concurred that patriotism does not mean 'unconditional love' for the country even if the country is not following its national ideals. In addition, one of the outspoken lecturers said "...national loyalty should be understood differently from loyalty to misgovernance and self serving politicians" (Respondent 13, 2010). Here, the lecturer was implying that his opposition to the government's way of doing business does not constitute lack of patriotism. The protesting lecturers charged that their loyal counterparts equated patriotism to supporting ZANU PF programs and policies.

5.2.2 Consultancies

The senior lecturers in this category were extensively involved in consultancy work with NGOs that are into governance, democracy, human rights and constitutional issues. Some of them have literally become permanent household names in some of these organisations as has become the case with one lecturer who works with the National Constitutional Assembly [NCA] which advocate for the crafting of a new people driven national constitution as opposed to the current purportedly flawed negotiated constitution. The involvement of these lecturers with organisations of this nature resonates well with their stand point, which is being critical of government and seeking to institute corrective measures where the government is erring. Indeed to further buttress this point, some of these lecturers took up positions in the various commissions that sprouted with the formation of the Government of National Unity [GNU]. The commissions include; the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, the Media Commission, and the Human Rights Commission among others. These commissions were meant to provide objectivity and sanitise the situation in government departments and parastatals which had largely been viewed as ineffective and partisan prior to the formation of GNU. Therefore the commissions contained members recommended by both the ruling and opposition parties forming the GNU, with the lecturers in question basically entering on an opposition ticket. In fulfilment of this point, these lecturers reported that some of their former colleagues at U.Z had even assumed full-time ministerial positions in the GNU on opposition MDC tickets resulting in them seeking leave of absence from U.Z.

It emerged that lecturers in this category were getting handsome packages for their work with the referred NGOs. This is because the areas of operation for these NGOs were currently topical in the country and therefore heavily funded by donors. Moreover, these payments are made in foreign currency. This significantly cushioned lecturers during the period of the hyperinflation crisis as the lecturers could convert their foreign currency at the best prevailing rate as and when they wanted to use it. It also came out that these lecturers would occasionally recruit junior lecturers of like mind to them as assistance in some of the consultancy contracts.

Like their counterparts in the previous category, senior lecturers in this category also valued the autonomy and flexibility of their working environment. They reported that this affords them to fulfil their university obligations whilst accommodating some off shoot activities like consultancies. In addition they highlighted that the relative autonomy they enjoy provides them with some room to best utilise their capabilities as opposed to a situation where there is too much policing especially in cases where the policing agent is less experienced than the lecturer. The lecturers also pointed out that the academic environment at U.Z offers them some space and freedom to express themselves without necessarily the automatic retribution that has been associated with the wider society. This was against a background of the restrictive environment alluded to in the literature; with restrictive legislations like POSA and AIPPA as well as the general political volatility.

“... so I don’t need police clearance or four days notice to the police for me to speak out my mind to a group of colleagues in the senior common room, let alone to hundreds of my students in the lecture theatre” (Respondent 28, 2010).

The lecturer was emphasising the fact that he could bust the restrictive measures in the country through expressing his political opinions in academic fora at U.Z. Like their loyal counterparts these lecturers also appear to be enjoying the comfort of fame and respect they are accorded at home. Indeed one senior lecturer famous with an NGO advocating for the re writing of the constitution emphasised that he had a constituents beyond U.Z which he must not disappoint. “...some of us represent constituencies beyond U.Z, so you cannot just wake up gone one day” (Respondent 12, 2010).

5.2.4 Cultural loyalty

Lecturers in this category also pledged their loyalty to the Zimbabwean culture (way of life). Senior lecturers like their counterparts in the previous category had vast experience with the world beyond the borders through training and visiting. On a comparative scale they still rated that they were at home with the domestic than foreign lifestyles. One senior lecturer summed up this point by saying;

“Before joining the U.Z I had lived outside the country for six years and after that I have largely preferred to live in Zimbabwe. I am very happy here” (Respondent 12, 2010).

Even some junior lecturers also affirmed that notwithstanding the economic difficulties they were experiencing, they were largely comfortable with the way of life in their country. However, the antagonism between the 'loyal' and 'protesting' lecturers once again came out. The lecturers expressed that although the ideal version of the local culture was palatable; the current prevailing situation was that of a distorted and corrupted version. One senior lecturer who also work for an INGO called Transparency International charged that whilst the traditional Zimbabwean society was well known for values like being industrious, honesty and transparent, the society prevailing today is one characterised by "...lazy people and rampant corruption perpetrated from above by corrupt leaders" (Respondent 13, 2010). Another lecturer claiming to be an academic at heart lamented the destruction of the intellectual culture at the university whereby gurus in the academic field enjoyed the autonomy of administering the institution in a manner that represented the academic interest. According to him, appointments and promotions were done merit bases then. He alleges that political interference on the institution's affairs has seen some of the big intellectual minds leaving out of frustration; unprofessional appointments and promotions for political mileage all killing the intellectual culture which the university stands for in the society (Respondent 14, 2010). All the protesting lecturers therefore viewed their role as working for the restoration of the ideal values of the society. This included the junior lecturers in this category who shared the same opinions with their seniors who reported that they were looking forward to the restoration of transparency as they also gain some valuable experience in the meantime. They also viewed their role as a strong gesture of patriotism.

5.2.5 Family ties and age

Just like their counterparts in the former category, all the lecturers in this category concurred with the cultural norm of extended family. All the senior lecturers reported having obligations within the extended family. Therefore, although moving out of the country would have been associated with economic gains at the personal level, on the other hand it was associated with heavy social and morale costs making it not the first option. Age was also a compounding factor in the matrix, for example as given by one lecturer that it was no longer just his sons to consider but also his grand children also wanted to have him around so if he were to go out of the country he could not relocate with the whole tribe. Indeed age also seemed to work in favour of the senior lecturers in terms of asset base as all the senior lecturers in this category owned at least a single residential property in the posh suburbs of Zimbabwe. . "I have worked for this university for 24 years. I have a nice house, I have other houses, I have..." said (Respondent 13, 2010) who appeared very proud of his assets. The excess properties were then rented out to provide supplementary income. However it was interesting to note that, the asset base of these lecturers contained mainly assets gained when the economy was still stable where as their counterparts in the former category have continued to add on to their list through new acquisitions from government programs. This might be because most of these lecturers were critical of the government programs, as such they wouldn't want to be seen benefiting from the same.

However, the situation in relation to asset base was different for junior lecturers who did not own anything worth noting.

5.3 'Neutral' lecturers

This group was distinct from the two previous categories in that they were apolitical and comprised almost entirely junior lecturers with just two senior lecturers. These lecturers believed in maintaining cool heads and not to meddle in politics. Rather, they emphasised their source of motivation to stay as professional factors. There were however some common issues with other categories, which included; cultural loyalty, social ties and age.

5.3.1 Low employability outside the country and failed migration attempts

While some senior lecturers were partly motivated by opportunities available to them outside campus, the situation was different for the junior lecturers who could not qualify for the high profile jobs and consultancies due to lack of qualifications and experience. All the junior lecturers interviewed had either recently acquired or were still studying for their master degrees. Another striking feature about them was that they had little professional working experience. They basically joined the U.Z immediately after completing their first degrees. Therefore the only working experience they had was that of being teaching assistants in U.Z. What seem to hold back thirteen of whom indicated that they would have wanted to leave the country for greener pastures was that their chances of getting employment and maintaining a professional life outside the country were very low. Indeed eight of them had either initiated or embarked on failed migration attempts. Their migration attempts failed because they could not secure work permits to practice as professionals in foreign land as their qualifications and experience were not in demand in the destination countries. In some cases, they could not even secure the documents necessary for them to travel outside the country like the visa to go particularly to Europe and America. Excerpts below testify to this point;

“...I was denied the visa to the U.K three times then I said may be it's not yet my time” (Respondent 3, 2010).

“If I had my own way yes, but it's not easy I tell you. At first I also thought it was that simple but I had to spend almost half a year in South Africa that was in 2006 trying to secure a work permit but to no avail...” (Respondent 8, 2010)

“For the senior experienced lecturers it seems easier but for us you might end up becoming a maid or a waitress out of desperation. So it's very difficult because you not so sure about your future both with the university in the coun-

try and your prospects outside the country. It is a very difficult time" (Respondent 9, 2010).

The excerpts indicate a complex situation, full of uncertainty for the junior lecturers. Decision making under such circumstances is difficult as there are always risks of unintended consequences like ending up doing unprofessional jobs outside the country. At the same time the future sustainability of the situation in the country is in serious doubt.

5.3.2 Absence of migration chain

In an apparent vindication of the social network theory of migration (Tilly, 1990: 84; Stalker, 2000: 132) some of the lecturers who had wanted to migrate lamented the absence of strong social networks that would not only facilitate their relocation but also give them full information about the opportunities and conditions in the destination areas. In particular some felt let down by their colleagues who successfully migrated. It was reported that the successful migrants would either not give any feedback at all or misrepresent information. The researcher further probed on why successful migrants would misrepresent information. The first reason given was selfishness, whereby successful migrants would want to discourage/block those who had remained from moving. Another reason given was that emigrants would want to be viewed as having made the correct decisions and were now successful in foreign land yet in actual fact they were struggling. Surprisingly, blood relatives were said to be worse off in terms of being selfish with information as compared to friends and former workmates.

“...you are friends or relatives only when you are still together here; once someone becomes a diasporan (migrant) you know not each other anymore” (Respondent 4, 2010).

“The problem with us is that, once you have committed yourself to migration you don’t want to be seen as having made the wrong decision even though you know you have” (Respondent 17, 2010).

The two excerpts above reflecting faulty or total communication failure suggests possible misrecognition of non migrants by successful migrants.

5.3.3 Stories of bad migration experiences

Some, junior lecturers reported that while they have no experience of the other side of the world, they were reliably informed through colleagues and through media and internet that most Zimbabweans who migrated abroad were a miserable lot who were constantly ill-treated. In particular they cited racism in Europe and America, then xenophobia and squalid living conditions in the region.

“Fine Mufakose (a high density suburb in Zimbabwe’s city of Harare) is not the best place to live but you definitely cannot compare it to the plastic shacks in Soweto (a high density suburb in South Africa’s city of Johannesburg)” (Respondent 26, 2010).

Here the lecturer was lamenting the poor conditions some professionals are living under in neighbouring South Africa. This is mainly because migrants cannot afford the rentals required for decent accommodation as they are performing some menial jobs that are lowly paid. Nevertheless, some of them still said they had no problem with getting a new experience in the foreign environment while others remained sceptical.

5.3.4 Job features and opportunities

Junior lecturers reported that, despite the low salaries, U.Z recognises their capabilities and the environment offers them an opportunity to utilise their skills and talents at work. They were quick to compare themselves with some of their peers who had migrated out of the country and settled for some menial jobs. The junior lecturers regarded themselves as much better than their 'unprofessional' counterparts who had stooped so low. Nine had been promoted to positions of full time lecturers. These stated that they were so happy about their new positions which provide them the opportunity to handle critical responsibilities at work. The same lecturers also reported that, handling critical responsibilities also results in gaining valuable experience which improves career prospects while opening opportunities for further promotion within the institution. In short, the junior lecturers clearly demonstrated a strong passion for professional status and their prioritisation of long term future career prospects. This explains why those who had initially migrated into the region and failed to secure work permits had to come back. This was despite the fact that in financial terms the unskilled jobs they could have settled for commanded a better value than their skilled junior lecturer jobs back home. This was true against the hyperinflationary environment referred in the literature whereby any earnings in hard currency would easily translate into significant amounts of local currency especially when exchanged on the parallel market. The flexibility of the U.Z working schedule was regarded as friendly and not straining. Some junior lecturers' quotes below reflect the above discussion;

"I might be poorly remunerated but at least I'm practising what I trained to do as..." (Respondent 1, 2010).

"...how is a guy who decided to ditch the university teaching profession and spend their next 5-10years in the wilderness going to account for all this time in their future career?" (Respondent 10, 2010).

The two senior lecturers in this category also appreciated the enhancement of their professional and career values at U.Z. The lecturers reported that University regulations required them to spend up to 40% of their time on teaching while 60% goes towards doing own research and publication. The later add to one's portfolio resulting in upgrading to doctorate or professorship or similar qualifications. Professing his lack of interest in politics, one lecturer said,

“I have told myself that, as a professional I should concentrate with my research and publications to attain professorship and leave the business of promotions and administration to the politicians” (Respondent 19, 2010).

The lecturer was acknowledging that there were some squabbles with some political connotations over the administration of U.Z but that didn’t concern him as he was not interested in any of that. The lecturers also valued the pool of information and knowledge available at U.Z through expertise from colleagues as well as electronic/print resources available on campus and accessible in other higher learning institutions even abroad through U.Z links. This was reported to create an ideal environment for lecturers who are academics. However, the lecturers lamented that the overall intellectual culture at U.Z was declining due to the departure of most senior qualified staff.

In a related development, it was reported that the permanent lecturers were entitled to contact leave every three years and sabbatical leave every seventh year. U.Z pays airfares and subsistence for lecturers during contact leave and one month of sabbatical year. Senior lecturers reported that this gives them an opportunity to renew their contacts with other academics elsewhere and also consolidating their knowledge through spending time in other universities and institutions. Indeed these lecturers have largely used their contact and sabbatical leave for this purpose of “...exposure to diverse intellectual resources and traditions” as one lecturer put it across. This is unlike the ‘loyalists’ and ‘protestors’ who have used this opportunity to remain in the country and engage with organisations that suit their extra curricula interests. The sabbatical leave was also used for alternative employment with other institutions resulting in accrual of significant financial gains that would compensate for the poor salaries at U.Z. This was reported to be particularly valid for the last couple of years when the economy has been in bad shape and the U.Z salary has lost its value.

5.3.5 Cultural loyalty

In a similar fashion to reports by all the other lecturers, there was full endorsement of the Zimbabwean way of life ahead of foreign cultures. Most junior lecturers reported that they were committed to the local culture and were very reluctant to adapt to new cultures. To this end, they reported that against a background of constant economic pressure if they were to get an opportunity to leave the country they would prefer to go into the region where cultures are not significantly different from the local culture. Local diet was one cultural aspect that came out prominently from the junior lecturers. A senior lecturer in this category who reported to have had experience of staying in Russia also lamented the cultural inconvenience. In particular, she pinpointed her passion for traditional music which she enjoys when relaxing which was totally unavailable in Russia. In addition she said the overall music she was exposed to was not of her taste and found it very depressing as she could not fully enjoy her social time whose greater part entails listening to music. She then concluded by saying,

“...you see, these are some of the seemingly little things people overlook, but later realise that they really matter when they have settled in foreign societies” (Respondent 24, 2010).

When probed about the accessibility of music through internet, she indicated that this was only a recent phenomenon and the internet package falls far short of the real broadcasting package. The other senior lecturer (Respondent 19, 2010) had trained in Europe and complained that the European life was too dynamic and fast paced which can be stressful to aliens. Asked about how this is different from the local life, he described the later as more ‘easy going’ and adaptable.

5.3.6 Social ties and age

Social ties particularly with family members also came out as a serious issue under consideration. However what was interesting with junior lecturers is that despite their appreciation of the social ties value, most of them still gave room for migration offering the justification of overwhelming economic needs. Thus, there was some dissonance in the testimonies given by junior lecturers in this regard. There were also two cases in which junior lecturers stated religious responsibility as a motivating factor for them to stay put. The two were leaders in the same church. They reported that their religious principles and conviction does not permit them to abandon their followers because of any kind of hardships.

“I am a church leader and I have some followers to whom I have a duty to lead. ...remember the biblical Lot who against God’s will emigrate from his original land of habitation to Sodom because it had been stricken by hunger and poverty. What happened to Sodom and Gomorrah later own, they were destroyed” (Respondent 11, 2010).

Indeed the two completely ruled out any chance for them moving out of the country, insisting that God will always provide them with ways of surviving in Zimbabwe.

Once again family ties intersected with advancing age to motivate the senior lecturers to stay behind. The lecturers reported that their affection and responsibilities in the extended family as enshrined in the local cultural institutions significantly motivated them to stay around. Similarly detailed accounts of the roles they have played revealed that they had a keen interest in the welfare of the extended family and preservation of the local cultural values. As espoused in the New Economic Labour Migration theory, one senior and two junior lecturers reported that they remained behind because they had siblings who were living abroad and were contributing to the family upkeep through remittances. This clearly showed that migration decisions were not taken at individual but rather family level in these cases. It was also noted that remittances were most welcome by junior lecturers who had very few alternative sources of income. However, they were few of these junior lecturers who received remittances, with most of them reporting that they simply had no one to bail them out.

5.3.7 Secure accommodation and consultancies

Like their counterparts in other categories senior lecturers owned decent houses with some having more than one house. As in the previous cases, extra houses would be rented out to generate supplementary income. However, probing around the issue of houses revealed that the mere ownership of decent accommodation was a significant incentive encouraging non migration. Some lecturers were reluctant to start paying high rentals outside the country when they have not known paying rent for years. Others even explained that leaving their houses in secondary hands would most likely result in abuse and deterioration in standards of their properties. Asked whether they would consider selling their house if they were to move out of the country, one respondent categorically stated that, “Never ever...” (Respondent 24, 2010). Indeed most of the lecturers viewed a house to be a symbol of status. Therefore loss of ownership to a house was perceived as symbolising a huge decline in status. Again in order to supplement their incomes, the senior lecturers reported that they were extensively involved in consultancy work with development agencies. However what was striking about this group is that they were engaged with organisations that were not directly linked to politics or similar sensitive issues. Such organisations were mainly into humanitarian work like health and poverty issues. Some excerpts below suffice to substantiate the point:

Respondent 19, 2010: “Organisations like Goal, Pumb Aid ...would come and say, we heard you have done this, can you also do this for us. So for me there wasn’t that drive to say let me go out, let me go out.”

Respondent 24 2010: “It all started with Plan International, they had a job...then I was approached by World Vision to say can you...Up to now there is a string of organisations that always contact me when they have a job to be done.”

The consultancies were also reported to be better paying by far as compared to the U.Z job. Moreover, the payments were in foreign currency, thereby cushioning lecturers in a hyperinflationary environment. One lecturer even reported that they do not factor in the U.Z salary when considering their income.

However junior lecturers reported that U.Z salary was their main source of income. They had no access to lucrative consultancy deals because of their low profile qualifications. Therefore they appear to genuinely struggle to make ends meet given the poor remuneration they received from the university. At the height of the crisis they practically stopped coming to work because they couldn’t raise money for transport. Some resorted to occasionally coming to campus on foot to report for duty. Reduction of number of days of coming to work was a welcome coping mechanism for the junior lecturers. This was courtesy of a blanket amnesty issued by authorities in recognition of the lecturers’ inadequate salaries against a background of soaring transport costs. As a survival strategy, junior lecturers also engaged in some non academic income generating activities to make ends meet. These included cross border trading, vending in vegetables, chicken and eggs among others. Hence, the few junior

lecturers who reluctantly alluded to patriotism as their source of motivation indicated that, it was always not everyone who was going to get the opportunity to move out of the country, some were destined to remain behind and serve the country. It is the author's opinion that this comment smacks of a person who is not very proud of the situation they are in but rather view themselves as victims of circumstances. Even direct observations by the researcher of the body language and facial expressions showed that the respondents did not exude the confidence and exuberance shown by their counterparts in the loyal and protesting groups when expressing their patriotic feeling for the country.

5.4 Conclusion

5.4.1 Recap

The two major objectives of this study were; 1) to seek to understand why some U.Z lecturers remained in the country against a background where most of their colleagues were leaving and 2) to establish how the remaining lecturers managed to cope with the difficult prevailing environment in Zimbabwe. The study achieved its objectives through collecting and analysing testimonies of individual lecturers. Analysis of the findings revealed that, lecturers were largely motivated by political and professional factors. The means of survival became patterned by political allegiances for the politically engaged lecturers while the apolitical lecturers sought some pure professional and non academic means. Coping mechanisms ranged from returns on physical investment; extra curricula activities, that is, consultancies and engagement with government institutions and programs; receiving remittances; to reducing the number of days of reporting for duty and engaging in vending activities for the junior little experienced lecturers. Other factors like cultural loyalty, family ties and in some cases advancing age played a reinforcing role to the decisions not to migrate.

5.4.2 Critical reflections

The above analysis clearly demonstrates that migration theories alone are inadequate in explaining migration. Findings from this study proved that it is not possible to just turn the migration theories on their head and explain the story of non migrants. Rather it emerged in this study that the life worlds of non migrants are more complex. Indeed, the findings demonstrate that non migrants are not mere free economic agents simply governed by expected income calculations in making their decisions. Instead, there are more issues considered and these included; political considerations; cultural loyalty; family ties; demographic and professional factors.

Patriotic values and the feeling that one has a political duty to play in shaping the destiny of their country strongly motivated some lecturers to stay in the country and even patterned their means of living. This finding vindicated Ammassari and Black (2001: 16) 's assertion that return/retention motives include political factors as well not just economic factors emphasised by standard economic theories (Stalker, 2000: 131; Massey *et al.*, 2006: 17). Other factors like strong family ties, advancing age and a favourable pre disposition to the local culture reinforced the political decisions of non migrant lecturers to stay behind. The desire to maintain a more professional role while protecting future career prospects also played a significant role in discouraging emigration on the part of apolitical lecturers despite the promising immediate economic gains associated with moving out. Again cultural, family related and other social factors reinforced the decisions of these lecturers which were largely made on professional grounds. Therefore as espoused in the conceptual framework, there is need to adopt an integrated approach to capture all the different fac-

tors that hold individuals where they are in order to provide a fuller explanation and more comprehensive understanding of decisions of non migrants.

In addition, standard economic theories implicitly assume rational calculation. However it emerged in this study that some cases place limits to the rational calculating agency of individuals as was the case with most junior lecturers at U.Z. In addition, the neoclassical view of poor age/salaries as a strong push factor from the source country has been dispelled. Firstly, consistent with Hall (2005) it emerged those alternative sources may actually form the larger part of income thereby rendering salary an insignificant factor. Secondly, in an a distorted economic environment like was the case in Zimbabwe, it may not necessarily be the actual salary that is of concern but other factors like, the currency, exchange rates, and cash availability on the market among others.

A concern is raised in literature on migration that when skilled workers leave their home country, the natural focus is on the attractions of the destination country and perceived deficiencies of the source country (Hall, 2005: 2 of 9). Indeed this could have influenced the conclusion of the push-pull theory which argues that incentives to migrate typically involves a combination of push factors (unsatisfactory working or living conditions in the country of origin) and pull factors (attractive working or living conditions, availability of positions and active recruitment in the country of destination) (Rutten, 2007: 21). However, this research revealed that the argument does not always hold as there were some aggregating factors above the individual level that worked favourably for the remaining lecturers. That is, as more professionals left, more opportunities were created for the remaining lecturers. This was true of senior lecturers who had access to abundant consultancy opportunities and junior lecturers who had opportunities for promotion which would not necessarily have been the case in a normal environment.

It can also be concluded from findings of the current study that, in a highly politicised environment as prevailing in Zimbabwe one does not necessarily need to belong to the winning side(as in the ruling party/government of the day) in order to make it. Indeed while some loyal lecturers thrived on benefits derived from political patronage with the ruling party, the protesting lecturers still made it by participating in opposition activities.

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Appendix

Interview Checklist

- **Psychological factors**

Self esteem- (feeling of confidence and making useful contribution at work vs lack of confidence)

Patriotism- (loyalty to country/ desire to work for the public good/ willingness to sacrifice, work harder to serve as a model and improve the status of the country)

- **Job features and opportunities**

Skills upgrading- (opportunity to utilise one's skills and talents at work/ opportunity to learn new skills/ access to information & knowledge at work)

Career growth- (opportunities to handle critical responsibilities at work/ gaining of valuable experience that improves career prospects/opportunities for promotion within the institution/ opportunity to make publications that add to one's portfolio)

Professional integrity- (Feeling of one's capabilities being recognised at work/ pride in the status given to the profession by the society)

Perceived freedom in the public sector employment- (flexibility of working schedule/ autonomy in planning and executing day to day work activities and taking up consultancy opportunities)

- **Social/ Demographic factors**

Family ties- (nature family composition, responsibilities in the family, family values)

Social networks- (family/relatives/ friends/workmates/ acquaintance living abroad; any contacts and the kind of information shared with them; how they are faring in foreign land)

Age and Gender- (their perceived influence if any in the decision not to migrate)

Secure accommodation- (own a decent house/ buying a house through some loan scheme)

- **Cultural factors**

Cultural loyalty/ fear of cultural shock in foreign land

- **Political factors**

Patronage beneficiary- (level and extent of connections with the political system)

Activist- (level of interest in political affairs of the country; roles played in the political processes of the country)

- **Economic factors**

Alternative/ supplementary sources of income- (consultancies; membership on boards of companies; returns on physical assets and other assets including equity in companies and intellectual property)

Secure source of consumption- (e.g. remittances in hard currency)

Employability- (low chances of getting employment outside the country)